

China

Remembering
Chairman Mao

Reconstructs

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Front: The statue in the north hall of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.

Back: Wreaths and flower baskets presented at Tien An Men Square by the people of Peking on the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's death.

Inside front: Pine (*Huangshan Mountains in Anhwei province*)

Inside back: A multi-purpose water conservation project for irrigation, power generation, traffic and navigation in Hunan province.

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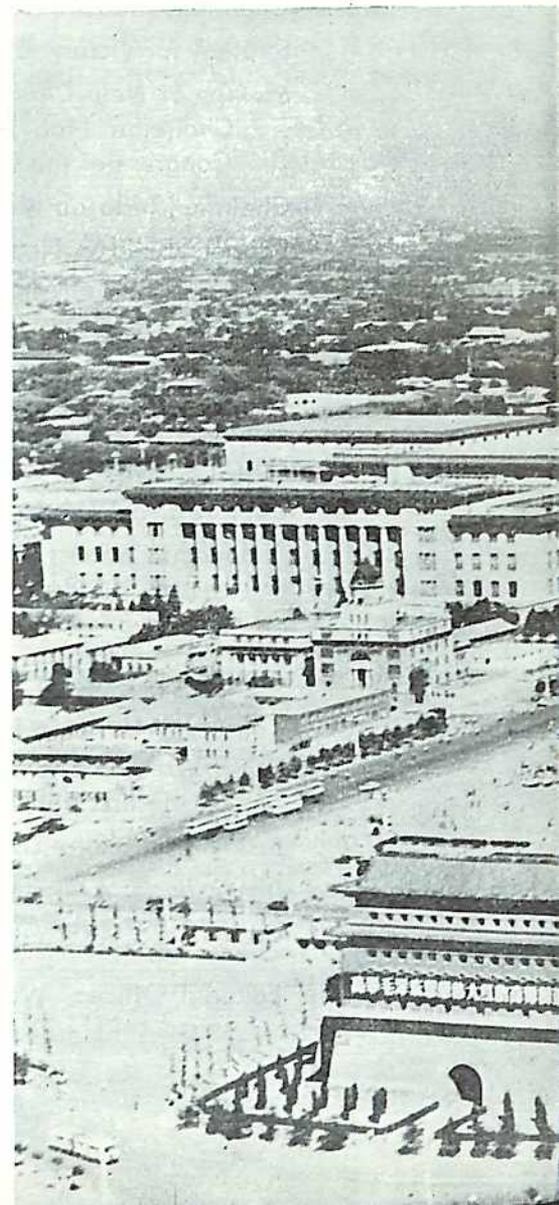
The Mon



The front entrance. The gold characters on marble block above are in Chairman Hua's handwriting.

THE Chairman Mao Memorial Hall housing the crystal coffin containing his body was opened on September 9, 1977, the first anniversary of his death. Since then thousands of people from all over the country in grateful memory of his contribution to China and the world have come to visit the hall.

The hall stands in Tien An Men Square, witness to historic events in the Chinese revolution and symbolic center of the political power



A bird's-eye view of Tien An Men Square from the south, and the memorial hall, center.

ument to Mao Tsetung

of the new China. Since the May 4th Movement in 1919 the square has been the site of rallies and demonstrations against foreign aggressors and domestic reactionaries, held by workers, students and others often in defiance of police bayonets and fire hoses. Here on October 1, 1949, from Tien An Men Gate Chairman Mao proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China and raised the five-star red flag for the first time. In the following years Chairman Mao

reviewed many parades and presided over huge political rallies here.

On its north the hall faces the Monument to the People's Heroes and Tien An Men Gate. To the west is the Great Hall of the People, and to the east, the Museum of Chinese History and Chinese Revolution. Tien An Men Square, already the world's largest city plaza, was doubled in size by the addition of the area containing

the memorial hall and its surroundings.

The dignified hall, itself in the shape of a square, blends Chinese national style with the characteristics of modern architecture. Its surroundings are landscaped with evergreens and flowering trees, among them pomegranates from Lintung, Shensi province, tangerines from Chairman Mao's birthplace Shaoshan in Hunan province, azaleas from Kanting on





Chairman Mao's body in the crystal coffin.

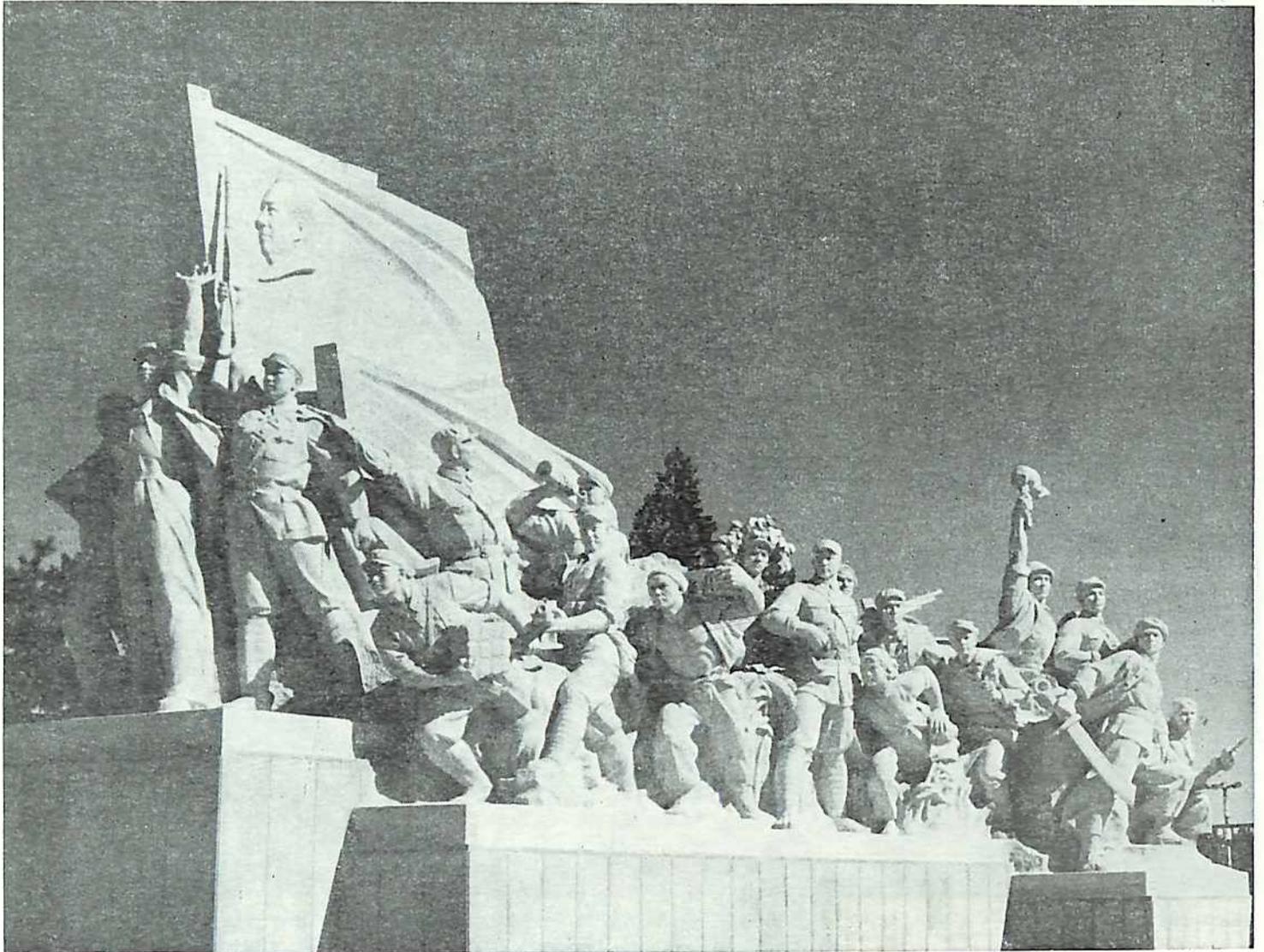




The north hall.

Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.





Sculptures east of the north entrance.

the Tatu River which the Red Army crossed on its Long March, camellias from Tali in Yunnan province. Crab apple trees interspersed between pines and deodars are from the mountains west of Peking where guerrillas once fought. At *ching ming* in April, the traditional day of memorial for the dead, they are covered with white blossoms, and in September, the month of Chairman Mao's death, with flaming red fruit.

Flanking the north entrance to the memorial hall are two sculpture groups each standing 8 meters high and measuring 15 meters long, the work of over 100 sculptors from 18 provinces and municipalities. The figures record the Chinese people's half-century of struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party.

The group on the east stands for the new-democratic revolution. An Anyuan coal miner holding a torch

represents the pioneers of the Chinese working class, who, educated by Chairman Mao, first mounted the political stage under the leadership of the Communist Party. There are Red Guards from the first rural revolutionary base set up by Chairman Mao in the Chingkang Mountains. There are soldiers from the Red Army which undertook the Long March, representatives of the Eighth Route Army and the people who resisted and defeated the Japanese invaders with Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics for a people's war, and soldiers from the People's Liberation Army which, led by Chairman Mao, destroyed the Chiang Kai-shek government, the last reactionary regime in Chinese history. These are the people who fought heroically and overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and founded the People's Republic of China.

The sculpture group on the west stands for the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Here we see peasants leading their oxen and shouldering their plows, taking the first step in cooperative farming, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai working to transform their poor hills. Here are the workers of the Taching oil field who have made great contributions to socialism, and PLA soldiers defending the borders. Here are intellectuals who have integrated themselves with the workers and peasants, tested veteran cadres and young Red Guards battling the old forces during the cultural revolution. These are the people who, led by the Party, carried out and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and built China into an initially prosperous socialist country.

Chairman Mao said that he had done two things in his life. One



Sculptures west of the north entrance.

was driving the Japanese imperialists out of China and overthrowing the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek and forcing him to take refuge in the province of Taiwan. The other was successfully carrying out the proletarian cultural revolution. The two groups of sculptures underline the significance of his words. The one representing the new-democratic revolution stands as a reminder to the people to be ready to defend the country against foreign aggression, with the message that if any imperialists or social imperialists dare to invade China, the people will mobilize to defeat them just as they did Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese and U.S. imperialists. The second group on the socialist revolution stands as a reminder that while the enemy with guns has been destroyed within the country and the proletariat and the people have won political power,

the class struggle is by no means over. It was precisely because the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution launched by Chairman Mao exposed capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the Party that China has been able to avoid capitalist restoration such as has taken place in the Soviet Union. Today, while the first cultural revolution has ended with the defeat of the "gang of four", it doesn't mean that the class struggle is over. Let the sculpture be a reminder that if in the future capitalist roaders again try to seize Party and state power, the people will know they can get rid of them by rising and exercising mass democracy the way Chairman Mao guided them to do.

AFTER ASCENDING the memorial hall's two-tiered platform one enters the lofty 8.5-meter-high

north hall. Four square pillars of pink marble blend harmoniously with the gleaming floor of gray marble. It is lighted indirectly through 110 glass squares with a sunflower design that cover the ceiling. In the center of this hall is a 3-meter-high lifelike statue of Chairman Mao in white marble seated in an armchair. Behind it, covering nearly the entire back wall is a wool needlepoint tapestry of the sky, mountains and rivers of China. It was designed by artists in the capital and made by the Yentai Tapestry Factory in Shantung province.

Chairman Mao taught Party members and cadres to make investigations among the masses. During his lifetime he traveled all over the country talking with workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals. These talks were the source of his ideas, he always stressed. This view of his figure

against the Chinese landscape conveys the idea that among the people, who are continuing to guide themselves by Mao Tsetung Thought, he still lives.

On either side of the north hall are four guest lounges hung with paintings by famous artists. They depict scenes associated with Chairman Mao's life: Shaoshan, his birthplace and the site of his early revolutionary activity; the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Kwangchow set up by Chairman Mao during the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27); the Ching Kang Mountains where the first rural revolutionary base was set up; Tsunyi, site of the enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau held during the Long March at which Chairman Mao's leadership over the Party was recognized, a turning point in the Chinese revolution; the Date Orchard in Yen-an in northern Shensi where Chairman Mao lived and from where he led the Chinese people in the war with Japan and the War of Liberation; Chungnan-hai in Peking where Chairman Mao lived and worked after liberation; Peitaiho, the seaside city where he presided over many important meetings.

PASSING through the doors of carved nanmu wood on either side of the north hall one enters the central hall where the body of Chairman Mao lies in state.

In the center of the hall stands the crystal coffin on a base of polished black marble. The four sides of the base bear the dates "1893-1976" and the emblems of the Communist Party, the People's Republic of China, and the People's Liberation Army in gold inlay. Chairman Mao was a founder of all three. The coffin, made of flawless crystal and surrounded by flowers, is only two meters from the aisle so that people can get a clear close-up view. Chairman Mao's body is

covered with the flag of the Communist Party of China. His face is serene as in life. On the marble south wall are the raised words in gold: "Eternal Glory to the Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung".

Beyond this room is the 7-meter-high south hall. Chairman Mao's famous poem "Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo" appears in gold inlay characters in his own handwriting on a white marble background on the north wall. With the bold spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, in its very first lines Chairman Mao derides those who want to hold back history: "On this tiny globe a few flies dash themselves against the wall." History is advancing in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao. The poem calls to mind Chairman Mao's contributions to the struggle of the world's people against imperialism and hegemonism. His analysis of the three worlds has inspired the oppressed people and nations in their struggle for liberation. This theory facilitates uniting all forces that can be united, isolates the two superpowers and further exposes the expansionist ambitions of the Soviet social-imperialists. The call by Chairman Mao in the last line of the poem, "Our force is irresistible, / Away with all pests!" will one day be realized.

THE MEMORIAL HALL's southern gate opens on a small square in which are two sculpture groups on the theme of the Chinese people's determination to carry out Chairman Mao's behests. Among the figures are an old peasant, his head covered with the traditional white towel, and a veteran cadre, followed by younger people. With raised fists the figures are pledging to hold high Chairman Mao's great banner from generation to generation.

The sculptures represent the aspirations of the Party, army and people of all nationalities in China.

These were reaffirmed at the recent 11th Party Congress. Chairman Mao is no longer with us but his banner continues to guide us forward.

History has proven for the Chinese people that Chairman Mao's banner is the banner of victory. During the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal national democratic revolution, Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and creatively put forward a body of theory and tactics which correctly solved problems facing the Chinese revolution. He elucidated the basic characteristic of the Chinese revolution — oppose armed counter-revolution with armed revolution — and pointed out that the three essential weapons with which the Chinese people could defeat their enemies were the building of the Party, armed struggle and the united front. He explained that the only way the people could seize political power through armed struggle was to build rural base areas, surround the cities with them and then take the cities. Chairman Mao's theory on the road for the Chinese revolution refuted both the Right capitulationists in the Party like Chen Tu-shiu and the "Left" adventurists represented by Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming. Under Chairman Mao's leadership the Chinese people carried on a people's war for 22 years, the longest in the history of the proletarian revolution, and founded a new China.

Chairman Mao also dealt with a new problem in the Chinese revolution and one long unsolved in the international communist movement. How should the proletariat prevent capitalist restoration after seizing power? The bitter lesson of all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, founded by Lenin, shows that even after the



on a new look politically, economically, militarily and culturally. For China's socialist revolution and construction a new period is opening.

Today, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, a united people is firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and working hard to build China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century.

As one leaves the memorial hall one is greeted by 30 red flags, representing China's 30 provinces (including Taiwan), municipalities and autonomous regions, snapping in the breeze. Behind them stands the ancient Chien Men Gate restored to its original splendor, with an added slogan reading: "Carry Out Chairman Mao's Behests, Carry the Cause of Proletarian Revolution Through to the End!" This is the Chinese people's pledge and the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall is the symbol of that pledge.

Details of sculptures flanking the south entrance.

proletariat has seized power, the issue of which class will win is not finally decided. Studying both the positive and negative experience in the international communist movement, Chairman Mao analyzed the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society and put forth the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus enriching Marxism-Leninism. The proletarian cultural revolution put this theory into practice.

It was in this context that Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, holding high the banner of Chairman Mao and carrying out his behests, led the whole people in smashing the "gang of four" in a major struggle over political line. In the short time since then China has taken



Mao Tsetung and the Anyuan Miners

AN KUNG

AFTER attending the meeting which founded the Chinese Communist Party on July 1, 1921, Mao Tsetung returned to Changsha in Hunan province and went to work as the secretary of the Hunan Area Party Committee and head of the Hunan branch of the Chinese Trade Union Secretariat.

In line with the Party's resolution on promoting the workers' movement, he began to organize clubs and night schools to help raise the workers' political understanding. In early September, as a member of the Hunan Council for the Promotion of Common People's Education, he went to the Anyuan Coal Mines at Pinghsiang in Kiangsi province, close to Hunan.

Anyuan was a bureaucrat-comprador company directly controlled by the imperialists and run on a system of feudal overseers with absolute power over the workers. The brutal exploitation and oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism was creating a great revolutionary potential among the miners.

The day after his arrival Mao Tsetung went with one of the miners down into the pits. First he went to West Tunnel where the greatest number of miners worked. Safety measures were non-existent and accidents frequent. Mao Tsetung's escort warned him to stay away from the work face. "But you men work there the year round," he said. "Why should I be afraid just once?"

Drainage and ventilation were extremely bad. The miners stood ankle-deep in water and at one end it was so hot that it blistered their feet. The men cut coal with picks. In some places the space was so cramped that they worked on their sides. The men put the coal in baskets and dragged them away on their hands and knees. The only water to drink was black. When the heat was unbearable they went and stood for a while in the water at the cool end.

The Awakening

The miners worked naked, their bodies black with coal dust, their heads protected by a ragged cloth. This became a loincloth when they went aboveground. Asked why they didn't have any clothes on, the miners said, "Can't afford them. All the foreigners and bosses care about is making money. It's nothing to them whether we live or die." Labor protection clothing was unheard of. They were yelled at and beaten daily.

"Why do you think you suffer so?" Mao Tsetung asked.

"Fate," a worker said, sighing.

"No," Mao Tsetung answered. "It's not fate, it's because the imperialists and bureaucrat capitalists oppress and exploit you. Look, the bosses never do a day's work in the pit, yet they live like kings. You work in this black hell year in and year out and you can't afford even a loincloth. Why? Because

the wealth you created — the money made from the coal you dig — is taken away by the foreign bosses and bureaucrat capitalists to make themselves rich. That's not fate, it's exploitation. You must do something to change this."

"But how?"

"No god or emperor can save us," Mao Tsetung answered, "we must save ourselves. There is a way out if we get together and fight the bosses, Chinese and foreign." He picked up a pebble and said, "Look, suppose this pebble's lying in the boss's way. All he has to do is to give it a kick and it's out of the way. Now if you take a whole lot of pebbles, mix sand and lime, and cement them together in a huge rock, the boss won't find it so easy to move it. When we workers get organized and work together like that, we'll be strong enough to get rid of the imperialists, landlords and capitalists who are grinding us down. Then we'll build a new world where we working people will be our own masters."

It was the first time the miners had heard their plight put in such a way with their bosses and felt they had found the root of their misery. They began to understand the meaning of "exploitation", "oppression" and "revolution".

From West Tunnel Mao Tsetung went to East Tunnel, talked with more miners and did not come aboveground until afternoon. Then he visited the coal washing plant,

the repair section, the foundry and the pump room. The "workers' quarters" were rows of low huts, each jamming fifty or sixty men together on three-decker bunks swarming with bed bugs. The air was foul. Mao Tsetung sat down on a bunk and talked with the workers. He climbed on a top deck and saw the greasy quilts in shreds. He tasted the mildewed rice and rotten vegetables that passed as the miners' meals.

He made many friends during his week's stay at the mines.

In November he went to Anyuan again and spent long hours in the coal washing plant and at the coking furnace. In the evenings many miners came to see him in the back of a tiny store where he was staying. Their stories were of misery and anger, filled with curses for their slave life.

"But workers are the ones who create the wealth," Mao Tsetung told them. "Without your hard work society would have nothing.

Workers aren't born as slaves. If we get together and organize, we can overthrow the imperialists and warlords, get rid of work systems that make no sense to us, and eliminate oppression and exploitation."

He told the miners about the October Revolution in Russia and said that the Chinese workers should do the same — make revolution.

With a new look on things the Anyuan miners were eager to follow his proposal. "With our own organization," he said, "we can achieve anything. We'll call it the Anyuan Railroad and Mining Workers' Club."

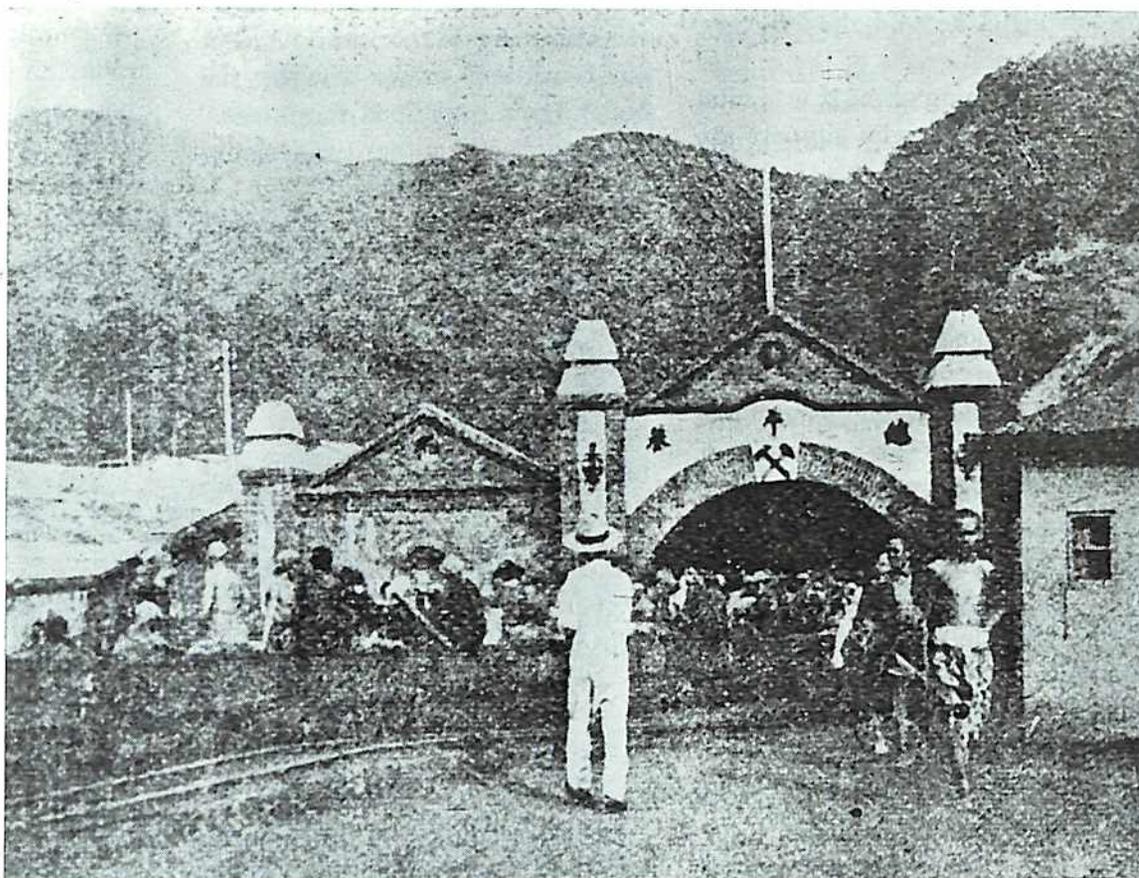
The Volcano

In January 1922 Mao Tsetung sent a Party cadre, Chiang Hsien-yun, to Anyuan. Chiang established a night school to teach the workers the rudiments of Marxism-Leninism. The more class conscious workers were brought into the

Party and the first Party branch was set up in the locomotive section. On May 1, the day the Anyuan Railroad and Mining Workers' Club was formally inaugurated, the miners paraded in the rain to celebrate both the founding and Labor Day. The air rang with shouts of "Down with imperialism!", "Down with warlords!", "Down with capitalists!"

The Anyuan miners were declaring war on the old world. Appalled, the capitalist owners countered by holding back the workers' wages for many months, hoping this would curb their activities. Furious, the workers agitated for a strike.

Now the company deputy director tried to subvert the club by offering to subsidize it. When Chiang Hsien-yun exposed this as a bribery scheme, mine hirelings spread the word that the club was an "organization of rebels" and threatened to close it down and kill its leaders. Li Li-san, club leader



Anyuan miners on strike in 1922.

and actually an opportunist, was so scared that he quietly left and went into hiding in his hometown in Hunan province.

Into this situation Mao Tsetung again came to Anyuan. He met with workers in the night school, called a Party branch meeting and was brought up to date on the growing struggle. "The situation looks good," he said. "The workers are aroused and more class conscious than before."

He explained the situation of the revolution in China and abroad and analyzed the relative strength of the exploiting and exploited classes at Anyuan. The time was ripe for a strike, he said. It was the only way to make the enemy knuckle under. On tactics, he proposed action based on the classical military idea that "an army with a grievance will fight to win". He called on the workers to wage an unflinching struggle which would win the sympathy and support of public opinion.

Communist Party members should stand at the forefront of the struggle, he told the workers, and put the interests of the masses above everything else. It was vital to unite with all who support the workers' cause.

Two days before the strike, Liu Shao-chi, then head of the Trade Union Secretariat, came to Anyuan. He talked in a different way. The Anyuan working class was still "a fragile young shoot", he said, and a strike at that moment would be "a dangerous risk". The workers called this retreat and argued. At this point a letter arrived from Mao Tsetung. After giving specific instructions on the strategy of the strike, he wrote, "Don't be cowed by official authority. As long as we have a fighting spirit, we will gain what we fight for. Let's rather die from struggle than from oppression. It

will then be a worthy death. You have our infinite sympathy and firm support."

The Strike

In the early hours of September 14, the workers pulled the whistle, and 17,000 of them, red bands around their arms, picks and axes in their hands, poured out of the huts and mines shouting, "We were beasts before, we'll be human beings now!" and singing the "International".

The strike had barely begun when Liu Shao-chi, afraid of going too far, told the workers to go back to their quarters and "act in a more civilized way". They ignored him. In a panic, the capitalist owners turned to the warlords for help. The next day a regiment of warlord troops marched into Anyuan. They were quickly surrounded by workers brandishing picks and axes and waving the picketers' flag. A hand-to-hand battle followed. On September 17 the workers broke through the guards and occupied the boiler room—from which they sent a warning to the company authorities: "Accept our conditions or we blow up the boiler room and flood the mines." The alarmed authorities hastily accepted the demands.

This victory was a demonstration of the Chinese working class's unity and strength. It was a crippling blow to the imperialists, feudal warlords and bureaucrat capitalists, and promoted the workers' movement in the rest of the country.

Inspired by the Anyuan strike, workers along the Peking-Hankow railroad staged a general walkout on February 4, 1923. On February 7 warlord Wu Pei-fu, backed by the imperialists, ordered his troops along the railroad to fire on the strikers. The resulting massacre brought the workers' move-

ment to a temporary ebb. Company authorities at Anyuan again threatened to close the workers' club and fire the strikers.

In April Mao Tsetung came to Anyuan again. In a talk at the workers' club he said that even though the reactionaries were suppressing the workers' movement, killing leaders and sealing off trade unions, the working class shouldn't be cowed. "We'll carry on with our struggle," he said. "We are many and they are few. They can never stamp us out completely. Let's not underestimate ourselves. Let's show the reactionaries how strong the working class can be when it's united."

"The strike has made Anyuan workers more class conscious than ever," he continued. "Let's push our revolutionary momentum forward. We're going to send some of our finest workers and cadres to work in other places and promote the peasant movement. The success of the Anyuan strike will lead to more successes in the rest of the country."

Encouraged, the miners rallied around their club. But under Liu Shao-chi's influence, their struggle was diverted into seeking only welfare benefits. In 1925 the company brought in warlord troops and in a surprise attack closed the club. Under severe repression now, the workers dispersed their forces, some staying on in the mines to carry on underground struggle, some going to Kwangchow to enroll in the National Institute of the Peasant Movement run by Mao Tsetung, some to other mines to help with the workers' movement, some to the countryside to mobilize the peasants. All this contributed to a new upsurge in the workers' and peasants' movements and the Great Revolution (the First Revolutionary Civil War, 1924-27) against imperialism and feudalism.

From the Autumn Harvest Uprising to the First Revolutionary Rural Base

CHIANG HU

IN the middle of August 1927, the 34-year-old Mao Tsetung and his wife and comrade, Yang Kai-hui, secretly boarded a freight train in Hankow and arrived by night in Changsha, the capital of Hunan province.

The Chinese revolution was in great difficulty. Three years before, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Kuomintang, had accepted the stand of the Chinese Communist Party and established a revolutionary united front marked by Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. A surging anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution was launched under the leadership of the Communist Party. After the death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925, the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek in the united front, and the Right capitulationist line of Chen Tu-hsiu, then general secretary of the Communist Party, led to the defeat of this revolution. In April 1927 the Kuomintang reactionaries stabbed their ally in the back. Starting from Shanghai, thousands of Com-

munist Party and Youth League members, workers and peasants were slaughtered and the Communist Party driven underground.

The six-year-old Party, however, was not crushed. On August 1, 1927, under the leadership of Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting and Liu Po-cheng, it staged the Nanchang uprising, firing the first shot at the reactionaries of the Kuomintang. On August 7 an emergency meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was held in Hankow. It summed up the experiences and lessons of the revolution, removed Chen Tu-hsiu as general secretary of the Party, and decided on a general policy of carrying out an agrarian revolution and countering the slaughter of the Kuomintang reactionaries with armed struggle. Mao Tsetung attended this meeting. In an important speech, he criticized Chen Tu-hsiu's errors — voluntary abandonment of Communist Party leadership in the united front, opposition to the



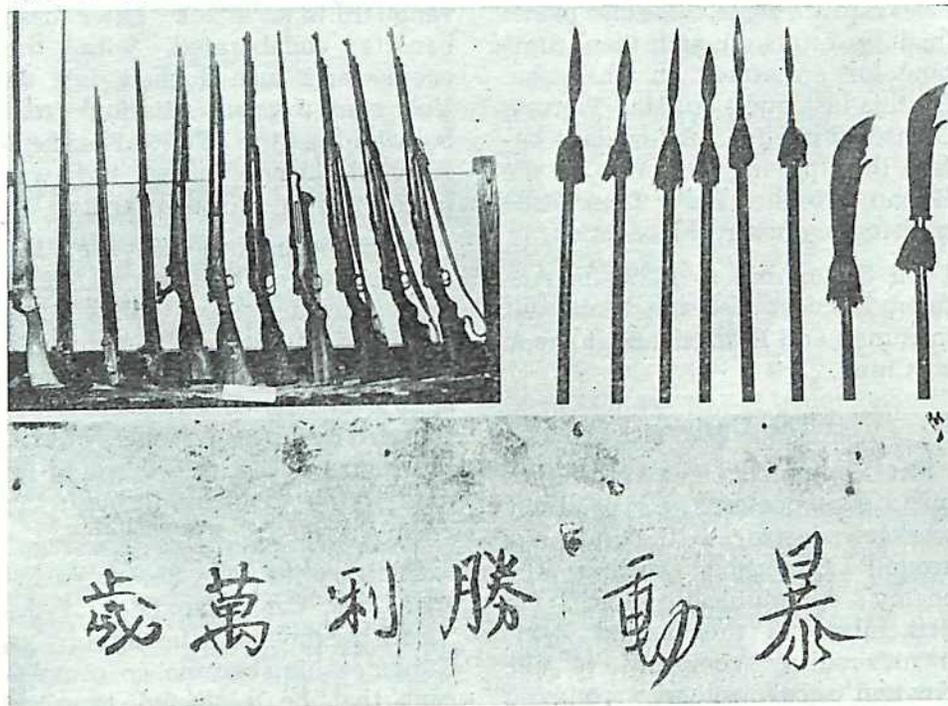
The flag used by the First Division of the First Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army during the Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927.

peasant revolution, renunciation of armed struggle and refusal to have anything to do with armed forces.

The meeting was held under a reign of white terror. Twenty representatives, having broken through many dangerous obstacles, were crowded into a second-floor room at No. 41 Sanchiao Street in Hankow. Sitting around a long table, each with a cup of wine and a dish of appetizers to give the appearance of a drinking party, they were actually deciding the fate of the revolution.

The meeting decided to mobilize the peasants in the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Kwangtung, where the revolution had a good mass base, for an uprising to take place at the time of the autumn harvest when the antagonism between the peasants and the landlords was sharpest. It sent Mao Tsetung, newly elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Com-

Above: Weapons used in the Autumn Harvest Uprising. Below: "Long Live the Victory of the Uprising", slogan written on the wall of the Paisha Primary School in Liuyang county.



mittee, as special commissioner to lead the uprising in his native Hunan province.

In Changsha on August 18 Mao Tsetung called the first meeting of the reorganized Hunan Province Party Committee in a courtyard near the Magpie Bridge outside the northern gate. He reported the decisions of the August 7 emergency meeting in Hankow and discussed plans for the uprising. A controversy arose. Most of the members wanted to stage uprisings all over the province simultaneously. Mao Tsetung patiently pointed out that it was wrong to ignore the actual conditions prevailing among the enemy and ourselves and scatter our own forces. He urged that they concentrate their strength in a central area where the reactionary power was comparatively weak and the masses had had experience in the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-1927). With the majority convinced that Mao Tsetung's analysis was correct, the meeting finally decided to organize the uprising along the Hunan-Kiangsi border where the revolution had broad mass support and where some revolutionary armed forces were still intact.

Preparations

This area had the armed workers and peasants led by the Communist Party concentrated in three places — Hsiushui, Anyuan and Tungku, all in western Kiangsi near the Hunan border. One group, with the guards regiment of the former Wuhan national government as the backbone, had planned to join the Nanchang uprising. While it was still on its way, however, the insurrectionary troops at Nanchang had already started marching southward. Too late for the uprising, the group stopped in the area. As it was a contingent controlled by the Party during the First Revolutionary Civil War, most of its leaders were Communist Party members. Another group consisted of 600 armed pickets of the Anyuan coal miners who had been trained by the Party. Together with the Peasants' Self-defense Corps, Peasant Volunteers and individual armed peasants, the

revolutionary forces came to over 5,000.

To organize these armed units and map out concrete plans for the uprising, Mao Tsetung, at the risk of his personal safety, often went out in disguise to contact the leaders. He worked night and day — holding meetings, writing instructions, talking to individuals, and sending people out to gather guns and ammunition.

It was during this period that Mao Tsetung was once detained by the sentries of the landlords' township defense corps while he was on his way to Tungku after an important meeting in Anyuan. Ten years later, Chairman Mao laughed and told this incident to Edgar Snow who had come to visit the Red Army in north Shensi after the Long March. He had escaped from the guards who were taking him to their headquarters and reached Tungku safely.

Mao Tsetung's efforts helped decide the organization of the armed forces. The First Division of the First Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army was composed of three regiments and was established under the unified command of the Party Front Committee with Mao Tsetung as secretary.

The plan called for armed workers' and peasants' uprisings from three directions. Immediately after the uprising, all forces would march westward into Hunan province, capture some cities and towns (mainly Liuyang) and then combine for an attack on Changsha. On this last question, Mao Tsetung counseled caution. A few days before the uprising, he wrote to the Hunan Province Party Committee advising against reckless action.

On September 9, 1927 the Autumn Harvest Uprising broke out in Hunan and Kiangsi, and it shook all China.

The Uprising

On September 9, according to plan, the peasants and railway workers destroyed the railways around Changsha, cutting the enemy's communication lines. On September 12 the Second Regiment, mainly composed of the Anyuan coal miners, occupied

Liling in Hunan. To avoid encirclement by the enemy's main force, it withdrew later from Liling and captured Liuyang.

The Third Regiment led by Mao Tsetung launched the uprising. Two days later on the morning of September 11 it started out from Tungku and soon occupied Tungmenshih, a town in Hunan near its border.

Wherever it went the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army was thunderously cheered by the masses. It called mass meetings at which it proclaimed the confiscation of the land owned by the landlords and divided it among the landless peasants and those with too little land. It opened up storehouses of salt and grain, which it distributed among the workers and peasants. Tyrant landlords hated by the peasants were suppressed while revolutionaries and workers and peasants in the landlords' dungeons were set free. Like a hurricane the revolution swept wide areas of eastern Hunan and western Kiangsi.

However, no revolution goes smoothly. For many reasons, particularly the mistakes made in the revolutionary ranks, the troops in the uprising suffered reverses in varying degrees.

In the best-equipped and strongest First Regiment, Division Commander Yu Sa-tu accepted a bandit group into his ranks without authorization and made them the vanguard in an attack. Later these bandits collaborated with the enemy and turned their fire on Yu's own troops. Attacked from both sides, the First Regiment suffered heavy losses and was forced to retreat southward.

After occupying Liuyang, the commander of the Second Regiment became dizzy with success and hurriedly called the merchants to a meeting and demanded a large sum of money. Unexpectedly surrounded by a superior enemy force, the regiment lost two-thirds of its men trying to break through the enemy lines.

Contrary to Mao Tsetung's instructions, the commander of the Third Regiment, after occupying Tungmenshih, became so complacent that he neglected to place



Many people visit the site where the uprising troops joined forces in Wenchiasih in 1927.

guards. An enemy far greater in number and superior in equipment suddenly attacked. To conserve our forces Mao Tsetung ordered the immediate withdrawal from the town.

Meeting at Wenchiasih

In the face of these reverses, Mao Tsetung decided to abandon the plan of attacking Changsha worked out before the uprising. As Front Committee secretary, he ordered all the units to meet quickly at Wenchiasih near Liuyang. On September 19 all three regiments arrived there.

That evening Mao Tsetung called a Front Committee meeting in the Lijen School. Divisional and regimental commanders attended. He analyzed the characteristics of Chinese society and the political situation, pointing out that the revolution was at low ebb. The enemy was much bigger and stronger. All the major cities and vital communication lines were heavily guarded by the enemy. Thus we had no chance to capture the cities for the time being. However, in China's vast rural areas the enemy's power was weak. Therefore, it was better to give up the plan to attack Changsha and turn to the countryside. He analyzed the geographical conditions of the mountainous region along the Hunan-Kiangsi border. Pointing to a map, he said, "This shaded area which looks like an eyebrow is the middle section of the Lohsiao range, a suitable place for us to take a foothold."

In opposition to Mao Tsetung's opinion, Yu Sa-tu insisted that they should mount an immediate attack on Changsha. After a heated discussion the majority supported Mao Tsetung's view and decided on the strategy of marching into the mountains.

The following morning all the commanders and fighters of the revolutionary army, 1,500 strong, assembled on the school playground. Dressed in blue peasant clothes and straw sandals, Mao Tsetung smiled and asked them all to sit down. He explained the political situation and the nature of the revolutionary army, and pointed out that as long as the workers and peasants had their own armed forces things could turn for the better. He assured them that the few lost battles and reverses were only the mother of success.

With characteristic humor he gave a graphic metaphor. "We're like a little stone and Chiang Kai-shek a huge water jar," he said. "Someday the little stone will smash the big jar." He continued: Although we planned to attack Changsha before the uprising and everybody wants to go there, we cannot capture it just now. We shouldn't go to the cities which we cannot hold. The revolution is at a low ebb, the enemy stronger than we are, and we cannot fight them head on. We should withdraw from the large cities and go to the mountainous areas along the provincial

borders where the enemy's power is weak and our mass support strong. So, he concluded, we're going to the Lohsiao range and set up a revolutionary base somewhere there.

Mao Tsetung's words pointed out the direction of the revolutionary struggle and dispelled the fighters' worries.

The meeting at Wenchiasih and Mao Tsetung's speech corrected the erroneous idea of paying attention to the cities while ignoring the rural areas. It laid the foundation for establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside, surrounding and finally capturing the cities. The armed revolutionary struggle in the 20 years thereafter repeatedly demonstrated the correctness of this strategy.

Reorganization at Sanwan

After breakfast on September 20, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army left Wenchiasih and began its southward march to the Ching Kang Mountains in the Lohsiao range. The enemy's pursuit and interceptions killed many comrades, including Lu Teh-ming the commander-in-chief. Repeated reverses and bitter battles brought hardship and epidemics in the army ranks and tested every revolutionary. Some wavered. A few deserted. In this condition the troops arrived at Sanwan village in Yunghsin county, Kiangsi province.

A mountain hollow between two provinces, the village had only 50 families. Mao Tsetung called a meeting of the Front Committee in a small general store. He summed up the experiences and lessons of the armed struggles led by the Party in the First Revolutionary Civil War, analyzed the situation of the troops and reorganized the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army. Less than 1,000 men were left, so he changed the original division to a regiment consisting of two battalions and seven companies.

One measure that had a profound effect on eventually building an invincible people's army was

his proposal to establish a Party branch in each company. All important questions were to be decided by the Party committees on the battalion and regiment levels.

To wipe out the corrupt system and bad habits of the old traditional army, Mao Tsetung proposed measures to bring genuine unity between commanders and fighters. Officers and men were to be equal politically, officers were not allowed to strike or curse the men, trivial formalities were done away with, and soldiers were free to speak out at meetings. Soldiers' committees set up by popular elections in units above the company would help Party organizations in their work. Accounts became open to the public, mess was managed by the soldiers, officers and men ate the same food and wore the same clothes.

Yu Sa-tu, the "radical" who had advocated boldly storming Changsha showed his true colors then. He and a few old-time officers were reluctant to give up the privileges they had had in the old army. At first they opposed the reorganization. Then, on the pretext of reporting to superiors, they left the troops and went over to

the enemy, becoming traitors to the revolution.

With the wavering elements gone and the troops smaller in number, the reorganized army, under strong Party leadership, became more efficient and united. On October 3, the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army led by Mao Tsetung reached Kucheng in Ningkan county, Kiangsi province. To the southeast the majestic Ching kang Mountains stood shrouded in clouds.

On the march Mao Tsetung had carefully investigated and considered where to locate the revolutionary base. In the Lohsiao range, the Ching kang Mountains tower high on the border of Hunan and Kiangsi provinces. Its circuit of 220 kilometers with easily defended positions gave plenty of room for maneuver. Though it had only 2,000 inhabitants and grew less than 500 tons of rice a year, the surrounding areas produced abundant rice, cotton and food oil. In addition the masses there had been tempered in the First Revolutionary Civil War and warmly supported the revolution. At an enlarged meeting of the Front Com-

mittee at Kucheng, it was decided to accept Mao Tsetung's proposal to establish a revolutionary base in the Ching kang Mountains.

To prepare the way, Mao Tsetung first sent emissaries to win over the local armed forces under Yuan Wen-tsai and Wang Tso. He also extended guerrilla operations to the south along the Hunan-Kiangsi border, spreading the political influence of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army, explaining the aims of the revolution and organizing the masses. All this greatly improved the conditions for their march.

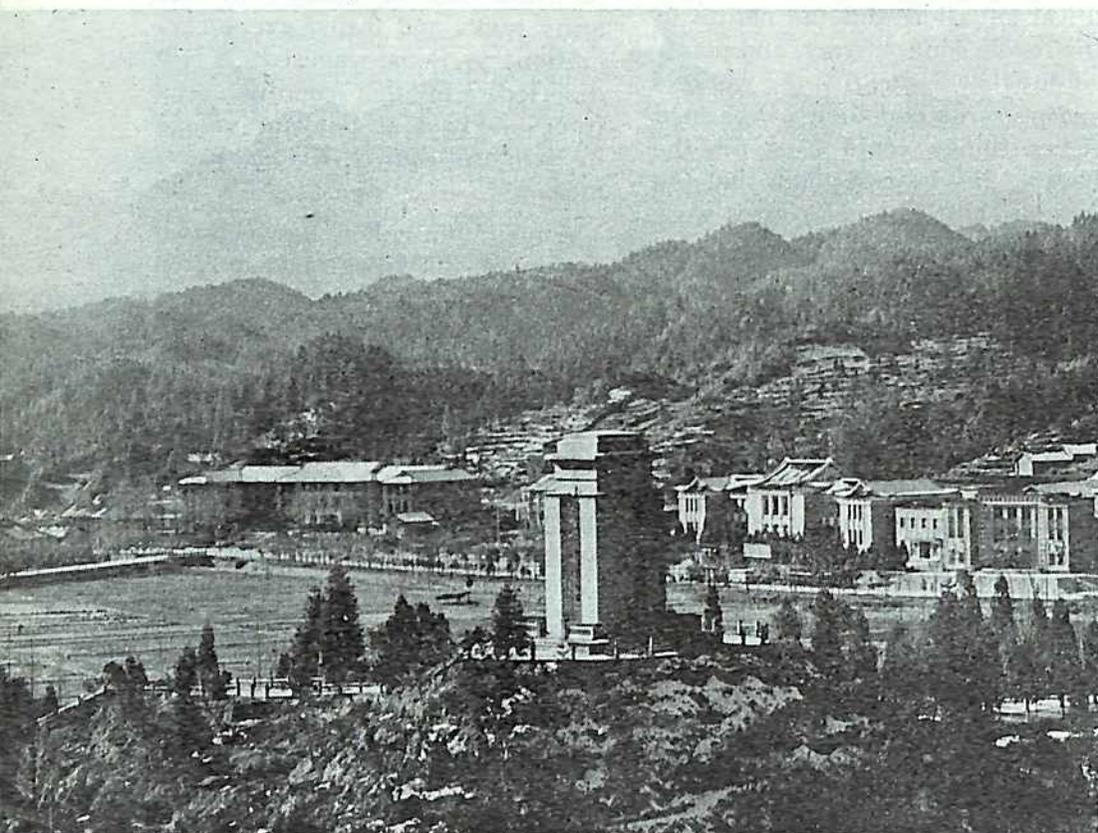
On October 27, 1927 the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army occupied Tzuping, the center of the revolutionary base, and hoisted the red flag on the Ching kang Mountains.

The following year the units which had marched and fought hard battles in Kiangsi, Kwangtung and south Hunan after the Nanchang uprising staged an uprising in southern Hunan. After reorganization, this contingent under the command of Chu Teh and Chen Yi reached the Ching kang Mountains on April 28. Joining forces with the troops under Mao Tsetung, they formed the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with Chu Teh as commander and Mao Tsetung as Party representative.

The Red Army in the Ching kang Mountains was now stronger. In the summer of 1928, red political power was established at various levels on the basis of restoring and building local Party organizations, mobilizing the masses for agrarian revolution, expanding the people's armed forces and developing guerrilla warfare. Under Chairman Mao's command the Fourth Red Army repeatedly smashed encirclement by enemy forces many times its own number.

From the Autumn Harvest Uprising to the march into the Ching kang Mountains, we see the first steps in carrying out the larger strategy of surrounding the cities from the rural areas and seizing political power with armed force. They were to have a profound and far-reaching historical significance.

Tzeping, political center of the Ching kang Mountains revolutionary base from autumn 1927 to 1929.



Keeping the Enemy in Line

YANG CHIH-CHENG

From 1927 to 1930 the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party moved to the countryside to carry on with guerrilla warfare. Under the influence of the developing base in the Ching kang Mountains, many rural revolutionary base areas were set up. The Fourth Red Army, led by Mao Tsetung, grew stronger through fighting the enemy and built more base areas in southern Kiangsi and western Fukien.

In 1930 the central revolutionary base area was set up with Juichin as its center. The Central Red Army, with the Fourth Army as its main force, also became stronger. Several more armies were expanded. Mao Tsetung was its General Political

Commissar, Chu Teh the Commander-in-Chief and Yeh Chien-ying the Chief of General Staff.

Beginning in late 1930, Chiang Kai-shek mustered his troops to launch five "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the central revolutionary base area. During the first and second campaigns against these encirclements, the Red Army, following Mao Tsetung's tactic of luring the enemy troops in deep, employed the basic principles of guerrilla warfare: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." This brought significant victories.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK had twice been defeated in his "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the central revolutionary base area in Kiangsi province. In June 1931 he mustered a large number of troops for a third attempt.

Directed by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Red Army followed the principle of avoiding the enemy's main forces and striking at his weak spots, using this tactic to wear the enemy out in a counter-campaign. As enemy forces advanced west and south in the high mountains north of Hsingkuo county, our forces passed secretly through gaps between their units and moved eastward. Our maneuvers among the enemy units confused them and they didn't know where our main force was. Within a week we hit them hard at Lientang, Liangtsun and Huangpi and won all three battles. When they finally realized the actual situation,

they hastily turned east again and converged on us in a major compact encirclement.

With a superior army of 300,000, Chiang Kai-shek thought it would be no problem to annihilate the Red Army in one decisive battle.

It was natural for him to figure this way. The Red Army was only 30,000 strong. It had had no rest or replacements since the hard fighting in the previous counter-campaign. The enemy, now ten times stronger, was pressing it hard on all sides.

Faced with such powerful forces, how could we thwart their plan and annihilate them? As General Political Commissar of the Red Army, Mao Tsetung ordered our forces to rest in the mountains while he and his staff worked out a plan to defeat the enemy.

We rested for three days, anxiously watching the scouts coming and going from our general headquarters in Yangchai village. With Commissar Mao with us we were confident that the enemy would be halted.

For days Commissar Mao, Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and

Chief of General Staff Yeh Chien-ying had been discussing the military situation at general headquarters, constantly studying reports of new enemy moves and working on their plan to defeat the "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

The situation was turning worse. On the military map at general headquarters the circle of blue arrows marking enemy units was growing tighter around us. On the third day of our rest, leaders of the 12th Army met at general headquarters. The discussion lasted until dusk. Finally Commissar Mao looked at his watch and stood up. "The meeting is adjourned," he said. "Move out at once along your assigned routes."

THE units set out. General headquarters also left the village at the same time. We moved south over several mountains. "Are we going to break through in the south?" the head of the administrative section asked me. "The political commissar says in the west," I answered. "What?" he exclaimed. "But there are more than 100,000 Chiang Kai-shek's

YANG CHIH-CHENG was Deputy Commandant of the Military Academy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army before his death. During the third counter-campaign described in this story he was Adjutant General of the 12th Army under the Red Army.



The Central Red Army after defeating an enemy encirclement campaign in 1931.

own troops in the west! Isn't that. . ." I was just about to explain when he spoke again, "There must be something in it, Commissar Mao has always been resourceful and knows the enemy like the palm of his hand."

After a dozen kilometers we reached the border area of Yung-feng, Ningtu and Hsingkuo counties. Commissar Mao ordered a halt. We were in the bottom of a valley between high mountains along a murmuring stream. With a map spread on the bank and a lantern holding down a corner of it the leaders resumed their meeting. The huge shadows of the mountains loomed over the valley. All was quiet except for a night wind in the trees. The pitch-black night added to an atmosphere of tension and seriousness. Only the lantern pierced the dark.

Commissar Mao was seated beside the lantern. His finger on the map, he said in a calm voice, "Our

latest information shows the enemy only seven kilometers away from us on both sides. There's only one gap they haven't closed yet, here toward Hsingkuo county." After another half hour of discussion, Commissar Mao decided that the 12th Army would make a feint to the northeast to lure the enemy away from the gap while our main force slipped through. We would reassemble and rest at Taiho. This way the Red Army could wait at ease for the fatigued enemy troops and then annihilate them.

Chief of General Staff Yeh Chien-ying drafted orders, using his lap as a desk, defining the marching order and the points for attention. Commissar Mao discussed the 12th Army's tasks with Commander Lo Ping-hui. The 12th would march with flags and bugles to make the enemy think the Red Army's main forces were breaking through to the northeast. This

would induce the enemy to disperse his troops and attack.

Led by Commander Lo Ping-hui and Political Commissar Tan Chen-lin, the 12th Army slipped out that night and marched north in massive, streaming columns. As expected, the stupid enemy followed us. We even stopped during our march for fear they would lose sight of us, but kept a reasonable distance ahead of them, leading them by the nose.

At dawn the next day a reconnaissance plane appeared and circled over us. Our men were delighted and someone cried out, "Good! Chiang Kai-shek, the jackass, has sent us a special messenger — now we're sure he knows where we are!"

To fool the enemy more, each unit was ordered to march with as much space as possible between ranks and unfurl the flags. This gave a company the appearance of

a battalion. Red flags flew. Men without flags took out colored cloth. We kicked up as much dust as we could. Seen from a distance or a plane, we looked like an army of many thousands. The enemy plane circled over us for a while and then turned and left. "Beautiful!" someone said sarcastically, spitting in the plane's direction. "Go tell your boss about us!"

To carry out Commissar Mao's instructions and make the enemy blunder even more, the men laid all kinds of traps. At every crossroad, for example, we drew arrows with lime and wrote, "This way for the Third Army Group", "Go north, Fourth Army comrades!" and so on.

Then our rear guard reported enemy troops in large numbers close behind us. This was confirmed in a message from general headquarters. The enemy had been drawn away from our main force by the 12th Army. The bulk of the Red Army had already arrived in Taiho and started training and consolidating. Chiang Kai-shek had been fooled. He was ordering his troops to close in on our 12th Army.

I reported all this to Commander Lo Ping-hui and Political Commissar Tan Chen-lin. "Fine!" they laughed. "Chiang Kai-shek has swallowed the bait. Now let's lead him around in circles awhile."

IN order to tire the enemy out more and make it easier for our main force to annihilate them, we deliberately chose high mountains and thorny paths. It was nothing to the Red army men who were used to working and fighting hard. Not one man grumbled. The sun was scorching. Everyone was soaked with sweat, but no one stopped to rest. It was very different for the enemy troops. They lacked mountain training. With all their clumsy equipment and a long supply line they were going through hell.

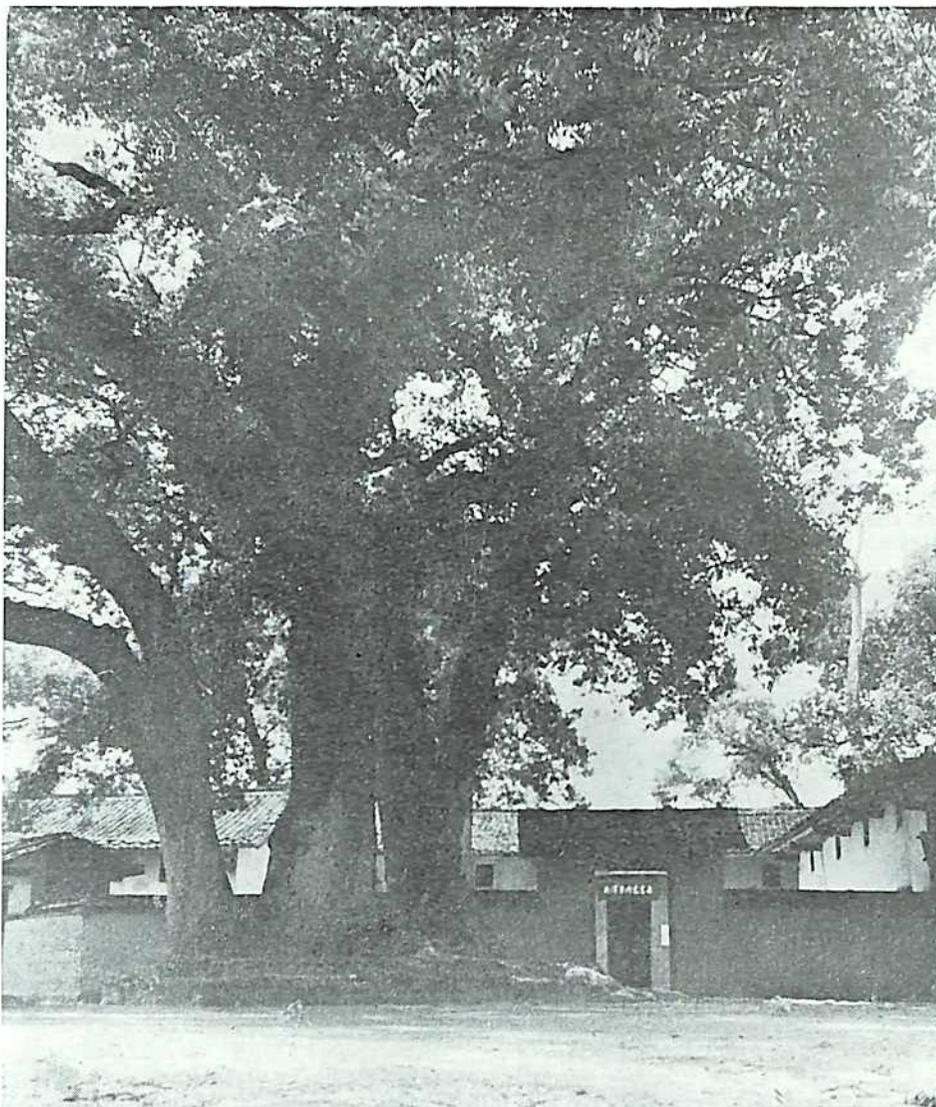
Every Red Army officer and man knew that the trouble they were taking was exhausting 100,000 to 200,000 enemy troops and leading them to their doom. What better way to fight? When any man was asked if he was tired, he would say, "No, I like playing games!"

About five km. away from Tungshao, our destination, we discovered it had been occupied by other enemy units. We bypassed the town and laid an ambush in a forest five km. north. That evening we sent a contingent to feint an attack on Tungshao. Thinking that the Red Army's main force had come, the enemy fled in panic. We ambushed the fleeing army, annihilating its rear forces. Thus we recovered the Huangpi base area.

Soon the 12th Army received a message from the general headquarters. Our main force had had a two-week rest. The enemy forces were exhausted and discouraged, so Chiang Kai-shek had decided to retreat.

Now Commissar Mao ordered an offensive. We attacked the retreating Kuomintang forces, wiping out two divisions. Those who escaped were either badly battered or reduced to a tired, hungry and demoralized mob. Suffering from these blows, the Kuomintang generals were angry and disheartened. One of them said, "Our stout men have been worn thin and our thin men have been worn to death." Another one moaned, "Fighting the Communists is like a prison sentence!"

Chairman Mao's headquarters in Yehping, Juichin, an early revolutionary base in Kiangsi province.



Crossing the Marshlands

YANG CHENG-WU

The Long March had begun in October 1934 when the Red Army, unable to smash Chiang Kai-shek's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign, was forced to leave the central base area in Kiangsi province. This was because of the Wang Ming "Left" opportunist line which had gained dominance in the Communist Party Central Committee, causing the Red Army to pursue a mistaken military policy of adventurist attacks on the enemy from all sides and then a conservative step-by-step defense.

While on the Long March, in January 1935 at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in Tsunyi, Kweichow province, the Party Central Committee had criticized these mistakes, repudiated the Wang Ming line and established the leadership of Mao Tsetung in the Party and the army. The

strategy of marching northward to resist the Japanese aggressors decided on at this meeting enabled the First Front Army (the Central Red Army) led by Chairman Mao to get out of the passive position it had been in under the "Left" line, adopt a flexible strategy and seize the initiative. In Kweichow, Yunnan and Szechuan provinces it fought against encirclements, interceptions and pursuit by several hundred thousand Kuomintang troops, crossed countless dangerous mountains and rivers and in June 1935 in the Maokung area of western Szechuan joined forces with the Fourth Front Army which had withdrawn from the Szechuan-Shensi base area. This army was led by Chang Kuo-tao, who urged that the troops withdraw to the south, but the Party Central Committee repudiated this idea and decided to continue northward to fight the Japanese.

IN AUGUST 1935, after crossing the Snow Mountains, the Red Army was concentrated in Maoerkai, a Tibetan area in northwestern Szechuan province. Ahead were unexplored and uninhabited marshlands stretching for hundreds of miles in all directions. The Party Central Committee had decided that the Red Army was to go northward and cross them and had chosen as vanguard our regiment, the Red Fourth Regiment, of which I was political commissar. Chairman Mao was greatly concerned about this movement and wanted to give us his personal instructions.

In great excitement I started out with several mounted scouts at full gallop from our headquarters

YANG CHENG-WU is now a Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

near Polotzu heading for Maoerkai where the Party Central Committee was encamped. We climbed up mountain slopes and sped through valleys, leaving a cloud of dust behind us. Even then I felt the horses were too slow.

Arriving at Maoerkai, we went straight to Chairman Mao's quarters. First we met Comrade Teng Fa, leader of the Security Bureau. He took us to see Chairman Mao. The place was the usual two-story log house built by Tibetans in that area with animals below and the family above. As we climbed up a small ladder, Teng Fa pointed and said, "Chairman Mao is inside."

This was the first time I was to get instructions from Chairman Mao personally. Chairman Mao shook hands with me and asked

me to sit down. "It's good that you've come," he said with a smile. "As you know, the marshlands are enveloped in mist and overgrown with wild grass. You can hardly tell your direction in them. But you must find a way to lead our army northward."

He paused and then continued, "Going to north China to resist the Japanese aggressors is a correct line decided on by the Party Central Committee after studying the current situation. If we turn back it means we are running away and deserting the revolution." Pointing vigorously ahead with his right arm, he declared, "We must go forward. The enemy thinks we'll turn east to get out of Szechuan because we don't dare cross the marshlands and march north into Shensi and Kansu. But the enemy never understands our

Marching forward.



plans. We'll take the route they think we don't dare to."

Chairman Mao detailed the difficulties we might meet on our way and how to overcome them. "The fundamental way to overcome hardships is to rely on the masses," he emphasized. "Tell them all the problems they might run into and the reasons why we've decided to take this route north. I believe that when the men know all this they'll be able to overcome all difficulties."

Chairman Mao asked about the fighters' morale and the preparations we had made. I told him that the troops' morale was high and we all heartily supported the Party Central Committee's decision. "Once you and the Party give the order we'll march right into the marshlands," I pledged. "Besides, we've saved up some grain and we can gather some wild plants on the way. I think we can make it."

"The only problem is," I went on, "that the men are thinly dressed. Each has only two summer uniforms and they may not be able to stand the cold there."

Chairman Mao asked us emphatically to think of all possible ways to get more grain and clothing. Then he asked whether we had found a guide.

I told him that we had already located a 60-year-old Tibetan interpreter who would be our guide. Eight men were assigned to carry him in turns on a stretcher.

The Chairman asked me to tell them to carry the old Tibetan care-

fully. He urged me to teach the fighters to respect and unite with the people of minority nationalities. After thinking a moment, he continued, "One guide will not do for the entire army. You must make road markers with arrows pointing the way and put them firmly at each crossroad so that the other units will know where to go."

"There is another important thing," Chairman Mao said with an earnest note in his voice. "The men of the 294th regiment of the Fourth Front Army are going to be part of your unit. You must unite with them. Unity is the guarantee for the Party's success. The unity between your two units will show the unity between the First and the Fourth Front Armies."

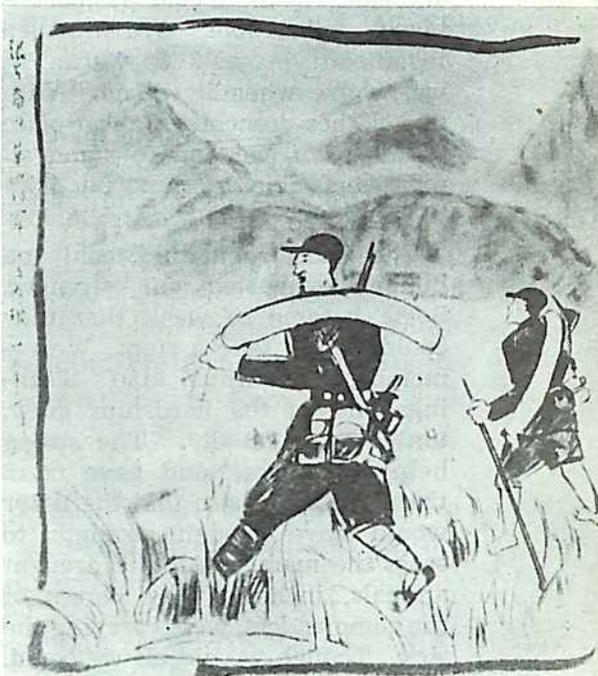
Chairman Mao asked me if we had other problems. I promised to follow his instructions and use our collective efforts to try to overcome difficulties. "Fine," said Chairman Mao.

AFTER we came back, as Chairman Mao had instructed, we explained thoroughly the political reasons for crossing the marshlands. Everyone understood the decision of the Party Central Committee, and reorganization of the 294th regiment under the command of Chang Jen-chu as our second battalion was carried out smoothly. It distributed part of its provisions and clothing to our other battalions. The fighters swore to overcome all difficulties through high class consciousness and solid unity.

On the morning of August 21 our Fourth Regiment of the Red Army started out toward the marshlands.

We were amazed. They seemed endless and we knew we could easily go astray in the heavy overhanging fog. Hidden beneath the tall grass were crisscrossing rivulets and ditches with foul-smelling black water everywhere. There was not a single path to be seen. The quagmire, covered with grass and rotting plants, was like a sponge underfoot. One heavy step

Carrying their ration — each fighter had some ten kg. of grain to last 15 days.

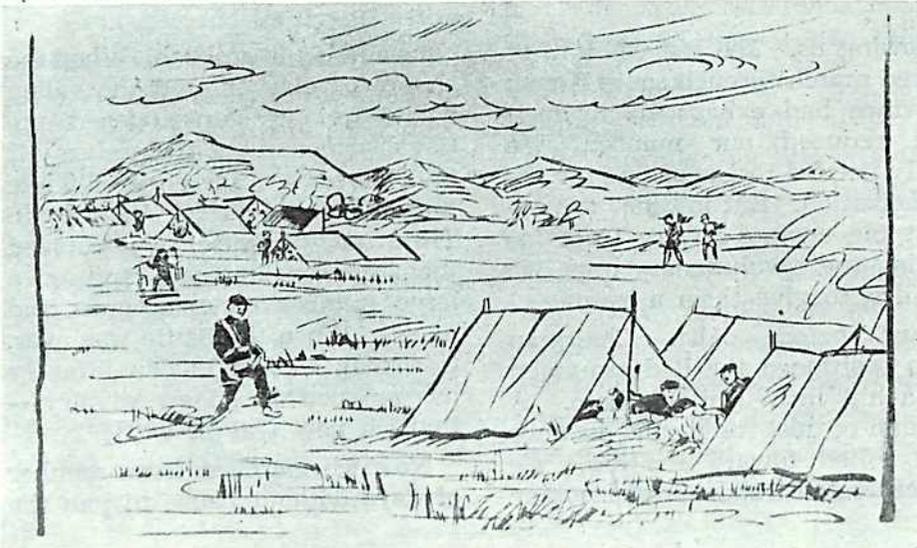


Grinding chingko barley before the crossing.



Crossing the marshlands as depicted in *Long March Sketchbook*, a set of 20 drawings made en route by Huang Chen, who served as Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States at its inception.

Camping in the marshlands.



might send one sinking into it. All we could do was follow the stretcher carrying the guide and trudge single file over spots he pointed out where the grass roots were thicker.

The first day we were hit by a heavy rain. Water everywhere prevented our march. Dusk came and we put up for the night on a small hill.

The farther we went the harder it became. We were attacked by wind and rain, by sudden snow and hail. The night cold was particularly unbearable. We huddled together trying to keep warm. It was worse when it rained. With our clothes drenched and no place to lie down, we had to stand all night long doing nothing but hoping for the morning.

The wind, rain, mud, cold and hunger exhausted our strength. Some became so weak that they could hardly take a step. We remembered Chairman Mao's teachings and as the hardships grew, united more closely. The strong helped the weak and gave them their own rations so that the latter would have enough strength to cross the marsh. All the draught animals, including the horses of the commanders, were carrying the sick. Though we did all we could, many died on the way. When we started out in the morning, we would always leave someone lying forever on the spot where we camped the night before.

ONE death which left a deep impression on me was that of Cheng Chin-yu, a young man from Shihcheng county in Kiangsi province. A member of the regiment headquarters Party branch, he was in charge of youth work. He was 17 and loved by all of us. On the fourth day after we had entered the marshlands he could no longer walk. He said, "Politically I'm like steel, but my legs refuse to move. I'm going to fall behind. How I'll miss you all!"

I gave Cheng my horse and part of my rations and asked old Hsieh the groom to take care of him. Later he became too weak to hold up his head and could no longer sit on the horse. We tied him to the horse, put knapsacks in front of and behind him and had one person on the side to hold him up.

On the fifth day someone from behind came up and said, "Political Commissar, Cheng asked you to wait for him. He has something to say to you." I guessed that he must have become worse. With a heavy heart, I stepped aside and waited. A moment later I saw old Hsieh leading the horse in the distance. As they neared I saw that Cheng's face was as pale as wax and both his eyes were closed. On hearing my voice he opened his eyes with difficulty and in trembling tones said, "Political Commissar, I'm finished. Thank you for your care. I believe that the Party's line of resisting the

Japanese aggressors in north China will win out. Our revolution will eventually triumph. Political Commissar, I'm really finished. I won't see the day of victory... with my own eyes." Tears ran down his cheeks as he gasped out his words. The guard and old Hsieh beside me were also weeping.

After a while he continued in a weak but firm voice, "Political Commissar, I hope that our Party's line and our revolution will win out quickly. When that day comes... please tell my folks... that I died for the revolution and the Party."

"Don't worry, Comrade Cheng," I said, suppressing my agitation. "You can make it. The comrades will help you across." I asked my bodyguard to give my water flask to old Hsieh and told him no matter what happened he must get Cheng out of the marshlands.

But when noon came, this fine young Communist was no more.

The marshlands! The ruthless marshlands! They took so many of our comrades' lives.

We didn't fail the expectations of the Party and Chairman Mao. After six days of arduous struggle we found our way across the marshlands. On the 26th we arrived at Panyu, the end of the marsh. There we did sentry duty for two days. On the third day we took on a new task — marching toward the strategic point, Latzukou Pass.

Last Battle of the Long March

TSAO TAN-HUI

IN October 1935 the first and third army groups, the main force of the First Front Army led by Chairman Mao, entered the revolutionary base area in north Shensi province. We were at the end of the world-famous Long March of 12,500 kilometers.

As we approached the base, four enemy cavalry regiments were

TSAO TAN-HUI was the vice-director of a PLA research institute before his death. During the Long March he was the chief wireless operator of the Red Army's First Army Group.

following us. The last 500 km. of forced march through south Kansu province had exhausted our men and reduced our number. We badly needed rest and time for reorganization. But in order to prevent the enemy cavalry from invading the revolutionary base, we decided to give them a lesson.

Just before dawn, Chairman Mao positioned the Red armymen on a hill in Wuchi township. A column of dust rose in the distance and rolled toward the hill. We concentrated hundreds of machine

guns and lay in ambush. When the enemy cavalry entered the valley below us our guns opened up. Cavalry men flung themselves off their horses and surrendered while those behind fled for their lives. Tired as we were, we pursued them for ten km. and captured a large number of men, guns and horses. When the battle was over, Chairman Mao said, "Our infantry has pursued an enemy cavalry — that's a new feat in battle."

Now we marched for a number of days without pause to join the



Chairman Mao in north Shensi in 1936.

15th army group of the Red Army in north Shensi province at Taotsopu. It began to snow heavily. Our soldiers from the south wore only thin cotton clothes. But they said nothing and jumped around to warm themselves. At night everyone huddled in piles of straw.

Our arrival in north Shensi hadn't pleased many of the soldiers. The soil was thin, the inhabitants poor. The population was sparse. There was no rice. The coming of winter and the Long March had greatly reduced the army's strength. Such problems dampened the men's spirit. Many were downhearted and pessimistic.

Chairman Mao was well aware of this. On the last day before reaching Taotsopu, it was still snowing and the soldiers' caps and worn uniforms were covered with white. Chairman Mao walked with a stick at the head of the troops. At 5 p.m. we arrived in the village. Before entering a house, Chair-

man Mao stood in a snow-covered field and made a speech. The victory of the Long March, he told us, was a turning point in the revolution, many people had fallen, but wherever the Red Army had

passed it had sown the seeds of revolution and these would multiply a hundredfold. Though we were few, he said, everyone had been steeled and could now work as a cadre. We had overcome the tremendous difficulties of the Long March. Our present problems were temporary and easy to solve.

From now on, the Chairman told us, we would build up a good revolutionary situation, unite with all those willing to resist Japanese aggression in a national united front and lead the people of the whole country in resistance. There was no reason for pessimism. He finished by stressing unity with the Red Army in north Shensi and told us what to say to them when we met. Follow the army's discipline, he said. Cherish every tree, every blade of grass, every needle and thread of the local people.

Afterward, everyone talked about Chairman Mao's speech. Our spirits rose. Again we heard this song:

North Shensi is a good place,

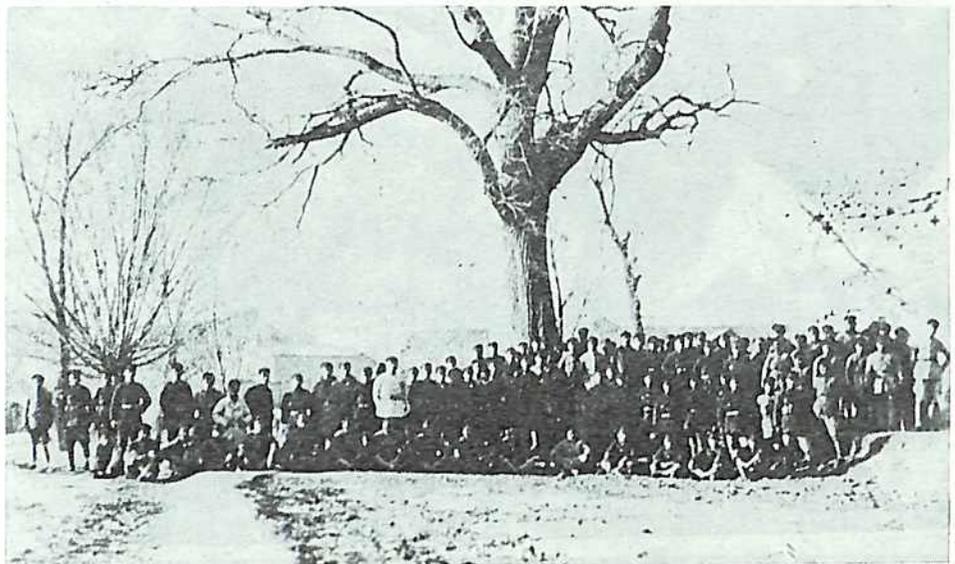
We'll cook congee with millet.

Potatoes and millet are fine.

The Army and people will unite,

*To beat Chiang Kai-shek
And wipe out the Kuo-mintang reactionaries.*

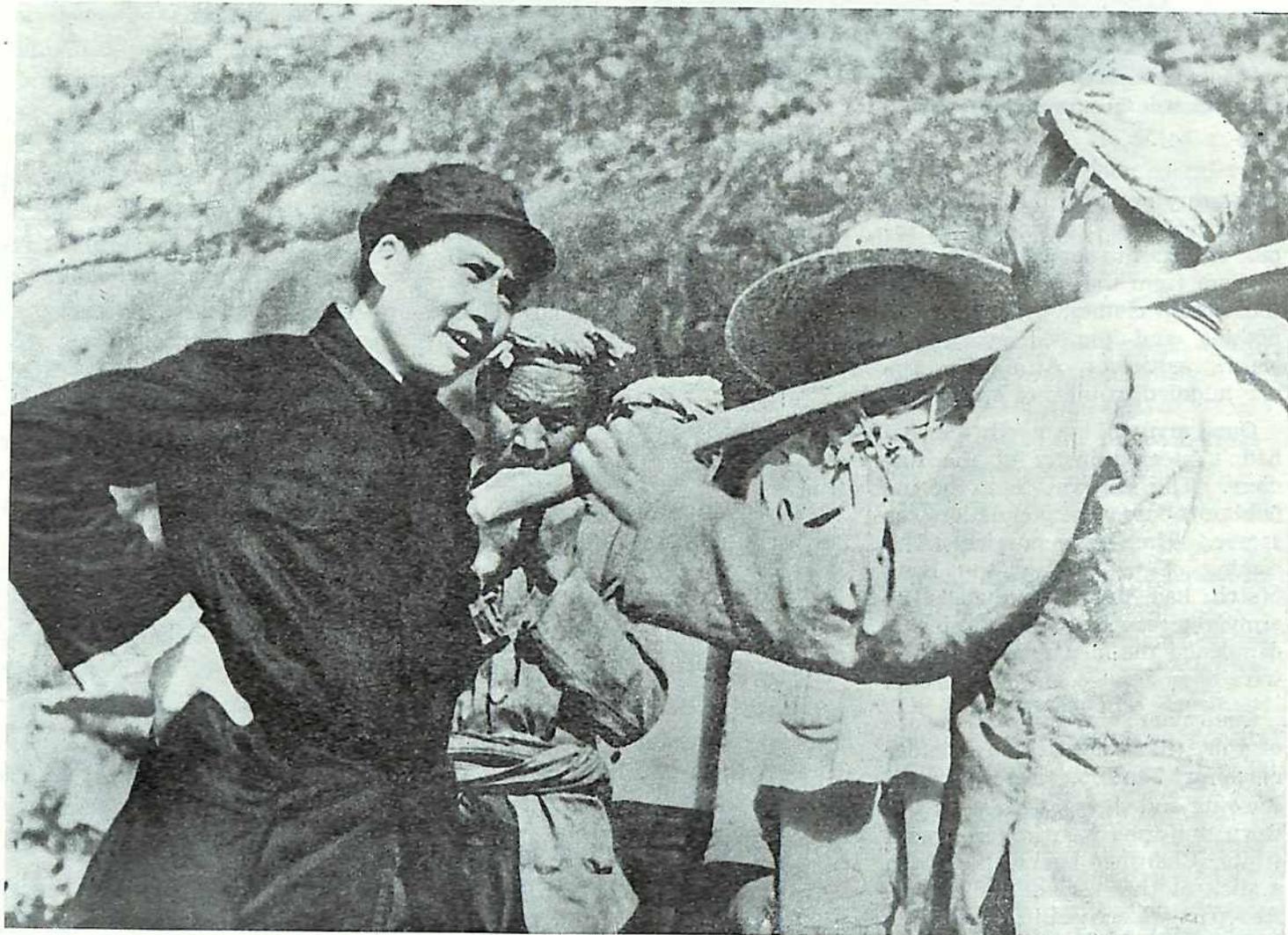
Part of the First Front Army after reaching north Shensi at the end of the Long March.



Visiting Chairman Mao at Home

HAO KUANG-HUA

Chairman Mao chatting with peasants in Yen-an in 1939.



DURING our war against Japan, 1940 and 1941 were difficult years. Chiang Kai-shek had set up a tight economic blockade around Yen-an, where the Central Committee of the Communist Party was located, trying to strangle the whole Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. To overcome the harsh difficulties this caused in daily life and smash the blockade, the Central Committee and Chairman Mao called on the army and people of the base areas to launch a great movement for production to ensure **"ample food and clothing by working with our own hands"**.

In our village of Wuchia Tsao-yuan we had had a bumper harvest. It took us over 40 days to get our millet in. With such a harvest, we provided a lot of grain to our base area government. I was elected village leader, rated as a model laborer and invited to a conference of model laborers in Yen-an. But I had many things to do and couldn't go the first day.

I left the next day. After lunch in Yen-an I went to look at the agricultural exhibit in 13 big caves dug out of the hillside beyond the south gate of the city. There were wheat, corn, spiked and glutinous millet, turnips, garlic, melons, homespun cloth, homemade wool blankets, cloth shoes, and medicinal herb roots dug up in the hills, each with the name of the producer. At this exhibit I saw Chairman Mao for the first time. A comrade had pointed me out to him: "That's Hao Kuang-hua". He came over to me, took my hand and said he'd heard I'd worked well and harvested a lot of grain. "Comrade Hao Kuang-hua," he said, putting his notebook and pen in his pocket, "let's go across the valley and have a talk." I followed him out of the exhibit.

We went down the hill, crossed a stream and a drill field, and came to the office of Lin Po-chu, the chairman of the border region government. When we had sat down, Chairman Mao asked me why I had come late to the meeting. Too busy to leave home, I told him. I was raising eight pigs, two donkeys, three cows and several dozen chickens, with nobody else

to take care of them. My harvest this year, he said, would be enough to last me five years. If everyone were like me, he pointed out, we'd be in good shape. We wouldn't have to be afraid of the enemy blockade and could surely defeat the Japanese. As he talked, I felt more at ease than I had at first. He said he wanted to ask me all about how the peasants were getting along in my village, and invited me to come to his home when I had time.

A MONTH LATER I received a note from him asking me if I could come to his home for a talk. I decided to go see him the next day. I set out at dawn with some eggs, potatoes and green vegetables.

When I got to Yangchialing the guard took me to the reception room and called in for me. Chairman Mao took the call himself and came right out. Smiling, he reached out to carry my things, but I wouldn't let him. We ended up by sharing my load and walked in together.

The Chairman said it was good of me to come, but he didn't like people to bring him gifts. I told him the eggs were from my own chickens, I had grown the vegetables myself, and I wanted him to try them. His meals were sufficient, he said, and turned to my visit. He was glad I had come, did I bring good news? What good news could we peasants have, I asked, all we have is our village talk. He answered that that was just what he wanted to hear.

We got to his cave house. The furnishings were simple: an unvarnished table, several chairs, an armchair with a worn grey cover. His grey padded jacket was the same: patched on the sleeves and pockets.

He motioned me to a chair and sat down beside me. How much land had we opened up in Wuchia Tsao-yuan? How many animals did we raise? How many men were working? How many women? How many times did we plow the land? How deep? How often did we hoe the millet? How much

land did we plant to potatoes? How much fertilizer did we apply? On irrigated land? On dry land? How much grain did our village harvest that year? What did the peasants think of the labor exchange teams*?

I ANSWERED all his many detailed questions about production, moved by his constant concern for us peasants. I said he was very busy and didn't rest much; he must be tired. He was used to it, he said, and judging from what he had learned about me, I should take care of myself, pay attention to rest and not ruin my health with overwork.

The Chairman pointed out that producing grain was extremely important. Without grain how could anyone work or fight? If we don't eat we wear out like machines without oil. Without grain, the army, offices and schools would starve, and how then could we beat Japan? We rely on the peasants and the crops they grow!

We sat and talked this way for a long time. I was very pleased, and made up my mind to go back and raise our village's farm production even higher. Still worried about how busy the Chairman was, I stood up to leave. "What's your hurry?" he asked. "Have something to eat before you go."

After our meal the Chairman saw me off. Talking as we walked, before I knew it we had gone a half kilometer. You should go back, I told him. He only repeated that I should come again whenever I had time. He had gone on walking with me again, and this happened several times. The sun was already down behind the hills and it was getting dark. Finally I insisted and he stopped. I walked on, turning often to wave at him. It was too dark to see clearly, but I could still make out his high silhouette waving his cap.

*Labor exchange teams were groups for mutual aid with work in China's countryside. They usually included several families which exchanged labor or animal power, working each family's land in turn. Work was evaluated and points recorded according to the principle of exchange of equivalents and mutual benefit.

When 'On Protracted War' Was Written

CHAI TSO-CHUN

On July 7, 1937 the Japanese imperialists suddenly attacked the Chinese garrison at Lukouchiao near Peiping (now Peking) and the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) began.

The pressure of the Chinese people and the Communist Party forced the Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek to fight Japan and recognize the legal status of the Chinese Communist Party. Between August and October 1937 the Red Army and guerrillas in the south were redesignated as the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. They fought both at the front and with guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines. They built up many anti-Japanese base areas. The Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and Yanan, the seat of the Party Central Committee led by Chairman Mao, became the center guiding the people throughout the country in the anti-Japanese war.

But the situation developed badly on those fronts held by the Kuomintang. Within six months they gave up north China and fled from the Japanese invaders. Large numbers of Kuomintang troops were wiped out without much resistance. Shanghai and Nanking were soon occupied by the enemy. At this critical moment the defeatists inside

the Kuomintang were saying, "To continue the war means subjugation." Some of them were openly ready to surrender to Japanese imperialism.

Inside the Communist Party some people, including Wang Ming who was their representative and more "Left" than everybody else, held the theory that a quick victory could be achieved since the Kuomintang, their enemy of yesterday, had joined in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Both these theories — one of national subjugation and the other of quick victory — became huge obstacles to persevering in fighting the war and winning final victory. In May 1938, summing up the lessons of the anti-Japanese war over the previous ten months, Chairman Mao published *On Protracted War* to refute these erroneous theories. He pointed out that China would neither win a quick victory nor become conquered. The War of Resistance Against Japan was a protracted war, and the final victory would be China's. His article encouraged the Party and the people of the country to fight and win. It also guided the whole process of the anti-Japanese war with its scientific prediction.

I BECAME one of Chairman Mao's bodyguards in the early days of the anti-Japanese war. Times were hard. Taking on the heavy responsibilities of leading the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors, Chairman Mao worked day and night and neglected his rest.

He often worked 24 hours a day, delivering speeches, discussing problems with others, reading and writing telegrams and documents. When he was tired he would wipe his face with a wet towel, walk around the courtyard awhile, or stretch out on a canvas chair and close his eyes for a while. Then he would go back to his desk again.

CHAI TSO-CHUN is now a leading officer in the Logistics Department of the Air Force under the Wuhan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army.

I was most impressed when he wrote *On Protracted War* in early 1938 (I only learned what he was writing later).

The Chairman had been writing at his desk for two days without sleep. At night when I brought his supper in he was still working. I put his food down and said, "Chairman, it's time for supper. You haven't had any sleep for two nights. Take a rest after you eat."

"You go to bed first," he said without pausing in his writing. "I'll wait awhile. I can't go to sleep before my work is done."

"Chairman, you haven't been in good health. How can you stay up night after night like this? After supper, go to bed, please!" I said, almost begging him.

The Chairman glanced at me. "All right." He smiled. "I'll go to bed soon."

I couldn't say anything more. I went out and closed the door. After enough time to finish a meal, I went in to get the dishes. His food was untouched. The Chairman was still concentrating on his writing. Disappointed, I took his food back to the kitchen and warmed it up. I brought it back to him and said, "Your food will get cold, Chairman. Please eat it."

"Oh? Haven't I had my supper?" He looked at me and then at the food, not believing he hadn't eaten. "All right, I'll eat it right now."

I returned to my room and waited for a longer period. Surely he must have eaten his meal by this time, I thought. But when I went in again, the food still sat there,



Chairman Mao writing *On Protracted War* in his cave-house in Yanan in 1938.

cold. The Chairman was so absorbed that he didn't notice me. I had the feeling that all his energy was going into the brush he was writing with.

Night was quiet. Everything was asleep. Only the few snores of my roommates broke the stillness. But when I looked over at the Chairman's room I could see candlelight. Still working for the revolution, I thought, and it was almost dawn. Once again I went to his room. The Chairman was writing at his desk — with the food untouched on a corner of it.

A few more days. The Chairman had had little rest for five days in a row. His eyes were bloodshot, his cheeks looked sunken, he was thinner. He ate very little and all of us were worried.

On the seventh day he was still writing without a good rest. Though it was early spring, it was cold, especially at night. I was afraid he would catch a cold, so I made a charcoal burner and put it on the floor next to him. I don't know how much later, I suddenly smelled burning cloth. I hurried into the Chairman's room just in time to see him pulling his shoes off. They were smoking. I splashed water on them. The smell was terrible. Several holes were burned in them. He had unconsciously put his feet too close to the charcoal burner.

"Now why didn't I notice they were burning?" he said, laughing as he looked at the shoes.

I grabbed at this interruption. "Chairman, it's time you went to bed," I said. "You're not getting enough rest and we're worried."

"All right, all right! You go to bed, I'll rest in a few minutes." The old familiar phrase. He started writing again as if nothing had happened.

Soon the light in the Chairman's room went out. I was delighted. After a while, I wanted to see if he had fallen asleep, so I went into his room again. He was lying on his side and saw me.

"Can you get to sleep at night?" the Chairman suddenly asked.

"No trouble at all. I never seem to have enough of it," I answered.

"Well, you young people are lucky, you don't have to worry about anything. Often I can't get to sleep."

I didn't know what to say, so I kept silent.

After a moment he said, "Chai Tso-chun, why did you want to join the revolution?"

"Because my family was poor and couldn't get enough to eat."

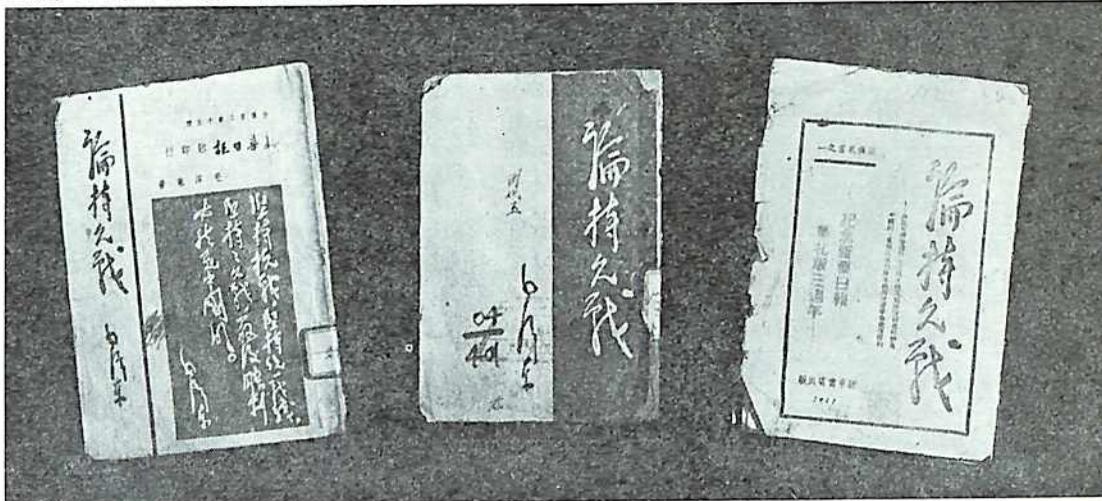
"Yes," the Chairman said, nodding. "We must make revolution, otherwise the poor will have no food to eat."

My heart flooded with warmth. The Chairman's first concern was always the poor.

The next day Chairman Mao was sick. Headache, no appetite, hard to get to sleep. A doctor was sent for. He said the Chairman was over-tired. He prescribed a good rest and gave him some medicines. Chairman Mao had a full day of rest. But before he was well again he was up at his desk writing, his left arm propping his cheek.

At midnight after eight or nine days of writing, Chairman Mao called me in and gave me a sheaf of papers wrapped in an old newspaper. He told me to send it to the Liberation Publishing House. Grabbing my pistol from my room, I set out at once. I ran most of the way to Chingliang Mountain where the publishing house was located, saying happily to myself, "Now the Chairman can take a real rest."

Early editions of *On Protracted War*.



Three days later the proofs came back, and again the Chairman worked night and day, revising many of them.

Finally, copies of a new book arrived. On the cover was printed *On Protracted War* by Mao Tsetung. Only then did I understand that the Chairman had been writing this book. One night the Chairman smiled and told me to send copies to several leaders of the Party Central Committee for

criticism and revision. When I went out with the books, it was almost daybreak.

From May 26 to June 3, 1938, Chairman Mao gave a series of lectures at the Yen-an Association for the Study of the War of Resistance Against Japan. It was *On Protracted War*. In his lectures he refuted erroneous ideas such as theories that led to national subjugation or held that quick victory could be had in fighting

the Japanese aggressors—ideas existing both inside and outside the Party at the time. His lectures steadied the people's will to fight throughout the country.

Since then, whenever I have studied Chairman Mao's works, particularly *On Protracted War*, I remember how it was written. Is there any article, as a matter of fact, that was not written with all his sweat and painstaking effort?

Negotiations with the Kuomintang

HUNG YEN

ON August 28, 1945 news spread through the cloud-covered city of Chungking that Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, was arriving that afternoon to discuss peace and reconstruction with Kuomintang authorities. When there were no Kuomintang agents or police around, people talked excitedly and passed the news on. The Communist-run *New China Daily* sold out quickly.

At half past three in the afternoon a plane from Yen-an landed at Chungking's Chiulungpo Airport. There was warm applause as Chairman Mao, wearing a gray suit, appeared and waved to the crowd gathered to welcome him. Chinese and foreign journalists were present. Accompanied by Comrade Chou En-lai, Chairman Mao came down the steps to greet representatives of the democratic parties and noted public figures.

The Japanese had just surrendered unconditionally and the War of Resistance Against Japan had ended. Chiang Kai-shek had resisted Japanese aggression only passively and spent all his time fighting the Communist Party. Now, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, he was preparing a full scale civil war, hoping to an-

nihilate the Communist Party and the people's revolutionary forces. By that time, however, the Communist Party had become politically mature, it had a powerful people's force with long experience in armed struggle, and a liberated area with a population of 100 million. The people of the entire country wanted peace. Moreover, the people of the world had just ended the war against the fascists and they did not approve of Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship and his move toward civil war.

These factors made it difficult for Chiang Kai-shek and his U.S. backers to start a full scale civil war immediately. He needed time to ship his troops and ammunition to the north and east. He was already holding secret consultations with his U.S. masters and actively deploying his troops.

To cover this, he had put up a smokescreen of wanting to hold "peace talks". Between August 14 and 23, he telegraphed Chairman Mao three times asking him to come to Chungking for negotiations. Assuming that Chairman Mao would not come, the plan was to blame the Communist Party for rejecting peace and unity, and to throw the responsibility for starting a civil war on the Communists.

Chairman Mao saw through the scheme. Analyzing the political situation in China after the Japanese had surrendered, he pointed out that there was now a serious struggle between two different destinies and prospects for China. The common people of the whole country wanted to build in peace and unity. Yet many in the Kuomintang-ruled areas still held illusions. Therefore, to do everything possible to obtain peace, Chairman Mao decided to go to Chungking for negotiations in spite of personal danger, knowing he could expose the political fraud of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, and rally and educate the broad masses of the people with the facts.

Exposure

He discussed the problem with Comrade Chou En-lai and others of the Party Central Committee in Yen-an. They approved of his decision. On August 26, Hsinhua News Agency released the fact to the country and the world.

The people and armymen in the liberated areas supported the decision but were worried about Chairman Mao's safety. Nevertheless, the move put Chiang Kai-shek in an awkward predicament. People the world over now were con-

vinced of the Chinese Communist Party's sincere desire for peace. The world watched for Chiang Kai-shek's next move.

Chairman Mao was welcomed to Chungking by people from many different circles. Workers, peasants, students and office workers wrote letters wishing him well, expressing their hopes for a bright future and their indignation over Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary maneuvers. The letter of five women textile workers was typical of the feeling among the working people in Chungking and the rest of the country. "It is you," they wrote, "who told the Chinese people how to defeat the Japanese aggressors. It is you who are helping the Chinese people to think of ways to emancipate themselves. It is you who bring the Chinese people the hope of peace and unity."

On the afternoon of September 1 people gathered in front of the Sino-Soviet Cultural Association, waiting to see Chairman Mao who was going to attend a cocktail party there. At seven in the evening his car pulled up at the gate. Smiling and waving, he greeted the crowd and went in. The crowd grew. It began to rain but the people kept waiting. When Chairman Mao reappeared after the party was over, many squeezed their way up front to say, "Welcome, Mr. Mao!" The cheer "Long live Mao Tsetung!" went up.

Tit for Tat

As soon as he arrived at Chungking, Chairman Mao had presented a written statement in which he outlined a clear-cut stand, set forth the Chinese Communist Party's propositions and expressed his sincere desire for peaceful negotiations. The most urgent problems of state at the moment, he said, were to ensure domestic peace, pursue democratic policies and bring about unity. Various pressing problems on the domestic, political and military fronts should be solved rationally on the basis of peace, democracy and unity. The statement won wide support in China and abroad.

The insincere Chiang Kai-shek clique, however, had made no fundamental preparations either on how to conduct negotiations or

on what problems to talk about. Now they stalled for time. On the evening of August 29, in a talk with Kuomintang representatives, Chairman Mao denounced their lie that no civil war existed in China. He pointed out that during the eight years of the anti-Japanese war, civil war had never stopped. There had been continuous fighting, big and small. To claim that there was no civil war was deception disproved by the facts. Chairman Mao restated the Communist Party's willingness to negotiate for peace with the Kuomintang authorities as soon as they renounced their erroneous policies and agreed to democratic reforms.

In order to get the negotiations started, Comrade Chou En-lai, on Chairman Mao's instructions and in behalf of the Communist Party, put forward a concrete plan and procedure. The efforts of Chairman Mao and Chou En-lai finally forced the Chiang Kai-shek clique to agree to negotiate on the basis of the Chinese Communist Party's plan.

As the negotiations began, the Chiang Kai-shek clique used the pretext of "unifying government administration" and "unifying the military command" to try to eliminate the liberated areas and the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party. At that time, following the end of World War II, there was a revisionist trend in the international communist movement which advocated that Communists should hand their arms over to the bourgeois governments and be officials in them. In the Chinese Communist Party, Liu Shao-chi was echoing this line, urging the Party to hand the people's army over to the Kuomintang in the "new period of peace and democracy". This was capitulation.

Chairman Mao fought resolutely against both U.S.-Chiang intimidation and this revisionist line. He insisted that the people must keep their arms, every gun and every bullet. On this basis, Chou En-lai refuted all the various lies of the Kuomintang negotiators. He used the facts of the actual situation to show that the army and political power in the liberated areas had won the solid support of the people and would continue to exist

and grow, with or without Kuomintang recognition.

Chairman Mao had always held that Communist policy was to protect the fundamental interests of the people. Subject to this, he said that it was permissible to make certain concessions in exchange for peace and democracy. In order to frustrate the Kuomintang's plot to go into civil war, the Communist Party representatives offered to concede eight liberated areas in Kwangtung, Chekiang, southern Kiangsu, southern Anhwei, central Anhwei, Hunan, Hupoh and Honan. On the question of reorganizing the armed forces of the whole country on a fair and reasonable basis, the Communist Party was willing to cut its army to as much as a seventh the size of the Kuomintang army.

The Kuomintang now found itself unable to blame the Communist Party for sabotaging the negotiations. Their rumors and slanders were bankrupt.

At this point, Chiang's U.S. backers lost patience over his setbacks in the negotiations and let their mediator's mask fall. U.S. Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley openly berated the Chinese Communist Party and then applied pressure. Chairman Mao struck back by saying that the affairs of the Chinese people could only be managed by the Chinese people. U.S. imperialism's anti-communist and anti-China policies were denounced by nearly everyone in China. Hurley left China in defeat.

The Fight for Peace

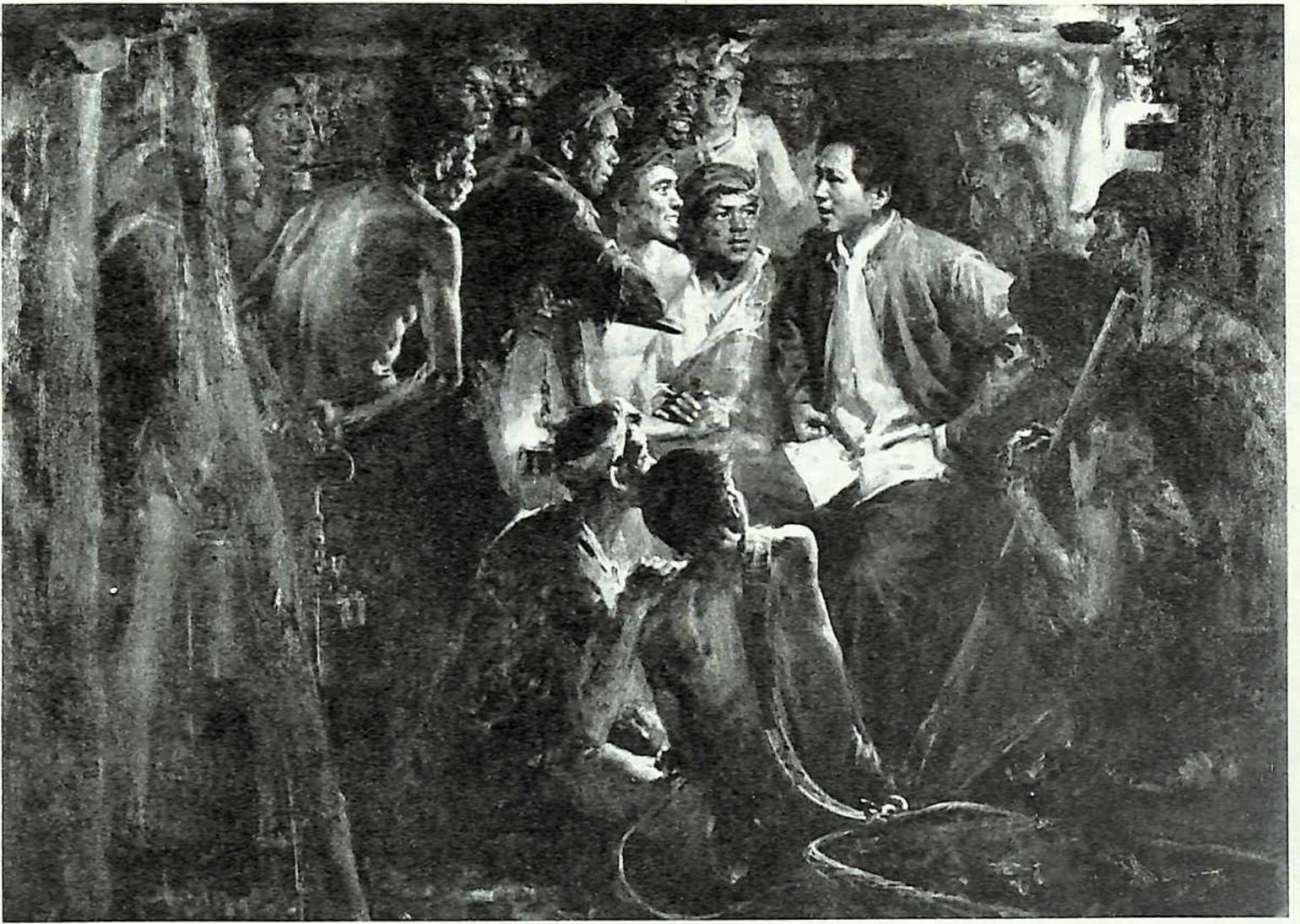
Even during the negotiations Chiang Kai-shek stepped up the civil war, ordering his troops to attack the Communist-led liberated areas. Kuomintang warlord Yen Hsi-shan and his 13 divisions attacked the Shangtang region of the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan liberated area. It was an attempt to force the Communist Party to submit. The Kuomintang wanted to get on the battlefield what it could not get at the negotiation table.

Two days before he left for Chungking, Chairman Mao had pointed out, "If anyone attacks us and if the conditions are favorable for battle, we will certainly act in

CHAIRMAN MAO IN OIL PAINTINGS



The First Communist Group in Hunan *Chou Shu-chiao*



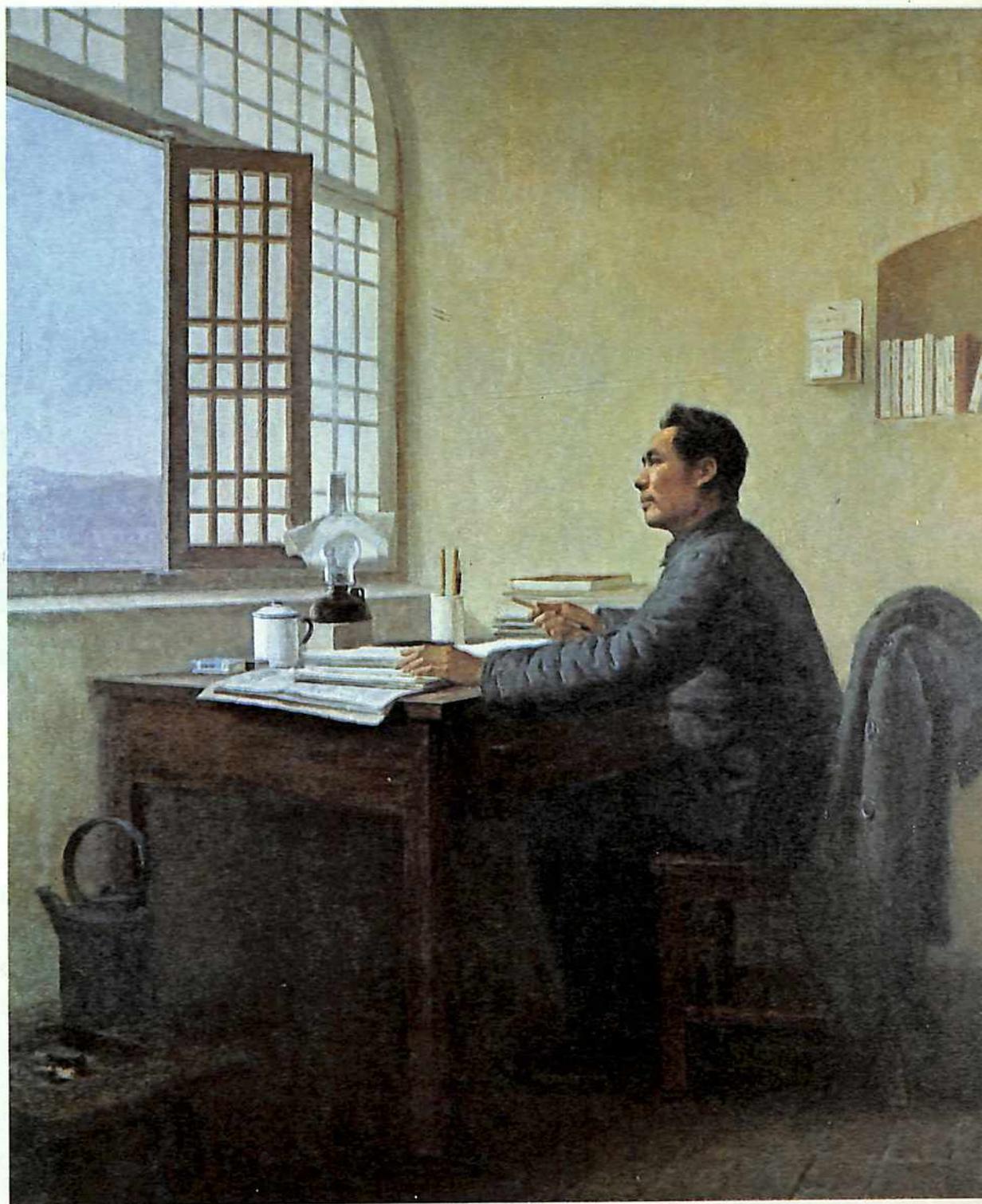
With the Anyuan Miners *Hou Yi-min*

Autumn Harvest Uprising *Ma Chang-li*





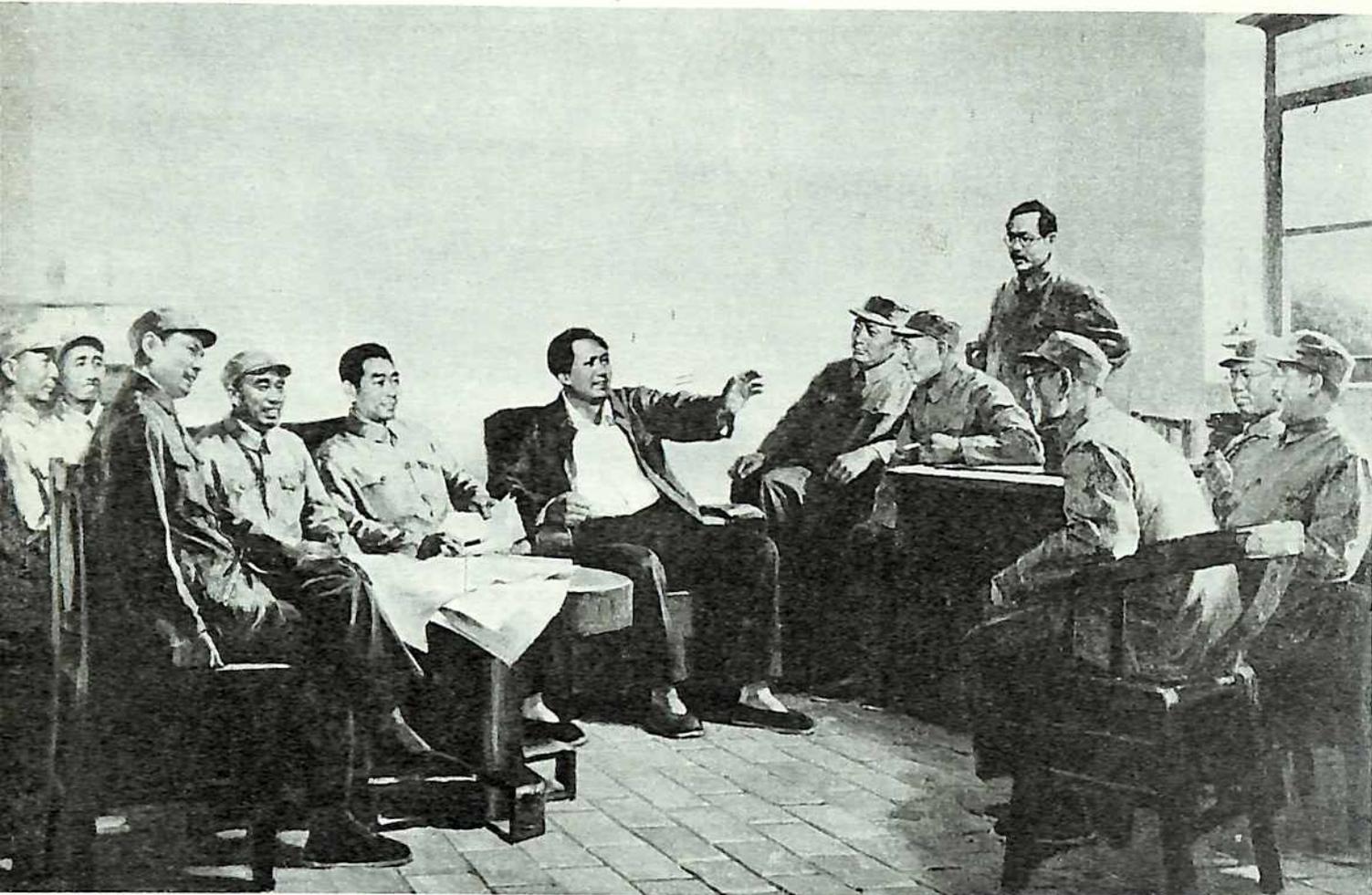
March into the Chingkang Mountains Wu Chi-chung and Chen Yen-ning



In a Yen-an Cave House Hsin Mang



A Halt on the Marshlands During the Long March Shen Yao-yi



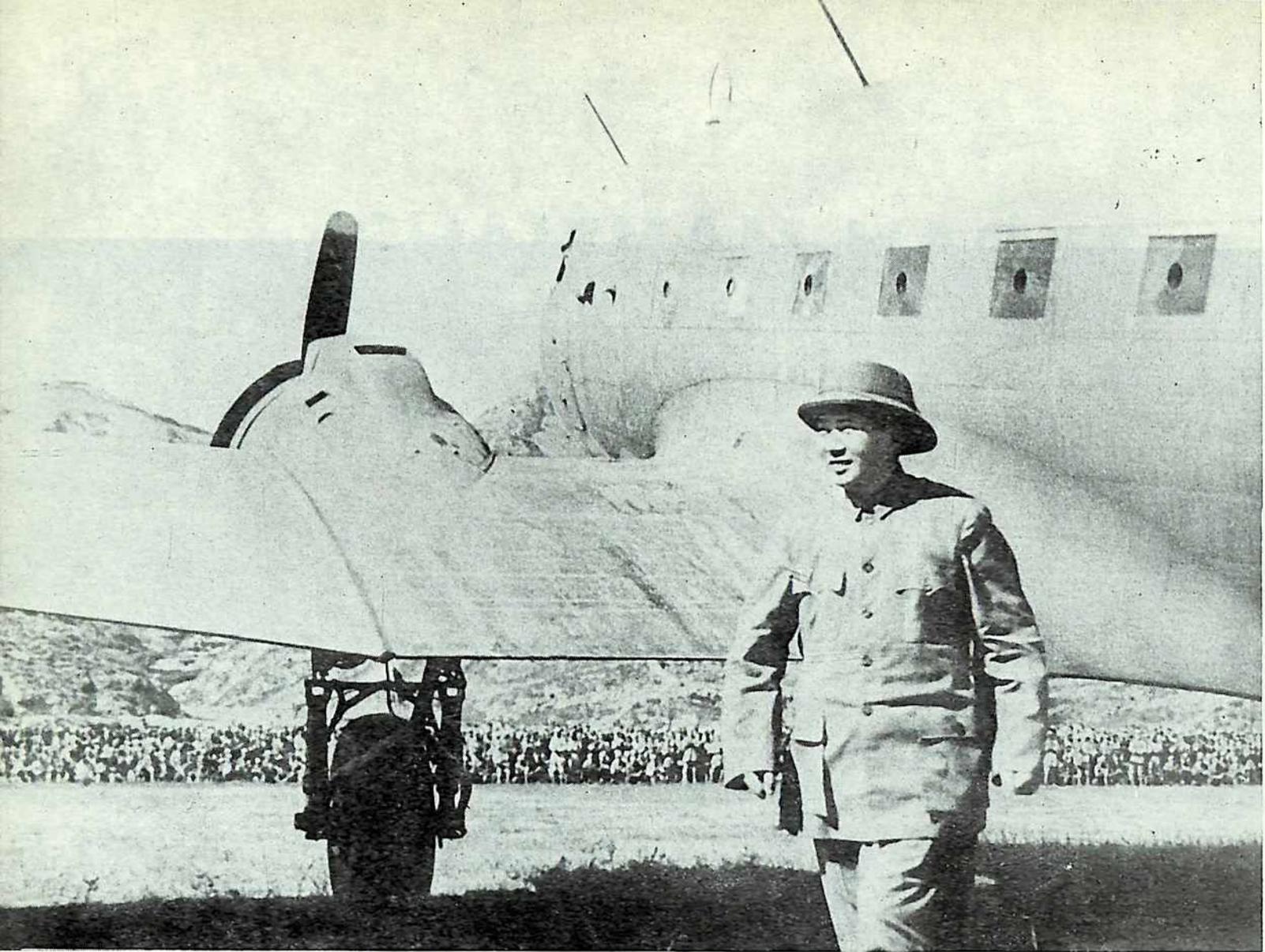
Planning for Nationwide Victory Yin Jung-sheng

Reviewing the People's Liberation Army After the Liberation of Peiping in 1949 Kuang Ting-po





Chairman Mao and Premier Chou Watching the Fireworks with the People in Tien An Men Square During the Cultural Revolution Wu Li-chun, Yu Yun-chieh and Han Hsin



Chairman Mao after returning to Yen-an from the negotiations in Chungking in October 1945.

self-defense to wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."

Still in Chungking, Chairman Mao ordered counterattacks against the Chiang Kai-shek forces. He approved a plan by Liu Po-cheng and Teng Hsiao-ping to crush the attack of Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, and issued instructions through a secret transmitter in Hungyen village near Chungking. Closely following Chairman Mao's strategy, the army and people in the Shangtang region wiped out all but 3,000 of the enemy's 38,000 troops. Chiang Kai-shek's move was frustrated.

After 43 days of intense struggle the Communist Party achieved its aim in the Chungking negotiations. On October 10, 1945 the Chiang Kai-shek clique signed the "Summary of Conversations Between Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China", known as the "October

10th Agreement". In this agreement the Kuomintang accepted the principles of peace and unity, recognized certain democratic rights of the people and agreed to avoid civil war. Although these were mere words on paper, politically the Communist Party had gained a very great initiative. Later Chairman Mao summed it up: **"If the Kuomintang launches civil war again, it will put itself in the wrong in the eyes of the whole nation and the whole world, and we shall have all the more reason to smash its attacks by a war of self-defense."**

The experience of the Chungking negotiations showed again that reactionaries everywhere use dual counter-revolutionary tactics to strangle the revolution. People struggling for liberation must keep their vigilance and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them. Peace cannot be won by begging for it. Only those who dare to fight can

negotiate for peace. When negotiating peace one must be prepared against war.

Chairman Mao flew back to Yen-an from Chungking on the afternoon of October 11. A week later he made the speech *On the Chungking Negotiations*, reminding his audience that **"words on paper are not equivalent to reality"** and **"if they fight, we will wipe them out completely"**.

Developments confirmed Chairman Mao's conclusion. At the end of the following June Chiang Kai-shek, backed by U.S. imperialism, launched an all-out civil war. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people responded with the War of Liberation. Three years later, the revolutionary armed forces had wiped out the counter-revolutionary armed forces, the Chiang dynasty fell and the People's Republic of China was born.

Strategy for Victory

YUAN HSUEH-KAI

IN MARCH 1947, less than a year after the Chinese people began their war to liberate the entire country, the Kuomintang troops under Hu Tsung-nan stepped up their attack of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and Yen-an, seat of the Communist Party Central Committee. The Central Committee decided to withdraw from Yen-an temporarily.

The New Fourth Brigade of the People's Liberation Army, in which I was a regimental commander, was placed on the outskirts of Yen-an to cover the withdrawal of the Central Committee, office personnel, and the people of the city.

On the afternoon of March 18 I was at regimental headquarters discussing a plan to destroy the enemy's paratroopers when a phone call came that Chairman Mao wanted to meet with our brigade commanders and other officers. I couldn't believe my ears. With a thousand important things for the Chairman to handle at this moment, how would he have time to meet with us?

I learned later that Yen Chang-lin was responsible. He had been in my regiment before he was transferred to the Central Committee guard unit. He had come to see us that morning and when he saw the deep desire of the men to see Chairman Mao, he had gone back and told the Chairman about it. Chairman Mao at once arranged to see us.

Enemy planes had been bombing Yen-an for several days, but the city still stood proudly, our pagoda

on the hill a landmark above the Yenho River. People were calmly evacuating, spirited militia and guerrilla fighters were marching with shouldered weapons, peasants were cracking their whips at animals carrying grain and other things. Suddenly I was engulfed by an indescribable feeling—to think that we were leaving this city to the enemy! I felt I was not living up to my responsibility as a soldier.

AS WE NEARED Chairman Mao's cave house, Yen Chang-lin ran up and saluted us. He showed us in and told us Chairman Mao was going through some telegrams in the inner room.

The room was lighted by a kerosene lamp and very quiet. There was a table, several chairs and two easy chairs made in Yen-an, all much worn. A military map on the wall was covered with blue and red lines and circles. So this neat, simple place was where Chairman Mao received his guests, had his meals and worked!

Chairman Mao emerged from the inner room. He smiled. "Sorry to keep you waiting. We have to get Yen-an ready to be turned over to Hu Tsung-nan, you know. That keeps us busy." He laughed so heartily that we couldn't help laughing too.

The Chairman still remembered the names of our two brigade commanders who had studied in the Party school and attended his lectures. They greeted the Chairman, then introduced us. Chairman Mao shook hands with us, looking at us with warm, searching eyes. After we settled in our seats Chairman Mao motioned toward the cigarettes on the table. "Help

yourselves," he said. "There are two kinds. These we made ourselves, the others are a gift from the Japanese." He laughed again. He had on a coarse wool jacket and trousers made in Yen-an and plain cloth shoes. He looked in good health and spirits, and you wouldn't know he had been working very hard.

He lit a cigarette and asked our commander about the battle our brigade had just won at Hsihua-chih, our casualties and the men's morale. He listened attentively to the CO's answers, interrupting now and then with a question. "We have tough fighters," the CO said, "and they're determined to defend the Central Committee, Chairman Mao and Yen-an."

"Good," Chairman Mao said. "How do the men feel about withdrawing from Yen-an?"

"All the officers and men support the Central Committee's decision. But if the Central Committee orders us to defend Yen-an, the men guarantee they won't let one enemy soldier into the city."

"How do you commanders feel about it?"

"Well, I'm not quite reconciled to giving up Yen-an to the enemy without a single shot," I said honestly.

"Of course you can fire a few shots," Chairman Mao said with a smile. "Fire a few shots to 'welcome' Hu Tsung-nan, just to tell him we're leaving Yen-an in his care." He paused. "Yen-an is the seat of the Party Central Committee. I can understand how the men feel about abandoning it on our own initiative. We can also imagine what the enemy will try to make of it. They will say, 'The Communist Party has collapsed,

YUAN HSUEH-KAI is now a deputy commander of the Air Force under the Lanchow Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

the Liberation Army has collapsed.' They'll try to make the people believe they've got the upper hand. All reactionaries like to spread rumors, to make something out of nothing. You can imagine how they'll strut and brag about occupying Yen-an. Chiang Kai-shek will probably call a rally to celebrate their 'victory.'" He threw back his head and laughed. There was contempt and scorn for the enemy in his laughter, and we found ourselves sharing it. "Of course we're only abandoning Yen-an temporarily," Chairman Mao continued. "One day the people will see that Chiang Kai-shek's occupation of Yen-an doesn't mean they're victorious. It will only mean they've lifted a rock to drop

it on their own feet. It's going to spell their tough luck."

We were beginning to realize that we'd been shortsighted.

"As officers," Chairman Mao went on, "you should get this clear in your heads before you can explain it to the men. We can fight and win only when the men understand the current war situation and the Party's strategy."

The Chairman then analyzed the development of the liberation war and how it was being waged in the various theaters. He gave us the figures of enemy casualties since July 1946 and how the enemy had been forced to shift from "all-out offensive" to "attacks against key sectors". He talked about the

Kuomintang's political failures and economic crisis and how it would not be long before the Chinese people would win total victory. In easy-to-understand language spiced with humor he gave us an incisive analysis that quickly dispelled our doubts and depression about leaving Yen-an.

"Well, do you still think we ought not to withdraw from Yen-an?" Chairman Mao asked with a smile.

"No, you've made it very clear."

Chairman Mao lit another cigarette. "Hu Tsung-nan wants Yen-an. Well, he's welcome to it. All he'll get are a few cave houses we built. He can't move them. If he wants to wreck them, all the

After evacuating Yen-an in 1947 Chairman Mao remained in the northern Shensi countryside directing the liberation war from its villages.



better. We'll put up better buildings later. What do we have to fear when the people are with us. Right?" His eyes smiled. "Not only Yen-an. Other places. The northeast, the north, and other liberated areas. When necessary we'll let them take some of those temporarily too. Give them a few more loads to carry. When they find the loads too heavy they'll have to put them down and let us have them. Let's concentrate on fighting and winning decisive campaigns, then we'll not only recover Yen-an, but Sian, Wuhan, Nanking, Shanghai and Peiping too. The whole of China belongs to the people and will be returned to the people."

The Chairman gave us many examples from the Second Revolutionary Civil War and the anti-Japanese war to show that in waging the revolutionary war we had never counted much on taking or losing individual cities but had always concentrated on wiping out the enemy's effective combat strength, a tactic that had repeatedly led to victory.

FOR SOME TIME Yen Chang-lin had been reminding Chairman Mao that supper was ready. Now the Chairman asked us to have supper with him.

There were potatoes, turnips and cabbages, with a few pieces of meat in one or two dishes, boiled millet and coarse steamed bread. Chairman Mao took a look at the dishes and laughed again. "Well, what do you think of the food?" he asked. "Rather better than average?" I couldn't help blaming Yen Chang-lin in my heart for not getting better food for the Chairman. But Yen whispered to us that this was extra food for guests, the Chairman wouldn't allow even these dishes for himself.

"How's life for the men?" the Chairman asked. "Any difficulties?"

"They're doing fine," the brigade commander answered. "You mustn't worry, Chairman."

Chairman Mao nodded and said, "Make sure they have adequate food, sleep well, pay attention to hygiene and don't get sick."

Before he finished his first bowl of millet Chairman Mao was asked to look at an urgent telegram. He put down his bowl and left the table.

It was after nine when the meal was over and we felt it was time to leave. "No hurry," the Chairman said. "I like to talk with you comrades." He chatted some more, stressing the need to study hard. "You're all veteran comrades, very brave in battle and dedicated to the revolution. That's fine. But you must work harder on political theory and raising your general education level. If you don't keep up your studies you won't be able to keep up with the developing situation. Whatever we do, cadres must always be one step ahead of the others. This is so in fighting a war today, and it will be so in building up a new country later. Only when you study hard can you always fight and win."

As we left, he again reminded us of the importance of explaining to the men the reason for withdrawing from Yen-an. "Tell them we'll be back in Yen-an within a year, at the most two."

We said goodbye reluctantly. Shaking hands with us, the Chairman smiled and said, "Well, where shall we meet next time? Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping?"

Walking away we kept looking back at the light in Chairman Mao's room. Nobody said anything. We were all thinking of the meeting, going over what Chairman Mao had said, remembering his confident laughter and his earnest hopes for us.

The next morning we left Yen-an and moved toward the northeast. As we marched we heard heavy artillery fire coming from Yen-an. Hu Tsung-nan had boasted he would "take Yen-an in three days". But by the time we left he had been storming for seven days and nights, piling up his casualties to 5,000. This probably made him think the city was heavily defended. Obviously he didn't dream he was going to capture an empty city.

Meanwhile morale in our brigade had soared after we explained the strategic reason for withdrawal to the men. We lay in wait for the enemy at Chinghuapien. Five days later Hu Tsung-nan's 31st brigade walked into our trap, was destroyed and its commander captured. Twenty days later our troops wiped out Hu's 135th brigade at Yangmaho, also capturing its commander. Another 20 days later our units took Panlung, Hu's supply center, and annihilated his crack 167th brigade, capturing its commander. Three battles and three victories in 40 days put 20,000 enemy troops out of action.

Chairman Mao never left the area even during the most difficult days. From different villages in north Shensi he directed the war in all theaters. We had news of him from time to time, that he was planning battles within the sound of artillery, that he was at the front visiting the wounded, that some men had seen him. Remembering our meeting with him always gave us new courage to fight for more victories. A little over a year later we recaptured Yen-an. Hardly another year later the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao marched victoriously into Peiping, soon to become Peking, the capital of our People's Republic of China.

STAMPS OF NEW CHINA

Commemoratives on the First Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Death

ON September 9, 1977, the first anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications issued a set of six commemorative stamps.

Stamp 1. The official portrait of Chairman Mao. Beneath it is a design of the red sun and waves of the sea. Salmon, slate-blue, grey and black.

Stamp 2. A photograph taken in a northern Shensi revolutionary base area in 1936 with a design of plum blossoms under it. Salmon, scarlet, deep blue and lilac. The following stamps are also with the same design below.

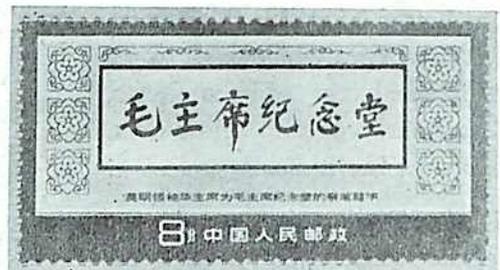
Stamp 3. Chairman Mao speaking to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee in March, 1949. Salmon, vermilion, yellow, yellow-brown and light green.

Stamp 4. Chairman Mao inaugurating the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949 from Tien An Men. Salmon, lake, ocher, grey and white.

Stamp 5. Chairman Mao with Comrades Chou En-lai and Chu Teh. Salmon, vermilion, lilac, slate-blue, cobalt and black.

Stamp 6. Chairman Mao reviewing a parade from Tien An Men during the cultural revolution. Red-brown, salmon, scarlet, venetian red and black.

All stamps are bordered in gold frame. Golden Chinese characters on the designs





read: "First Anniversary of the Death of the Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung (1976-1977)".

All are of 8 fen denomination and measure 31 × 52 mm. Perf. 11½. Color photogravured. Serial numbers: J 21 (6-1 to 6-6).

Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Commemoratives

A SET OF two stamps was released on September 9, 1977 to mark the completion of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall on Tien An Men Square.

Stamp 1. The stately hall against a background of giant pine trees symbolizing Chairman Mao's eternal achievements. Chinese characters in gold below read: "Memorial Hall of the Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung". The stamp is framed in blue. Turquoise-green, yellow-orange and cobalt.

Stamp 2. In the center of a golden lace design framed in light green are the characters "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall" embossed in gold in the handwriting of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. The smaller gold Chinese characters below are: "Inscription by Chairman Hua for Chairman Mao Memorial Hall". Gold, white, light green and drab.

Below at the two ends of both stamps are sunflowers symbolizing that the Chinese people are always with Chairman Mao. Stamps are of 8 fen denomination and measure 30 × 60 mm. Perf. 11. Color photogravured. Serial numbers: J 22 (2-1 to 2-2).

Commemoratives on the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China

ON August 22, 1977 the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications issued a set of three stamps on the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, August 12 to 18.

Stamp 1. People of all of China's nationalities in Tien An Men Square cheering the convocation of the congress. Eleven red flags symbolize the eleven major line struggles the Party has experienced and the 11th congress, convened after "gang of four's" conspiracy to seize Party and state power was smashed. Vermilion, green, light reddish purple, greenish yellow, salmon and gold.

Stamp 2 and 3. People of China's different nationalities advancing on the road

of socialism under two huge red flags. One flag carries a portrait of Chairman Mao, the other a hammer and sickle. Vermilion, lemon, light reddish purple, drab, blue, salmon and gold.

The scarlet Chinese characters on top read: "The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China". All stamps are of 8 fen denomination and measure 40 × 60 mm. Perf. 11½. Color photogravured. Serial numbers: J 23 (3-1 to 3-3).

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CHAIRMAN MAO ON MODERNIZING CHINA

HO CHIEN-CHANG

CHAIRMAN MAO long ago pointed out that it was the Chinese people's historic mission to modernize agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology and build China into a powerful socialist country by the end of the century.

China's civilization was one of the world's earliest. Her scientists and skilled craftsmen helped create a brilliant body of ancient science. Its development stagnated only in modern times under increasingly corrupt and reactionary feudal rule and growing foreign aggression. Industrial production in the old China was extremely backward. In 1936 modern industry, mainly light industry, accounted for only ten percent of the country's total output value of industrial and agricultural production. At the time of liberation in 1949 the output value of heavy industry made up only 28.8 percent of the country's total industrial output value. The handful of heavy industries were concentrated on the coasts and made up 73 percent of all industry. These were mainly machine repair plants run by imperialists and mines and factories supplying the imperialist countries with raw materials or semi-finished products. Feudal exploitation so ravaged the rural economy that by 1949 grain production for the year totaled a mere 113,200,000 tons and cotton 444,500 tons.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership the Chinese people abolished the feudal system of exploitation, confiscated bureaucrat capital,

transformed capitalist and individual economy and built an independent socialist economy. All through this Chairman Mao firmly grasped the principal contradictions in the socialist period — the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads. He closely linked socialist revolution and socialist construction, put revolution in command of production and promoted production with revolution so that the two aspects advanced simultaneously.

In 1953 Chairman Mao, in explaining the general line for the transition period, said, "In short, the general line means the gradual accomplishment of the socialist industrialization of our country and of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce." In practice, the transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production promoted the steady development of agriculture, industry, commerce and other undertakings.

In 1955 in his report *On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture*, Chairman Mao pointed out, "The social and economic features of China will not be completely changed until the socialist transformation of the social and economic system is completely accomplished and, in the technical field, machinery is used in all possible branches and places."

While discussing the modernization of industry and agriculture, Chairman Mao also stressed the

importance of modernizing defense. He said, "We are stronger than before and will be stronger still in the future. We will have not only more planes and artillery but atom bombs too. If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the bomb."

Time and again Chairman Mao pointed out that the key to modernizing agriculture, industry and defense lay in modernizing science and technology. He said, "While continuing the socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front, we should lay stress on the technological revolution in the Party's work. This question deserves the attention of the whole Party." He called on the Party to "marshal our energies to study and fulfill the great technological revolution that history has entrusted to us".

A 12-year program for developing science and technology, drawn up in 1956, was accomplished six years ahead of time, in 1962. It laid the foundation for the modernization of science and technology.

What are the criteria for modernization? The most important indication, besides using advanced technology in all branches of the economy, is, as Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out, to catch up with and overtake the developed capitalist countries economically and put China's economy in the front ranks of the world.

Premier Chou En-lai did a great deal of work in promoting modernization. In his report on government work at the Fourth National

People's Congress in 1975, in line with Chairman Mao's instructions, he reiterated the two-step development of the economy. The first step is to build an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial system and economic system before 1980. The second step is to complete modernizing agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology by the end of the century and put China's economy in the front ranks of the world.

Significance

What is the significance of modernization? It is the prerequisite to raising labor productivity, expanding production more rapidly, and building a solid material foundation for consolidating and developing the socialist systems of ownership — by the whole people and by the collective — improving the people's material and cultural life, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Internationally, the contention between the superpowers is sharpening daily and war is inevitable. To be prepared against aggressive war, China must strengthen her defense capabilities more rapidly.

In the long-range view, modernization is essential for creating the material conditions for the transition toward communism. To achieve communism means moving from the two kinds of socialist systems of ownership — by the whole people and by the collective — first to a unitary socialist system of ownership — by the whole people — and then to the communist system of ownership by the whole people. It means eliminating the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, mental and physical labor. It means eliminating classes. The low-level development of productive forces is the basic reason for the existence of the two kinds of systems of ownership, the three differences,

and classes in the socialist period. Mechanization of farming and other rural occupations will greatly advance agricultural production and strengthen and expand the collective economy of the people's commune, thus creating the material conditions for transforming collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, for turning peasants into agricultural workers, for eliminating the differences between town and country, between workers and peasants. Modernization will also greatly enrich the working people's general knowledge, especially knowledge of science and technology, thus gradually eliminating the difference between physical and mental labor.

To achieve communism means greatly raising the people's ideological level and making work their first necessity in life. To turn work from a heavy burden and a mere means for making a living into the first necessity in life, it is necessary to liberate man from heavy physical labor and greatly shorten the time spent in work. This is only possible when production is mechanized and automated with sophisticated science and technology.

The Path

China is a socialist country. To modernize, she must follow Chairman Mao's principle of independence and self-reliance. This means proceeding from China's concrete conditions, relying on her people's wisdom and effort and fully utilizing all her resources. Independence and self-reliance does not mean closing the door against the world. Chairman Mao said, **"Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently,**

do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line." In line with these principles the Chinese people carried out economic, technical and cultural exchange with other countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual help to supply each other's wants. They learned from the good experience of foreign countries and combined it with their own creativity.

In the 28 years since liberation China has made developments which took many capitalist countries more than half a century to accomplish. Previously nonexistent industries such as machine building, chemicals and electronics were all begun from scratch and made rapid advances. China is now more than self-sufficient in petroleum and is able to equip more and more branches of industry herself.

The construction of large numbers of industrial bases in the hinterland has changed the irrational geographical distribution of industry. In agriculture China is now able to feed one-fifth of the world's population on less than seven percent of the world's cultivated land. While her population has risen 60 percent since liberation, grain production has risen close to 150 percent. With ever increasing machinery for farming, China expects to achieve basic mechanization in agriculture by 1980.

A growing contingent of scientific and technical personnel has contributed to steady advances in science and technology. China was the first country in the world to produce synthetic insulin. She has been conducting atom and hydrogen bomb tests since 1964 and in 1970 launched her first

satellite, following it with accurate recovery of satellites.

Mass Movement

While much was done to modernize China in 28 years, interference by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" prevented the realization of expected results. The "gang of four" opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in all fields. Calling the four modernizations capitalist restoration, they caused laboratory equipment to deteriorate, disbanded research organizations, and persecuted scientists and other intellectuals. They called the importation of advanced technology and equipment "slavish worship of things foreign".

The fall of the "gang of four" released the people's enthusiasm for building socialism. Since the

beginning of 1977 production has been going up every month. Record highs for corresponding periods have been set in all branches of industry. In spite of severe drought and other problems of nature, the peasants worked hard and cut down crop losses to a minimum.

The new Party Constitution adopted at the 11th Party Congress in August 1977 specified, "The Party must lead the people of all nationalities in making China a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century."

Chairman Mao consistently stressed the importance of launching mass movements under the leadership of the Party in building socialism. He regarded it

essential to mobilize the masses and bring their initiative and creativity into full play. To make this possible he put forth a series of policies of "walking on two legs" — simultaneous development of industry and agriculture; central and local industries; big, medium and small industries; and simultaneous employment of modern and locally-devised methods of production. These policies make possible the correct handling of relationships among the different branches of the economy and the marshaling of energies of the entire people for socialist construction. Propelled by the movement to learn from Taching in industry and Tachai in agriculture, the Chinese people are going all out to develop their social productive forces and transform their economy in all aspects.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing meet with delegates to the preparatory meeting for the National Science Conference,



Paupers Build a New Life Together

WANG KUO-FAN

IN 1955 Chairman Mao, in an editor's note to an article in the book, *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, wrote: "In the Tsunhua county cooperative movement there is the Wang Kuo-fan cooperative, once known as a 'paupers' co-op' because its 23 poor peasant households owned only 'three legs' of a donkey. Relying on their own efforts, its members 'made the mountains yield' a substantial amount of the means of production in three years, a feat which moved not a few visitors to tears. This, in my view, is the image of our entire nation. Why can't 600 million 'paupers' create a prosperous and strong socialist country in several decades by their own efforts?"

It was autumn and nearly time to dig up the sweet potatoes. When we heard Chairman Mao's comment about our co-op, the whole village bubbled with happiness. "Chairman Mao is leading the people of the whole country in revolution and construction," the Hsipu villagers said, "yet he knows all about the little we've done here! We were right to set up our co-op. Now we'll make it even better."

The Paupers' Way

Chairman Mao's note instantly reminded me of the long road we had come along. How hard it had been! I can still see Old Wang Sheng, propping himself on a stick, hobbling along with a beggar's bowl. A hired hand in the old society, he went blind and was driven out by the landlord to become a beggar for 24 years. In 1947 when the Communist Party led our village in land reform, he

WANG KUO-FAN, model peasant, is secretary of the Communist Party Committee of Tsunhua county, Hopei province; chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Chienming People's Commune and member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.



Chairman Mao meeting Wang Kuo-fan in March 1960.

received over five *mu** of land. But he could not work and had no farm tools, so had to let his land go untilled and live on relief food from the government. When someone offered to buy his land, however, he said, "The land was allotted to us after we struggled against the landlord. I wouldn't sell it for ten thousand taels of gold!"

But there were other peasants like Wang Sheng who, unable to solve their farming difficulties, had to sell their land. By 1950, 11 families had sold their land and become poor again, while 16 fairly well-to-do families had bought more land and become well off. In 1951 the Party led us in setting up mutual-aid teams to solve the problem of insufficient labor power. But Wang Sheng and his brother Wang Jung, though they joined a team, had only one shovel between them. With this

they tried to farm but got little harvest. At that time spontaneous capitalist tendencies in the countryside were very strong and the poor grew poorer and the rich richer.

I had joined the Communist Party in 1941 during the anti-Japanese war. After liberation, I became head of Hsipu village. Now the rapid polarization into rich and poor worried me. In 1952 Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee issued a directive to begin organizing agricultural producers' cooperatives. That winter I studied Chairman Mao's article *Get Organized!* He explained that the only way to change the individual small-peasant economy and prevent polarization was collectivization. I went to visit a newly organized cooperative in another village. How excited I was to find a way out for

* 15 *mu* = 1 hectare



Wang Kuo-fan with commune members.

poor peasants — grow prosperous together!

We gathered in Wang Jung's hut to talk about setting up a co-op. He was the leader of our mutual-aid team of 11 families. Representatives from the village's 21 poorest households sat crowded on his brick bed. I told the folks, "Chairman Mao has said that if we want to live well and have food to eat, we have to organize. We have to farm our land together and use our animals together. After the harvest we'll divide half according to the amount of work each family put in and the other half according to the size of its land. Shall we do it?"

"Ever since liberation," Wang Jung said, "Chairman Mao has led us in the struggle against the landlords and to divide the land. He's done everything for us poor folk. It must be a good thing to organize."

Everyone agreed. Our co-op was set up and I was elected to head it. There were 23 families in it — 54 people altogether, but only 26 people who could work. Not one of the families owned an animal. All the shares our co-op members had added up to only three quarters of a donkey confiscated from the landlord during the land reform. So we said we owned "three legs of a donkey".

When Wang Yueh, a rather well-to-do peasant, heard that we had set up a co-op he laughed at us in the street. "When a bunch of paupers get together, sooner or later they'll scatter."

"Maybe we're poor," we retorted, "but we've got the answer. Our paupers' co-op will work and we're sticking together." But how to even get started? We put our heads together and decided that our able-bodied men would go into the mountains and cut firewood to sell in the town. The women would stay in the village and collect manure.

Nineteen men went to cut wood. It was the coldest time of the year. They stayed 40 days in the mountains. When they finally came back to the village they looked like a group of wild men, their hair and beard long, their legs and feet bare, their cotton-padded clothes worn out and torn to tatters by the branches. Their mothers and wives began to weep at the sight. Even visitors to our co-op from the county seat were moved to tears.

The firewood was sold for 400 yuan. Not much, it only bought a young calf, a mangy donkey, a cart with broken shafts and 19 lambs. The calf was too little and the donkey was sick. We pulled the plow with a rope over our shoulders. No seed. Each member brought what little he could scrape

up. Without telling us, blind Wang Sheng walked one or two hundred kilometers begging seed handful by handful and filling a cloth bag. When I saw the corn, millet, peanut and melon seed, all mixed up, pouring out of his bag, I had a hard time holding the tears back. I understood better what Chairman Mao had written in his note. If we wanted to live well, we had to keep the paupers' spirit of relying on our own efforts.

The Cooperation Road

The struggle was intense right from the beginning of the cooperative movement. "All by itself my family can compete with this whole band of beggars and beat them," boasted Wang Yueh, the well-to-do peasant. His land was right next to ours and he sowed whatever seed we did. As we were many, the men pulled cartloads of manure up the slopes and the women spread it on our fields right away. But Wang Yueh and his two sons took one whole day to cart manure to their land and didn't have time to spread it before a rain washed it away. So he bought chemical fertilizer and applied it. But no rain followed and the fertilizer burned his shoots. Because we were many, we hoed our fields nine times to keep the moisture in the soil and managed to keep the shoots growing. That year, 1953, our co-op's

land yielded 128 jin* per mu while Wang Yueh's only got 80. The mutual-aid teams got some 90 jin per mu. Everybody could see that the co-op was better than both individual farming or mutual-aid.

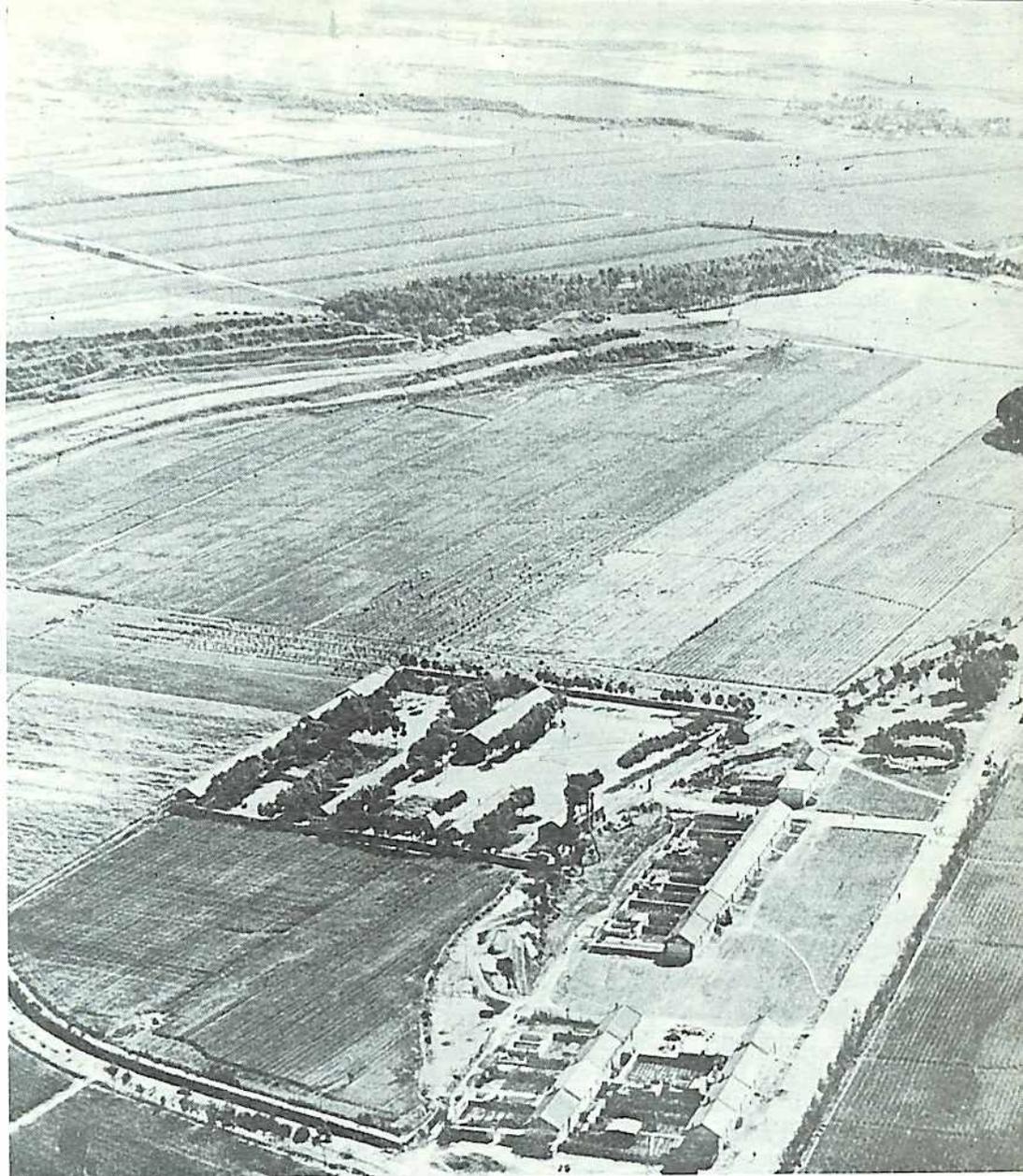
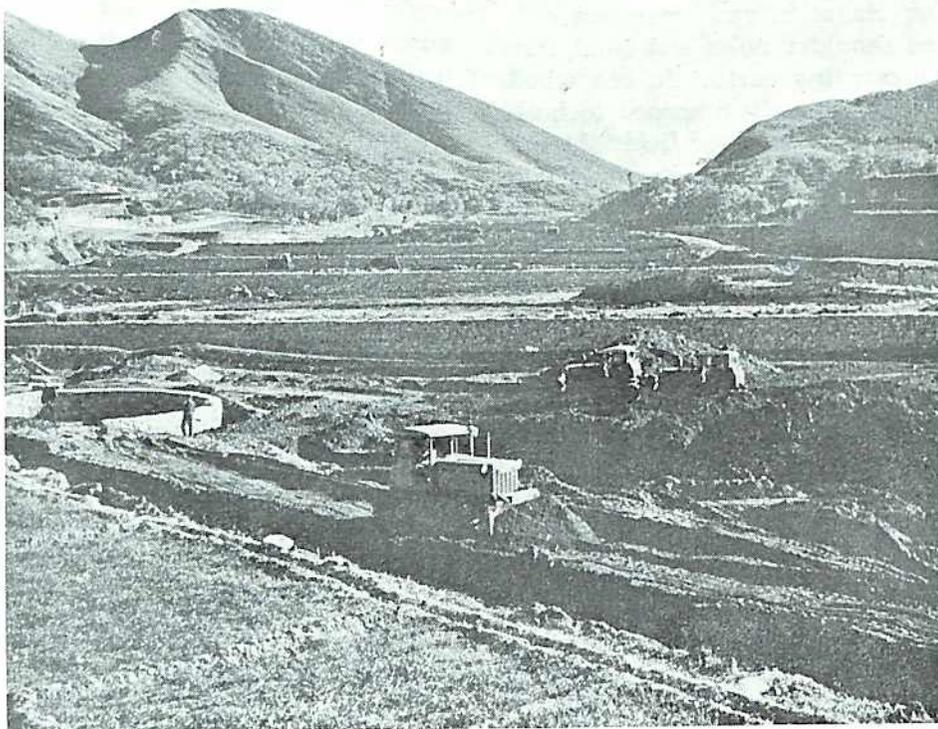
At that time Liu Shao-chi was saying that the cooperative movement was rash and ordered many co-ops disbanded. Our Tsunhua county Party committee resisted this line and kept to the socialist direction. At that critical moment Chairman Mao made a report, *On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture*, exposing and criticizing Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist mistakes. Soon he wrote two prefaces and many editor's notes for the book, *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*.

In several of these notes he praised the paupers' spirit of self-reliance. After they were published people came to me all day long asking to join our co-op. In 1956 our co-op joined other co-ops in four neighboring villages to form a fully-socialist agricultural producers' cooperative in which the harvest was distributed according to the work each member put in.

In 1957 in his article, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions*

* 2 jin = 1 kilogram

Building terraced fields.



Hsipu brigade today.

Among the People, Chairman Mao used our co-op as an example of how the peasants could improve their life in one year. This refuted the bourgeois Rightists' attack on the cooperative movement as "having nothing superior about it". What followed was a big leap forward throughout the countryside.

Our different co-ops wanted to build a big water conservation project and bring in water from five km. away for irrigation. To solve the complicated problem of our boundaries, co-ops from 21 villages in our county discussed combining into an even bigger co-op. At this point we learned that Chairman Mao had approved the idea of forming communes. "People's communes are fine!" he said. We amalgamated into the Chien-

ming People's Commune and I was elected head of it. In our first year we got electricity in the commune. When lights came on in our homes for the first time the people shouted for joy. In our second year the commune built the Chienming Lake Reservoir. It held four million cubic meters and put an end to our old saying: "Half a month without rain and the harvest is ruined."

Warm Support

Happy events followed one after the other. In 1959 I was invited to Peking for the National Day celebrations. At a state banquet I was seated at the same table as Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other leaders. My heart kept beating so fast I could hardly eat! Looking at Chairman Mao, I thought, it was your guidance that changed me from a pauper into what I am today. When I got back to the village the other ex-paupers were excited. "Chairman Mao invited you for dinner because you led us in setting up the paupers' co-op. It's the same as if we had all gone together."

The following year I attended the Second National People's Congress as a deputy. Chairman Mao recognized me at a meeting and shook my calloused hand. "Are the paupers still poor?" he asked me. "With you leading us," I said, "we're much better off."

In 1969 I attended the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and was elected to the Central Committee. At the first plenary session Chairman Mao asked me, "How old are you, Wang Kuo-fan?" I answered, "Fifty." Chairman Mao smiled broadly and said, "Still very young. As we say, a man of 55 is strong as a tiger." I felt very strong, ready to take on any task in the drive to build socialism. I'd stick to the pauper spirit and do more as long as I lived! In 1970 I was appointed secretary of the Tsunhua county Party committee but continued to head the revolutionary committees of the Chienming commune and its Hsipu production brigade.

During the cultural revolution Chairman Mao led the Party and the country in a great campaign to smash Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters which for years had been trying to restore capitalism. From the beginning it had opposed the collectivization of agriculture. In 1966 and 1967 Premier Chou, representing Chairman Mao, accompanied foreign friends on visits to our commune and its members. Encouraged, we drew up a ten-year development program.

The cultural revolution brought a big change in the commune members' thinking. They all wanted to study Chairman Mao's works. Even a 70-year-old grandmother said, "We want to follow Chairman Mao. But we can't do it if we don't know what he said." What the members, old and young, had at heart was not the loss or gain of one family but how to grow more grain and do more for socialism. With us the last ten years were years of working hard to bring about great changes.

Mountains Yield Tractors

In 1970 we saw an upsurge in our commune in learning from Tachai, a model farming brigade. We resolved to transform 8,000 *mu* of mountain slopes into level terraced fields which would retain water, soil and fertilizer. But problems cropped up right from the start. Our Hsipu brigade members only had shoulder poles and hand carts for carrying earth. In one whole winter we only managed to build nine *mu* of terraced fields. At that rate, we calculated, it would take us more than 150 years to transform all our mountain land! Then members said, "Chairman Mao told us that the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. If we want socialist agriculture we've got to have machines. But where do we get the money to buy tractors?"

"The countryside doesn't grow tractors," some said, "so let's borrow money from the government and buy them."

"We've never taken any loans from the government," said the old paupers. "If every commune

and brigade in the country asked for what they need from the government, where would the government get the money?"

I got all the members to study what Chairman Mao wrote about us in his editor's note in which he praised our paupers' spirit of self-reliance. "If we want machines to liberate our hands," I said, "we still have to depend on our own hands to get the machines. We have to make the mountains yield tractors the same way we did when we made them help in setting up our paupers' co-op."

We discussed it a lot. We figured that the money we'd get from selling firewood wouldn't be enough to buy even a good part of a tractor. But the mountains had plenty of stone we could sell for construction and plenty of material for weaving baskets. The orchards planted in 1958 were yielding fruit which would bring in more. The old paupers who had cut firewood in the early days now led the young people up the mountains to quarry stone. The women made baskets, sewed clothes and wove carpets.

Still the brigade's public fund was not enough. Just as we had bought the mangy donkey before we had enough money to buy a strong one, now we sent Tung Chun to the county agricultural machinery bureau to see what could be done. He had been crazy about machines ever since we set up the co-op. When we were pulling the plow ourselves before we had an animal to do it, he was wearing his only woolen jacket, which had belonged to the landlord and was given to him during the land reform. One day of pulling the plow wore it to shreds and made his shoulders sore. "I sure wish we had an iron ox to plow!" he had said. "You're dreaming," the others said and laughed at him. But when our neighboring county got a tractor in 1968 he rode 20 km. on his bike just to look at it and couldn't tear himself away.

Now in the county seat he found four used tractors in the scrap

(Continued on p. 55)

Concern for a Geologist

LI LIN

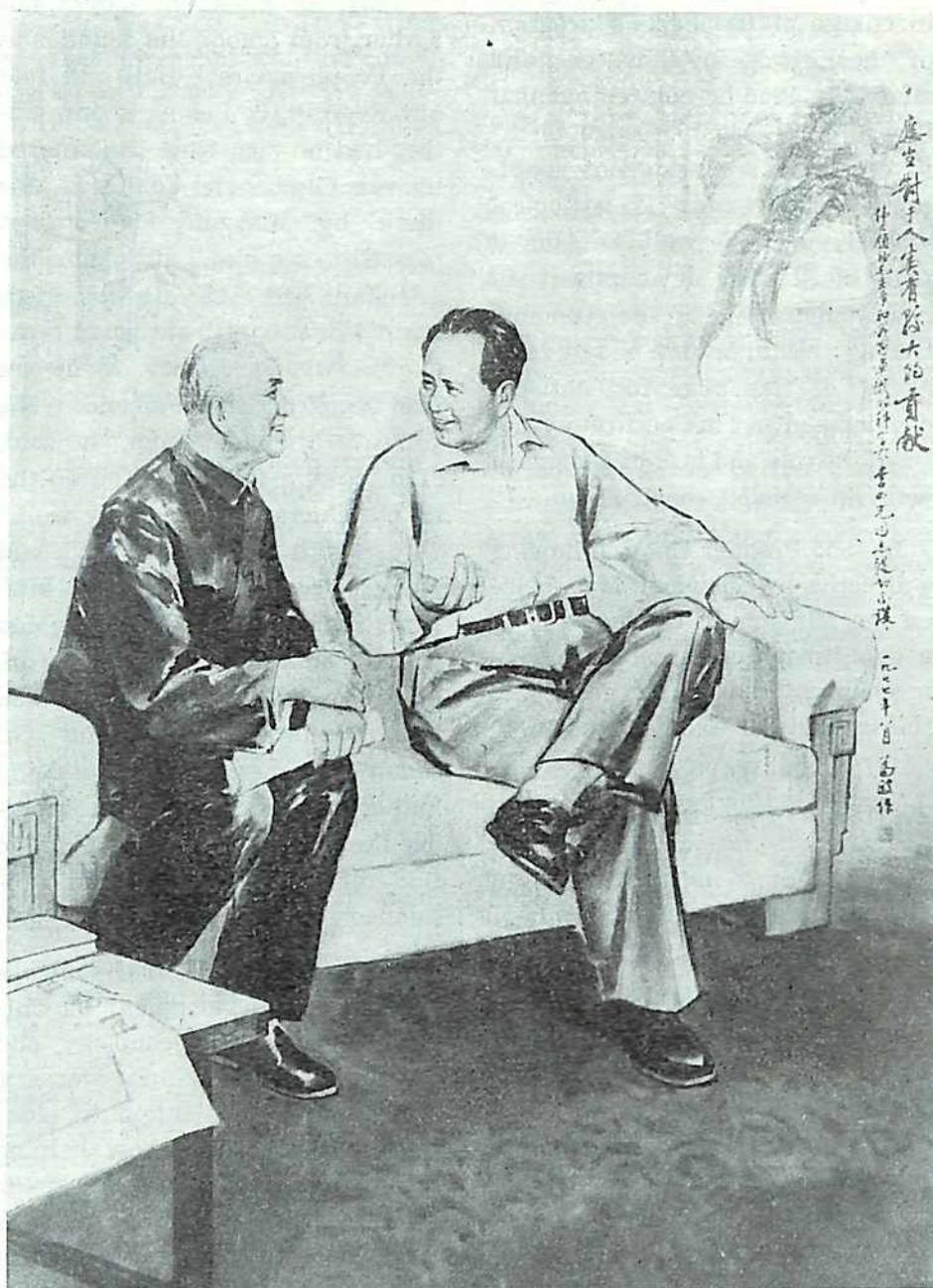
I often recall what my father, geologist Li Sze-kuang (Prof. J. S. Lee), told me about his friendship with Chairman Mao.

Father had lived under two social systems in China. The people in the old China suffered deeply. The Kuomintang reactionaries were corrupt and inept, imperialists trampled on large sections of Chinese territory and the bureaucrat-comprador-bourgeoisie were driving the people to starvation. In these conditions science declined and geology had become almost extinct.

It was only after new China was established in 1949 that the new field of geomechanics* advanced by my father was able to grow. Father was always moved by the different attitudes the old and the new society took toward geology. He used to say that we must never forget the deep concern of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai for science in China. This concern enabled the science of geomechanics to develop to what it is today.

* Geomechanics applies the principles of mechanics to the study of the mechanism, development and origin of the deformation of the earth's crust.

LI LIN is the daughter of Li Sze-kuang, noted geologist who died in 1971. She wrote this article for the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's death.



Chairman Mao and Li Sze-kuang. (Traditional painting)

Wang Wei-cheng

One day in 1952 Father came home in high spirits. He had talked with Chairman Mao. "The Chairman is very friendly and full of humor," he told us. "He wanted to know what the ϵ structure* is all about and asked me if I would explain it to him." Father was very impressed by Chairman Mao's wide knowledge. "He's very informed. He's so interested in seeing that geological science advance that he even asks about the ϵ -structure concept in geomechanics." Chairman Mao's attention strengthened Father's confidence in his research in geomechanics.

In 1953 Chairman Mao stressed that the Ministry of Geology was in charge of the Party's program of geological investigation and study. In 1956 he pointed out that it was our "reconnaissance force" in obtaining knowledge of conditions underground. If geological work is not done well, he said, it will block the development of nearly all sectors of the economy. Geology has to be five or ten years ahead of the plan for national development. This accurately defined the role and task of geological work in socialist construction.

In 1955 Premier Chou, following a directive by Chairman Mao, helped the Ministry of Geology set up a department of research in geomechanics. This later grew into the Institute of Geomechanics.

OIL was of major concern to the country. Early in the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) Chairman Mao asked my father about China's petroleum prospects. The Ministry of Geology had started a large-scale exploratory survey for oil. The imperialists tried to strangle us and Father did not believe the theory of their specialists that China was poor in oil. Basing him-

self on the geological structures of China and applying the theory and methods of geomechanics, he pointed out that there should be abundant oil reserves and broad prospects for exploiting them.

Under Chairman Mao and Party guidance, a campaign to find oil was organized throughout the country. Oil workers finally located a vast field in the northeast and named it Taching — Great Celebration. First oil flowed in 1959. Geomechanics had proved itself in locating the field, a fact Chairman Mao always remembered.

One day during a meeting of the Third National People's Congress in 1964, an attendant sought out Father from among the deputies in the People's Great Hall and told him to go to the Peking Room. Father had no idea why. He entered the room and found Chairman Mao there by himself. Father was pleased to see him, but thought the attendant had made a mistake and said, "I'm sorry, Chairman, I came to the wrong room." Chairman Mao shook my father's hand. "No, you're in the right room," he said. "I'm looking for you. You do the *tai chi chuan* exercises very well." "My health is not so good," said Father, "so I've learned a bit." After sitting down, Chairman Mao talked about nothing but oil. Father realized that Chairman Mao was humorously using *tai chi chuan* as a metaphor and praising Father and his comrades for applying the theory of geomechanics to find oil in a Neocathaysian subsidence zone.

Chairman Mao had always stressed the development of China's science and technology and the training of scientific workers. He paid much attention to older scientists who were now helping socialist construction. February 6, 1964 Chairman Mao invited my father, the astronomer Chu Kochen (Coching Chu) and physicist Chien Hsueh-sen to his home and

for nearly four hours discussed major scientific problems with them.

Father told me that Chairman Mao knew a lot about the development of many sciences past and present, in China and abroad. He had a thorough and detailed knowledge of glaciers and climatology. His room was filled with classics and science books which he occasionally opened as they discussed a wide range of subjects. He hoped, he told them, that the scientists of the older generation would put their ideas and efforts into catching up and overtaking world advanced levels in the top sciences and technology.

On New Year's Day 1965 Mother and I waited far into the night before Father came home. He had gone to a meeting at Huai Jen Hall on the grounds of the central people's government. After the meeting, Chairman Mao had invited Father to go with him to see a Honan province folk opera, *Valley Facing the Sun*, about a school graduate who goes to settle down in the countryside to become one with the working people. Chairman Mao asked Father to sit next to him and chatted with him about the opera and then about petroleum. "Both the Ministry of Geology and the Ministry of Petroleum have done a good job in locating oil," he said.

After the performance Chairman Mao asked my father to go up on the stage with him and have their picture taken with the opera singers. The connection was clear, Father told us. "He uses every opportunity to point out to us scientists that we should link our theory to practice and ourselves to the workers and peasants."

On May 19, 1969 Chairman Mao had a reception for 10,000 members of study groups from various parts of the country and members of the Party Central Committee then in Peking. Spotting my father in the

* The ϵ structure is a type of geological structure in geomechanics. It got its name because of its resemblance to the Greek letter ϵ .

crowd Chairman Mao shook his hand. After the reception Chairman Mao talked with Father for more than an hour on astronomy, geology, the origin of the celestial bodies and other questions of science. Speaking of the origin of the solar system, he said, "I don't believe much in Schmidt's theory. I think there's something in Kant and Laplace."* He wanted to read books Father had written and asked him to collect some materials for him to read. "I don't know much English," he said, "so better find me something in Chinese."

When he got home Father told me, "As busy as he is, the Chairman wants to read my books. There's plenty of material but it's all in big volumes with too much detail and a lot of it is in foreign languages." To save Chairman Mao's time, Father decided to compile something on major questions in geology and some other sciences, using pictures and charts and not too many words. Though he wasn't in very good health, he worked on it day and night and in 1970 finished a digest of materials entitled *Excerpts from Astronomy, Geology and Paleontology* and sent it to Chairman Mao.

Father often told me that whether we're studying foreign or

* In the view of O.Y. Schmidt (1891-1956), a Soviet geophysicist, the planets were mainly formed by the condensation of microdust. He thought that as the sun traveled in the galaxy it caught some of the diffuse matter in the clouds and caused it to rotate round the sun and gradually condense into planets.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), the German philosopher, thought that diffuse matter (nebula) gradually developed from primordial chaos into an orderly celestial system through the law of its own movement—condensation because of attraction and rotation because of repulsion.

P.S. Laplace (1749-1827), a French astronomer, mathematician and physicist, put forward a hypothesis resembling Kant's on the origin of the solar system. Applying the principles of mechanics, he demonstrated that the solar system developed from one individual gaseous mass, thus adding to the content of Kant's nebular hypothesis.

Chinese, ancient or modern material, we should follow Chairman Mao's teachings—eliminate the dross and assimilate the essence, never gulp everything down uncritically but keep a strict scientific attitude and earnest critical spirit. It was the thinking of Mao Tsetung that guided Father in obtaining results in geological research.

BOTH Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were interested in Father's political progress. Back in 1945 when the Kuomintang reactionaries were suppressing Communists and patriotic intellectuals in a white terror, Chou En-lai had seen Father twice in Chungking. Knowing that China would need a large number of scientists to build up the country after victory, he suggested that since my father opposed Chiang Kai-shek and would be persecuted he should go abroad for a time. In 1947 Father went to England.

After new China was born in 1949, Premier Chou proposed that Father should be a member of the national committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and be in charge of geological work. We were still in England and the Kuomintang reactionaries sent someone to threaten Father and try to prevent him from returning to China. He did not give in. Overcoming all kinds of obstacles, he returned in a roundabout way. The day after Father reached Peking in May 1950, Premier Chou came to see him at Peking Hotel, greeting him as an old friend.

When Father first took charge of geological work, Chairman Mao used to address him as "Mr. Li". By early 1956 Chairman Mao was calling him "Comrade Li Sze-kuang". I remember his excitement when he came home one day and told us this. Father often told me how he had wanted to join the

Communist Party. But he felt that during the war when the Communists had been sacrificing themselves he was away, and now that the revolution had succeeded and the Communist Party was the ruling party, to ask to join it seemed like wanting to enjoy the fruit of other people's labor. He was getting on in years and felt he wouldn't be able to do much for the Party anyway.

Premier Chou seemed to sense this contradiction in Father. In 1957 in Hangchow he asked him, "How long are you going to remain a Bolshevik outside the Party?" When Father told him how he felt, the Premier helped him see that it doesn't matter whether one joins the revolution early or late. Because the Communist Party holds political power does not mean that the struggle is over, revolution still must be carried on. In 1958 Father joined the Chinese Communist Party. He was 69. In 1969 he was elected a deputy to the Ninth Party Congress and a member of the Party Central Committee.

Guided by Chairman Mao's thinking, with Premier Chou's backing and steered in the cultural revolution, the geological workers and technical personnel have applied geomechanics to locating oil and minerals and forecasting earthquakes. Chairman Mao and Premier Chou valued these successes highly.

Father died on April 29, 1971. Premier Chou spoke at the memorial meeting on May 2. He told some comrades to do a good job in editing Father's writings. Thus, some of Father's works were published: *Introduction to Geomechanics, Rotational Shear Structure, Quaternary Glaciation of China, Excerpts from Astronomy, Geology and Paleontology, Regional Structural Analysis, Seismic Geology, Methods of Geomechanics and Notes on Earthquakes.*

SNOW MOUNTAINS AND MARSHLANDS

SNOW MOUNTAINS, marshlands, rivers and streams are the features of an 83,000-square-kilometer area in southwest China covering northwestern Szechuan province in the eastern part of the Chinghai-Tibet plateau. The Yellow River flows along the northern edge of this area and the Min and Tatu rivers, main tributaries of the Yangtze, originate here.

This was the area that gave the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army incredible difficulties on its famous Long March in 1935. It is sparsely populated, mostly by Tibetans, Chiangs and other minority nationalities. It became the Apa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture after liberation.

The Mountains

High mountains and deep valleys lie in the east and southeast. In the east is the Min Mountain Range, its highest peak, 5,588 meters above sea level. In the south the Chiunglai and Chiachin mountains average 3,500 m., the highest at 5,000 m. The rivers have cut deep valleys with precipitous sides, making avalanches and mud-and-stone flows frequent.

Thus the climate ranges from subtropical in the valleys to frigid in the high mountains. Cooler temperatures prevail from 2,500 to 4,100 m., where great trees and tall, straight Chinacane bamboos grow in the moist soil. This is the habitat of such valuable animals as the giant panda, golden-hair monkey, sika deer and the takin (the Tibetan goat-antelope). Above the

forest line the peaks are often snow-covered even in midsummer and higher peaks ten or eleven months in the year. July and August temperatures melt the snow. At this time day and night temperatures vary as much as 30 degrees C. Eroded by intense cold and strong winds, the rock disintegrates into boulders and stones which have accumulated in great seas of stones in lower areas.

The Chiachin Mountains, the most southern in the area, were the first crossed by the Red Army on its Long March. Their peaks are covered with snow and shrouded in clouds. No trees grow. Ice, sheer cliffs and the thin air have kept these mountains virtually uninhabited since ancient times.

The Marshlands

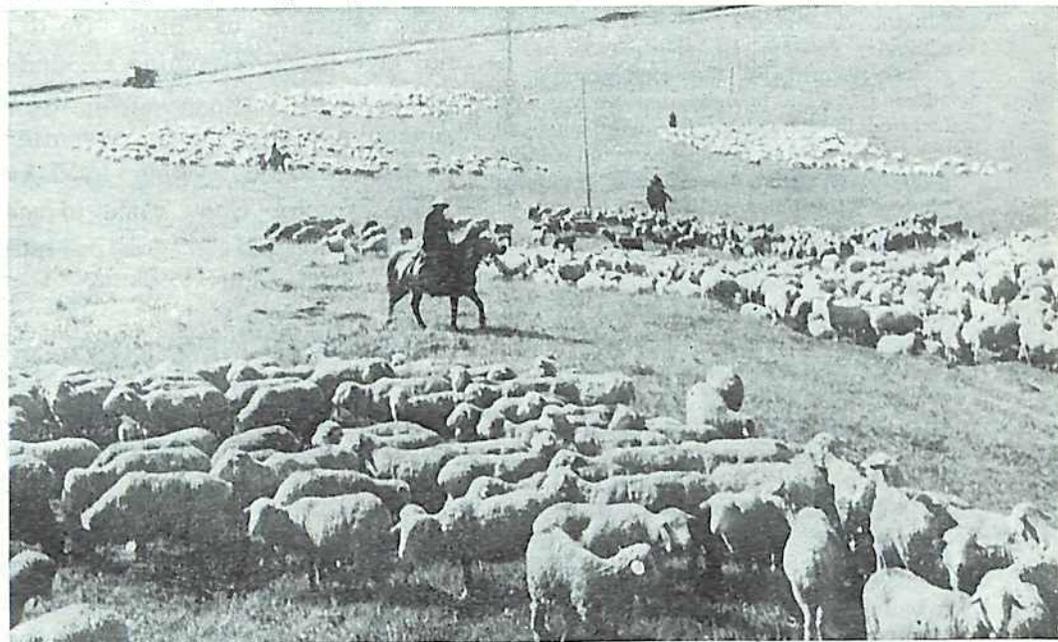
The infamous marshlands lie in the area's northwest, 25,000 sq.

km. of water, quagmire and almost impenetrable wild grass. Marshlands are rarely found on plateaus as high as 3,000 m.

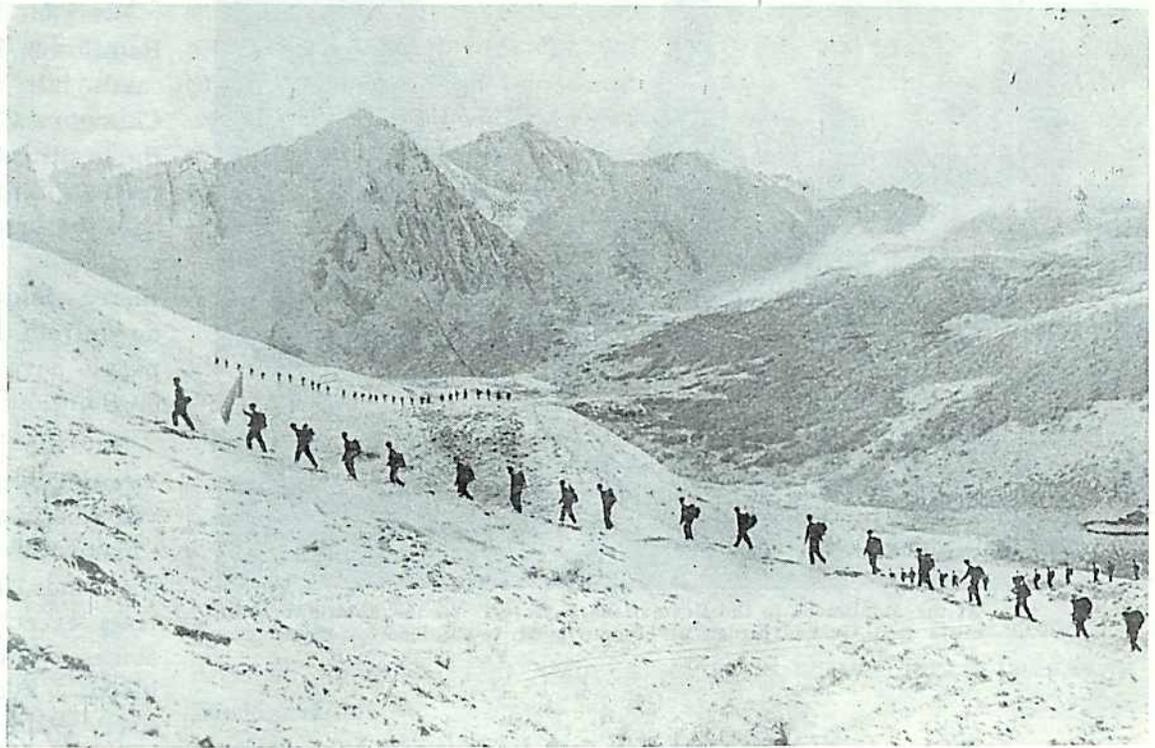
Certain parts of the marshlands are passable, some are not. At certain seasons, areas of swamps filled with clumps of tough grass become dry enough to cross. Other areas remain permanently waterlogged, with few clumps of grass and a thick layer of peat beneath the water that easily swallows animals and men. Muddy, brown-black water lies everywhere. It is undrinkable. If the skin is cut by grass, it festers in this water.

Marshland weather is highly unpredictable. In the thin air the sunlight will burn the skin. Yet blizzards, hailstorms and snow may come up suddenly, even in June. The great amount of evaporation from the marshes makes the air humid. Cooled at

Once swampy land, now green pastures.



The People's Liberation Army men crossing the Chiachin Mountains in training.



night, it turns into heavy fog by morning. Like the snow mountains, few people live in or use the area.

Transformation

After the people's republic was established in 1949, the people of these mountains, rivers and marshlands followed the lead of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao and set about to transform them. Two years later

a 500-km. highway diagonally across the prefecture was completed. More roads were built to connect with other parts of China. Today 75 percent of the communes in the area's 13 counties are linked by a 3,500-km. system. New towns, factories, shops and settlements have sprung up along the roads. The many rivers and streams are being utilized. Electricity for 97 percent of the communes now comes from 577 small hydropower stations.

The deadly marshlands have been tackled. Large tracts have been drained and turned into fields producing *chingko* barley and rape. Grassy areas along rivers have been stabilized as pastures. Sheep, cattle, yaks and *pian niu* (a cattle-yak hybrid) are raised. The yak and the *pian niu* are native to the area. The famous *tangke* horse is also raised here. A meter and a half high and possessing a great lung capacity, it is ideal for use on the plateau in the thin air. (This is one of China's three well-known breeds. The others are the Ili horse of Sinkiang and the Mongolian horse of Inner Mongolia.)

The Asi marshlands crossed by the Red Army during the Long March.



Below 4,000 m., the mountains are covered with luxuriant virgin forests. Among the species are spruce, fir, birch and the alpine pine and oak. After liberation the government made a general scientific survey of these forests, built water conservation projects and began lumbering in a planned way. To make full use of the wood, it built wood-waste processing plants, tannin mills and chemical plants, turning forest products into industrial raw materials.



At the Monument to the Revolutionary Martyrs on the Rainflower Hill, Little Red Guards pledge to become 'good revolutionaries themselves.

CHILDREN

Eighty-three Colorful Stones

AT 3 p.m. last September 9, the Little Red Guards of the Kao-peng Primary School in Nanking were watching television. It was a live broadcast of a ceremony at the new Chairman Mao Memorial Hall in Peking's Tien An Men Square, being held just one year since Chairman Mao had died. The silence was filled with the children's love and respect for their leader.

Suddenly there was a buzz in room. The main wall of the northern entrance hall had appeared. "There's our stones!" someone whispered to his neighbor.

This is the story of those stones.

After Chairman Mao died the year before, the children heard that the Party had decided to build a memorial hall for him. Everyone in different parts of China was going to contribute something to the hall. The Little Red Guards talked about what they could give to express their deep love.

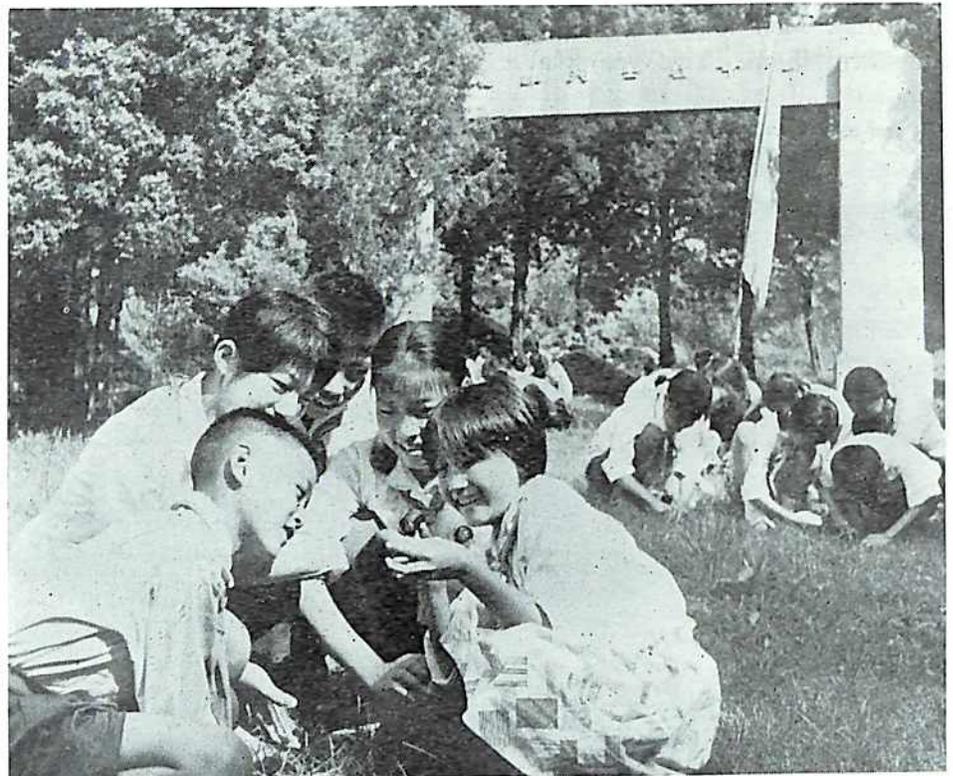
"Why don't we find colorful stones from Rainflower Hill?" one of them suggested.

Everyone knew the tale of how Rainflower Hill got its name. A small hill outside of Nanking's Chunghua Gate, it was known for the beautiful colored stones people used to find there. A long time ago, the legend says, a monk was explaining Buddhist scriptures there. Suddenly flowers rained down from the sky. Ever since, the people have called it Yu Hua Tai, or Rainflower Hill.

But the hill also had another meaning for the children. In the years between 1927 and 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek ruled in Nanking, thousands of revolutionaries had been executed there so that the stones were soaked with their blood. For China's children today — the descendents of coolies, rickshaw pullers and house slaves in the old society — Rainflower Hill was a monument to the thousands of revolutionaries who gave their lives to save the working people and bring happiness to the children.

Nanking children also know the story of how a particularly beautiful stone from the hill had been sent to Chairman Mao. In April 1960 some children had found a

Finding beautiful stones to send to the builders of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.



stone with a red star in it. Wrapping it carefully, they had one of their parents, a locomotive driver, take it to Peking for Chairman Mao. In a letter thanking them, Chairman Mao urged them to study hard and become worthy to carry on the revolution and the cause for which the murdered revolutionaries had fought.

The school's Little Red Guards decided to send some of these stones from Rainflower Hill to the Memorial Hall. Everyone in the school helped. Each day they went to the hill to search for stones. Freezing weather didn't stop them, or rain, or sore fingers from digging in the earth. Some children even brought stones that their families had kept for years.

Finally the children held a ceremony to present their stones. A white basin filled with water to make the stones show up clearly was placed in front of Chairman Mao's picture and one by one the children came up to put their finest ones in. They were large and small, ruby-red, jade-green, turquoise. Some had natural black and white lines like marble.

Slowly and with much discussion, they selected the most beautiful. Then on December 26 last year, which would have been Chairman Mao's 83rd birthday, they chose 83 stones, put them in a red lacquer box and mailed it to the workers who were building the hall in Peking. An enclosed letter read: "Please accept our gift. Even if you only use them to pave the walk leading to the hall we'll be happy." They also put in a short poem they had written:

Little stones from Rainflower Hill,

Each represents a heart red and loyal.

*To remember our great leader,
We present them to the Memorial Hall.*

In the spring the children received a letter from the builders, who were working around the clock on the Memorial Hall. It said that their beautiful stones from Rainflower Hill had been embedded in the main wall of the northern entrance hall. **Hai Hsiao**

Paupers Build a New Life

(Continued from p. 48)

heap of the farm machine bureau. He begged the bureau to fit usable parts from the four into one tractor and sell it to him. The bureau head and the workers agreed. Forty days later, with earth-moving equipment attached, Tung Chun drove a 35-h.p. tractor home. The brigade members welcomed the "iron ox" with drums and gongs and named it "The Pauper". In the next two years it leveled the mountain slopes into 15 terraced fields and plowed the land for a number of other brigades.

Growing Prosperous

Since 1971 we have spread Hsipu brigade's experience of getting machines through sideline work throughout the county. Chienming commune was basically mechanized in 1976. Tsunhua county has become so this year, three years ahead of 1980, the time set in Chairman Mao's call to mechanize the country's agriculture.

The "three legs of a donkey" in our paupers' co-op of 1951 grew into the 124 tractors and tractor-drawn implements of Chienming commune today. Our total horse power is now 5,240. We use machines to level slopes, improve the land, plow, sow, irrigate, drain and for processing agricultural and sideline products.

Since 1971 two thirds of the commune's sloping land, about 5,000 *mu*, have been transformed into level terraced fields. In the past, by the time we had plowed the land after the autumn harvest the frost had set in and it was too late for sowing winter wheat. Since 1973, plowing by tractor, we have been able to add a crop of winter wheat and increase the commune's grain yield from 590 to 868 *jin* per *mu*. In the last few years we have gotten bumper harvests in spite of natural calamities. For example, in June 1975 a hailstorm hit our commune and flattened all our crops. But because we had machines we were able to sow the fields with corn and get 900 *jin* per *mu*.

Last year during the severe earthquake at Tangshan 60 km. away, many houses, wells and

water channels collapsed in our commune. Fields were also damaged. But mechanization had freed many people for studying scientific farming. In spite of the damage we increased our per-*mu* yield of corn to 1,000 *jin* by using improved seed we had developed ourselves.

Our commune's per-*mu* yield of grain this year was twice that of 1969 before our mechanization. Our public fund has also doubled. The commune members' average per-capita income has risen 40 percent. All of them built new homes. Old beggar Wang Sheng's family built nine rooms. I didn't let him tear down his old straw hut. "Keep it so we can educate later generations," I said. "Let them learn from it what kind of life we peasants lived and how hard it was to build the good life we have now."

Our brigade also built a big room to show our village history. Here people can see the rags we paupers wore and the bowls we used begging for food — witnesses to our wretched life under the exploitation of the old society. Many pictures tell how we organized under the Party and Chairman Mao and changed our life beyond recognition.

On September 9 last year, I was hoeing in a field with other commune members when suddenly we felt as if a bolt of lightning had struck us. The radio announced that Chairman Mao had died. The people wept aloud and some were so shocked that they fainted. I called them together for a memorial meeting in our village history room. There we read what Chairman Mao had written about our paupers' co-op. "This is the most precious legacy he has left us," I said. "We must carry on our tradition of self-reliance which he praised."

Later in Peking I stood vigil by Chairman Mao as his body lay in state. He seemed asleep and my heart ached. "You have left us, but your thinking will never leave us," I whispered. "We will keep to the road you showed us — and so will our children and their children. Rest assured, Chairman Mao."

Yang Kai-hui, Wife and Revolutionary Comrade



QUITE A FEW of China's early revolutionaries were women, and one of the most respected and beloved among them is Yang Kai-hui, a great communist fighter and the wife of Mao Tsetung.

Yang Kai-hui was born in 1901 in Pantsang, an evergreen-surrounded village on the outskirts of Changsha in Hunan province. Her father, Yang Chang-chi, was an educator with democratic ideas. He believed that radical reforms were necessary to rid Chinese society of its corrupt politics. While studying in England and Japan his thoughts were constantly with his own country, so much so that he changed his name to Yang Huai-chung, meaning yearning for China.

Influenced by her father, already in childhood Yang Kai-hui was an avid reader. After finishing primary school she continued to study at home, reading widely and gaining a good grounding in the Chinese language. Quiet and steady, she had a well-developed sense of right and wrong. In 1913 when Yang Huai-chung returned from abroad and went to teach at Hunan Teachers' School No. 1 in Changsha the whole family moved to the city. Mao Tsetung, then just turned 20, was studying in the same school. It was a time when constant strife between feudal warlords and increasing imperial-

ist encroachment were causing the people deep suffering. Mao Tsetung and his fellow students with progressive ideas often came to Yang Huai-chung's home to meet and talk about the current situation, searching for ways to save the country and the people.

"In my youth," Mao Tsetung was to recall later, "Mr. Yang was the one who most influenced my thinking. Later in Peking he became my truest friend." At every such gathering in the Yang home, Kai-hui was an eager listener, sharing the students' joy at good news and anger over the plight of the country, nodding in agreement, her eyes shining, when the discussion turned to ways to save the country and hopes for the future. Often Mao Tsetung would ask her opinion or answer her questions. Many times Kai-hui joined these young people in their outings and took an eager part in their lively debates. She began to share Mao Tsetung's view that the only way to save China was for the people to rise in revolution and overthrow imperialism and feudalism. It was the beginning of an ideological growth that eventually made her an unyielding fighter for communism.

In the summer of 1918 her father, engaged to teach in Peking University, took the family north. In the autumn of the same year Mao Tsetung came to Peking to

help organize young people to go to France on a work-study program. With Professor Yang's help he found work in the Peking University library. As in Changsha, he and other progressive young people often gathered in the Yang home to discuss new ideas and theories, especially those of Marx and Lenin which had guided the recent October Revolution in Russia. Yang Kai-hui, too, eagerly absorbed writings on Marxism and became more and more determined to dedicate herself to revolution.

After Professor Yang Huai-chung died of illness in January 1920, the family moved back to Changsha. Yang Kai-hui, then 18, soon became an activist in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism in that city. She joined the Hunan Students' Association led by Mao Tsetung. Put in charge of propaganda work, she wrote articles attacking imperialist and feudal forces for newspapers and periodicals. In her capacity as propaganda chief she met with student representatives from all over Hunan province. She constantly stressed that "we'll only win if we struggle". She was an advocate of coeducation when it was still little known in China. Defying public opinion and feudal propriety, she and several young women cut off their braids and persuaded an all-male school to accept them. She

and other student leaders were castigated as "radicals" and "reds". But the reactionaries' charges only steeled her will to fight.

Revolutionary Years

In July 1920 Mao Tsetung returned to Changsha and set up the Cultural Bookstore for spreading Marxism-Leninism. Yang Kai-hui helped him with this work. She talked her mother into donating a part of the money gifts for her father's funeral as funds for the bookstore. "It only means that we eat a little less or do with one less piece of clothing now," she said. "When the revolution succeeds everybody will be fed and clothed." The bookstore promoted wide circulation of Marxist books and current publications, which helped advance the new culture movement. The bookstore also became an important liaison center in Mao Tsetung's efforts to found a political party.

In the autumn of 1920 Mao Tsetung formed first the Hunan Communist Group and then the Socialist Youth League. Yang Kai-hui was one of the first to join the league. Later that year she and Mao Tsetung were married. The next year, on July 1, the Chinese Communist Party was founded. The Hunan Communist Group was represented by Mao Tsetung and Ho Shu-heng at the First Party Congress held in Shanghai. Yang Kai-hui became one of the Party's earliest members.

The Hunan Area Party Committee had its headquarters in a

house at Chingshuitang outside Changsha. Many Party meetings were held there and Mao Tsetung and Yang Kai-hui also made it their home. Yang Kai-hui was the headquarters' confidential secretary and liaison person. She helped receive comrades from other parts of the country, delivered the Party's and Mao Tsetung's instructions to the liaison stations, and helped guide the workers', students' and women's movements. She often stood watch during important Party meetings.

In April 1923 when Mao Tsetung went to work in the Party Central Committee in Shanghai, Yang Kai-hui went along and taught in a workers' night school. With her bobbed hair, cloth shoes and homespun cloth dress, she was much liked by the workers in this metropolis.

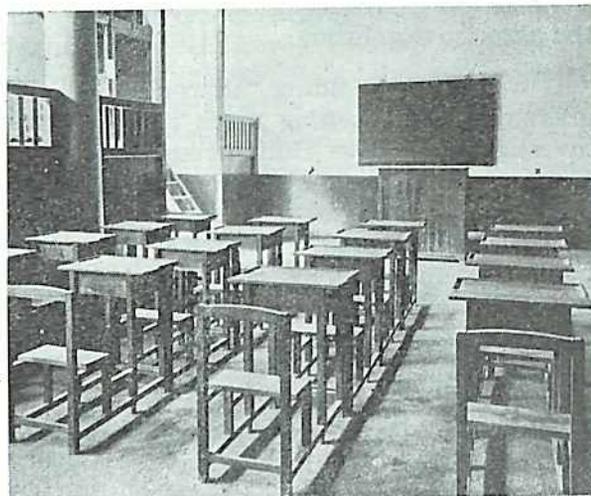
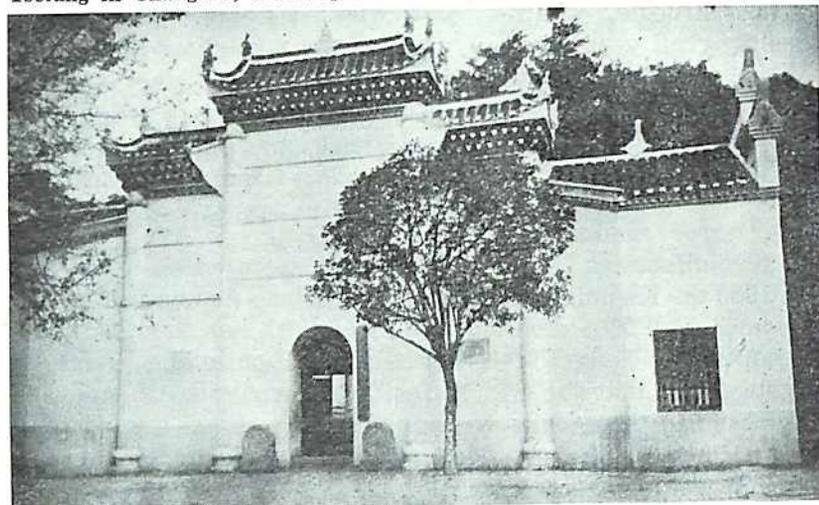
In February 1925 Yang Kai-hui returned with Mao Tsetung to Shaoshan, her husband's hometown in Hunan province. They visited poor peasants and talked with them to find out how the landlords exploited them. They set up more than 20 peasant night schools in the Shaoshan area and Yang Kai-hui was one of their principal leaders. She herself taught many classes, local elders recall, talking on Chinese history and geography and how the imperialists were encroaching on China. She used the words of a local ballad: "Oh, for the peasants life is hard, / All their crops go to the landlord. Working every month, working every year, / But

always in the end, fields and granaries bare." With it she showed that they lived in a society where man exploited man, and that the exploited should rise and overthrow this social system. As class consciousness grew among the peasants it was possible to organize them. Societies were formed under the slogan, "Overthrow the imperialist powers, wipe out the national shame", their core force



Yang Kai-hui's tomb.

Outside and inside views of the peasant night school established by Mao Tsetung in Changsha, Hunan province and where Yang Kai-hui taught.



being members of secret peasant associations. As more activists in the area were admitted into the Party, in June that year Mao Tsetung established the Shaoshan Party branch, one of the earliest Party branches in the rural areas. Yang Kai-hui was in charge of its propaganda work. The task demanded much of her time and she gave it her unreserved attention while still managing to take care of her children and housework. For this she was much appreciated by Mao Tsetung.

In autumn 1925 Mao Tsetung went to Kwangchow (Canton) where he edited *The Political Weekly*. It published articles exposing and criticizing the Kuomintang Right-wing's conspiracy to break up the revolutionary united front. Yang Kai-hui soon joined him. The following year the Northern Expedition against imperialism and feudalism started out from Kwangchow with the Chinese Communist Party taking part in the leadership and wielding strong influence. To develop the peasant movement as an effective support to the Northern Expedition, Mao Tsetung founded the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Kwangchow which trained many cadres who formed the backbone of the movement. He and Chou En-lai both taught classes at the institute. In addition to doing some staff work, Yang Kai-hui was a student in the class to train political cadres for the northern expeditionary army. In winter that year she returned to Changsha to help organize the Hunan province peasant congress. The congress's resolutions approving the peasants' use of revolutionary violence against local tyrants accelerated the agrarian revolution.

It was after attending this congress that Mao Tsetung made his investigation of five Hunan counties and wrote the famous *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*. Yang Kai-hui helped him edit his notes and copied the drafts for him.

In spring-summer 1927 as the revolution was advancing rapidly, Chiang Kai-shek, chief of the Kuomintang Right-wing, backed by imperialist powers, broke the rev-

olutionary united front and turned against the Communists. Within the Communist Party, Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line developed into capitulation to the Kuomintang reactionaries. Thousands of Communist Party members and revolutionaries were slaughtered, the first great revolution failed.

The August 1 uprising led by the Communist Party in Nanchang sounded the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. Then on August 7 the Communist Party called an emergency meeting which corrected the capitulationist line and decided on the policy of agrarian revolution and armed struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries. Then Mao Tsetung launched the Autumn Harvest Uprising and established a revolutionary base in Kiangsi province. Yang Kai-hui stayed behind in the Changsha countryside to guide the struggle in the counties around Pantsang.

The Kuomintang reactionaries in league with the local tyrants went on a rampage killing the revolutionary people. Yang Kai-hui worked hard to mobilize the peasants to counter the offensive with armed struggle. She walked many miles to different places to hold meetings of Party members and peasant activists and plan organized struggles. Armed with spears and broadswords, the peasants overpowered the local tyrants and divided up their land. They wrecked the enemy's communication lines. They seized guns and ammunition from local township defense corps to strike at the reactionary rule. "Your cousin Kai-hui was all for armed struggle," Chairman Mao was to recall years later when he met Yang Kai-hui's cousin Yang Kai-ying after liberation.

A Heroic Death

Kuomintang terror against the people and revolutionaries kept mounting. In 1930 the Kuomintang offered a reward of 1,000 silver yuan for the capture of Yang Kai-hui. Friends suggested that she go to join her husband in the revolutionary base in Kiangsi. She said she could not leave her post in

Hunan without instructions from Mao Tsetung. Twice she was surrounded by the Kuomintang, but each time she was able to get away with the help of the people. She remained calm in any emergency, ordering the other comrades to leave first and hiding the Party documents. After liberation, beside a vegetable plot near where Yang Kai-hui had lived a jar was dug up containing documents, apparently buried by her.

On the evening of October 24, 1930 Yang Kai-hui was at her home in Pantsang. She had just finished correcting a document, made sure that her three sleeping children were well tucked in and lain down to sleep when shots rang out from the bamboo grove nearby. Yang Kai-hui had been betrayed by an informer and some 60 Kuomintang men had surrounded Pantsang. She burned the Party documents and when the soldiers broke into her home she was ready. "All right, let's go," she said with smoldering anger. Her eldest son eight-year-old Mao An-ying was also seized.

She was tortured repeatedly to try to make her reveal Mao Tsetung's whereabouts. Her only answer was, "I don't know."

"Announce in the papers that you renounce marital relationship with Mao Tsetung and you'll be free," she was told.

"You'll never get what you want from me, whatever you do."

To her relatives and friends who came to see her, she said, "Death is nothing. I only hope the revolution will succeed soon."

On November 14, 1930 she was taken from prison. "Comrades," she said to her fellow inmates, "don't grieve. Persist in what you're doing. The day will come when we'll come out on top."

She was executed on a hill outside Changsha. As she fell the air resounded with her shouts: "Down with the Kuomintang reactionaries!" "Down with Chiang Kai-shek!" "Long live the Chinese

(Continued on p. 62)

'Proud Poplar', Yang Kai-hui's

Story in Dance

THE STORY of Yang Kai-hui, a great communist fighter and wife of Mao Tsetung is the theme of a new dance drama entitled *Proud Poplar* created and performed by the Song and Dance Troupe of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

Taking its name from Chairman Mao's beautiful poem on Yang Kai-hui "Reply to Li Shu-yi" (see p. 62) and in the spirit of the poem, the production combines revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. After a prologue in the present showing people taking flowers to Yang Kai-hui's grave, Scene 1, "Close Comrades", takes place in early 1927 in the Changsha home of Mao Tsetung and Yang Kai-hui. Mao Tsetung has just finished writing his *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* to refute those both inside and outside the Party who were attacking the peasant movement. The scene shows Yang Kai-hui's joy at the thought that finally a correct orientation had been put forward.

Scene 2, "With Spear in Hand", depicts the vigorous Hunan peasant movement led by Mao Tsetung. Before the office of a peasants' association, Yang Kai-hui joins

the masses in celebrating the establishment of the peasants' own armed force. The Kuomintang Right-wing tries to suppress the peasant movement and Yang Kai-hui leads the people in tit-for-tat struggle.

Scene 3 features the Autumn Harvest Uprising. The autumn of 1927 was a critical time. The Great Revolution has failed and the Kuomintang reactionaries have turned against the Communists and are massacring them and the people. Chairman Mao raises the slogan "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and Yang Kai-hui passes on Mao Tsetung's instructions for uprising at the autumn harvest to people along the Hsiangchiang and Liuyang rivers. She also helps with organizational work for the uprising. After the uprising Mao Tsetung takes the troops to the Ching kang Mountains

where he sets up China's first rural revolutionary base.

Scene 4, "Flames Along the Hsiangchiang River", shows Yang Kai-hui, in spite of the Kuomintang white terror, continuing with underground work in Changsha in accordance with Mao Tsetung's instructions. The last two scenes of the dance drama, "Through Iron Bars" and "Immortal Spirit" show Yang Kai-hui defying the enemy while in prison after she is arrested and dying a heroine's death. In the prison episode, as Yang Kai-hui thinks of Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary base, scenes of life there takes place behind a gauze curtain and soldiers and civilians report to Mao Tsetung a victory in the Ching kang Mountains fighting.

In the last scene, at Yang Kai-hui's execution, the dance drama has her become a white-clad figure soaring into the clouds. The dance concludes with an epilogue of the celebration of the downing of the "gang of four". As fireworks light up the night, her image appears triumphantly in the sky.

The dance combines movements from the Chinese classical dance and ballet with those from Hunan folk dances to enrich its dance vocabulary and add local color. The choreography is sensitive and precise, with powerful, sweeping movements. Both solos and group dances bring out the idea of heroism in the cause of revolution. The theme music, based on the Hunan folk song "Liuyang River", lends poignancy to the work.

Sung Yang

The people honor Yang Kai-hui at the monument to her.

Yang Kai-hui (shown with her son Mao An-ying) rejects the enemy's bribes to sign a renunciation of Mao Tsetung and scorns their threats.



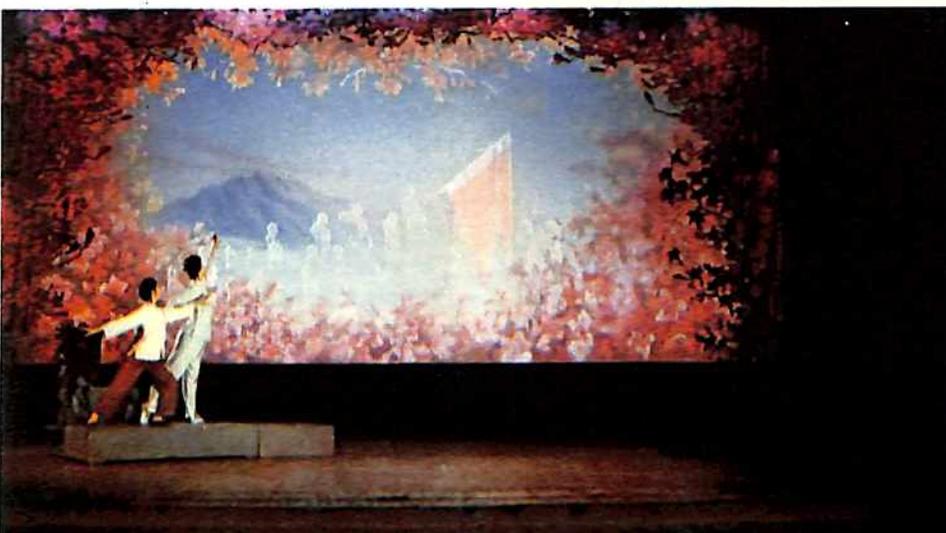


As she finishes reading Mao Tsetung's report on the Hunan peasant movement Yang Kai-hui feels glad that now the movement will have a correct orientation.

Celebrating the establishment of the peasants' own armed force.



In prison, Yang Kai-hui and her son Mao An-ying think of Chairman Mao and the Ching-kang Mountains revolutionary base.



Yang Kai-hui goes fearlessly to her death.





A symbolic rendition of Yang Kai-hui's travels along the Hsiangchiang River mobilizing people for the Autumn Harvest Uprising.



Rejoicing over the downing of the "gang of four".

The Valuable Camphor Wood

HIGH-QUALITY camphor trees are found in many parts of China. The camphor laurel (*Cinnamomum camphora* (L.) Presl), in particular, has great economic value. Its fragrant, fine-grained and beautifully-marked wood is insect proof and is used for furniture and carvings. Because it resists moisture and does not easily warp, it is superior wood for keels of ships. It is excellent for beams, pillars and partitions, giving a solemn atmosphere to reception rooms, halls and mausoleums. Other species, such as *Camphora* (Roxb.) Kosterm and *Camphora bodinieri* (Levl.) are also used as building material. Camphorwood from many parts of China went into the building of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.

The tree's greatest economic value lies in the camphor and camphor oil extracted from its branches, leaves and wood. Camphor is essential in making celluloid, photographic film, explosives, artificial leather and synthetic rubber. It is widely used in glues and insulation. The oil is used as a base for perfumes and in the chemical, pharmaceutical and light industries. Oil and wax can be obtained from camphor seed, and tannin from the bark. People also brew its twigs, leaves and fruit as medicine for colds, heart and regulating the functions of the body.

An evergreen with many sturdy branches and luxuriant leaves, its crown top gives large shade. It withstands excessive water and dampness. From ancient times it has been planted in gardens and

scenic spots. It reaches five meters in three or four years, and mature trees grow to 50 meters with upper trunks two or three meters in diameter.

Camphor trees can achieve an enormous age. A few years ago the Botanical Research Institute in Peking learned of one in southern Kiangsi province. It was hollow and had only half of its bark left. Though there was no record of its age, most people thought it was at least 2,000 years old. Local people had set up a teahouse in its hollow center, with a table around which eight customers could sit.

Taiwan province ranks first in the number of camphor trees. Kiangsi province ranks second. According to historical records, 100 years ago the tree could be found almost everywhere in the province. Since liberation in 1949, camphor forests have been developed and camphor trees planted along highways in many parts of south China.

Hsia Chen-tai

Yang Kai-hui

(Continued from p. 58)

Communist Party!" She was only 29.

In Memorium

In the Kiangsi revolutionary base Mao Tsetung was deeply grieved at the news of his wife's death. In a letter to his wife's brother Yang Kai-chih he wrote, "The death of Kai-hui is an irreparable loss."

One of Yang Kai-hui's good friends was Li Shu-yi, wife of Liu Chih-hsun who was secretary-general of the Hunan Peasants' Association. Liu was killed in battle fighting for the revolution in 1932. After liberation, in 1957 Li Shu-yi wrote a poem in memory of her husband and sent it to Chairman Mao. On May 11 that year Chairman Mao wrote the poem "Reply to Li Shu-yi".

*I lost my proud Poplar and
you your Willow,**

*Poplar and Willow soar to the
Ninth Heaven.*

*Wu Kang, asked what he can
give,*

Serves them a laurel brew.

*The lonely moon goddess
spreads her ample sleeves*

*To dance for these loyal souls
in infinite space.*

*Earth suddenly reports the
tiger subdued,*

*Tears of joy pour forth falling
as mighty rain.*

An old friend of Chairman Mao's once asked him how to understand the words "proud Poplar". His reply was, "A woman got her head cut off for the revolution. Isn't that something to be proud of?" In 1962 Yang Kai-hui's mother died. In a letter of condolence Chairman Mao wrote, "Bury her in the same grave with my dear wife, Comrade Kai-hui.... Our

two families are really one family."

Since liberation Yang Kai-hui's tomb has been kept in good repair. In 1969 Hua Kuo-feng, then secretary of the Hunan Province Party Committee, supervised its reconstruction and the erection of a memorial hall. Premier Chou En-lai and the older revolutionaries always held Yang Kai-hui in deep respect.

For years the "gang of four", especially Chiang Ching, didn't want the truth about Yang Kai-hui to spread. The press was forbidden to tell the story of her life, like that of living revolutionaries of her generation. But in their hearts the people cherished her memory and found their own ways to pay tribute to her. How this terrified the "gang of four"!

* "Poplar" refers to Yang Kai-hui, for the character *yang* means poplar. "Willow" refers to Liu Chih-hsun, for *liu* means willow.

Lesson 10

Buying Fruit

A: 您买什么?

Nín mǎi shénme?
You buy what?

B: 这种苹果多少钱一斤?

Zhè zhǒng píngguǒ duōshǎo qián yì jīn?
This kind (of) apple (is) how much money one jin?

A: 四毛二一斤。

Sì máo èr yì jīn.
Four jiao two (fen) one jin.

B: 桔子呢?

Júzi ne?
(And) oranges?

A: 桔子四毛五。

Júzi sì máo wǔ.
Oranges (are) four jiao five (fen).

B: 我要苹果吧。

Wǒ yào píngguǒ ba.
I want apples.

A: 您要几斤?

Nín yào jǐ jīn?
You want how many jin?

B: 要三斤。

Yào sān jīn.
(I) want three jin.

A: 好。不要点桔子吗?

Hǎo. Bú yào diǎn júzi ma?
Fine. Don't (you) want some oranges?

B: 不要了。要二斤香蕉吧!

Bú yào le. Yào èr jīn xiāngjiāo ba!
(I) don't want. (I) want two jin (of) bananas.

A: 好。

Hǎo.
All right.

B: 那种葡萄怎么样? 酸不酸?

Nà zhǒng pútáo zěnmeyàng? Suān bù suān?
That kind (of) grape (is) how? Sour (or) not sour?

A: 不酸, 是甜的。

Bù suān, shì tián de.
Not sour. (It) is sweet.

B: 要一斤。

Yào yì jīn.
(I) want one jin.

A: 还要别的吗?

Hái yào biéde ma?
Still want else?

B: 不要了。一共多少钱?

Bú yào le. Yìgòng duōshǎo qián?
(I) don't want. Altogether how much money?

A: 苹果一块两毛六, 香蕉七毛

Píngguǒ yì kuài liǎng máo liù, xiāngjiāo qī máo
Apples one yuan two jiao six (fen), bananas seven jiao

六, 葡萄两毛八, 一共两块

liù, pútáo liǎng máo bā, yìgòng liǎng kuài
six (fen), grapes two jiao eight (fen), altogether two yuan

三毛。

sān máo.
three jiao.

B: 这是三块钱。

Zhè shì sān kuài qián.
This is three yuan

A: 找您七毛。

Zhǎo nín qī máo.
Return change you seven jiao.

B: 好。再见!

Hǎo. Zàijiàn!
Fine, good-bye!

A: 再见!

Zàijiàn!
Good-bye!

A: What do you want to buy?

B: How much is this kind of apple per jin? (1 jin = ½ kg. or 1.1 lb.)

A: Four jiao two fen per jin.

B: And oranges?

A: Oranges are four jiao five fen.

B: I want apples.

A: How many jin do you want?

B: I want three jin.

A: Fine. Don't you want some oranges?

B: I don't want any. I want two jin of bananas.

A: All right.

B: How is that kind of grape? Is it sour?

A: It's not sour. It's sweet.

B: I want one jin.

A: Do you want anything else?

B: I don't. How much altogether?

A: The apples are one yuan two jiao and six fen. Bananas are seven jiao six fen. Grapes are two jiao and eight fen. Altogether two yuan three jiao.

B: Here's three yuan.

A: Here's your change, seven jiao.

B: Fine, good-bye!

A: Good-bye!

Notes

1. Making questions with interrogative words.

In lesson 5 we learned to make questions by placing the word *ma* 吗 at the end of a declarative sentence. Another way of forming questions is with interrogative words. They are: *shénme* 什么 (what), *zěnmeyàng* 怎么样 (how), *jǐ* 几 (how many), *duōshǎo* 多少 (how many), *shuí* 谁 (who) and *nǎr* 哪 (where). These are not placed at the beginning of the sentence as in English but in the same place as the words that answer the question. Examples: *Nín mǎi shénme?* 您买什么? (What do you want to buy?) Answer: *Wǒ mǎi píngguǒ* 我买苹果 (I want to buy apples). *Zhè zhǒng pútáo zěnmeyàng?* 这种葡萄怎么样? (How is this kind of grape?) Answer: *Zhè zhǒng pútáo hěn tián* 这种葡萄很甜 (This kind of grape is very

sweet). *Nín mǎi jǐ jīn?* 您买几斤? (How many *jin* do you want?) Answer: *Wǒ mǎi sān jīn* 我买三斤 (I want three *jin*). *Yìgòng duōshao qián?* 一共多少钱? (How much is it altogether?) Answer: *Yìgòng liǎng kuài sān máo* 一共两块三毛 (Altogether two yuan and three *jiao*).

2. *Jǐ* 几 and *duōshao* 多少 for how many.

For a number from 1 to 10, *jǐ* 几 is used. Examples: *Nǐ yǒu jǐ ge hái zi?* 你有几个孩子? (How many children do you have?) *Nǐ mǎi jǐ jīn píng guǒ?* 你买几斤苹果? (How many *jin* of apples do you want?)

Duōshao 多少 can be used for any number, large or small. After *duōshao* 多少, the measure word can be omitted. Examples, *Zhè ge yuè yǒu duōshao tiān?* 这个月有多少天? (How many days are there in this month?) *Nà ge xué xiào yǒu duōshao (ge) xué shēng?* 那个学校有多少(个)学生? (How many students are in that school?) *Nǐ jiā yǒu duōshao (ge) rén?* 你家有多少(个)人? (How many people are in your family?) We can also say *Nǐ jiā yǒu jǐ ge rén?* 你家有几个人? but then the measure word *ge* must be used.

3. Units of currency.

China's currency is the *rénmínbì* 人民币 (people's currency). Its unit is the yuan 元. One yuan equals ten *jiǎo* 角. One *jiǎo* equals ten *fēn* 分. In speaking, however, the colloquial *máo* 毛 is used instead of *jiǎo* 角 and *kuài* 块 (piece, the measure word for money) for yuan 元. We often say 块钱 *kuài qián* (pieces of money).

Examples:

0.45 元 *sì máo wǔ (fēn)* 四毛五(分)
four *jiao* and five *fen*

1.20 元 *yí kuài èr (máo)* 一块二(毛)
one yuan two *jiao*

8.00 元 *bā kuài (qián)* 八块(钱)
eight yuan

16.90 元 *shí liù kuài jiǔ (máo)* 十六块九(毛)
sixteen yuan nine *jiao*

20.02 元 *èrshí kuài líng èr (fēn)* 二十块零二(分)
twenty yuan and two *fen*

89.76 元 *bāshí jiǔ kuài qī máo liù (fēn)* 八十九块七毛六(分) eighty-nine yuan seven *jiao* and six *fen*

In Chinese you can't say 四十五分 or 十二毛. It must be 四毛五分 and 一块二毛. In speaking, the last unit of the currency is usually omitted: 四毛五, 一块二.

4. *Nín* 您 (you). *Nín* 您 is a form denoting respect.

For Advanced Students:

毛岸英上“劳动大学”

毛岸英 (*Máo Ànyīng*) 是毛主席的儿子 *érzi* (son), 他从国外上完大学回到延安 *Yán'ān* (Yenan), 毛主席对他说:“你已经大学毕业 *biyè* (graduate) 了, 但你学的只

是书本的知识 *zhīshì* (knowledge), 还不够 *gòu* (enough), 还需要上一个大学, 这个大学叫“劳动大学”, 去向工农群众学习, 到劳动中去锻炼。”毛主席嘱咐 *zhǔfù* (enjoin) 他要和农民群众一起住, 一起吃, 一起劳动。

毛岸英遵照 *zūnzhào* (follow) 毛主席的指示 *zhǐshì* (instruction) 背 *bēi* (carry on back) 起行李 *xíngli* (luggage), 带着小米 *xiǎomǐ* (millet) 和种子 *zhǒngzi* (seed), 到离延安四十多里的村子去上“劳动大学”。农民都很欢迎他。他拿出种子说:“这是我爸爸让我带来的, 分 *fēn* (distribute) 给大家种 *zhòng* (sow) 吧!” 大家看着毛主席送来的种子非常激动 *jīdòng* (moved), 决心 *juéxīn* (determine) 种好这些种子, 让它生 *shēng* (give birth) 根 *gēn* (root) 开花 *kāihuā* (blossom), 获得 *huòdé* (get) 大丰收 *fēngshōu* (bumper harvest).

毛岸英在农民的带领 *dàilǐng* (lead) 下, 每天天不亮 *liàng* (light) 就上山, 天黑时才下山, 他样样都干, 淘 *táo* (clean out) 粪 *fèn* (night-soil), 挑土, 开 *kāi* (open up) 荒 *huāng* (wasteland), 锄 *chú* (hoe) 地, 种庄稼 *zhuāngjia* (crop), 背 *bèi* (back) 上晒 *shài* (sun) 得脱 *tuō* (peel) 了皮 *pí* (skin), 手上也磨 *mó* (rub) 起了许多血泡 *xuèpào* (blister). 大家关心 *guānxīn* (solicitous) 地问:“岸英, 你受得了 *shòudeliǎo* (can stand) 吗? 累了吧?” 他回答:“受得了, 不累。”毛岸英不只学会了不少农业生产的劳动本领 *běnlǐng* (skill), 更重要的是学到了农民的好思想 *sīxiǎng* (thinking) 和艰苦 *jiānkǔ* (hard) 奋斗 *fèndòu* (struggle) 的革命精神 *jīngshen* (spirit).

劳动了一年以后, 毛岸英向毛主席汇报 *huìbào* (report) 在“劳动大学”的学习情况。毛主席看着他粗壮 *cūzhuàng* (sturdy) 结实 *jiēshi* (strong) 的身体, 黑里透 *tòu* (come through) 红的脸 *liǎn* (face) 和长满了茧 *jiǎn* (callus) 的手, 高兴地笑了。

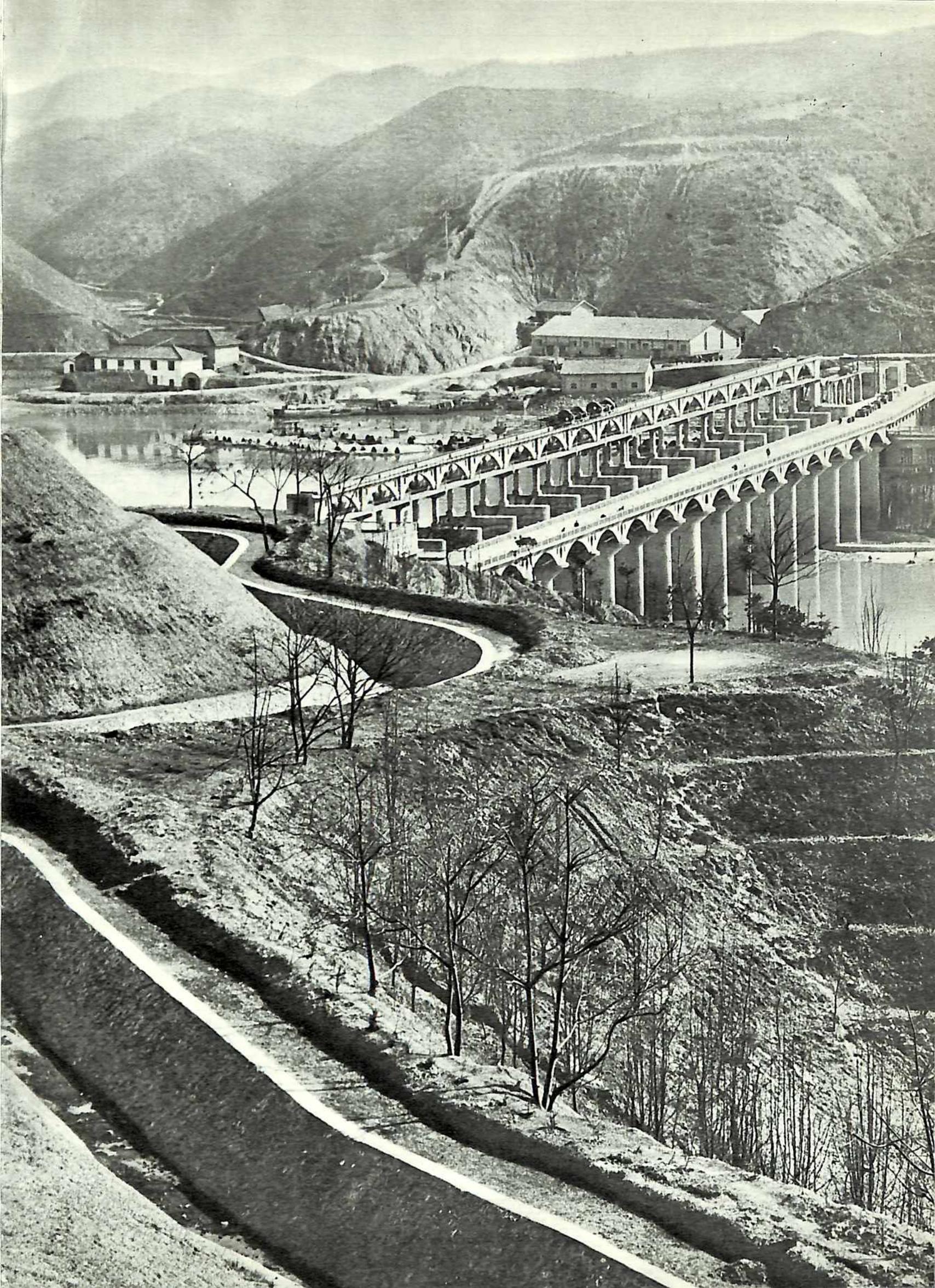
Mao An-ying Goes to the “Labor University”

Mao An-ying was Chairman Mao's son. When he came back to Yenan after finishing university abroad, Chairman Mao said to him: “You've graduated from university, but you've learned only book knowledge. It's not enough. You need to go to another university, the ‘labor university’, to learn from the workers and peasants and temper yourself through physical labor.” Chairman Mao enjoined him to live, eat and work with the peasants.

Following Chairman Mao's instruction, Mao An-ying put his luggage on his back and, taking some millet and seed with him, went to a “labor university”, a village forty *li* from Yenan. The peasants all welcomed him warmly. He took out the seed and said: “My father asked me to bring these. Distribute them among everybody to sow.” Seeing the seed sent by Chairman Mao the peasants were deeply moved. They determined to sow them well, let them take roots, blossom and yield a bumper harvest.

Led by the peasants Mao An-ying went up to the hills every day before daybreak and returned when it was dark and did all kinds of things — cleaning out night-soil, carrying earth, opening up wasteland, hoeing the fields and growing crops. His back was so sunburnt that skin peeled. Many blisters were also rubbed on his hands. The peasants solicitously asked, “An-ying, can you stand it? Are you tired?” He replied, “I can stand it. I'm not tired.” Mao An-ying learned not only quite a few work skills of farm production, but, more important, learned the peasants' good thinking and revolutionary spirit of hard struggle.

After working a year, Mao An-ying reported back to Chairman Mao what he had learned in the “labor university”. Seeing his sturdy and strong physique, glowing face beneath his tan and hands overgrown with calluses, Chairman Mao smiled happily.





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