

BEIJING REVIEW

War of Liberation
and Founding of
People's Republic
Of China

— Visiting Places of
Revolutionary
Significance

●
Sino-Soviet
Negotiations



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COVER: On October 1, 1949, Chairman Mao proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China from the rostrum atop Tian An Men gate.

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CHRONICLE

September 15

• The National Light Industrial Goods Sales Exhibition, the biggest of its kind in the past 30 years, opened in Beijing and would continue for a month.

September 17

• Vice-Premier Li Xiannian met with an Associated Press delegation led by Keith Fuller, President of Associated Press.

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with former British Prime Minister Edward Heath who had paid a visit to Sichuan and Tibet.

• Premier Hua Guofeng met with the Cameroonian Military Delegation led by Sadou Daoudou, Minister of State for the Armed Forces of Cameroon.

September 19

• Premier Hua Guofeng met with former U.S. President Mr. Richard Nixon. Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met and feted Mr. Nixon the day before.

• The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League held in Beijing a meeting to commend outstanding youth groups and individuals for their contributions to the four modernizations.

September 20

• Comrade Hua Guofeng met with the delegation of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party led by Capochichi T. Gratien, Member of the Party's Political Bureau and President of the Commission for Infrastructure and Equipment of the Party's Central Committee.

September 21

• The National Women's Federation held a meeting to commend outstanding women and collectives working in all fields.

September 23

• Wang Youping, Vice-Foreign Minister and special representative of the Chinese Government, arrived in Moscow at the head of the Chinese Government Delegation to negotiate with the Soviet side on bilateral relations.



Discussion on the Criterion Of Truth

Leading comrades of many of China's provinces and military areas recently gave talks underscoring the need to recognize that the sole criterion for testing truth is practice. They urged people to do away with modern superstition and emancipate the mind and free themselves from the shackles of traditional concepts.

"Modern superstition" refers to the situation years ago when Lin Biao and the gang of four took advantage of the people's reverence for Chairman Mao to deify the revolutionary leader. They advocated that "every sentence Chairman Mao has said is truth" and that "we must follow every word said by Chairman Mao," thereby forcing people to apply Chairman Mao's teachings mechanically regardless of time, place and conditions. Anyone failing to do so would be labelled as "opposing Mao Zedong Thought." They thus tore Mao Zedong Thought, which is a comprehensive ideological system, to pieces and caused great damage.

In the history of the Chinese Communist Party, book worship or dogmatism once brought great losses to the revolution. The Wang Ming line in the 30s is a case in point. The book worshippers denied the fact that Marxism-Leninism is truth derived from revolutionary practice and repeatedly tested and borne out by practice in revolution. They distorted Marxism-Leninism into religious dogmas and regarded certain conclusions drawn by revolutionary leaders as a panacea for

solving all problems. These dogmatists mechanically transplanted everything regardless of the actual situation in China. Comrade Mao Zedong had during his lifetime waged persistent struggles against such idealistic thinking.

In modernizing their country, the Chinese people are sure to meet with new situations and new problems. If they should continue to stick to what was written in the books or what was said by the leaders, they would not be able to go forward a single step.

The discussion on the criterion of truth started in May last year when a teacher of the philosophy department of Nanjing University published an article in Beijing's *Guangming Ribao*, stressing that practice, and not any theory, is the sole criterion for testing truth. This is in fact a basic principle of Marxism, and was expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in his *On Practice* and other works. It was soon followed by a spate of articles in the newspapers on the same subject. They immediately attracted nationwide attention. Discussions first began in the theoretical circles, and the views expressed gave quite a big shock to dogmatists or book worshippers.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held towards the end of last year highly appraised the discussion, pointing out in its communique: "For a party, a country or a nation, if everything had to be done according to books and thinking became ossified, progress would become impossible,

life itself would stop and the Party and country would perish."

But the importance of recognizing the real criterion of truth cannot be comprehended or accepted by all the people within a short period. Those comrades who have been deeply influenced by the ultra-Left line and whose thinking has become ossified or semi-ossified oppose the discussion, denouncing it as "de-Maoization."

Not long ago, Beijing's theoretical workers of the social sciences and journalists held a forum, the theme of which was: "Upholding the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing the truth means upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought."

The participants maintained that in the past three years since the downfall of the gang of four, China has been making political and economic changes of great significance. Though in the last three decades the Chinese people have acquired rich experience, both positive and negative, their understanding of the socialist revolution and construction is far from complete. In fact, their understanding of socialism is incomplete in many aspects and is sometimes even incorrect. It is therefore natural that they should, after practice, correct their mistakes, uphold the truth and develop Mao Zedong Thought. If Lenin had not developed Marxism, he could not have upheld Marxism, and if Comrade Mao Zedong had not developed Marxism-Leninism, he could not have upheld Marxism-Leninism. Today, if Chinese revolutionaries do not do their

best to develop Mao Zedong Thought, it would be impossible for them to uphold Mao Zedong Thought.

Xiao Ke, President of the P.L.A. Military Academy, said during a discussion that efforts must be made to thoroughly change the practice of mechanically applying a leader's works and statements as ready-made formulas to solve all problems, and do away with the erroneous thinking that what has been written in the books or documents cannot be changed. The strategic thinking and military line expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in some of his works are correct. But they cannot be applied mechanically. It won't do for us today to blindly follow the way the Chinese Red Army fought in the 1930s by luring in the enemy. At that time, we did not occupy any cities and had no modern industry. We seized what we wanted from the enemy. So when the enemy came, we "welcomed them with open arms." Things have changed now, so we must study new ways of fighting based on the changed circumstances. He urged the staff of the military academy to study Mao Zedong Thought, compile new textbooks and teach modern warfare in the light of present-day conditions.

At present, discussions on the subject are going on in the leading bodies of various levels as well as in the grass-roots units such as factories and mines, enterprises and rural people's communes, in connection with their actual work and with the implementation of the Party's policies. They do so because this is not a purely academic question. The discussions which are very lively have achieved

the heartening result of changing the people's mental outlook and improving their work.

No Progress in Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations

No progress has been made in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations after 12 plenary meetings. This is because the Vietnamese side has no wish whatsoever to consider the Chinese suggestions, but has tried hard to evade the key issue of not seeking hegemony.

While professing its "sincerity," the Vietnamese side has done its utmost to incite hatred against China, aggravate tension between the two countries and poison the atmosphere of negotiations. Not long ago, it has even included its anti-China policy in the draft of its new constitution. It attacks China's just stand on the Indochina question, spreads the myth about China's "interference" and "threat" to the three Indochinese states and propagates that the situation at the Sino-Vietnamese border is "explosive." All this is aimed at covering up its preparations for a new offensive in Kampuchea in the coming dry season.

Vietnamese propaganda is also aimed at giving the impression that tension in Indochina and Southeast Asia stems from what it calls "Chinese aggression" rather than the occupation and control of Kampuchea by more than 100,000 Vietnamese troops. The fact is that China has not a single soldier in Kampuchea and Laos. After their counter-attack in self-defence and withdrawal to their own country, the Chinese frontier guards have been strictly guarding the border in accordance

with the Chinese Government's statement, and no additional troops have been sent to areas bordering on Viet Nam. The Vietnamese side, however, has deployed additional troops along the border, including artillery units, and dispatched security forces and other armed personnel to invade Chinese territory and carry out harassing activities.

At the 12th plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at the vice-ministerial level on September 12, Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, pointed out that the Vietnamese side is bent on achieving regional hegemony and its sole interest is to use these negotiations for propaganda purposes. He again urged the Vietnamese side to put an end to its obstruction and sabotage in the negotiations and take the suggestions of the Chinese side into serious consideration.

Expanding Rural Industrial Enterprises

Small rural industrial enterprises are being developed at a fast pace. Their total output value last year topped 49,000 million yuan, or about 25 per cent more than that of 1977 which was 43.7 per cent higher than in 1976.

Collectively owned by the people's communes, production brigades and production teams, these enterprises engage in processing and excavating (they account for one-sixth of the nation's total output of coal), communication and transport, building and repair industries. By making good use of local resources and labour power, they are full of vitality and play an



Commune members in Guangdong Province weaving baskets.

important role in bringing prosperity to the rural economy.

They provide funds for developing agriculture. Commune- and brigade-run enterprises provided 2,600 million yuan in direct aid to agriculture last year, an equivalent of 60 per cent of the 1978 state investment in capital construction for agriculture. This year, although the state investment for agriculture has increased, it falls far short of the actual need. A considerable portion of future investment will have to be provided by commune- and brigade-run enterprises. They also help raise the peasants' living standard. At present there are 28 million peasants working in these enterprises, or almost 10 per cent of the rural labour force. Their annual income is, in general, a bit higher than that of the peasants working on the farms; the latter are also entitled to a share in the profits earned by the enterprises.

The State Council has recently promulgated the draft regula-

tions on some questions concerning the development of commune- and brigade-run enterprises, calling for full utilization of local resources, particularly agricultural resources, to develop small industrial enterprises in accordance with social needs. For these enterprises the draft has laid down the following principle: The main aim is to serve agricultural production and the people's livelihood; in addition they should be geared to the needs of big industries and export.

About 800 million people live in China's countryside, over 300 million of them take part in agricultural production. With the gradual modernization of agriculture and the raising of labour productivity, the surplus in labour force which will increase accordingly will have to be directed to commune- and brigade-run enterprises. In the long run, these enterprises will help reduce the differences between town and country, and between worker and peasant, and prevent over-concentration of industries in big and medium-sized cities.

Lively Readers' Columns

With democracy given greater and greater scope in China, *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Chinese Communist Party, and other newspapers across the country have one after another opened a readers' column carrying suggestions and opinions from the masses. This practice of ensuring the freedom of speech helps strengthen popular supervision over the work of the government and leading cadres and combat malpractices in society.

The readers' letters that have appeared in these columns are

lively and vividly written. Some are comments and criticisms, some are suggestions for improving work, and some put forward differing views on certain issues. They have all received the attention of departments concerned and have in a measure enhanced the people's sense of responsibility and initiative as masters of the country.

Renmin Ribao has in the last few months published many readers' letters proposing that the system of electing cadres and checking up on their work be introduced. A reader in Fuzhou city of east China's Fujian Province said in his letter that when he visited a farm machinery plant in the locality, he found that its director did not know how many workers there were in the plant, nor did he know the amount of its fixed assets, the cost of production and the plant's profits or losses. He suggested that there should be regular checks on the cadres' work and that there should be effective methods to help them become proficient in their work. Otherwise, he stressed, cadres who are incompetent would be a hindrance to the accomplishment of the four modernizations.

The Party and the government attach great importance to such suggestions. The matter was discussed at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in summer this year, and it proposed that the system of checking on the work of the cadres be set up and gradually improved, so that they will be awarded or punished according to their work, or removed them from office, if necessary.



"Renmin Ribao's" department in charge of masses' work handling letters from readers.

Wenhui Bao in Shanghai published a letter from a reader saying that a teacher who specialized in music was asked to teach mathematics instead. The letter added: The authorities in many middle schools now attach greater importance to mathematics, physics and chemistry, with the result that the youngsters cannot read the music scores and therefore often sing out of tune.

This letter immediately received the attention of those concerned. Interviewed by a correspondent, vice-president of the Shanghai Conservatory Ding Shande said: Giving music lessons in middle and primary schools aims not only at training more musicians but, more important, at raising the students' aesthetic standard and educating them in communist morality and values. Vice-Minister of Education Zhang Chengxian wrote an article stressing the need to promote music and art education among the youngsters.

A letter in *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* (Chinese Youth) disclosed the fact that some young people shirk the responsibility of supporting their old parents and some even maltreat them. A commune member in

Fucheng County in north China's Hebei Province, the letter said, sometimes refused to give food to his old father and sometimes even beat him, in spite of repeated criticism by the commune leadership. His behaviour aroused indignation. Recently, the county people's court sentenced him to two years' suspended imprisonment.

Zhongguo Qingnian Bao said in an editor's note: The criminal law recently promulgated stipulates: "Whoever having the responsibility to support an aged person, a minor, a sick person or any other person unable to earn his own living flagrantly refuses to do so shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than five years or to detention, or be put under public surveillance." The paper urged the Communist Youth League organizations and departments concerned to strengthen the education of youths and help them understand that to respect and support their old parents is their bounden duty.

Beijing Residents Enjoy Longer Life

The average life span of residents in urban Beijing has

increased by almost 20 years since 1949 when New China was founded.

According to statistics released by the municipal health bureau, the average life span in 1950 was 53.88 years for males and 50.22 for females. In 1960 it went up to 66.12 and 67.92, and in 1975 it was 70.72 and 72.72 respectively.

Statistics of deaths in 1978 showed that 59.99 per cent were over 65 and 43.38 per cent over 70, while 1.64 per cent were over 90. The main causes of death were heart and blood vessels diseases and cancer.

According to the bureau, the reasons why Beijing residents now live longer are that living conditions and medical service have improved, and, in particular, maternity and child care is much better than before, in addition to effective preventive measures against diseases. As a result, infant mortality has dropped markedly.

Prior to liberation in 1949, the infant mortality rate in Beijing was 117.6 per thousand, and most of the infants died of infectious diseases. By 1978 the rate had dropped to 10.3 per thousand, the main causes of death being pneumonia, premature delivery and congenital troubles.



*Visiting Places of Revolutionary Significance (IV)***Chongqing, North Shaanxi,
Xuzhou and Xibaipo**

by Our Correspondents Qin Yun and Dai Wei

THIS is the fourth and last instalment of the travel notes on places of revolutionary significance written by our correspondents. The first, second and third instalments appeared in our issues Nos. 34, 36 and 38. The series provides glimpses of some of the important events from the birth of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Following are notes on some places which came to prominence in the Third Revolutionary Civil War Period (1945-49).

Chongqing Negotiations

FROM a long way off, in the western suburbs of Chongqing we could see the three-storeyed building standing on a red-clay hill. This is the famous No. 13 house in the Red Crag Village.

From 1938 to 1945 this building had housed some of our prominent Party members: Comrades Zhou Enlai and Dong Biwu, a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress who died in 1975, Comrade Ye Jianying, now Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Comrade Deng Yingchao, now Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and other comrades, who formed the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party stationed in Chongqing; members of the South China Bureau of the Party Central Committee (operating clandestinely), with Zhou Enlai as secretary; and members of the Chongqing Office of the Eighth Route Army. Chairman Mao had also lived in this building when he was in Chongqing, the interim capital of the Kuomintang government, for negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek in 1945.

This building in Red Crag Village was like a red star shining over the dark land under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, inspiring the people in Chongqing with confidence, strength and hope.

A Man of Infinite Courage

We climbed the hill up the stone steps. We passed a small house by the road where the Kuomintang agents used to secretly photograph visitors to No. 13 so that they could persecute them later. Further on, we passed the houses where Kuomintang gendarmes and agents had lived, and then we reached the No. 13 house of Red Crag Village. Kuomintang machine-guns had once been trained on this house from the hill opposite. On a hill behind the house was the watch-tower manned by Kuomintang agents. Our comrades in Red Crag Village had to work in such threatening conditions.

The small house in front of the building was the porter's lodge. Kuomintang agents used to come here in the guise of visitors to create trouble. On the floor under a desk was a button. Pressing it with a foot rang a bell warning comrades inside the building of an emergency. Behind the door of the porter's lodge there was a concealed door for underground comrades to enter the first floor of the building secretly without coming into contact with comrades who worked openly, or when they were tailed by Kuomintang agents.

The ground floor of the building, occupied by the Chongqing Office of the Eighth Route Army, consisted of an office, a reception room and a conference room. The first floor was used by the South China Bureau as its office. We visited a room less than 18 square metres in the east part of this floor which Chairman Mao had used as an office-cum-bedroom while he was in Chongqing for the negotiations. Comrade Zhou Enlai used the room opposite. In

SPECIAL FEATURE

the passage between the two rooms at one end was a round folding table where they had their meals.

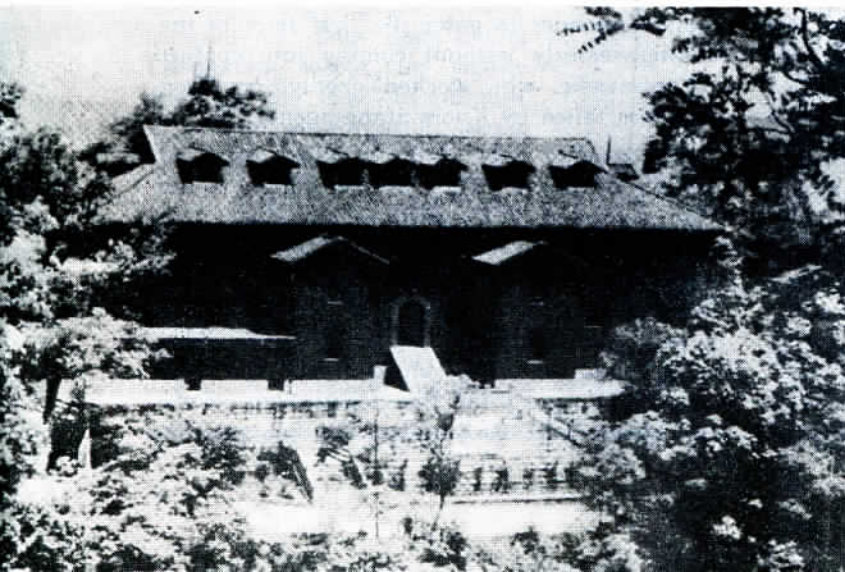
With victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Chiang Kai-shek wanted to make China continue to be a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. The Chinese Communist Party was for building a China of New Democracy belonging to the people and led by the proletariat. Two destinies and two futures confronted China.

Backed by U.S. imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek actively prepared to launch a civil war in an attempt to wipe out the people's revolutionary forces led by the Chinese Communist Party. However, he was deterred from immediately starting a civil war by the fact that the liberated areas and the people's armed forces were powerful and the people were demanding peace and democracy and were set against civil war. He also needed time to make the necessary troop dispositions before attacking the liberated areas. He thus agreed to hold peace talks.

After Japan's declaration of unconditional surrender on August 14, 1945, Chiang Kai-shek cabled Chairman Mao three times, inviting him to Chongqing to "hold consultations over state affairs." He counted on Chairman Mao's not going, in which case, when a civil war broke out, he could shift the blame on to the Communist Party.

After careful consideration, the Party Central Committee decided that Chairman Mao Zedong should go to Chongqing, accompanied

No. 13, Red Crag Village, former Eighth Route Army Office in Chongqing.



by Vice-Chairman Zhou Enlai and Comrade Wang Ruofei (killed in an air crash on his way from Chongqing back to Yanan on April 8, 1946), for negotiations with the Kuomintang authorities. This would expose the Kuomintang lies that the Communist Party did not want peace or unity, open the eyes of the people throughout the country and win the sympathy of the middle-of-the-roaders, all for the purpose of winning peace. Chairman Mao knew that Chiang Kai-shek was determined to launch a civil war, so prior to leaving Yanan for Chongqing he warned the whole Party not to relax its vigilance on account of the negotiations, but make full preparations to fight and win should the Kuomintang authorities dare to start a civil war.

As the Chinese people had been through ten years of civil war (1927-37) and eight years of resistance against Japan, they longed for peace. Their wishes were answered when Chairman Mao went in person to Chongqing to conduct peace negotiations with the Kuomintang authorities. Chairman Mao flew to Chongqing on August 28, 1945 and was given a rousing welcome by the people from all walks of life. Many people issued statements, sent letters and wrote poems praising him as "a man of infinite courage" for coming to Chongqing, the centre of Kuomintang reactionary rule, and as the "saviour of China," for bringing light and hope to the whole of China.

A Tit-for-Tat Struggle

The day after his arrival in Chongqing, Chairman Mao had a long meeting with Chiang Kai-shek, while Comrade Zhou Enlai met with the Kuomintang negotiators. Chiang Kai-shek was caught unprepared. He had never really wanted peace talks, and had made no preparations whatsoever, so he had no proposal to offer. He merely appointed a few negotiators to temporize.

The Chinese Communist Party delegates patiently tried their best to get the other side to hold serious talks. On behalf of the Communist Party, Comrade Zhou Enlai advanced a schedule and agenda for the talks and asked the Kuomintang to reply to each demand. Only after a full week had passed did the talks really get started.

After repeated discussions, the Kuomintang was forced to agree to the "basic policy of peace and national reconstruction" put forward by our Party. And it also had to agree to convene a political consultative conference, accord equality and legal status to all political parties, release all political prisoners, and abolish the repressive secret services. But it refused to establish a democratic coalition government and refused to recognize the legal status of the people's army that had rendered splendid service in the War of Resistance Against Japan, and the democratic governments in the liberated areas. Consequently the talks came to a deadlock.

We then went up to the second floor of the building where the secret transceiver had been. The ceiling on this floor was very low and the temperature here in summer was often above 40°C. However, all the windows had to be curtained over with heavy cloth to keep out hostile prying eyes. There had once been a transceiver openly installed in a room on the ground floor to keep in contact with the Party Central Committee in Yanan, but the Kuomintang confiscated it. It was replaced by the clandestine transceiver on the second floor. This transceiver could be quickly hidden under the floor in an emergency. And there was a tall cylindrical stove for burning papers in an emergency. On the landing was a mound of lime to fling against anyone forcing his way upstairs. When Chairman Mao was in Chongqing, this transceiver had passed on his directions concerning work and struggle against the enemy in the liberated areas. The famous Shangdang campaign was directed through this radio transmitter.

Unable to achieve his aim from the peace talks, Chiang Kai-shek secretly cabled the Shanxi warlord Yan Xishan ordering him to attack the liberated area in Shangdang, a place in the southeastern part of Shanxi Province. It was a base area opened up by the Eighth Route Army in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan. When the reactionary troops were attacking Shangdang, Comrades Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, who were in charge there, worked out a plan to counterattack the invading forces in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions that "if anyone attacks us and if the conditions are favourable for battle, we will certainly act in self-defence to wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." Through the secret transceiver they submitted their



Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai at Chongqing airport, 1945.

operational plan to Chairman Mao for approval. He endorsed their plan and gave further directives. After fierce fighting, 35,000 of the 38,000 invading troops were wiped out. Among the 27 senior enemy officers captured were some army and divisional commanders. The commander of enemy reinforcements who had escaped later killed himself for fear that Chiang Kai-shek would severely punish him for the disastrous defeat.

In this masterly way Chairman Mao provided leadership in peace talks and actual fighting. What the enemy could not win at the negotiating table could not be won on the battlefield, either.

While Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Zhou were in Chongqing, they made extensive contacts with representatives of the democratic parties and with noted personages of various circles, listening to their views, explaining to them our Party's policy of peace and national reconstruction, and striving to draw them into the ranks of the movement for peace and democracy.

Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Zhou also held many press conferences attended by both Chinese and foreign reporters, met with diplomats of many countries and foreign friends, explaining to them the just stand of our Party.

Thus our Party won extensive sympathy and support.

Principle and Flexibility

Mr. Zhang Zhizhong, peace negotiator for the Kuomintang, (who after nationwide liberation was made a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and who died in 1969), had vacated a part of his own residence in the city proper called Guiyuan Garden, for Chairman Mao to occupy when he worked inside the city. On display in the drawing-room of Guiyuan Garden today is "The Summary of Conversations Between the Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China," which was signed here. As the signing ceremony took place on October 10, 1945; the summary was also known as the October 10th Agreement. This document represented the fruit of the repeated struggle of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Zhou with the Kuomintang authorities.

In the course of the negotiations, the Communist Party firmly protected the fundamental interests of the people while making certain concessions when these interests were not damaged.

During the talks Chiang Kai-shek raised the subject of "unifying the military command" and "unifying government administration" in an attempt to eliminate the people's army and the democratic governments in the liberated areas. Our representatives insisted on the democratization of political life as a prerequisite and demanded that the military command and government administration be unified only when a state with genuine political democracy was established.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party of China made some major concessions. With regard to the question of the people's army, the Communist Party proposed that, before the democratization of political life, the Kuomintang effect an equitable and rational reorganization of the armed forces of the whole country and make a fresh delimitation of the military zones. The Communist Party expressed willingness to reduce the number of troops under its command to 24 divisions or to a minimum of 20 divisions provided that the Kuomintang would reduce its armed forces proportionately. With regard to the question of the liberated areas, the Communist Party of China proposed that the provincial and administrative areas could be delimited afresh in the light of the existence of 18 liberated areas and that the legal status of

the governments at all levels elected by the people in the liberated areas must be recognized. At the same time, the Communist Party was ready to concede the eight liberated areas in south China.

The lofty attitude of the Chinese Communist Party, which took the interests of the whole nation into account, and the concrete concessions it made won the support of the democratic parties and people throughout the country. Chiang Kai-shek was ultimately forced to accept the draft summary of the conversation put out by the Communist Party of China as the basis, and an agreement was reached on its revised version by both sides. Thus, the negotiations, which had already lasted 43 days, concluded its first stage, and Chairman Mao returned to Yanan on October 11. Comrade Zhou Enlai remained in Chongqing to continue the talks over issues unsettled yet. On January 10, 1946, Chiang Kai-shek had to sign the "truce agreement" and agree to convene the political consultative conference of the various political parties.

However, as Chairman Mao said in his report *On the Chongqing Negotiations* made after his return to Yanan, the agreements reached were but words on paper and not yet reality. Before the ink of the "October 10th Agreement" was dry, the Kuomintang sent a large number of its troops to launch large-scale offensives against the liberated areas. Later, it even tore up the "truce agreement" and the resolution of the political consultative conference. At the end of June 1946, it started an all-round civil war. This put itself in the wrong before the whole nation and the whole world.

Fighting in North Shaanxi

IN the west hall of the Yanan Revolutionary Museum was a large topographical model of the area. At the push of a button, there was a faint hum and red and blue arrows moved through the mountains, showing the movements of the People's Liberation Army and the enemy troops. A taped voice began explaining the moves. The model and accompanying narration gave a very clear picture of strategic withdrawal of the C.P.C. Central Committee from Yanan in March 1947 and the subsequent recovery of that city in April 1948.

Withdrawal From Yanan

Why did the Party Central Committee and the general headquarters of the Chinese People's

Liberation Army have to withdraw from Yanan?

Several big blue arrows lit up, all pointing directly to Yanan. The taped explanation said that in July 1946, Chiang Kai-shek, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, tore up the Kuomintang-Communist truce agreement and launched an all-out attack on the liberated areas. This rekindled the nationwide civil war. Chiang declared he would have the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army "exterminated" within three to six months.

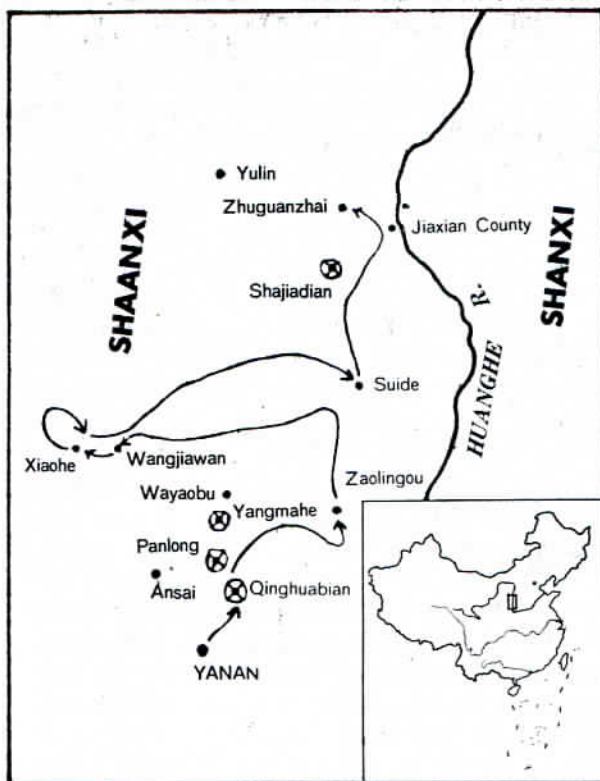
Guided by Comrade Mao Zedong's strategy of aiming "chiefly at annihilating the enemy's effective strength, not at holding or seizing a place" (*Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One*), the P.L.A. annihilated over 710,000 enemy troops and smashed the Kuomintang offensive after eight months of fighting.

After his all-out attack was defeated, Chiang Kai-shek moved an army of 680,000 troops to "attack key sectors" in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Liberated Area in the northwest and the Shandong Liberated Area in the east. The better-armed enemy attacking the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Liberated Area numbered 230,000; the poorly armed Northwest Liberation Army defenders had only 20,000 troops.

The wide disparity in strength between the enemy and ourselves led the C.P.C. Central Committee to decide to evacuate Yanan temporarily, lure the enemy in deep and then wipe them out piecemeal in mobile warfare. This was the best way to defend and expand the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. The red line of flashes showed the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong and the general headquarters of the People's Liberation Army moving north slowly from Yanan, which they had vacated on the evening of March 18, 1947. The fighting in north Shaanxi started.

The moving red line recalled to mind the story I had heard two days earlier when I visited Comrade Mao Zedong's former residence in Wangjiaping: On the eve of abandoning Yanan, Chairman Mao Zedong invited commanders of the New Fourth Brigade defending Yanan to Wangjiaping to hear how the men felt about pulling out of Yanan. A regiment commander said bluntly: "We're not happy about giving up Yanan without firing a shot."

Chairman Mao answered with a grin: Oh, you may fire a shot or two. Fire a few volleys



Sketch map showing the fighting in north Shaanxi.
by Shi Yifu

as our "welcome" to Hu Zongnan (commander-in-chief of enemy troops attacking the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Liberated Area). Tell him, we're leaving and we're giving them Yanan which would become their burden. Then Chairman Mao went on in a more serious tone: We're not fighting to take or hold a city or a place. Our aim is to wipe out the effectives of the enemy. If we preserve men instead of territory, we will ultimately preserve both men and territory. But if we try to preserve territory instead of men, in the end we will lose both. After we win several battles, we will recover Yanan and also go on to take Xian, Wuhan, Shanghai and Beiping (now Beijing). At the close of the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong asked them to assure the commanders and fighters upon their return that we would be back in Yanan within a year or at most two years.

"Wear and Tear" Tactics

The Kuomintang took the C.P.C. Central Committee's withdrawal from Yanan as a tremendous victory and their newspapers and radio gave great play to this. The troops under Hu Zongnan flushed with arrogance sought our Northwest Field Army high and low for a decisive battle.

The lights on the model showed that the main forces of our Northwest Field Army were waiting in ambush in the mountains near Qinghuabian, northeast of Yanan. A battalion was deployed as if set on fighting a decisive battle. The battle was joined and our men fought and retreated as if they were being driven back, in order to lure the enemy in deep. When an enemy brigade had walked right into the ambush, our forces attacked and knocked out the brigade in a little more than one hour. The brigade commander was taken captive. This was the first battle of annihilation fought by the Northwest Liberation Army six days after our withdrawal from Yanan.

When the enemy discovered that the main forces of the Northwest Liberation Army were to the northeast of Yanan, they turned around to attack the east, but the Liberation Army had already departed. The enemy ran into constant sudden attacks and harassments from small regular forces and local guerrillas. They kept tens of thousands of enemy troops constantly on the move, and the enemy could neither engage in a battle nor have an opportunity to extricate itself. Being battered to exhaustion and short of food, the enemy was blind with rage and impatiently sought for battle.

Taking advantage of the enemy's urge to fight, the Northwest Field Army under the command of Comrade Peng Dehuai sent out two brigades to lure the main force of the Kuomintang army in hot pursuit, while massing its main forces for battle in the Yangmahe mountain area south of Wayaobu, an enemy-held town about 70 kilometres north of Yanan. On April 14, when an enemy brigade 4,700-strong moved southward from Wayaobu, it was immediately set upon and annihilated and its brigade commander was captured alive.

The red line of lights on the model moved on to a mountain village called Wangjiawan northwest of Yanan. From here, Chairman Mao Zedong issued his *The Concept of Operations for the Northwest War Theatre*, in which he pointed out: "At present, despite the enemy's fatigue and shortage of food, his policy is to drive our main force east across the Huanghe (Yellow) River," and "our policy is to continue our former method, that is, to keep the enemy on the run in this area for a time (about another month); the purpose is to tire him out completely, reduce his food supplies drastically and then look for an opportunity to destroy him." He called this method the tactics of "wear and tear."

Guided by this policy, the Liberation Army employed a brigade force to make it look like the headquarters of the Northwest Field Army hurrying north and then east across the Huanghe River, which lured nine enemy brigades to Suide, an important town on the west bank of the Huanghe River. Then taking advantage of the enemy's almost undefended rear, the main force of the Liberation Army in early May stormed and captured Panlong, an important supply centre of the enemy, wiping out the 6,700 defenders and capturing large quantities of weapons, munitions, food and clothing. When the main enemy force heard that its rear was threatened, it rushed to the rescue. By the time it arrived, our forces had already pulled out and had rested for seven days.

Arduous Course

After the Panlong campaign, Hu Zongnan again massed troops to launch a converging attack against the Northwest Liberation Army in an attempt to wipe it out in Ansai, north of Yanan. The red and blue arrows in the model showed that before the enemy completed its disposition, the main force of the Liberation Army had already broken through the enemy encirclement to mount a sudden attack against areas behind the enemy lines.

All this time, the C.P.C. Central Committee organ and the general headquarters of the Liberation Army led by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai remained in the region to continue to keep the enemy on the move. The red line of arrows showing the movements of the C.P.C. Central Committee organ zigzagged about the mountains with the blue arrows moving nearby. Comrade Mao Zedong was weaving his way up and down through the mountains during rainstorms, the narration said. On two occasions he almost ran into the enemy.

In the latter half of July, Chairman Mao called a Front Committee meeting* in Xiaohu

* Seven days after the C.P.C. Central Committee pulled out of Yanan, a meeting was held in Zaolingou on March 26. It was decided that the Party Central Committee organ should split into the Front Committee and the Working Committee. The Front Committee, led by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi, remained in northern Shaanxi to direct the nationwide War of Liberation and the operations of the Northwest Liberation Army, while Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De led the Working Committee to north China to carry out the tasks entrusted to it by the Central Committee.

Village, Jingbian County, northern Shaanxi, to discuss and draw up a plan for a nationwide strategic counter-offensive. It was decided at the meeting that the Northwest Liberation Army would feign an attack on Yulin in northernmost Shaanxi Province to entice the enemy into moving troops north. In coordination with this operation, the Liberation Army in southern Shanxi would strike south across the Huanghe River and the troops under Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping would thrust into the Dabie Mountains. Thus, the war would be fought in the areas under Kuomintang rule.

Lights representing the main force of the Northwest Liberation Army demonstrated how our troops drove close to Yulin while the Party Central Committee organ went east from Xiaohu Village and then north on reaching Suide.

The narration said that during this period, the Party Central Committee organ kept two-days' march ahead of the pursuing enemy, not letting the enemy get too close nor allowing them to get off the hook, but leading them on continually into the place where we wanted them to do battle. Sometimes their pursuers went without food and sleep trying to catch up, so the Central Committee organ also kept moving day and night, despite the heat, the rain, hunger and fatigue. There were brief rests only when it rained heavily. Once Chairman Mao was so tired that he had trouble staying on the horse, so he got down and walked. Seeing his exhaustion, the soldiers begged him to use a stretcher. However, he did not agree to this proposal, saying: You are all tired, too. You may be willing to carry a stretcher, but I'm unwilling to use it. No stretcher for me. Stretchers are only for the sick or the badly wounded. His words set everybody laughing.

On another occasion when the Central Committee organ reached the Jialu River, they found it in full spate. They could not cross it. The enemy was only a dozen kilometres behind. It was a tense moment, but leaders of the Front Committee called a hurried meeting by a huge



Chairman Mao on the march in north Shaanxi.

rock and it was decided immediately to change the direction of advance. They led the comrades in climbing up the mountains and heading northwest. When the enemy reached the Jialu River, they found no trace of our troops.

The voice of the narrator suddenly grew vibrant. This was how Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee organ spent 20 hazardous and trying days luring the enemy on and on to the sure death lying in wait for them.

Going Over to Counter-Offensive

When the Northwest Liberation Army made a feigned attack on Yulin, the Kuomintang immediately dispatched a huge force to reinforce Yulin and tried to pin down the Liberation Army south of Yulin in a pincer movement. But the Liberation Army swiftly withdrew from the periphery of Yulin and moved up to the west bank of the Huanghe River to assemble near the Central Committee organ and wait for an opportunity to attack the enemy.

Thinking that the Liberation Army was being forced east across the Huanghe River, Hu Zongnan immediately ordered his troops to pursue and exploit this opportunity. The enemy made a mad rush to attack the area where the Liberation Army was concentrated. The enemy 36th division which had rushed to the rescue of Yulin from the west grew very cocky, thinking it had contributed to lifting the siege of Yulin. It moved south unmindful of all consequences. When the division reached the vicinity of

Shajiadian, it was immediately cut-up and trapped. On the afternoon of August 20, Chairman Mao ordered the Liberation Army by telephone to go over to the offensive and the division was completely annihilated in a few hours. This became known as the Shajiadian campaign.

When the enemy moving south was wiped out, the enemy going north immediately fled south. The Liberation Army lost no time to launch a counter-offensive. Six months later, the Northwest Liberation Army wiped out 30,000 enemy troops, forcing the Kuomintang to flee from Yanan. On April 22, 1948, Yanan was recovered by the people's forces.

At about the same time as the Shajiadian campaign, armymen and people in the Shandong Liberated Area also successfully hurled back a 450,000-strong Kuomintang army and went over to counterattack.

On September 1, 1947, at Zhuguanzhai in Jiaxian County, Shaanxi Province, Chairman Mao issued his *Strategy for the Second Year of the War of Liberation*, which laid down the basic task for the second year of the War of Liberation: "To launch a country-wide counter-offensive, that is, to use our main forces to fight our way to exterior lines, carry the war into the Kuomintang areas." In his *Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army* issued on October 10, 1947, Chairman Mao raised the slogan: "Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and liberate all China!" This ushered in a historical turningpoint in the Chinese revolution.

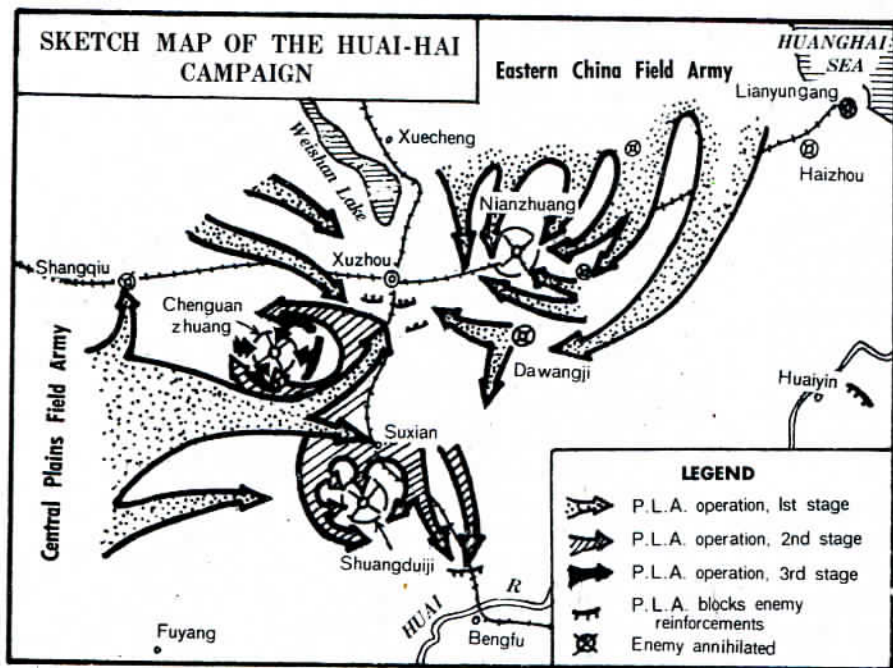
The Huai-Hai Campaign

XUZHOU is an ancient city situated in the northwestern part of Jiangsu Province. On the southern outskirts, at the foot of Fenghuang Mountain there is a monument for the martyrs who died in the Huai-Hai campaign, surrounded by green pines. In front of the monument at the southern end of a gardenlike square a museum has been built for housing exhibits of the campaign. The building, in traditional national style, is covered with glazed tiles.

"Victory for the People" written in big characters in Chairman Mao's hand is inlaid on a red screen in the main hall of the museum. The exhibits bring back memories of the War of Liberation years with their thunder of cannon and clouds of smoke.

Great, Decisive Campaigns

When the People's War of Liberation entered upon the period of strategic offensive, the people's army continued to wipe out the enemy forces in large numbers. By June 1948 our army had expanded to a force of 2.8 million, as compared with 1.2 million in July 1946, while the Kuomintang troops dwindled from 4.3 to 3.65 million. Starting from September 12, 1948, three decisive campaigns were fought — the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign (covering the western part of Liaoning Province and the Shenyang-Changchun area), the Huai-Hai campaign and the



Beiping- (today's Beijing) Tianjin campaign. In the fighting, which lasted four months and 19 days, 1.54 million enemy troops were annihilated. These were decisive campaigns of great, strategic significance. They liberated the northern areas along the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang River, wiping out the main crack forces on which the Kuomintang had relied in launching the counter-revolutionary civil war. This hastened the coming of nationwide victory.

The Huai-Hai campaign was fought over a large territory centring on Xuzhou and extending as far as Haizhou in the east, Shangqiu in the west, Lincheng (renamed Xuecheng) in the north and the Huai River in the south. It lasted 65 days (November 6, 1948 to January 10, 1949). Our forces of 600,000 strong took part in the campaign, wiped out a total of 555,000 enemy troops (including four and a half divisions which revolted and came over).

The Huai-Hai campaign General Front Committee of the Chinese Communist Party included five comrades (Liu Bocheng, Chen Yi, Deng Xiaoping, Su Yu and Tan Zhenlin), with Deng Xiaoping as secretary. The General Front Party Committee directed the Central Plains and the Eastern China Field Armies as well as military and operational affairs at the Huai-Hai campaign front. The Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao commanded the battles from Xibaipo Village, Pingshan County of Hebei Province. As a Chinese proverb goes, they drew up strategic plans at headquarters but won victory in battles a thousand *li* away.

A staff member at the museum told us: In an attempt to block our forces marching southward and protect its capital Nanjing, the Kuomintang massed large numbers of troops in Xuzhou, which is at the junction of the Longhai and Tianjin-Pukou Railways. Geographically speaking, the enemy was in a position favourable for mobility and for taking in reinforcements. If we were to wipe out any part of it, win time and gain the initiative, we had to be in a position to hold off enemy reinforcements. This was characteristic of the battlefield of the Huai-Hai campaign and crucial to its outcome.

Therefore, our army adopted the following tactics: More than half of our total force was deployed in holding off and attacking enemy

reinforcements. It was first to attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces and then concentrated, strong enemy forces; attack weak enemy forces first and attack strong forces later; concentrate a superior force to cut off and encircle the enemy by using large-scale mobile warfare, then encircle and annihilate the enemy by using large-scale positional warfare. As a whole we had 200,000 fewer troops than the enemy, but we were superior numerically in every particular battle because we employed the above-mentioned operational tactics. We used our strong points to attack the enemy's weak points. In this way, we always had the initiative. By forcing the enemy step by step to fight on our terms, we won overall victory in the campaign. After this, Nanjing, the centre of the reactionary Kuomintang rule, was exposed to direct access by the People's Liberation Army, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique was falling apart.

Eyer Victorious

The P.L.A. men who took part in the campaign gave full play to a style of fighting which stressed courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting. Imbued with an indomitable spirit, they were determined to vanquish all enemies in every house, every gully, every village and every city.

Among the exhibits there was a piece of embroidery entitled "Bridge of Ten Valiants," enlarged from a woodcut by the veteran artist Gu Yuan. The third company of a unit of the Eastern China Field Army in its pursuit of the fleeing enemy was barred by a river some ten metres wide. Ten valiants of the third squad braved enemy gunfire and jumped into the cold current to form a human bridge by shouldering two ladders horizontally. This ensured the swift crossing of four companies which, with the help of fraternal units, wiped out a whole enemy regiment in flight.

Among the hundreds of banners of honour, medals and rewards on show, there was one banner inscribed "Defence of Lizhuang Village as Solid as Mt. Tai." This was conferred on the first battalion of the 12th brigade of the Central Plains Field Army. During a fierce battle, four divisions of encircled enemy troops attempted to make a breakthrough under cover of 12 planes, eight tanks and some one hundred cannon. Our first battalion was on the spot. All the officers and soldiers set their



Peasants in the liberated areas transporting grain to the front.

minds on holding their position come what may. When their bullets were exhausted, they threw grenades. When the grenades were used up, they took to their bayonets. They did not yield an inch of territory. The enemy's more than ten counter-encirclement attacks collapsed. They withdrew, leaving behind a thousand corpses. The position of the first battalion, as solid as Mt. Tai, had not shifted.

Among the interesting exhibits were some screened boxes of various shapes containing limestone powder. Our guide told us that the powder was used for leaving traces behind. Enemy forces numbering 300,000 fled southward after giving up Xuzhou. In hot pursuit, the P.L.A. men, mostly on foot, marched on mountain roads and waded through rivers at a speed of some 70 kilometres a night, braving hunger, bombardment and all sorts of difficulties. All the traces they left behind pointed to one direction. So the order given became: "The traces are our route of pursuit. Wherever there's firing, is our destination. Catching up with the enemy is victory." After three days and nights the P.L.A. men encircled all the enemy forces at Chenguanzhuang. Those who refused to surrender were wiped out.

The People's Support

People of the liberated areas supported the campaign in many ways. Local armed forces totalling 400,000 and 2.25 million peasants and other people co-ordinated directly or indirectly with the main forces in fighting. The militiamen and the people's organizations supported the front as well as consolidated the rear areas so that the P.L.A. men could fight at the front without worry. As land had been

distributed among the peasants in the liberated areas, they steadily raised farm output. In the liberated cities, industrial production, especially that of armaments, was soon restored. So the P.L.A. had no problem in getting needed supplies.

To help wipe out the reactionaries and liberate the country, the emancipated peasants transported grain and ammunition to the front, carried stretchers or escorted prisoners-of-war. Horse-carts, one-wheel push-carts, stretchers, shoulder-poles and other equipment used by the people to support the front were on display in the museum. The peasants used these simple means to transport 285 million kilogrammes of grain to the front. A large amount of grain was still left at the front when the Huai-Hai campaign ended.

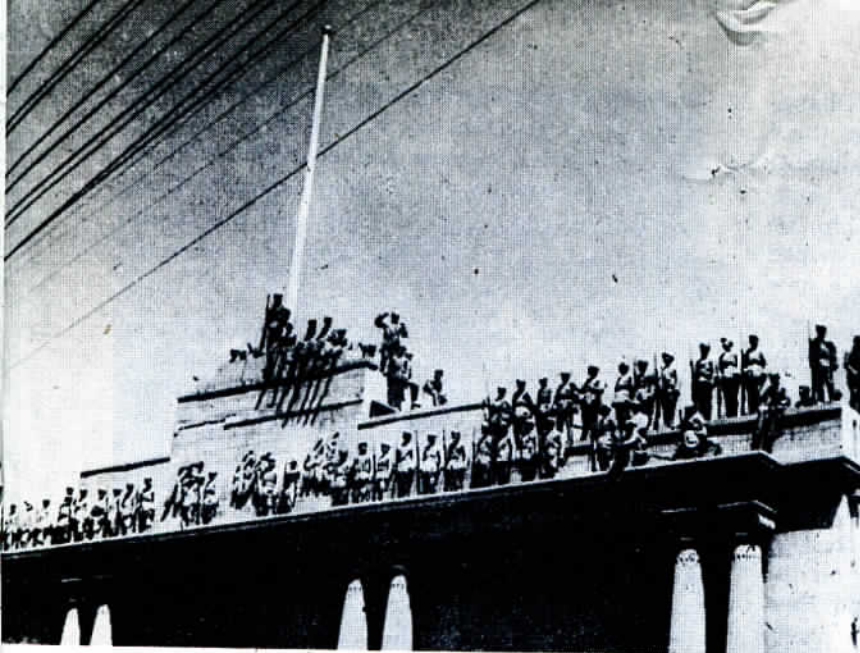
A small bamboo pole in a show-case caught our attention. This had belonged to Tang He'en, a hero in supporting the front. A native of Laiyang County, Shandong Province, Tang had worked as a farmhand for the landlords before his village was liberated. Later he became the head of his village's push-cart team for wheeling supplies to the front. When he left his native village with his push-cart, he brought along this bamboo pole which he had used as a beggar in the dark old days. Whenever he passed an important place with his push-cart, he carved the name on his pole. Tang's team fulfilled the task magnificently, travelling 1,600 kilometres across the vast area between the front and the rear. Visitors today can still see the 88 place-names on the pole. People praise it as a vivid record of the militant course taken by the two million peasants and historical evidence of the swift advance of the people's army and the retreat of the enemy in the Huai-Hai campaign.

Liberation of Nanjing

After the Kuomintang government had refused to sign the agreement on internal peace, Mao Zedong, then Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission and Zhu De, then Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, issued an order to the army for the country-wide advance. This was on April 21, 1949, and after that day, the army was engaged in a general advance, unprecedented in scale, on the vast areas which had not yet been liberated.

In heroic triumph heaven and earth have been overturned.

After the liberation of Nanjing, the P.L.A. men pursued the reactionary army forces like a whirlwind sweeping autumn leaves before it. Shanghai was liberated in May 1949, Guangzhou in October and the vast area of east, central-south, southwest and northwest China in their wake. In the period between July 1946 to June 1950, the Chinese People's Liberation Army wiped out 8.07 million Kuomintang troops, captured large quantities of weapons and equipment, and liberated the country (except for Taiwan and a few islands off the coast).



The P.L.A. captures Chiang Kai-shek's presidential office in Nanjing.

On the morning of April 21, a mighty army, a million strong, forced the Changjiang River on a front extending more than five hundred kilometres from Hukou (northeast of Jiujiang) in the west to Jiangyin in the east. It completely destroyed the defence line along the river which had taken the enemy months of painstaking work to build. On April 23, our forces liberated the Kuomintang capital Nanjing, an event which proclaimed the downfall of the reactionary regime.

When we arrived at the people's Nanjing after crossing the 6,700-metre-long bridge across the Changjiang River, we were reminded of many episodes in the war years which provided much food for thought. We saw the monument erected last April commemorating the victory of the forced crossing of the river on its 30th anniversary. We went to the old site of the presidential office of Chiang Kai-shek, sharing the happiness of victory with the P.L.A. fighters who 30 years ago climbed to the roof and tore down the national flag of the Chiang Kai-shek government. The building now houses the provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The staff of the committee works in the former office of Chiang Kai-shek. It was then I thought of two lines of Chairman Mao's famous poem written for the liberation of Nanjing:

The City, a tiger crouching, a dragon curling, outshines its ancient glories;

A Blueprint for New China

THE famous Xibaipo Village in Pingshan County lies at the eastern foot of the Taihang Mountains some 90 kilometres to the northwest of Shijiazhuang, the capital of Hebei Province. It was the last rural command post from which the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao directed the war to encircle the cities from the countryside, capture the cities and seize political power throughout the country.

Years ago to make room for a new reservoir, the whole village was evacuated. The former site of the C.P.C. Central Committee has been restored at Baipoling, a nearby hill. Here, the former residences of Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Ren Bishi, Dong Biwu, the operation room of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, the small auditorium where the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee took place and a 232-metre long anti-air raid tunnel can all be seen just as they were in those stirring days.

Days of Decisive Battles

The Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao moved to Xibaipo from northern Shaanxi on May 26, 1948. The Liberation Army then became engaged in strategic decisive battles with the Kuomintang troops and waged the three major campaigns — Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Beiping-Tianjin. Northeast China,

north China and vast areas north of the Chang-jiang River were liberated. It was in these village houses where the Party Central Committee, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Zhou Enlai directed the wars which wiped out the last obstacles and brought forth a new China.

In the courtyard of Comrade Mao Zedong's residence under a big tree is a millstone used as a table around which the leading Party comrades used to sit discussing state affairs. The rooms facing south are a bedroom and an office with a floor space of only 16.33 sq.m. On the east wall of the office is a huge map of China. There is one electric light and a kerosene lamp on the window-sill. A comrade at the Xibaipo Revolutionary Museum told us that the electricity for lighting came from a small generator belonging to the Central Committee organ. Sometimes when the power supply failed, Chairman Mao would light the kerosene lamp and go on working till midnight. It was in this office that Chairman Mao wrote many articles, of which 20 were included in the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*. Here he also wrote many instructions, messages to direct the Liberation War and other work, and inscriptions such as the one for *Renmin Ribao* we see today. On the northern wall is a photo of Chairman Mao taken while he was in Xibaipo. He is seated in a canvas armchair, wearing a sweater, with his coat hanging on the back of the chair. On the ground to the right of the chair are envelopes and a pair of cotton shoes.

While strategic decisive battles were being fought, reports kept pouring in from the front and the situation changed drastically from time to time. Chairman Mao was terribly busy. He had to analyse the war situation, study operational plans, draft documents and read reports. Sometimes he had little or no time for meals. On many occasions, his food went untouched, got cold, and the guard had to keep warming it. Often Chairman Mao would go back to his work without finishing his meal.

Zhu De, Commander-in-Chief of the Liberation Army, came to Xibaipo in April 1947 to lead the work entrusted to him by the Party Central Committee. Later, after the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao arrived, Comrades Zhu De and Zhou Enlai assisted Chairman Mao in organizing and directing the three major campaigns and the national Libera-

tion War. Zhu De attended the meetings of the Military Commission every week and gave specific directives. At his residence, he received with great warmth the leading comrades from the front — Chen Yi, He Long and Nie Rongzhen — and analysed with them the situation of the whole country.

Comrade Zhou Enlai, then Vice-Chairman and Chief of the General Staff of the C.P.C. Central Committee Military Commission, arrived in Xibaipo in April 1948. He paid great attention to study and investigation. He carefully studied and checked the numerous news bulletins supplied by the operations department of the Military Commission and then put forth his proposals to the Military Commission and Chairman Mao. In the museum we saw three letters from Vice-Chairman Zhou to Chairman Mao, written within two and a half hours in the early morning of October 27, 1948 reporting the disposition of the army. At that time, the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign was drawing to a victorious close and the Huai-Hai campaign was about to begin. Chiang Kai-shek was mobilizing his army in preparation for a sudden attack on Shijiazhuang so as to raise the morale of the army and the people in the Kuomintang areas. Zhou Enlai telephoned Nie Rongzhen, commander of the north China front and issued emergency orders for the Liberation Army to march at top speed to repulse the enemy attack. He also ordered the local armed forces and militia behind enemy lines to harass the Kuomintang troops. He reported to Chairman Mao at 4:30, 6:00, and 7:00 a.m. and made detailed dispositions in accordance with the Chairman's instructions. As a result, the enemy's scheme was frustrated within a few days. This is one example of how Zhou Enlai helped Mao Zedong lead and direct a battle.

2nd Plenary Session of 7th C.P.C. Central Committee

The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee was held from March 5 to 13, 1949 in Xibaipo on the eve of the birth of New China. Important decisions were made amidst the roaring guns of the Liberation War.

What would China become after nationwide victory? What line and policy would China pursue in domestic and international affairs? — These were the theme at the meeting. In good time, the Party Central Committee put forth the task and policies for winning nationwide victory quickly, shifting the

form China from an agricultural into an industrial country and build China into a great socialist state."

"To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. . . . The comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."

(Continued on p. 26.)



Chairman Mao addressing the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee.

focus of the Party's work from the rural areas to the cities and making the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

On the first day of the meeting, Chairman Mao, dressed in his cotton uniform, mounted the rostrum and delivered the *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*. This famous report was a blueprint for the building of a new China, which, together with his *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship* written in June 1949, laid the basis for the policies of the *Common Programme* that played the role of a provisional constitution after the founding of New China. Chairman Mao pointed out in his report:

"From 1927 to the present the centre of gravity of our work has been in the villages — gathering strength in the villages, using the villages in order to surround the cities and then taking the cities. The period for this method of work has now ended. The period of 'from the city to the village' and of the city leading the village has now begun. The centre of gravity of the Party's work has shifted from the village to the city."

"After the victory of the revolution, we can speedily restore and develop production, cope with foreign imperialism, steadily trans-

The first five-star red flag hoisted in Tian An Men Square.



Only Socialism Can Save China

by Xu Deheng



On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, "Beijing Review" has asked several well-known persons to write about their impressions. Following is the first of these articles. — Ed.

I AM 90 years old this year. During my first 60 years I lived in pre-liberation China; the last 30 were spent in New China. Old China was a living hell. The very thought of it makes me shudder. In 1904 and 1905, when I was a boy, Japan and Russia went to war on Chinese soil. Even though our land was being devastated and our people killed, the Chinese Government actually declared its neutrality and ignored what was happening. The Empress Dowager, Ci Xi, of the Qing Dynasty, who was wielding the sceptre in those days, withdrew to her summer hideout in Chengde, 250 kilometres northeast of Beijing, where she wallowed in a life of luxury and pleasure as if nothing were happening.

Rulers of old China, from Ci Xi down to Chiang Kai-shek, were all the same: afraid of and sycophantic to foreigners. They gave away the nation's sovereign rights, not caring a damn about the people. In old China, foreigners lived in concessions and enjoyed extraterritorial rights. Feudal warlords, bureaucrats and compradors colluded with the imperialists and rode roughshod over the people. But where there is oppression, there is resistance. People kept fighting imperialism and feudalism. I can remember when I was a middle school student — that was towards the end of the Qing Dynasty

The author was a leader of the May 4th Movement of 1919 against imperialism and feudalism. He is now Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the Jiu San Society.

— a foreigner in Jiujiang County in Jiangxi Province, where I came from, killed a Chinese. The men in the street were provoked and indignant, so the magistrate by the name of Jiang Shaotang sentenced the foreigner, for which he was removed from office and beheaded by a special envoy from the imperial court. In semi-feudal, semi-colonial old China, the ranking officials, as a rule, were afraid of foreigners while foreigners, as a rule, were afraid of the people.

The Chinese people continued to struggle against imperialism and feudalism, but, in the absence of leadership by a proletarian political party and without a socialist orientation, they just could not be successful. A broad avenue to the new-democratic revolutionary movement did not open up until Comrade Li Dazhao, a



great pioneer of the Chinese revolution, published after the Russian October Revolution his two excellent articles ("Victory for the Common People" and "Victory of Bolshevism") and the subsequent May 4th Movement occurred. Led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, the Chinese people toppled imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, which weighed them down like three big mountains, and stood up. Thanks to the socialist revolution and construction, an impoverished, backward, calamity-ridden old China was transform-

ed into a socialist new China, which is beginning to show signs of prosperity.

In the last three decades since the founding of New China, despite the wanton sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four and various mistakes in our work, we have, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, successfully established a socialist industrial system, raised the level of farm production, developed scientific, cultural and educational undertakings, provided the people with security and improved their livelihood. All this would have been inconceivable in old society.

I have been an eyewitness to the events of the last 60 years since the May 4th Movement. When I compare the first 30 years with the second 30, I always feel convinced that the socialist road is the only road for China. Since the May 4th Movement, many fallacious arguments have been advanced against the Chinese people taking the socialist road; for a decade or so, Lin Biao and the gang of four preached their ultra-Left, pseudo-socialist heresy. But these have all been washed away by the revolutionary torrent of scientific socialism.

It may be recalled that half a century ago, many Chinese youths were attracted by the socialist revolution in Russia. Before and after my arrest in the May 4th Movement, I took part in the activities of the study group of socialism in Beijing University. Later, when I went to France to work and study, I was in contact with and influenced by Communists like Zhou Enlai, Zhao Shiyan, Xiang Jingyu, Cai Hesen and Chen Yi. I became increasingly aware of the fact that capitalism was a cul-de-sac, that reformism would get China nowhere, that the Chinese people's only way out was to take the socialist road by following the lead of the Chinese Communist Party; only thus could the people's democracy be ensured, could there be development in science, and could we hope to save the country and the people.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), upon my return from France I took up a post in the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy as a political instructor. Before and after Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution, I applied to join the Chinese Communist Party but the Party organization persuaded me against joining, asking me to carry on work as a non-Party member, which would be more convenient in rallying more democrats around the Party.

But the reactionaries were not about to leave me alone. As I had been actively propagating the idea of resisting Japanese aggression and saving the country, which was considered a criminal offence, I was twice arrested and imprisoned, my house was searched and ransacked on two occasions, and I was three times removed from my position as a college professor. In 1932 when I was teaching in Beijing University, Chiang Xiaoxian, the regimental commander of the gendarmes and a nephew of Chiang Kai-shek, had Professors Ma Zhemin, Hou Wailu and me arrested. It was only because Soong Ching Ling (Dr. Sun Yat-sen's widow), Lu Xun and Cai Yuanpei intervened in the name of the League to Protect Civil Rights that the Kuomintang reactionaries, deterred by the high tide of resistance against Japanese aggression stirred up by the Communist Party and the people, hesitated to kill us. They were forced to release us. Then, these reactionaries actually invited me to a banquet as an "apology"; in protest against their hypocrisy, I overturned the dinner table.

In 1937, the Japanese militarists launched a large-scale invasion of China. Two days after the fall of Beijing, the Japanese invaders searched my house. I had fled to Tianjin then and later, together with my family, found my way to Chongqing, the seat of the Kuomintang government, where I engaged in educational work and the democratic movement. There, my home was again destroyed, this time by an indiscriminate Japanese air raid. For two weeks I was homeless, unable to find a room for shelter. The reactionary government simply didn't care about the ordinary people's sorrow and woe.

The Kuomintang reactionaries betrayed the nation for their personal gain, embezzling state funds to line their own pockets. In the 22 years of Chiang Kai-shek's rule, civil wars raged endlessly on the Chinese mainland and the people became increasingly impoverished, while the foreign bank deposits of the four big family groups of Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung and Chen Li-fu multiplied. During the seven years when the Chiang Kai-shek government was in Chongqing, it annually asked the public to donate money to the construction of a highway bridge over the Changjiang River. Even though this part of the river is not particularly wide, not a single pier was ever erected with the money racked in. Corrupt officials just pocketed the contributions. After liberation, bridges were built over the Changjiang at Chongqing, Wuhan and Nanjing.

The ancient city of Beijing has a new look now, an indication that China today is worlds apart from the China of yesterday. When I moved back to Beijing (Beijing) after V-J Day and resumed teaching at Beijing University, many *hutongs* (narrow lanes) in the city were strewn with piles of rubbish, some three to four metres high. Garbage heaps dating back to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) littered the old imperial palace compound until after liberation.

In the old society, the daily fare for ordinary Beijing inhabitants was a kind of steamed bread made of corn flour, and every year large numbers of beggars died on the streets, either from starvation or from the cold. Rice and wheat flour had to be imported. Industry was even more backward; even articles for daily use had to be imported. Hence, the word *yang* (foreign) in connection with a large number of commodities, including kerosene, matches, cloth, shirts and socks. Today, much progress has been made in new Beijing's socialist industry and agriculture. Although we are not yet very well off, there is enough food and clothing for the people, something out of the question in old China.

In the old society I myself was afflicted with poverty and sickness. I had malaria attacks in six out of the seven years I was living in Chongqing during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). As only a small number of Western medicines were made in this country, I had to ask somebody to buy some quinine pills in Xianggang (Hongkong) at an exorbitant price. Of course I could only afford to buy a small quantity every year, not enough to cure the disease. Today, all sorts of Chinese-made medicines, both Western and traditional, are available and the state provides free medical service for the workers, staff members and cadres. But for a socialist new China, an old man of my age would have died long ago.

In 1968 I had cancer of the intestine. At that time Lin Biao and the gang of four were wreaking havoc and the hospitals were in disorder. On learning of my illness, Premier Zhou Enlai personally called Beijing Hospital, asking them to give me a careful check-up and treatment. I was operated on and well taken care of. More than 11 years have passed without a reoccurrence.

As I think back on past events, I feel that I am being drawn ever closer to the Communist Party and socialism. The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng led the

people of the whole country to overthrow the gang of four who had done great harm to our country and people. The Party's glorious tradition of seeking truth from facts has been restored and carried forward. In the past, the gang of four defied the laws; today, everybody is equal before the law. All the wrong, misjudged and framed cases have been redressed — mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered. Bad elements undermining socialist construction have been brought to justice — counter-revolutionaries must be dealt with whenever found. Facts show that our Party is capable of getting rid of its own ulcers by its own strength and rectifying its mistakes. With such a Party leading the Chinese people along the socialist road, the prospects for the four modernizations are most promising.

The Party's current principles and policies on various fronts are quite correct. In 1965 when I was Minister of Aquatic Products, thanks to the correct implementation of the principle of "readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards" for developing the national economy, sea fishing developed tremendously. At that time we were even exporting prawns to Japan. Later we devoted our efforts to growing food crops at the expense of animal husbandry and aquatic products.

Now the Party has again put forward the general principle of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving" the national economy. Under this general principle, readjusting the proportional relationship between agriculture, light and heavy industries and between the various branches within agriculture itself according to the law of nature and economic laws will not only bring about an all-round development of our socialist modern industry but also an all-round development of our agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fishery. This will certainly help improve the composition of the Chinese people's diet (that is, to reduce the consumption of food grain and increase the consumption of meat protein and dairy products). I know this policy is correct because of my previous experiences.

I believe it is possible for China to become a country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the year 2000. I have full confidence in the cause led by the Chinese Communist Party. I decided not to wait to be recognized as a member of the Communist Party post-

humously. When I was about to turn 90, I again applied for Party membership and was approved by the Party organization concerned. I have lived to join the Chinese Communist Party both ideologically and organizationally — a personal

desire that I have cherished for half a century has thus come true. I feel excited and am proud. During my remaining years, I want to do my best to contribute to the fulfilment of China's own type of socialist modernization.

Sino-Soviet Negotiations

Does Moscow Intend to Solve Questions?

THE Sino-Soviet talks, drawing the attention of world public opinion, will soon begin in Moscow.

As everyone knows, the proposal for the talks was put forward by the Chinese side on April 3 this year. The Soviet Union, while accepting the proposal, has made quite a lot of comments not helpful to the holding of the talks before they actually begin.

What is the main substance of these comments?

First, the Soviet Union has tried hard to cast doubts on the motive of the Chinese side. In his TV speech in Hungary on June 1, Brezhnev maliciously declared that China has become a serious hotbed of war danger, adding that China's decision not to extend the Sino-Soviet treaty was not very consistent with its expressed willingness to improve relations. Speaking in the Kremlin on June 12, he noted that the abrogation of the treaty could not but make one more skeptical over Beijing's aim. Within a few days, other Soviet leaders repeated what Brezhnev had uttered. Moscow's mass media — *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, TASS, radio stations and TV stations — all followed suit stating that what warranted interest was the motive behind China's proposal. "Resorting to strategic manoeuvres and having no sincerity, the Beijing leaders made a proposal which is only a trap," they clamoured. "One has the impression that the Beijing leaders attempt to make use of their move to cover up their war preparations." Whether the talks will succeed or not "depends, to a decisive extent, on China's sincerity, on whether or not it is ready to stop seeing the Soviet Union and the world as a whole through the glasses of Maoism," they said.

Second, Moscow reaffirmed that its consistent anti-China policy would remain unchanged. Soviet leader Chernenko declared in the city of Frunze on August 15 that just as the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party had pointed out, "the Chinese leadership's policy of heightening tension must be rebutted." He also announced that the Soviet Union "is, as before, the resolute opponent of the Maoist theory and practice." Another Soviet leader Suslov went a step further in attacking China when he stated in Bryansk on September 18 that "we resolutely condemn the Maoist ideology and policy." China's "armed aggression" against Viet Nam, its "threat to and interference in other countries' internal affairs and its consistent attempts to sabotage detente — all these dangerous expressions of Beijing's hegemonist and big-power chauvinist policies are met, as before, with due repudiation from our side." He emphasized, "Our stand remains unshakable. Now, all rest with the Chinese side, namely, whether it is ready to adopt a sensible and constructive attitude during the forthcoming negotiations." Articles in Soviet publications even went as far as to urge China to "split with Maoism," clamouring that [the Soviet Union] would accelerate internal "changes" in China.

Third, Moscow unilaterally set a plethora of limits to the negotiations. Soviet leaders demanded that any issue relating to a third country must not be dealt with ("a third country" naturally means the country, being used by the Soviet Union to threaten China). The Soviet press and the press of its allies echoed that the issue of withdrawing troops from the border area should not be discussed, nor should the issue of border negotiations be placed on the agenda.

On the eve of the talks, the Soviet Union started a new campaign against China, attacking

its domestic and foreign policies. The Soviet Central Television Station screened on September 4 an anti-China film entitled *Instigators From the Celestial Empire*. The film-maker threw to the wind the much advertised "conscience of art" and "political morality" to slander China and twist its image so as to create and whip up anti-China sentiments among the Soviet people. For example, while showing Chinese children in a kindergarten holding toy tanks and carbines in their hands, the commentary says, "Children love to play 'war' games. But in China, children can play nothing but 'war' games."

The film even goes so far as to make use of montage to present pictures portraying Chinese soldiers at target practice and Soviet women with babies in their arms.

In view of these facts, it is clear to everyone what aim the Soviet leaders are pursuing. No wonder Italy's Ansa News Agency, while commenting on the Soviet anti-China propaganda, said on August 11, "The Soviet Union's anti-China campaign has reached new heights" and "observers did not expect a truce in the campaign, even for the start of Sino-Soviet talks next month in Moscow for the normalization of relations." A correspondent of the Italian paper *Corriere della Sera* reported from Moscow on September 9, "In the past few days, the Soviet press made almost daily, continuous, harsh attacks on China and the Chinese people. This was done in preparation for the eventuality, as many diplomatic officials in Moscow expect, that the Sino-Soviet negotiations would flop. And the blame for the failure would naturally lie on the Chinese." Commenting on Suslov's speech, A.P. also said on September 18, "He struck out sharply at Chinese policy. Some Western observers had expected such public attacks to decline on the eve of the talks, scheduled to begin later this month in Moscow. But the Soviet news media and public officials have kept up a steady anti-Chinese barrage."

People cannot help asking: Does the Soviet Union, by its actions on the eve of the negotiations, intend to promote or to set up obstacles to the negotiations?

(A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent, September 23)

For Your Reference

Sino-Soviet Negotiations

A CHINESE Government Delegation headed by Wang Youping, Vice-Foreign Minister and special representative of the Chinese Government, left Beijing on September 23 by plane for Moscow to hold negotiations with the Soviet Union on questions affecting relations between the two countries.

The negotiations were proposed by China. On April 3, the Chinese Foreign Ministry informed the Soviet side in a note that the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China decided not to extend the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between China and the Soviet Union beyond its expiration on April 11, 1980. The Chinese side reiterated the consistent stand of the Chinese Government that the differences of principle between China and the Soviet Union should not hamper the maintenance and development of their normal state relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. To this end, the note said, the Chinese Government proposed to the Soviet Government that negotiations be held between China and the Soviet Union for the solution of outstanding issues and the improvement of relations between the two countries.

Wang Youping's Statement at Moscow Airport

Wang Youping made a written statement at Moscow Airport upon his arrival. He said that with friendly sentiments towards the Soviet people and a sincere desire to improve Sino-Soviet relations, the Chinese Government Delegation has come to Moscow to hold negotiations with the Soviet side on the relations between the two countries. He added:

"We earnestly hope that the coming negotiations will bring about a genuine improvement in the relations between our two countries. The Chinese delegation will do its utmost towards this end. We sincerely hope that these negotiations will produce positive results. This is the ardent wish of the Chinese people and is, I believe, also that of the Soviet people."

Since then the two sides have exchanged notes and memoranda, expounding their respective views on the aims, contents and tasks of the negotiations.

The Chinese side pointed out in explicit terms that the two sides should hold extensive talks on the solution of pending issues and the improvement of relations between the two countries. The Chinese side said that apart from the Sino-Soviet border negotiations which should continue so as to achieve results as early as possible, the negotiations should include removal of the obstacles to the normalization of relations between the two states, the laying down of principles governing these relations and the development of trade, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and relevant documents should be signed in accordance with the outcome of the negotiations.

At the United Nations

Democratic Kampuchea's Representation Reaffirmed

THE United Nations General Assembly on September 21 adopted a resolution to accept the representative of Democratic Kampuchea as the legitimate representative of Kampuchea to attend its current session by a vote of 71 to 35. This is the third defeat for Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, its supporter, in their attempt to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate seat in the U.N. General Assembly. This is a major victory for the Kampuchean people and countries upholding justice and opposing aggression. Earlier, on September 19, the Credentials Committee of the U.N. General Assembly and the General Committee adopted suggestions respectively, accepting the credentials of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and including the item "The Situation in Kampuchea" in the agenda of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

After occupying Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities, defying strong condemnation and opposition by world opinion, continued to send troops into Kampuchea to reinforce their aggression and, supported and abetted by the

The Chinese side also considered that any question raised by either side in the course of exchange of documents should be placed on the agenda for discussion by the two sides on an equal footing.

The Soviet side in its memoranda to China, apart from reaffirming Soviet positions which had been made public several years ago, suggested that opposition to seeking privileges or hegemony be included in the negotiations.

The Chinese side stated: "The Chinese Government's stand on the question of combating hegemonism is consistent and known to all. The Chinese side holds that whether a state pushes or combats hegemonism in world affairs is judged primarily by its concrete actions, and not by its words. This question which affects the relations between the two countries should naturally be placed on the agenda of the Sino-Soviet talks."

Soviet Union, carried on shady activities abroad in order to inject its Phnom Penh puppet into various international conferences and organizations and usurp the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea and legalize Hanoi's aggression. At the 6th Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held recently in Havana, Viet Nam and Moscow-manipulated Cuba did their utmost to put the Phnom Penh puppet into the non-aligned movement. Their attempt was foiled because it was rejected and opposed by the majority of the non-aligned countries. Later, in order to carry out their intrigue at the current session of the General Assembly, Viet Nam in collusion with Moscow put pressure on the ASEAN countries to refrain from raising the Kampuchean issue at the session. These unreasonable acts, trampling the U.N. Charter underfoot and flagrantly violating all principles guiding international relations, clearly demonstrate Hanoi's ambition of pursuing regional hegemonism with the help of the Soviet Union.

However, the acts of aggression and expansion by Viet Nam and the Soviet Union go against the grain of the people throughout the world. All justice-upholding countries maintain that Democratic Kampuchea is an independent sovereign state and a member of the United Nations. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole government of Kampuchea recognized by the United Nations. Whether the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations and other international organizations is recognized and upheld or not is a principled question of whether to respect a country's independence and sovereignty or to allow a country to commit armed intervention and aggression against another country. If one should accept the established fact of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and recognize the puppet regime fostered by Viet Nam after the

invasion as a legitimate government, it would open up an extremely vicious precedent internationally and lead to most grave consequences. The representative of Singapore pointed out that there is no doctrine or international law which permits and justifies a neighbouring state to resort to the armed forces to intervene in the internal affairs of that country (Kampuchea), to overthrow its government and to impose a government. The Soviet-Vietnamese collusion in their scheme at the U.N. General Assembly to oppose Democratic Kampuchea is naturally opposed by countries who uphold justice and are against aggression. This is a victory for international justice.

*("Renmin Ribao" commentary,
September 23)*

(Continued from p. 19.)

After the conclusion of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao instructed the organs directly under the Central Committee and the headquarters of the Liberation Army to design the national flag and national emblem for New China, as well as the banner and insignia of the P.L.A. At the time when the Party Central Committee was about to move to Beiping (now Beijing), Chairman Mao called together the cadres of the organs directly under the Central Committee, and the guards forces, and said earnestly: "We Communists are going to Beijing to carry on the revolution and to build socialism until communism is achieved. You must educate the fighters not to be defeated by sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie."

Birth of the People's Republic

The peaceful liberation of Beiping took place on January 31, 1949. On February 3, the People's Liberation Army entered the city. Armoured troops, artillery units, tank forces, the cavalry and the infantry paraded through Qianmen square from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Workers, students, staff members, professors and people of all circles thronged to the scene, lining the streets to welcome the army. They danced the *yangge* to celebrate the ancient city's rebirth.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee moved from Xibaipo to Beiping on March 25.

A new Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was held in Huairan Hall in Zhongnanhai on September 21, 1949. It was attended by over 600 delegates representing democratic parties, people's organizations, the P.L.A., the various nationalities and overseas Chinese. The Common Programme was adopted and Mao Zedong was elected Chairman of the Central People's Government. In the opening address Chairman Mao declared to the world: "The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up."

October 1, 1949 was a red-letter day for hundreds of millions of Chinese people. Some 300,000 people in the capital gathered at Tian An Men Square to hail the birth of the People's Republic. The five-star red flag, raised for the first time, fluttered gracefully overhead. The Chinese people embarked upon a new historical period — the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

(Some of the photos for this article were contributed by the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution, Museum of the Huai-Hai Campaign and the Xibaipo Revolutionary Museum.)

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Monsoon Season Combat

Since the onset of the monsoon season in May, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army has consolidated and expanded its strength as well as wiped out enemy effectives through mobile warfare. Despite serious difficulties they have also enlarged the guerrilla areas and established new bases in the mountainous jungles.

On the northwest battlefield where the most intense fighting is being waged, the Revolutionary Army launched attacks behind enemy lines and cut Highways No. 5 and No. 10. In the first half of June, many villages in Sisophon and Mongkol Borei Counties were liberated and some strongholds destroyed, forcing those enemy troops entrenched in Pailin, Sala Kruous and Komrieng along the Thai-Kampuchean border to hole up in isolated fortifications.

The enemy troops also suffered losses on the western and central fronts. On September 2, the Kampuchean guerrillas attacked a Vietnamese gathering in Angkor celebrating their national day which was attended by about 200 Soviet personnel. Eighteen Soviet advisers were killed on the spot.

The Vietnamese occupation troops are faced with serious supply problems as their transportation lines were repeatedly harassed. Their morale is low. War-weariness is spreading. Many newly recruited Vietnamese soldiers have deserted. One captured Vietnamese soldier said that desertions were an everyday

occurrence. Many puppet troops have gone over to the Revolutionary Army.

The Vietnamese authorities who are preparing for a new offensive in November at the beginning of the dry season have increased the number of their troops stationed in Kampuchea to 200,000. The Democratic Kampuchean Radio announced in a September 15 editorial that the patriotism and independent will of the Kampuchean people are unshakable. It further stressed that no matter what the difficulties are, they will carry on the fight.

KABUL

Taraki Removed

On September 16, Afghan Prime Minister Amin took over Taraki's post as President on the grounds that Taraki was suffering from "bad health" and "neurasthenia." Taraki had returned to Kabul on September 11 from the non-aligned summit meeting in Havana, having stopped over in Moscow for talks with Brezhnev on his way home. According to reports, there were shootings and explosions in Kabul soon after the cabinet reshuffle on September 14. The city's police bureau boss was killed and Taraki himself seriously wounded. These events reflect the turbulent situation and the sharpening contradictions in that country.

Since Taraki came to power after a coup on April 27, 1978, the mounting anti-government Moslem armed activities have spread to almost every prov-

ince. The Afghan Government only added fuel to the flames when it dispatched troops to suppress them. There were even cases of mutiny and rebellion. Against this background there have been frequent cabinet reshuffles in recent months. On March 27 this year, Foreign Minister Amin replaced Taraki as the Prime Minister. In a reorganization of the cabinet on July 28, Amin assumed the post of Minister of National Defence. On September 14, the Minister of Interior and one other minister were sacked, followed by the disappearance of Taraki from the political scene. Such startling changes show that sharp differences exist in the Afghan leading clique on how to handle the situation.

The Afghan situation, however, is closely related to Soviet interference there. Moscow, interested in expanding its power and seizing outlets to the warm seas, dispatched thousands of "experts" and "advisers" to Afghanistan along with large amounts of weapons and ammunition in order to control the nation and turn it into a Soviet advance post in South and West Asia. It signed more than 40 treaties and agreements with Afghanistan in an attempt to have a finger in the nation's politics, military affairs, economy and diplomacy. The armed struggle throughout the nation has been waged under the slogans: "Moslem, yes; Russians, no!" and "Soviets, out of Afghan!"

The political situation in Afghanistan shows to the world that wherever there is Soviet interference, there is a precarious situation.

● **Recruiting Managerial Personnel**

The Shanghai No. 17 Cotton Mill has recruited 67 people through examinations from among its workers for planning, statistical and accounting work.

New managerial persons were needed this year after 151 managerial staff members retired at the mill. The mill leadership decided to select some from among the workers. All applicants must have at least two years' work experience and an education equivalent to that of a senior middle school graduate. They must be under 35, of good health and hard working.

The 67 people were selected from among the 235 who took the test. Most of the applicants are senior middle school graduates and many have ten-years' work experience.

Though factories often select managerial personnel from among the workers, selection through examinations is quite new.

● **Prize-Winning Spirits And Wines**

Maotai, China's most famous hard liquor, has won first place in a national spirits and wines competition held in Luda for the first time in 16 years.

The crystal-clear spirit is made from sorghum and wheat yeast and comes from Guizhou Province in southwest China. It owes its pungent aroma and unique taste to local spring water and a special distilling process. Maotai cannot be sold on the market until it has been stored for five or six years. It received international recognition as early as 1919 when it won second prize at the Panama Exposition.

Runner-up on the list of the eight grain spirits was Fenjiu liquor from north China's Shanxi Province, which has a mellow and delicate flavour. Next came Wuliangye (Five-Grain Spirit) from Yibin County, southern Sichuan. This strong alcoholic beverage is known for its fragrant and invigorating flavour.

Seven grape and fruit wines

also received awards, including Yantai Red Wine from Shandong Province, China Red Wine produced in Beijing and a new wine made of green grapes from Shacheng, Hebei Province.

The famous Shaoxing rice wine made in Zhejiang Province and Longyan rice wine from Fujian Province both won top prizes.

World-famous Qingdao beer produced from spring water, barley and hops upheld its reputation by taking top honours.

The panel of 65 judges included experts and connoisseurs, engineers, technicians and workers.

● **Perfume Industry Developing Rapidly**

China's perfume industry has made rapid development in recent years.

The output of perfume products reached 14,564 tons in 1978, a 16 per cent increase over 1977. The profit turned over to the state by the industry last year was twice the value of its fixed assets.

Over 100 kinds of natural aromatic substances are produced now, in addition to some 200 synthetic aromatic substances and more than 450 kinds of aromatic essences. These products are widely used in the foodstuff, cigarette, soap, detergent, toothpaste, cosmetic, pharmaceutical, plastic, rubber, paint and sanitation industries.

China's aromatic products and essences are exported to some 100 countries and regions.



Shop floor where Fenjiu liquor is made in Shanxi Province.

CORRECTION: In our last issue's Chronicle, the last sentence of the item under September 11 should read: "There will be seven flights a week between the two countries."



THEATRE

National Festival

Since last January 87 performances by troupes from all over the country have been staged in Beijing. Selected for the national theatrical festival sponsored by the Ministry of Culture to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of New China, they include the most popular modern dramas, Beijing operas, songs and dances as well as local operas, ballad singing, story telling, puppet shows and acrobatic performances.

The national theatrical festival is in fact a review of all stage productions of the last three years. Since the overthrow of Jiang Qing, the tyrant in the cultural field, the stage has sprung back to life. There are many new items as well as revivals of excellent traditional operas and plays. The Ministry of Culture sponsored the festival to present the fine performances from various parts of China.

Reflecting Real Life

Most of the performances are based on contemporary themes,

reflecting the life of the peasants, workers, army men and minority nationalities. Scientists who were ignored in the Cultural Revolution are the main characters in some dramas. Stories about youth, friendship and love are reappearing on the stage after years of absence.

The most appreciated ones are those which expose the present-day contradictions that need to be dealt with.

A play, *Call of the Future*, is an example. It sharply exposes concepts and attitudes which stand in the way of modernization.

This three-act play is about two very different leaders. Yu Guanqun, a leader of an aircraft plant, always copiously quotes authoritative works in order to avoid any discrepancies in his thoughts and words. But he does not understand the swiftly developing situation and cannot see the potential enthusiasm among the masses. He refuses to rely on the technicians who have rich experience and he opposes the masses criticizing leaders because

he thinks it will harm the Party's prestige. Owing to his bureaucratic and conservative ways, problems go unsolved; the quality of a major part cannot be brought up to the required standard and a new type of plane fails during its trial flight.

Liang Yanming, the Party secretary of the general plant, challenges Yu. Liang opposes the rote memorization of Chairman Mao's writings without studying their essence. He realizes that to build China into a modernized country, it is necessary to blaze a new trail. People cannot confine themselves to a formula, but rather they have to adopt new measures based on the changed situation to solve problems. When he arrives at the sub-arsenal, he sees that the major problem there is Yu's rigid thinking. He asks the workers and staffs for their opinions and solves the problem step by step. The drama centres on the differences in ideological principles between Liang and Yu. Their dispute is complicated by their friendship from the war years and because their son and daughter have fallen in love.



A scene from *Call of the Future*.



A scene from the modern drama *Chen Yi Comes Down From the Mountains*.

When the young couple have to decide how they feel about the conflict, they support Liang. The play ends with a successful second test flight. By that time Yu has been dismissed from his post.

This play sparked some strong reactions. Most of the audiences praised it because it dares to expose acute present-day problems, but others felt it besmirches veteran cadres. Regardless of the differences of opinions and shortcomings in the play, it encourages people to think, thus playing the role a drama should play.

Veteran Revolutionaries

There are a dozen performances portraying revolutionaries of the older generation. This is unprecedented.

They are about the early revolutionary activities of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai's boldness and wisdom in his struggle against reactionaries, Chen Yi who was well versed in poem writing and military strategy, He Long's arduous struggle against Left opportunists while at the same time opposing reactionaries four decades ago. Another two depict the struggle of the New Fourth Army Commander, Ye Ting, against

the Japanese aggressors in the 40s in south China and Ji Hongchang, a north China patriotic commander in opposing Japanese aggressors. *Grand Marriage Ceremony*, an opera, shows an underground Communist Party couple proclaiming their marriage on the execution grounds. It is based on a real episode which happened 47 years ago.

The audiences like the modern drama *Yang Kaihui* about Chairman Mao's wife, martyr Yang Kaihui. One of China's earliest women Communists, she was killed at the age of 29. She was a comrade-in-arms and student of Mao Zedong. The play depicts their life and struggle. Many scenes vividly and exquisitely portray how Mao Zedong made revolution together with ordinary



A scene from *Chuncao Charges Into the Court*.

workers and peasants and his deep feelings for his son and wife. One scene shows Mao Zedong holding his baby boy in his arms and lighting a twig. Telling his son that it is fire, he eulogizes it as the symbol of the revolution and the brightness in poetic and philosophic terms. This shows his confidence in the future of the revolution. The people see Mao Zedong not as he was deified by the gang of four, but as a vigorous and great leader.

Likewise, the audiences can see from some performances the earth-shaking heroism of the revolutionaries of the older generation. They had deep roots among the masses and co-operated closely in their arduous revolutionary struggles, forming a strong core leading the Chinese revolution. Their proletarian optimism, dauntlessness and determination to march forward are embodied in their forthrightness and humour in these productions. These performances rekindle warm memories and command people's respect for the older revolutionaries.

Historical Themes

Immensely enjoyed by the Chinese audiences are the historical plays and operas included in the national theatrical



A performance by the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

festival. Such themes can be easily adapted to traditional art forms.

Some of the local operas depict honest and upright officials who refuse to bend the law for the powerful bigwigs. These productions strike a responsive chord among the audiences. *Xie Yaohuan*, a Beijing opera, is the story of a 7th century woman magistrate who was persecuted to death because of her judgment against a tyrannical relative of the imperial family. The playwright Tian Han was hounded to death during the Cultural Revolution while the opera was slandered as an "anti-Party

and anti-socialist" poisonous weed. The revival of this opera is quite significant for, in socialist society, we still need officials with the courage to speak for the people.

Another popular local opera is *Chuncao Charges Into the Court* from Fujian Province. A maid in the home of the prime minister persuades her young mistress to save a wrongly charged righteous young man and to marry him after many twists and turns. It eulogizes the courage and wisdom of the ordinary people and exposes the seamy side of the official circles in feudal society. Adapted from an old opera, it has become a

lively and universally liked comedy full of life, the vulgar and inappropriate parts having been weeded out.

Colourful Selections From Various Nationalities

The festival presents the rich and colourful repertoires of China's various nationalities. Apart from the outstanding folk songs and dances of the Han nationality, there are also singing, dancing and instrumental performances by the Mongolian, Hui, Tibetan, Uygur, Yi and Korean nationalities as well as by artists from the Monba nationality in Tibet, which has a very small population. Jiang Qing once charged that the singing and dancing of the minority nationalities was "exotic" and that their "merry singing and graceful dancing" was equivalent to "revisionism." When the news of the theatrical festival reached the remote border areas, the people there were elated. They chose their most favourite artists and performances to come to Beijing, thereby adding a gay atmosphere of national unity to the festival.

ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

Chorus for National Day

• Performances by the veteran soldiers singing group. All the 200 members of the group are veteran soldiers of the New Fourth Army who fought the Japanese aggressors 44 years ago. Their repertoire includes:

— *The Song of the New Fourth Army*, adapted from a poem by Chen Yi, the former commander of the army;

— *We Are an Invincible Iron Army*;

— *Shock Contingent*;

— *Crossing the Changjiang River*.

Opera

• *The Pillar of Southern China*, a Beijing opera praising the heroic deeds of Chen Yi in waging guerrilla warfare in his early years.

• *Fog Over Vashan*, a modern Beijing opera depicting the life of the people of Va nationality in the southwestern border region.

• *Hong Niang Zi*, a Shanxi opera, portrays the bravery of a 17th century actress in the peasant uprising at the end of the Ming Dynasty.

Modern Drama

• *Bring Back the Army and Fight North* depicts the struggle between Zhu De, the Commander-in-Chief of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and the opportunists during the Long March in the mid-30s.

• *Death Light on the Coral Island* recounts the trials of two patriotic overseas Chinese scientists.

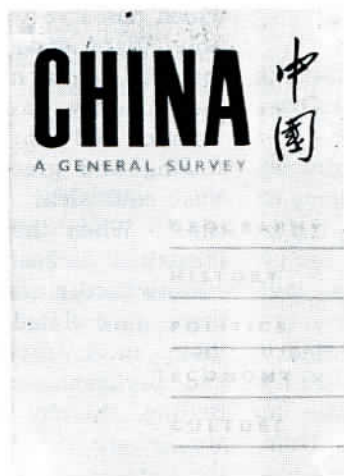
• *Sunrise*, a masterpiece written some 40 years ago by the noted dramatist Cao Yu, depicts urban life in semi-feudal and semi-colonial China.

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