

# PEKING REVIEW

32

August 11, 1961

## The Kennedy Administration: Half-Year Balance Sheet

*Renmin Ribao's* Observer reviews Kennedy's record of adventures and failures and what lies behind them (p. 5).

## "Vostok II's" Historic Flight

China hails another gigantic step forward by the U.S.S.R. in the conquest of space (p. 11).

## Great and Decisive Strategic Battles

Concluding instalment of Marshal Yeh Chien-ying's article on Mao Tse-tung's military strategy and art of command (p. 12).

## Two Industrial Giants Co-operate

Fuhsin coalminers aid the Anshan Iron and Steel Works (p. 17).

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*Painting, Literature and Other Features*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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# *Stories About Not Being Afraid of Ghosts*

Compiled by the Institute of Literature of the Chinese  
Academy of Sciences



This book includes thirty-five stories about not being afraid of ghosts which are taken from ancient Chinese collections of tales and anecdotes. They show the adroitness and courage of Chinese people in ancient times who dared to defy ghosts. Today everyone knows there are no such things as ghosts. But while there are no demons like those described in these tales, there are many things which resemble them – imperialism, reactionaries, difficulties and obstacles in work, for example. These stories, therefore, may be considered in the nature of allegories and satires.

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## OLD TALES RETOLD

by *Lu Hsun*

**Old Tales Retold** is a collection of eight historical stories written between 1922 and 1935 by Lu Hsun (1881 - 1936) who has been called the supreme commander in China's cultural revolution.

These eight tales, especially the five written in 1934 and 1935 – "Opposing Aggression," "Curbing the Flood," "Gathering Vetch," "Leaving the Pass" and "Resurrecting the Dead" – use the form of "historical fiction" to expose and attack the iniquities of the reactionary Kuomintang regime and those who served it. At the same time they give a superb picture of the steadfast courage of the labouring people of China in the struggle against their oppressors.

These tales are filled with the indomitable fighting spirit of their author. Written in a mood of positive romanticism, they express his hopes for revolutionary change. Lu Hsun uses the old stories to arouse the people of his own day to a fuller consciousness of reality, to show them what merits their love and what their hate. These are not the ordinary run of "historical fiction" – they are socialist-realist historical tales.



*Published by:* **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS** Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

*Distributed by:* **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 11, 1961 Vol. IV No. 32

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW  
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China  
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

## ROUND THE WEEK

### 160,000 College Graduates

Graduation ceremonies were held in universities and colleges all over the land during the past two weeks. Altogether 160,000 passed their final exams and received their diplomas, an increase of 27,000 over last year. They will be leaving shortly to take up jobs in various parts of the country.

Of this new crop of college graduates over a third are engineering students. Those from teachers' colleges almost make up another third. The rest have completed courses in medical science, agriculture, natural and social sciences, literature and art, foreign languages and physical culture.

At a time when the entire nation is going all out to develop agriculture and build a socialist countryside, it is only natural that many of these graduates should choose to go to the rural areas. The overwhelming majority of the 10,000 graduates from the agricultural colleges will no doubt work in agricultural research and agro-technical institutes in the counties and special administrative regions. Many of the 19,000 medical college graduates will work in the county hospitals to help develop medical and health work in the rural areas.

As usual, industry will absorb a great number of new graduates. Some branches will take in 80 per cent more newcomers than last year.

In addition, the higher educational institutions will also need new young blood to reinforce their expanding faculty staff. Preliminary estimates put those who will teach in colleges at 7,000.

College students in New China are trained in accordance with the needs of the country. Each student is ensured of work upon graduation. Suitable jobs are allocated on the basis of national needs and personal preference.

Like those classes which graduated before them this year's students likewise have a commendable scholastic record and they have shown a fine spirit in identifying themselves with the cause and life of the working people. Over a half of the more than a thousand graduates of Tsinghua

University, the nation's leading polytechnic institute, this summer received top grades for their diploma designs.

Between 1949, the year when the People's Republic was founded, and 1960, a total of 600,000 students had been trained in China's higher educational institutions. They are making notable contributions to the nation's socialist construction. The new graduates will be a welcome reinforcement in the various fields of national endeavour.

### Fighting Drought

The bad weather which has been playing havoc with farm crops in many parts of the world has not spared some farmlands in this country. Some areas have been struck by natural calamities for the third consecutive year. Indomitable as ever, the peasants are putting up a stiff fight against all kinds of ill will on the part of Nature. And their strenuous efforts are paying off.

In Hunan in central China more than 2.6 million people are engaged in the battle against drought. By the end of last month some 5 million *mu* of affected crops had been brought water and were growing healthily again.

Anhui Province has had little rainfall since the beginning of the year. In the Fuyang Special Administrative Region some 800,000 commune members are out in the fields every day, sowing drought-resistant crops such as potatoes and beans. In Luan irrigation work takes top priority. Up to last week, more than 90 per cent of the paddyfields there had been watered. In many places more irrigation channels have been dug and more electric pumping and drainage stations built. The Luan peasants have dug nearly 200 canals and channels and irrigated more than 1.2 million *mu* during the past few weeks. This has greatly lessened the drought damage.

The people's communes proved their worth in the fight against natural calamities in the past two years and they are once again showing their strength in the present struggle. Take the Zhoufang People's Commune in



Off to Their New Jobs

Woodcut in colour by Hsu Kuang

Kiangsi Province for example. Faced with severe drought, the production brigades of the commune got together to solve their irrigation problem by pooling their manpower and equipment in close co-operation. Each production brigade contributes manpower according to its capacity and gets paid for every job of work done. In a matter of days they built and repaired 140 earth dams along the local rivers and dug and repaired over 200 irrigation channels. As a result, 4,000 *mu* received timely irrigation. The people's commune was able to take control and plan irrigation over an extensive area and distribute the supply of water to the best advantage. This was unimaginable in the old days when the individual farming co-ops could only operate on a much smaller scale.

### Electricity Aids Agriculture

Electric power is playing a steadily increasing role in the development of agriculture. Since the beginning of the year, power used for agriculture in Shansi Province, for instance, has increased by more than 100 per cent compared with the same period last year. It is a big weapon in the current anti-drought fight.

Not long ago this column mentioned the big electrically powered pumping station network that is being built in the Pearl River Delta in Kwangtung Province in the south. Last week, reports came in of the building of more such networks.

In Shanghai, one such network has just been completed and commissioned. Capable of watering 225,000 *mu* of farmland, it serves five neighbouring counties which supply the big industrial city with vegetables.

On the outskirts of Nanking, in Kiangsu Province, a big new power-operated pumping station last week started pump-

ing over a million cubic metres of water daily from the Yangtse to the Chinhuai River, providing irrigation for 200,000 *mu* of farmland.

By the end of May this year, Hopei Province in north China had expanded its power-operated irrigation by 19 per cent as compared with last year.

### Mei Lan-fang Dies

China mourns the passing of Mei Lan-fang. The nation's foremost actor in the Peking opera tradition died of coronary arteriosclerotic heart disease on August 8 in Peking. He was 67 years old.

Mei Lan-fang was a people's deputy to the National People's Congress, a Standing Committee member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Vice-Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Vice-Chairman of the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, President of the Chinese Opera Institute and Director of the China Peking Opera Theatre. He was a member of the Chinese Communist Party. With more than 50 years of stage experience behind him, Mei Lan-fang was the most distinguished exponent of Peking opera. He devoted his whole

life to the development of the arts of the people. His death is a great loss to the nation's art.

Premier Chou En-lai and other Party and government leaders were among those who visited him during his last illness. A 61-member funeral committee has been set up. It includes the Premier and prominent leaders of the art world and is headed by Vice-Premier Chen Yi. A memorial meeting was held on August 10.

### With One Hand on the Hoe

"A gun in one hand and a hoe in the other." This has been an outstanding tradition of the People's Liberation Army since the early days of the revolution. The P.L.A. today is justly proud of itself being a working force as well as a fighting force. Wherever they are, P.L.A. men invariably play a part in local production. In the current national agricultural drive they are there too "in the frontlines."

In the first six months of this year the P.L.A. launched two big campaigns to aid agriculture, one during the spring sowing and the other during the current summer harvest. Officers and men alike worked shoulder to shoulder with the peasants in the fields. The latest statistics, though incomplete, give some idea of their admirable record.

From January to June, P.L.A. units helped the people's communes in various parts of the country to sow and reap crops on a total area of more than 2.6 million *mu*, and contour plough an area of 45,000 *mu* of farmland. They also reclaimed large tracts of wastelands.

Many units have forged close ties with the local people's communes and given them whatever help they could. Army technicians have repaired farm machinery and tools for the farmers and helped the people's communes train more than 14,000 technicians. P.L.A. men have also distinguished themselves as tough fighters against natural calamities. In the past six months over 60,000 officers and men participated in rescue and other emergency work in areas hit by floods. In drought-stricken areas, the people's soldiers have worked together with commune members in bringing water to the parched land and sinking many wells to tap new water sources. Army units have taken part in building 119 large water conservancy projects in the countryside.

# The Kennedy Administration— A Half-Year Balance Sheet

by OBSERVER

The following commentary appeared in "Renmin Ribao" on August 2. — Ed.

## Changes in Six Months

Six months have elapsed since the Kennedy Administration took office.

When Kennedy was inaugurated as President six months ago, *The New York Times* wrote on January 30: "In his first full week in the presidency Mr. Kennedy set a brisk pace. The mood was one of bustle and confidence. . . . President Kennedy gave the impression of being in the thick of things and his eagerness seemed contagious."

The *London Times* in a commentary welcoming Kennedy's election as President held that "he was the more mature" and that "he had the greater experience of public affairs." The *Daily Express* even hailed him as the "first world leader born in this century" and predicted that he would usher in "a new age of American confidence."

But how did the Western bourgeois press size up this U.S. President after an interval of a few months?

*The Times* on June 23 carried a dispatch from Washington which disclosed: "Instead of being tough, a quality much admired here. . . the President is also prone to listen and adjust himself to the demands of pressure groups of all kinds." The Kennedy Administration's "much publicized elan is also beginning to look a little dusty."

*U.S. News and World Report* wrote that recent international developments showed it had "become toughest" for Kennedy to carry out his policy. "What to do about Castro? What to do about Laos? What to do about communist threats on fronts scattered around the world? There was worry, too, about France and Algeria, about Africa, even about outer space." "Almost overnight, urgent problems began piling high for the Kennedy Administration. Everything seemed to be coming to a head. And no easy solutions were in sight."

This person who not so long ago was lauded as "bold and resolute," "courageous" and "confident," is now called "reckless," "impatient," "a failure and a disappointment." How is it that the assessment of the same John F.

Kennedy has undergone such a radical change from high praise to low opinion within the short span of six months?

## A Record of Adventures

The Kennedy Administration took office when the world situation had become steadily more unfavourable to U.S. imperialism and when U.S. imperialism found itself at a dark and difficult historical juncture. The U.S. monopoly capitalist groups which sent Kennedy to the White House, put at his service a bevy of new aides who were considered to "command prestige" and to be "highly intelligent," and entrusted him with heavy responsibilities. They hoped that the Kennedy Administration would brace itself and be able to deliver the country from its predicament. Kennedy himself had declared: "I am going to do my best, as the President, to see that the United States moves ahead in the 1960s" and that he "would not only contain communism but would promote the cause of freedom and reconstruct American prestige."

What did Kennedy count on? It was the two-faced tactics of arrows in one hand and the olive branch in the other, of which he made a big fanfare both before and after his assumption of office. While speeding up the development of long-range guided missiles and nuclear weapons and endeavouring to consolidate and expand the sphere of U.S. aggression with the help of "limited war," Kennedy adopted at the same time the "strategy of peace" "to buy the time and opportunity necessary to regain the upper hand."

Indeed, in the past six months, in the military, political and economic fields, the Kennedy Administration has done what the Eisenhower Administration had not dared to do.

At home, the Kennedy Administration is developing guided missiles at a far greater pace than under the Eisenhower Administration in order to gain time and close the "missile gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, Kennedy has stressed a large-scale increase in conventional military strength. He declared openly that U.S. armaments must "not be bound by any provision for a budget ceiling" and that the United States "should be prepared to pay whatever this costs." In spite of U.S. financial difficulties, he raised the total direct military appropriations for fiscal year 1962 from

\$42,900 million as proposed by Eisenhower to \$47,500 million. This is the biggest U.S. military budget in peacetime.

In Latin America, the Kennedy Administration flagrantly sent mercenary troops to land in Cuba to carry out a brazen armed aggression against that country in an attempt to overthrow its revolutionary government. This was an adventurist plan which the Eisenhower Administration had long prepared but dared not put through. Kennedy put it into effect in a hurry shortly after he entered the White House.

In Asia, the Kennedy Administration is exceptionally enthusiastic about opening up "new frontiers" for the U.S. along the periphery of Asia. Despite the fact that the U.S. policies of aggression and war have met with such disastrous failure in Laos, Kennedy is still carrying on Eisenhower's policy of intervention and aggression in Laos to extend the civil war there and he is making active preparations for direct armed intervention.

In Africa, the Kennedy Administration is more active than its predecessor in pushing forward U.S. neo-colonialism in an attempt to replace the old colonialists there. Especially in the Congo, it has cunningly used the United Nations to divide and undermine the Congo's patriotic national forces while intensifying its efforts to squeeze the Belgian colonialist forces out of the Congo and swallow up the whole country.

In Europe, Kennedy has time and again declared that the United States is "determined" to remain in occupation of West Berlin "in spite of any risk." U.S. newspapers have disclosed that Kennedy was even considering whether or not to conduct a "brush-fire war" in Berlin. Hubert Humphrey, deputy Democratic leader in the U.S. Senate, went so far as to bluster that "we will use nuclear power if necessary." U.S. Army Secretary Stahr announced that the U.S. armed forces in Western Europe "are in high alertness."

What warrants particular attention is the fact that the Kennedy Administration takes "limited warfare" as an important means of pushing ahead aggressive U.S. policy. Kennedy has openly declared: "In the years of the gap, our threats of massive retaliation will lose most of their impact. In the years of the gap, our exercises in brink-of-war diplomacy will be infinitely less successful." He therefore maintains that the Eisenhower Administration's "brinkmanship" strategy should be replaced by the strategy of "limited warfare." Kennedy himself and his close "military strategists" make no secret of the fact that they have adopted such a strategy because (1) it enables the United States to "intervene rapidly and effectively" in the national liberation movement "wherever it might occur"; (2) it keeps up international tension, "helps persuade the population to bear heavy defense costs and checks those centrifugal tendencies which always threaten democratic alliances"; and (3) it gives the economy a shot in the arm and helps Kennedy's recovery programme. Thus, the Kennedy Administration, while actively preparing for all-out nuclear war, is determined to conduct "limited war." Its sudden attack on Cuba was an experiment in its adventurist plan for "limited war."

Although Eisenhower's "brink-of-war" policy did not rule out local war and in certain places local wars did

exist, the "brink-of-war" itself is not war. But Kennedy's policy of "limited war" is one for real war, though on a limited scale. *The New York Times* correspondent James Reston in an article summing up the first six months of Kennedy's office wrote on July 17: "In the first six months of the Kennedy Administration, the United States foreign policy has remained basically the same as under President Eisenhower, but has become more flexible and venturesome."

Kennedy's adventurist policy naturally greatly aggravates international tension and seriously threatens the peace and security of the world. This has even worried many West European bourgeois newspapers which lauded Kennedy at the time of his inauguration. The French weekly *France Observateur* in a recent commentary on Kennedy's adventurist policy pointed out that "a policy of risk" calculated to fight a non-nuclear war and executed by "a man so inexperienced, so nervous, stuffed with cortisone because of sickness, working without interruption and sleeping rarely" could not but give rise to apprehensions and worries.

### A Record of Failures

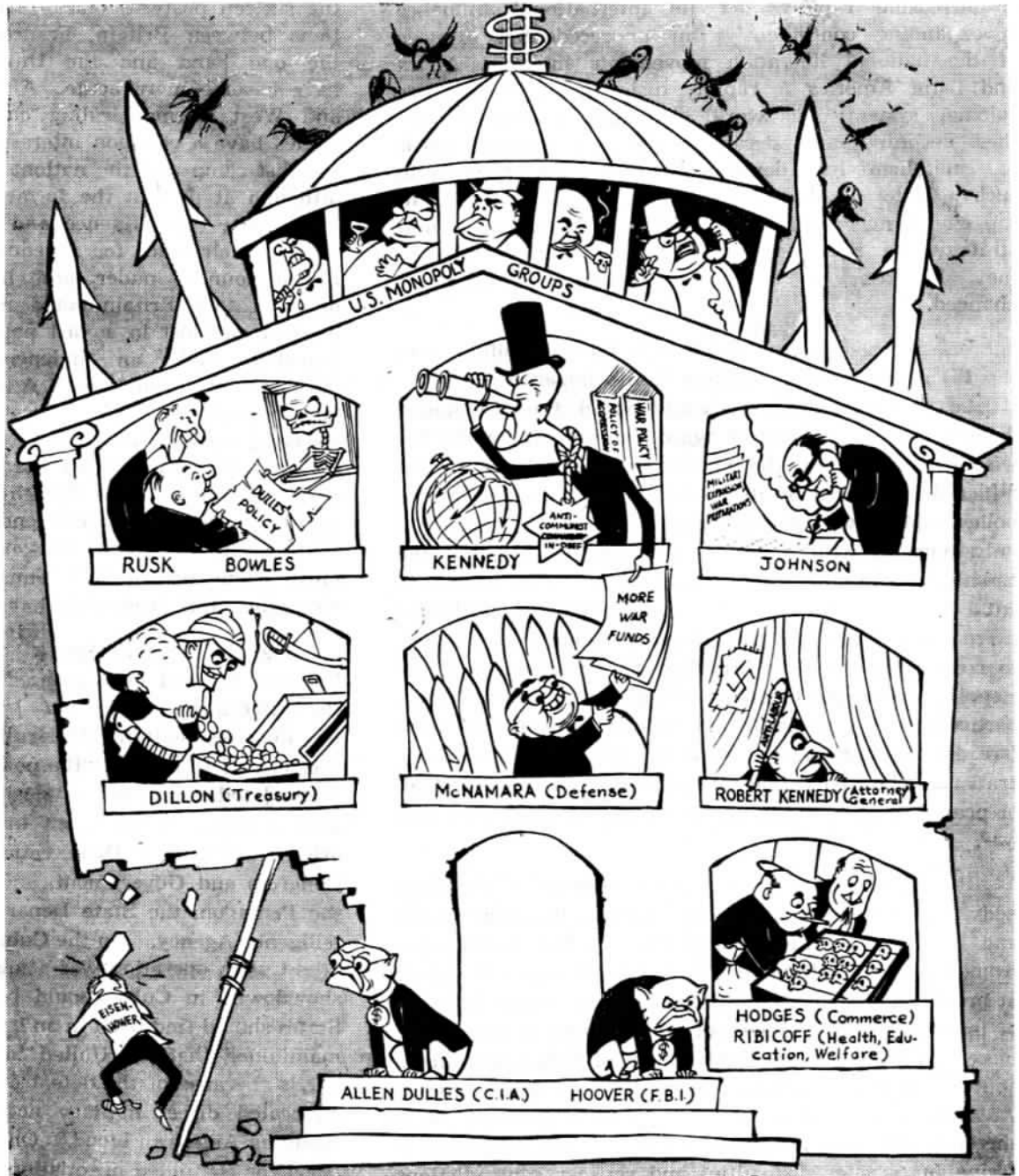
What have been the results of the adventurist moves of the Kennedy Administration mentioned above? Events in the past six months have shown that the Kennedy Administration has failed to save the United States from its decline. It has tried to close the missile gap as quickly as possible, but this gap has grown even wider after the successful flight of the Soviet manned spaceship. Kennedy's policy of military ventures has met with successive defeats in Cuba, Laos and other places.

Although the Kennedy Administration's arms expansion and war preparations have had a certain stimulating effect on the U.S. economy and a slight upturn in its industrial production has appeared in the past few months, this has, nevertheless, failed to extricate the country from the menace of economic crisis. A large number of important enterprises are still operating well below capacity and the number of unemployed workers, instead of dropping, has increased. Furthermore, as a result of the Kennedy Administration's "big spending programme" the U.S. financial crisis has become more serious than ever. The deficit in the last fiscal year ending June 30 exceeded the originally estimated \$3,000 million and reached \$3,900 million. The national debt in the United States has reached the record figure of \$298,000 million.

As for the other tactic of the Kennedy Administration, the "peace strategy," as the Americans call it, what results has it brought? Since his assumption of office, Kennedy has all along passed himself off as a lover of "peace," trying to make others believe that he is willing to "reconciliate" and seeking a settlement of major international disputes by negotiations and not by recourse to force. But in the events in Cuba, the Congo and Laos, in the Vienna talks and on the questions of Germany, West Berlin, disarmament and nuclear tests, the bellicose and intransigent stand of the Kennedy Administration fully shows that his talk about seeking a relaxation of international tension is utterly hypocritical.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Kennedy Administration has devoted big efforts to cooking

up a host of delusive new tricks such as the so-called "peace corps," "alliance for progress," "food for peace programme," "kinship campaign" and so on and so forth. But these, after all, cannot cover up its true colours as a neo-colonialist who has launched aggression against Cuba, attempted to swallow the Congo and engaged in intervention in Laos. The Brazilian weekly *Novos Rumos* exposed Kennedy's "alliance for progress" programme as an attempt to expand U.S. rule over the Latin American continent and legalize U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries. The *Voice of the Cameroons* has pointed out that the "peace corps" dispatched by Kennedy is to peddle the American way of life and the gangsters' code of conduct in Africa in order to Americanize and conquer that continent. The Kennedy Administration's frenzied war preparations and its series of adventurist and aggressive moves have resulted in the rapid bankruptcy of its peace fraud.



Kennedy's Cabinet

Cartoon by Ko Ming

The series of military, political and economic adventures of the Kennedy Administration since its inauguration and their failures have caused a sharp decline in U.S. "prestige"; Kennedy's own "prestige" has also dropped drastically. UPI reported: "American prestige... has taken a dip on the heels of the Cuban and Laos setbacks and the Soviet space orbit." After the defeat of the U.S. armed aggression against Cuba, the *Corriere Della Sera*, one of Italy's biggest newspapers, wrote: "In one day American prestige collapses lower than in eight years of Eisenhower timidity and lack of determination." The Paris paper *Le Monde* pointed out that Kennedy had lost his capital with which he won sympathy when he entered the White House.

In short, the record of the first six months of Kennedy as President of the United States is one of adventures and failures. This record shows that the Kennedy

Administration is more adventurist than the Eisenhower Administration. It further shows that the position of the United States under the Kennedy Administration has become even weaker than under that of Eisenhower.

Some Western commentators attributed the Kennedy Administration's adventurism and weakness to Kennedy's own "recklessness," to his being "ambitious but incompetent," "young and inexperienced." There may be some truth in this. But fundamentally speaking, the cause certainly does not lie here. The roots of the Kennedy Administration's adventurism and weakness lie deep in the times and in society.

### Background of the Times

The Kennedy Administration is confronted with a world situation in which the might of the socialist camp

is increasing rapidly and its international influence is expanding continuously; an unprecedented upsurge of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America is rapidly disintegrating the entire colonial system; the world capitalist system is further declining and decaying and the general crisis of capitalism has developed to a new stage. In such a historical period, no matter whom the U.S. ruling circles may send to the White House or what new strategy the Kennedy Administration may adopt, the inevitable trend of historical development cannot be changed.

The Kennedy Administration in no way differs from the Eisenhower Administration in its imperialist nature. It has taken over, lock, stock and barrel, the Eisenhower Administration's policies of aggression and war and, likewise, has had to bear the whole onerous burden of all the difficulties incurred by its predecessor in pursuing such a policy. Moreover, the Kennedy Administration is not only burning with ambition to carry out all that the Eisenhower Administration failed to do; it also intends to cut a dashing figure in fields where Eisenhower and Dulles dared not act or did not act with great vigour, in an attempt to close all the "gaps" or breaches of its predecessor. While stepping up preparations for all-out nuclear war, it lays particular stress on local and limited conventional warfare. While carrying out arms expansion and war preparations, it lays particular stress on the so-called "strategy of peace" so as to cover up its policies of aggression and war.

It is safe to say that the "global strategy" of the Kennedy Administration is broader in scope, has more facets and is more ambitious than that of the Eisenhower Administration. Although U.S. imperialism is still strong at present and remains the strongest reactionary bulwark of imperialism, the balance of world forces is developing more and more to the disadvantage of U.S. imperialism, and the "gap" is widening between its present "position of strength" and its ambitions for world hegemony. It is therefore inevitable that the Kennedy Administration is facing far greater difficulties and sharper contradictions than those which beset the Eisenhower Administration.

With a view to strengthening the position of the United States, the Kennedy Administration has been trying its best to furbish up the Western alliance. Immediately after he took office, Kennedy complained: "In Europe our alliances are unfulfilled and in some disarray. The unity of NATO has been weakened by economic rivalry and partially eroded by national interest. It has not yet fully mobilized its resources nor fully achieved a common outlook." Therefore, he stressed to the utmost that "Western unity" must be strengthened, which in actual practice means strengthening the U.S. control of the Western bloc and its leadership in it. He let it be known that he wanted to assume "the role of leader in freedom's cause" and the "commander-in-chief" of a "grand alliance for freedom."

But owing to the law of uneven development of capitalism, great changes have taken place in the correlation of forces among the imperialist countries in

the sixteen postwar years. The long existing contradictions between Britain, France, and West Germany on the one hand and the United States on the other have become more acute. Although the British, French and West German ruling circles and the U.S. ruling circles have a common interest in their opposition to the socialist camp and the national liberation movement, and although at present the former cannot completely break loose from the influence and control of U.S. monopoly capital, their voice for an equal footing with the United States sounds louder and louder. Macmillan openly declared that Britain could not possibly remain "submerged and lost in a vast polyglot alliance" and that it hoped to make an "independent contribution to the development of mankind." A spokesman of the de Gaulle government stated quite bluntly that Kennedy was not speaking on behalf of the "free world." Adenauer also declared that the United States should not "impose its will" on others. The French paper *Le Parisien Libéré* said sarcastically in a reference to Kennedy that "to go after world 'leadership' was not enough" and that "one must come up to it." Thus, Kennedy's "efforts" to strengthen U.S. leadership have met with stiff resistance.

The half year's work of the Kennedy Administration has not only aroused general discontent among the American people but has also touched off bitter quarrels within U.S. ruling circles. According to Western press reports, "the political scene here [in Washington] today was one of considerable disarray." Disputes over a series of important international questions have arisen within the Democratic and Republican Parties, Congress and Government, and among the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. On the Cuban question, some held that "the Cuban operation was a mistake" and that a "sudden showdown" in Cuba should be avoided lest the United States should find itself in an irretrievable situation; others maintained that the United States should "not wash its hands" because of the defeat of the invasion of Cuba and advocated direct military action even "at the risk of shedding American blood." On the Laotian question, some stood for continued negotiations while others were against continued negotiations and called for "strong action" in Laos. On the West Berlin question, some wanted to "negotiate for a better status" for West Berlin while others stood for large-scale military mobilization even at the risk of a nuclear war over Berlin.

In short, there has been a multitude of opinions with no consensus of views. A Washington dispatch of the London *Daily Mail* dated June 18 said: "The feeling of drift inside the State Department is increasing." It reported that "many officials acknowledge privately there are big gaps in co-ordination" and that if the State Department did not "bestir itself," it would be "nibbled into ineffectiveness by internal factionalism."

### Essence of the Quarrels

What is the essence of these quarrels within the U.S. ruling circles? The question boils down to this: what kind of aggressive policy should the United States pursue when



tremendous changes have taken place in the world balance of forces and when it has launched numerous adventures and suffered repeated setbacks? One group, the so-called "moderates," feels that it is necessary to have a "truly agonizing reappraisal" of reality, and that "a change in the world balance of power demanded a change in our policy." They advocate that "political scheming" must be used to an even greater extent to gain time to make up for the "inadequacy of military and economic strength." Another group, the so-called "advocates of the hard line," criticizes Kennedy for "retreating," advocates that one "must be willing to risk the danger of war," and proposes a return to Dulles' strategy of "massive retaliation."

Kennedy wanders between these two groups. Sometimes he agrees to the views of one group and sometimes to those of the other. When he believes that the United States is still mighty, he follows the "advocates of the hard line," gets tough and embarks upon adventures. When his adventures come to grief, he becomes despondent, follows the "moderates" and beats a hasty retreat. But retreats are bound to lead to new crises for the aggressive policy of the Kennedy Administration and come under heavy fire from the "advocates of the hard line," so he has to turn around and follow the "advocates of the hard line," gets tough again and embarks on new adventures. . . . The Kennedy Administration is living in this kind of "merry-go-round," becoming the target of mounting criticism from all sides and getting more and more confused. The American political commentator Walter Lippmann called Kennedy "a harried man." *U.S. News and World Report* wailed that the United States was "a nation that has been rocked back on its heels." This paints a picture of the predicament of the Kennedy Administration.

This awkward predicament is best illustrated by the Laotian question.

The early period of the Kennedy Administration coincided with a time when the Laotian rebel troops, supported by United States, Thailand and south Vietnamese military personnel, occupied Vientiane and reached the height of their arrogance. At that time, the Kennedy Administration was beside itself with glee, entertained the vain hope of wiping out the Laotian patriotic troops at one stroke, had no scruples about expanding the civil war in Laos, and directed the rebel troops to launch an attack on the Plain of Jars.

But soon afterwards the rebel troops collapsed in the face of severe blows from the patriotic army and civilians of Laos, and fell back first at one point and then at another. The U.S. Government hastily convened a SEATO meeting in an attempt to use this aggressive bloc for direct intervention. But this plan was opposed by those member states which were afraid that it might get them into trouble. The British *Economist* said very clearly then and there that if troops were deployed in Laos, it would only help the "anti-imperialist" movement in other parts of the world. Thus, the Kennedy Administration had to agree to the convening of the enlarged Geneva Conference as a delaying tactic. But, ever since the opening of the Geneva Conference, the United States has never stopped

creating all kinds of trouble, putting up one obstacle after another in the way of the conference to prevent it from making smooth progress. Such U.S. villainy was so unreasonable and unpopular that the United States was compelled to make one retreat after another.

The Geneva Conference of the past two months and more shows that the Kennedy Administration is in a dilemma and awkward predicament: On the one hand, the United States, unreconciled to its defeat in Laos, persists in its aggressive policy towards that country, has not given up the plan to rekindle the flames of war in Laos, and is making active preparations for this. But even the United States itself lacks full confidence in another military adventure and is not without concern over the serious consequences this adventure may bring. Therefore the Kennedy Administration has repeatedly announced that the United States does not intend to walk out of the Geneva Conference. But, on the other hand, the Kennedy Administration also fears the reaching of an agreement by the conference, because it worries about the "chain reaction" in Asia and other places when Laos really embarks on the path of peace and neutrality. It is worried lest the U.S. aggressive positions in the Asian periphery crumble one after another like so many houses of cards. That is why the Kennedy Administration is doing everything it can to obstruct the Geneva Conference and the Laotian tripartite talks for fear that agreement may be reached.

#### A Mixture of Adventurism and Weakness

The adventurism and weakness of the Kennedy Administration are related to each other. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism, which is aggressive by nature, still hangs on to its "global strategy" of world domination like grim death, and it still possesses mighty military strength. That is why the Kennedy Administration is always engaged in this or that aggressive adventure in an attempt to save the U.S. from decline and score victory by chance. On the other hand, owing to the tremendous changes in the world balance of forces, the United States' ambitions for world domination are not in keeping by a long chalk with the strength it possesses. Standing opposed to the aggressive and war policies of U.S. imperialism are the forces of the mighty socialist camp, the national liberation movement, the workers' movement of all countries and the peace-loving forces throughout the world. As a consequence, its adventurous moves are bound to meet with even greater setbacks, and its weakness becomes exposed with greater clarity. U.S. imperialism is just like an incorrigible gambler with less and less money in his pocket. The more he gambles, the more he loses. And the more he loses, the more eager he wants to gamble. He will not stop until he has lost everything.

All imperialists and reactionaries follow a common logic: the further downhill they go, the more they embark on adventures. And the more adventures they embark on, the more do they hasten their own decline and disintegration.

History furnishes innumerable such examples. In 1812, precisely at a time when Napoleon's "continental blockade"

policy had come to naught, when an industrial crisis had broken out in France, and national movements against Napoleon had surged up in countries under French occupation, that is, just when his empire was on the decline, Napoleon took the adventurist step of throwing all his stakes into an expedition against far-off Russia. The outcome of this was the total collapse of his army which accelerated the downfall of the Napoleonic empire. In 1941, when cracks began to appear in the barbarous regime of fascist Germany over half of the European continent, Hitler concentrated all the military forces he could muster and embarked on the adventure of attacking the Soviet Union. This eventually brought about the final crash of fascist rule. Of course, history will not repeat itself. U.S. imperialism is neither Napoleon nor Hitler. But judging from its reactionary class nature, the extreme adventurism displayed by the Kennedy Administration which does the bidding of U.S. monopoly capital, like all decayed and declining reactionary groups in history, precisely reflects the common logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries: "make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again till their doom."

### Useful Conclusions

All imperialists and reactionaries invariably bully the soft and fear the tough, bully the weak and fear the strong. When they are able to oppress and commit aggression against others at will, they never show any weakness. Only when the people rise boldly to wage a firm struggle against them and hit back at them hard are they compelled to give ground and reveal their weakness of being outwardly strong and inwardly brittle. They are just like the boxing master in the Peking opera *Fisherman's Revenge*. What sign of weakness is there and how arrogantly he behaves when he leads a group of thugs to bully the people. But when he is confronted with the fearless fisherman Hsiao En who refuses to be intimidated by his arrogance, dares to answer his challenge and gives him a thorough beating, the weakness of this bully is fully exposed. Does not the march of events over the past six months since the inauguration of the Kennedy Administration expose exactly such a character?

The weakness of the Kennedy Administration is not determined by its own subjective wish but by the waxing of the people's strength and the people's struggle. It is precisely because the Cuban and Laotian peoples firmly hit back at U.S. armed aggression and intervention that the Kennedy Administration has been compelled to beat a temporary retreat or to enter into negotiations. It is precisely because the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries ceaselessly strengthen their own might and wage a head-on struggle against the U.S. policies of aggression and war that the Kennedy Administration's two-faced tactics of "peace strategy" and war policy have failed to achieve any results.

One can draw many useful conclusions from what has happened in the six months since the inauguration of the Kennedy Administration. The Kennedy Administration is a mirror. It reflects that the world situation is very favour-



Kennedy Dresses for the Part

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

able to the people of the whole world and that the unity and struggle of the various countries of the socialist camp, of the national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, of the workers' movement in the major capitalist countries in the world, and of the peace-loving countries and people in the world are playing a decisive role in the development of the world situation. It also shows that the aggressive nature of imperialism will not change and that imperialism is intrinsically weak.

Therefore our conclusion is: strategically we must despise imperialism while tactically we must take it seriously. On the one hand, because of the Kennedy Administration's weakness, the people of the whole world have every reason to despise it strategically. On the other hand, because of its adventurism, the people of the world must also take it seriously tactically, and maintain a high degree of vigilance at all times and go on waging a head-on struggle against the policies of war and aggression of U.S. imperialism. It is necessary to be on the alert against an overall nuclear war that it may launch; it is still more necessary to be always ready to hit back at any local conventional war it may launch. It is necessary both to oppose its policies of arms expansion and war preparations firmly and to expose its peace plots thoroughly. By so doing, the people of the world will certainly win still greater victories in their struggle for socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace. No matter how imperialism continues its struggle, the historical current will roll on in the direction towards which the people of the world are striving; all reactionary forces trying vainly to check this current will only be drowned in it.

# "Vostok II's" Historic Flight

**V**OSTOK II, the satellite spaceship piloted by the Soviet cosmonaut Major Gherman S. Titov, after making 17 revolutions around the earth covering more than 700,000 kilometres in 25 hours and 18 minutes and having fulfilled its planned tasks, safely landed at the pre-arranged area in accordance with an order from the earth. This magnificent human achievement is another momentous event following hard on the heels of the successful launching of the first manned spaceship *Vostok* on April 12 this year. The Chinese people, together with the people the world over, rejoicing in this mighty achievement of the Soviet people, have sent them and Major Titov their warmest greetings. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai have all sent messages of greetings to the Soviet Union. In his message to Comrade Khrushchov, Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Less than four months since it successfully launched the first manned spaceship, the Soviet Union has again successfully launched a second manned spaceship and achieved a new miracle in mankind's conquest of outer space. This brilliant achievement will greatly enhance the confidence of the people of the socialist countries and the world over in their struggle for the cause of peace and human progress." Comrade Mao Tse-tung also expresses the warm wish that advanced Soviet science and technology will scale new heights under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Soong Ching Ling, President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, China's various democratic parties and other people's organizations, too, have sent messages of greetings to the various Soviet organizations.

## Great Scientific Significance

The scientific task assigned to *Vostok II* was to study man's capacity for work during a sustained state of weightlessness and the effects on the human body of prolonged orbital flight and descent to the surface of the earth so as to create conditions for mankind's further exploration of the universe. During his flight in space, Titov not only maintained close radio-contact with the earth and regularly reported back conditions about himself, but also sent back through the multi-channel radio-telemetric system a great deal of valuable scientific information gathered by the various instruments in the spaceship. With its tasks fulfilled, the automatic device on *Vostok II* was started and it landed safely at the prearranged area. All this required a high degree of accuracy and automation and bespeaks the fact that the Soviet Union has reached the world's most advanced level in the techniques of radio-electronics, automatic control, in the fabrication of structural material and in cosmomedical science. It was a superb performance from start to finish.

Chinese scientists attach the utmost importance to the results of this unexampled space flight. The Deputy-Director of the Institute of Mechanics of the Chinese

Academy of Sciences Kuo Yung-huai noted that the Soviet Union had completely mastered the technique of the launching system and reached maturity in this field. This was proved by its successful launching of artificial satellites and spaceships on so many occasions. Yang Chia-chih, research member of the Institute of Automation and Remote Control, held that one outstanding accomplishment of this flight was that man was enabled to control the spaceship. He characterized this as a new and important achievement in the science and technology of space flight. Professor Wen Chuan-yuan of the Peking College of Aeronautics too was of the opinion that man has now mastered the technique of guidance of the spaceship and it was proved that he can work in a state of weightlessness. This was shown by Major Titov who had spent an hour testing the manual system of control of the spaceship. Deputy-Director Tang Pei-sung of the Institute of Botany of the Chinese Academy of Sciences noted particularly the fact that cosmonaut Titov had had a three-course meal in flight; this, he said, indicates mankind's ability to live well in the universe. Chinese scientists were deeply stirred by this splendid achievement of the Soviet Union; they are looking forward to still greater successes of their Soviet colleagues.

## Wider Gaps

The success of the Soviet cosmonaut's space flight and its long duration once again speaks eloquently of the unrivalled superiority of the socialist system; it proves that Soviet science and technology are now the world's best. The United States, which is the most developed capitalist country, lags far behind the socialist Soviet Union in the science and technology of conquering space. The United States recently launched a manned single-stage rocket weighing only 1.4 tons and flying at a speed of 2.2 kilometres per second. This capsule which the Americans shot into the sky is of course a far cry from the Soviet spaceship. By applying Soviet rocket technique, said Lu Yuan-chiu, research member of the Institute of Automation and Remote Control, a 100-ton cabin carrying 100 men could be shot into the sky if it were launched on the up and down course of the American rocket. U.S. ruling circles are chagrined by the Soviet Union's phenomenal success in space flight as contrasted with the United States' own snail's progress. Kennedy has been making a great to-do about closing the "missile gap" ever since he came to office but this yawning gap is actually growing wider.

The new achievement of the Soviet Union in the conquest of space is the pride of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole; it is also the hope of all progressive mankind. With living facts, it demonstrates the mighty strength of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp. It also shows that the superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked.

# Great and Decisive Strategic Battles

by YEH CHIEN-YING

*Following is the second and concluding instalment of an article by Marshal Yeh Chien-ying. The first instalment appeared in our last issue. — Ed.*

## **Comprehensive Application of Ten Major Operational Principles; Developing the Art of War to a High Level**

The development of the war situation ended the protracted period in which the enemy had surrounded and attacked our army strategically, and changed it into one in which it was our army that surrounded and attacked the enemy strategically. In view of the fact that the final destruction of the main enemy forces necessitated attacks on its strongly fortified large- and medium-sized cities and engagements with its strong mobile formations, and that the establishment of a unified revolutionary state power throughout the country required the capture of the political and economic urban centres, Comrade Mao Tse-tung closely linked the concentration of a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one with the thorough annihilation of strong enemy formations; the wiping out of the enemy's effective strength with the capture of cities and places; and large-scale mobile warfare with large-scale positional warfare. The "ten major principles of operation" which Comrade Mao Tse-tung had summarized on the basis of our army's rich experience in military operations over a number of years were comprehensively applied in directing the three major campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin.

The method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one was the basic method used by the people's army in changing its inferiority to superiority and using a smaller force to defeat a larger enemy force. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "We can rid ourselves of our relative strategic inferiority and passivity by repeatedly creating through our efforts partial superiority and initiative and by depriving the enemy of partial superiority and initiative and throwing him into inferiority and passivity. The sum total of these partial successes will constitute our strategic superiority and initiative and the enemy's strategic inferiority and passivity. But such a change depends on correct strategic direction."\* This correct direction was to put into effect the method of "concentrating a superior force to wipe out the enemy forces one by one." By employing this method of fighting set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our army won complete victory not only in the revolutionary wars of the past but also in the decisive battles of the three major campaigns mentioned above.

During these major campaigns, while strategically encircling the enemy, our army cut apart, surrounded

and wiped out the enemy forces in campaigns and in battles. Strategically, our army divided up the enemy forces on several fronts, and then on each front split up the enemy's powerful groups into a number of isolated units; it then concentrated superior forces to wipe them out one after another and thus rapidly destroyed all the enemy forces.

During the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, taking advantage of the dispersion and isolation of the enemy forces in the northeast, our army first concentrated a superior force to attack and wipe out the enemy in Chinchow; it then switched its main force to wipe out first Liao Yao-hsiang's army coming from Shenyang to rescue the enemy forces in Chinchow and then the remnant enemy troops in Shenyang, so that finally all the troops of Wei Li-huang's group were wiped out.

During the Huai-Hai campaign, our army first cut connections between Huang Po-tao's army and the enemy troops in Hsuechow; it then surrounded Huang Wei's army and checked the advance of the armies under Li Yen-nien and Liu Ju-ming, thus making it impossible for the enemy forces to support each other; after wiping out Huang Po-tao's army, we successively directed our main force to wipe out one by one the troops of Huang Wei's army and Tu Yu-ming's group.

During the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, our army cut apart the enemy troops and surrounded them separately at various strong-points on the Peiping-Suiyuan and Peiping-Tientsin Railways and then wiped them out one after another.

By this method of wiping out the enemy forces one by one, our army, in four months and 19 days, rapidly and completely annihilated more than 1,540,000 men of the three major strategic groups of the reactionary Kuo-mintang forces. This was a practical application and development of the principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "concentrating a superior force to wipe out the enemy forces one by one" and to "attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later," thus closely linking the concentration of a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one with the complete annihilation of the enemy's strong formations.

During these three major campaigns, our army not only wiped out the enemy's effective strength but also captured enemy-occupied cities and places. As a result of the capture of Chinchow, our army not only wiped out the enemy forces there and liberated that city as well as its environs, but also compelled part of the enemy forces in Changchun to revolt and come over to us, and the rest to surrender, thus liberating Changchun and preparing the ground for the complete annihilation of Wei Li-huang's group. By wiping out Huang Po-tao's army and encircling Huang Wei's army, our army not only destroyed

\*On the Protracted War, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 87-88.

enemy forces and liberated areas north and south of the eastern section of the Lunghai Railway but also compelled the enemy in Hsuehchow to abandon the city and take to flight, thus liberating Hsuehchow and preparing the ground for the complete annihilation of Liu Chih's group. As a result of the capture of Hsinpao-an and Tientsin, our army not only wiped out the enemy forces there and liberated the two cities and their environs but also prepared the ground for the complete annihilation of Fu Tso-yi's group. In short, during the three major campaigns, we not only destroyed the enemy's effective strength but also captured many enemy-occupied cities and places. This was a practical application of the principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength,"\* and "as for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them,"\*\* thus closely linking the wiping out of the enemy's effective strength with the capture of cities and places.

During the three major campaigns, our army not only conducted large-scale mobile warfare but also large-scale positional warfare.

\* "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 161.

\*\* *ibid.*, p. 162.

At the beginning of the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, our Northeast People's Liberation Army using a force of six columns supported by a large number of artillery units captured heavily fortified Chinchow in 31 hours. At the same time, in the Tashan sector southwest of Chinchow, our army, using a force of approximately three columns in positional defences, held off reinforcements of nine enemy divisions advancing under naval and air support; in the Heishan sector, by means of positional defence, it blocked the advance of reinforcements of 12 divisions from Liao Yao-hsiang's army. After the capture of Chinchow, our army again deployed its forces to attack enemy troops moving westward from Shenyang, and with eight columns and in two days and two nights of fierce fighting, completely destroyed Liao Yao-hsiang's army while it was on the move.

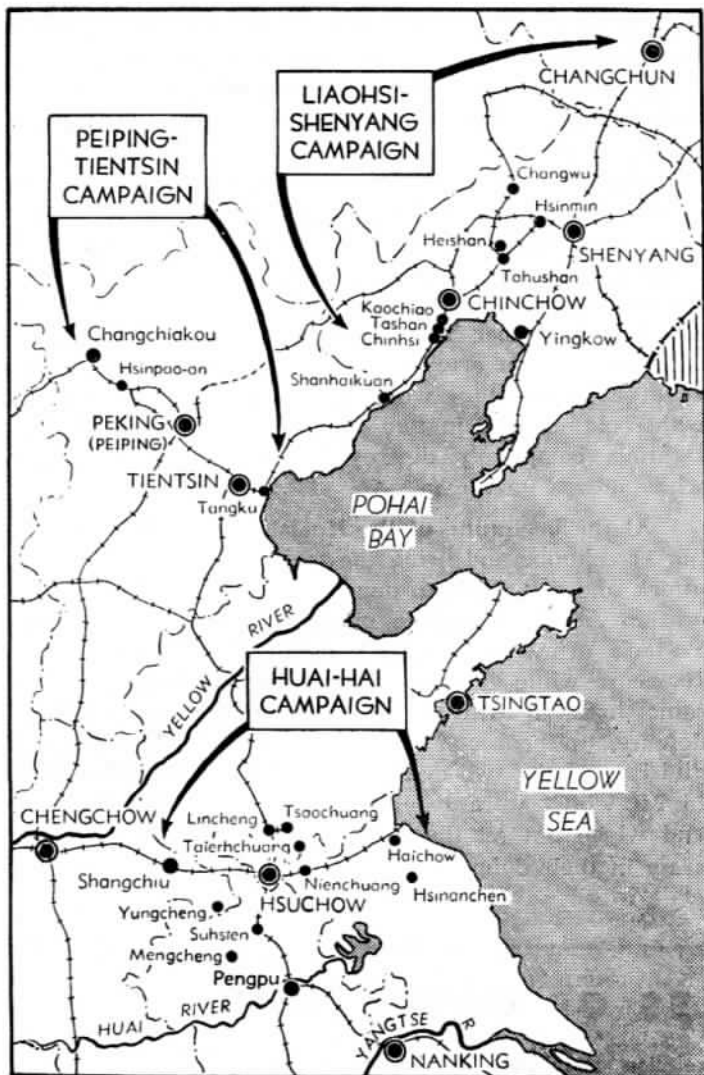
At the beginning of the Huai-Hai campaign, employing 11 columns and using the tactics of flank attack, and attack and interception, our Eastern China People's Liberation Army, in mobile operations, surrounded Huang Po-tao's army in the environs of Nienchuang east of Hsuehchow while it was withdrawing westward. At the same time, our army, using a strong force and positional defence, in the sector east of Hsuehchow, held off the 12 divisions of the two armies under Chiu Ching-chuan and Li Mi which were moving eastward as reinforcements, and wiped out all the nine divisions of Huang Po-tao's army in their defensive field positions. In encircling and

## TEN MAJOR PRINCIPLES OF OPERATION

The ten major principles of operation mentioned in the accompanying article were summarized by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his report "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" as follows:

1. Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.
2. Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.
3. Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.
4. In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and also to attack one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.
5. Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.
6. Give full play to our style of fighting—courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).
7. Strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.
8. With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. Seize at opportune moments all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. Seize at opportune moments all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them.
9. Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and matériel are at the front.
10. Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should in general not be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

\* *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 161-62.



Sketch map by Su Li

wiping out Huang Po-tao's army, six columns under the Central Plains and Eastern China People's Liberation Armies co-ordinated closely and, by mobile warfare, in the environs of Shuangtuichi, northeast of Mengcheng, encircled Huang Wei's army as it was moving northward as a reinforcement. After Huang Po-tao's army was destroyed, the Central Plains People's Liberation Army, in co-ordination with the Eastern China People's Liberation Army, broke through the enemy's strongly fortified field positions and wiped out the whole of Huang Wei's army. When Huang Wei's army was surrounded and attacked, Tu Yu-ming's group, besieged in Hsuehchow, attempted to send reinforcements to Huang Wei's army along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and then jointly flee southward. Our army, using a force of eight columns, developed large-scale positional warfare to block the enemy's move and shattered this attempt. Consequently, Tu Yu-ming's group abandoned Hsuehchow and fled westward. Our Eastern China People's Liberation Army employed ten columns to pursue the enemy along parallel lines, and surrounded the enemy on the move in the Chenkuanchuang sector northeast of Yungcheng. After Huang Wei's army was wiped out, our army massed 11 columns for attack, completely destroying the enemy's strongly fortified field positions and wiping out all the 24 divisions of Tu Yu-ming's group. At the same time, our army also smashed the three attempts made by the eight

divisions of the two armies under Liu Ju-ming and Li Yen-nien to move north from Pengpu as reinforcements.

Each of the three stages of the Huai-Hai campaign opened with large-scale mobile warfare and ended in large-scale positional warfare. During the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, our Northeast People's Liberation Army employed a force of six columns supported by powerful artillery to capture Tientsin in 29 hours. This was a city with modern fortifications heavily defended by ten enemy divisions totalling 130,000 men.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized the necessity of changing the forms of military operations at the opportune time in the light of the development in the military situation and the different stages of the war. During the prolonged period of revolutionary wars, our army has repeatedly changed its forms of military operations. At the start of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, our army annihilated and exhausted the enemy mainly through mobile warfare; after the enemy forces were compelled to change from "defence on all fronts" to "defence of key points," the form of positional warfare and particularly the warfare of attack on heavily fortified points was brought to the fore and occupied an important place. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "Strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities."\* During the three major campaigns, our army already satisfactorily integrated large-scale mobile warfare with large-scale positional warfare.

During the period of the successive revolutionary wars of the past and in the initial period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, the situation was basically characterized by the fact that the enemy was strong while we were weak and its forces were big while ours were small. Because of this our army could only set as our main objective the wiping out of the enemy's effective strength but not the holding or capture of a city or place; it could only concentrate a superior force to encircle and annihilate a detachment or a part of the enemy forces within the scope of its campaigns and battles, but could not completely wipe out the enemy's strong formations; it could only engage in positional attack and defence in the direction and at the time deemed necessary to supplement mobile warfare, but could not conduct large-scale positional warfare and especially a large-scale warfare of attack on strongly fortified positions.

By the time of the three major campaigns, because the situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak had been reversed, the capture of strongly fortified large and medium-sized cities and the capture of places had already become problems closely connected with the continued annihilation of large numbers of the enemy's effective strength. While cutting apart the enemy's strong formations in campaigns, we used strategic encirclements and sought to wipe the enemy out completely, and while attacking the enemy's heavily defended cities, we wiped out the enemy's strong formations sent as reinforcements while they were on the move. These were the tasks which it was possible and necessary for the People's Liberation Army to accomplish at the time of the three

\* *ibid.*, p. 161.

major campaigns. "Nothing remains unchanged: all the laws of war develop as history develops and as war develops."\* It was precisely because Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave flexible strategic guidance in the light of the development in the war situation and because the People's Liberation Army strictly followed and flexibly applied the strategic and tactical principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that we won the decisive strategic battles of the three major campaigns.

"The struggle at the stage of decisive engagement is the most intense, the most complicated, the most fluctuating, the most difficult and the most trying and, for a commander, the critical juncture in the whole war or campaign."\*\* During the three major campaigns, Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only directed our army skilfully but was adept at creating and developing the enemy's weak points, thus putting the enemy forces completely at our disposal and at our mercy. For instance, at the time of our attack on Chinchow, we calculated that the enemy forces in Shenyang would probably come to reinforce the enemy troops in Chinchow, and it turned out that the enemy in Shenyang actually did send reinforcements, with the result that we achieved a great victory in Liaohsi. To take another example: when surrounding and wiping out the armies under Huang Po-tao and Huang Wei, our army resolutely checked the reinforcements sent from the armies under Chiu Ching-chuan, Li Mi, Liu Ju-ming and Li Yen-nien; none of these enemy reinforcements were able to advance a step, with the result that the armies under Huang Po-tao and Huang Wei were completely wiped out. Still another example. At the beginning of the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, we planned first to keep the enemy where he was and it turned out that Fu Tso-yi's group was actually unable to flee eastward or withdraw westward, with the result that all of its troops were disposed of. All this demonstrated that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his art of command, has, as the Chinese saying goes, attained the height of "mapping out plans at headquarters to achieve decisive victory on the battlefield a thousand li away."

### Three Patterns Devised for the Disposal of Enemy Troops

In dealing with the enemy forces, the People's Liberation Army at all times sought to win them over and disintegrate their ranks politically, while centring its main effort on delivering military blows, and closely linking up these two kinds of efforts. During the three major campaigns, as a result of the successive victories scored by our army, the defeat of the Kuomintang became a foregone con-

clusion and all the contradictions within the enemy ranks developed rapidly. This provided still more favourable conditions for our army to win over enemy forces and disintegrate them. In the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, our army succeeded in rousing the units led by Tseng Tse-sheng to revolt and come over to us and inducing the units led by Cheng Tung-kuo to surrender. In the Huai-Hai campaign, it succeeded in rousing the units under Ho Chi-feng, Chang Ke-hsia and Liao Yun-chou to revolt and come over to us and persuading the units under Sun Liang-cheng, Chao Pi-kuang and Huang Tze-hua to come over to the People's Liberation Army. When Tu Yu-ming's group was being surrounded, our army issued a "Message Urging Tu Yu-ming and Others to Surrender" and organized a powerful political offensive with the result that more than 14,000 enemy troops surrendered in a single month although Tu Yu-ming himself stubbornly refused to surrender; as a consequence his troops were wiped out.

During the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, the enemy troops defending the two cities were encircled and their fate was sealed. Our army made all necessary preparations and stood ready to attack the cities. However, in order to protect the lives and property of the people there, our forces, adopting the method of "treating the enemy first in a peaceful way and then by force of arms," called on the enemy troops in the two cities to accept a peaceful settlement, pointing out that there were only two choices for them—either to fight or to surrender. The enemy troops defending Tientsin under the command of Chen Chang-chieh refused to lay down their arms; our army then disposed of them by fighting, resolutely and utterly wiping them out. Following the liberation of Tientsin, the enemy troops in Peiping were compelled to accept a peaceful settlement and were quickly and thoroughly reorganized into the People's Liberation Army in accordance with the latter's system. Thus, Peiping, an ancient city of culture, was liberated through a form of struggle without bloodshed. To dispose of the enemy

\* Mao Tse-tung, "Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War."

\*\* *ibid.*



Liberation of Peiping

Oil painting by Chin Ling and Kao Chao

forces on the Peiping pattern "is one form of struggle, a form of struggle without bloodshed; it does not mean that problems can be solved without struggle."\*

After the victorious conclusion of the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, our army, with a view to concentrating its forces to finish off first the main part of the remnant Kuomintang forces, deliberately left the reactionary Kuomintang forces led by Tung Chi-wu in Suiyuan alone for the time being, so that, after a certain period and when conditions matured, they could be peacefully reorganized in accordance with the system of the People's Liberation Army. To dispose of enemy forces on the Suiyuan pattern "is another form of struggle. It will preserve more of the vestiges and political influence of counter-revolution than the Peiping form and for a longer period."\*\* Once the enemy troops had risen against the Kuomintang and come over to us or accepted peaceful reorganization, this did not mean that they had turned revolutionary and had rid themselves of their reactionary character, on the contrary, they still had to undergo a thoroughgoing political remoulding before they could really become part of the People's Liberation Army.

After the three major campaigns, Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly set forth three different patterns for disposing of remnant enemy forces—the Tientsin pattern, the Peiping pattern and the Suiyuan pattern. He emphatically pointed out that "to dispose of the enemy forces by fighting, as we did in Tientsin, must still be the primary object of our attention and preparations."† He also pointed out that "the possibility has increased for solutions on the Peiping pattern."†† The actual development of the war fully testified to the correctness of these views of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In April 1949, the People's Liberation Army, acting on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's order to the army for the countrywide advance, began the general march, unprecedented in scale, into the vast areas not yet liberated. It rapidly wiped out those reactionary Kuomintang troops which still continued to resist stubbornly, and liberated Suiyuan, Changsha, Kunming, the western part of Szechuan, Sinkiang and Tibet by peaceful means. To dispose of the enemy forces by three different methods was the creative application and development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of mutually integrating military with political struggles under the new conditions in which the main body of the enemy's army had been annihilated.

### **The Army and the People as the Foundation of Victory**

In order to win victories in the three major campaigns, the Chinese Communist Party continued to carry out political and ideological work in the army to promote political, economic and military democracy, to develop the "Movement for Performing Meritorious Deeds" and to provide education concerning the Party's policies. This

\* "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 361-62.

\*\* *ibid.*, p. 362.

† *ibid.*, p. 361.

†† *ibid.*, p. 361.

stimulated the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses of officers and men to a heightened degree, and enabled them to accomplish all their fighting tasks with remarkable pertinacity, great wisdom and flexibility of tactics.

At the same time, the Party did a tremendous job of mobilizing and organizing the broad masses of the people; it mobilized forces in every field to support the war. During the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, it mobilized a force of 13 independent divisions to take a direct part in the fighting and mobilized 80 second-line armies, numbering some 300,000 men, as reserves for the Northeast People's Liberation Army. During the Huai-Hai campaign, it mobilized more than 400,000 local armed forces to coordinate their actions in the fighting, directly or indirectly, with the main forces of the People's Liberation Army. During the Peiping-Tientsin campaign, it also mobilized local armed forces in several northern China provinces to join the fight against the enemy. In the various theatres of war, the Communist Party also mobilized the broad masses of the people's militia and all kinds of people's organizations to support the front and consolidate the rear so that our army could concentrate its attention on the fighting. It was in this way that the strength of the people was totally mobilized and became closely integrated with the military struggle at the front, that the enemy was thus driven into the overwhelming sea of the masses of the people and could not escape the fate of getting drowned.

As a result of the great land reform completed in the various Liberated Areas one after another, the peasants' enthusiasm for production was enhanced, bringing about a steady rise in agricultural production. Meanwhile, in the cities that had been liberated, production in the various industries, particularly in the war industries, was immediately restored, thereby basically guaranteeing the needed supplies for the army. In order to meet the urgent needs of our army at the front for food supplies and clothing, the Communist Party again organized a mass campaign on a large scale to collect food and make clothing. During the three major campaigns, the broad masses in the various localities were organized to serve the army. In the course of the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign, more than 13,800 stretchers and over 36,700 carts were assembled and 96,000-odd civilians were organized to serve the army. During the Huai-Hai campaign, more than two million civilians were mobilized to support the front, bringing the ratio between soldiers and civilians serving the army to as high as 1 to 1, 1 to 2 or even 1 to 3. With the all-out support of the broad masses of the people and their warm encouragement, the People's Liberation Army finally overcame all difficulties and won these decisive strategic battles.

The victory of the three major campaigns was a victory for Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas on a people's war. The people are the creators of history. Real strength lies in the people. This is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept. The factor that decides the outcome of a war is the human factor, the political factor. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Although important, weapons are not the decisive factor in war; it is man and not material things that decides the issue. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but



also of human power and morale. Military and economic power must be controlled by man."\* He also pointed out that "the mass of the people is the richest source of the immense power to wage war."\*\* Given this support of the broad masses of the people, a revolutionary war will

\* "On the Protracted War."

\*\* *ibid.*,

always triumph in the end in spite of the fact that the revolutionary armed forces are relatively weak at the beginning. The magnificent scene of the broad masses of the people supporting the war effort in the course of the three major campaigns and the consequent victory scored in these decisive strategic battles proved once again the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great ideas on a people's war.

## Report from Liaoning

# Two Industrial Giants Co-operate

by SHIH YUNG-WEI

ANSHAN, China's largest steel base, and Fuhsin, one of the nation's leading coal centres, hundreds of kilometres apart in the northeastern province of Liaoning, are closely bound together by socialist co-operation. Every day, trains loaded with high-quality coal reach Anshan from Fuhsin, keeping the giant steel complex well primed with fuel. In recent years, Anshan's steel output has grown by leaps and bounds and Fuhsin's coal output has paced it. In 1959, Fuhsin supplied three times as much coal to Anshan as it did in 1958; last year another 83 per cent increase was registered. This comradesly co-operation between the Fuhsin miners and Anshan steelworkers contributed in no small measure to raising China's steel output to sixth place in the world and speeding China's general industrial advance.

Fuhsin is one of China's largest and most up-to-date collieries. Last year it held first place in output, sending coal to over 1,000 enterprises throughout the country. But among its clients Anshan occupies a special place. Since this giant integrated steel works accounts for the lion's share of the country's steel production, Fuhsin miners regard support to Angang (Chinese diminutive for Anshan Iron and Steel Works) as a task of major political significance.

It was to fulfil this task that Fuhsin workers — miners, coal-dressers, washers and railwaymen, the whole colliery, launched a socialist labour emulation movement for the prompt delivery of more and better coal to Angang.

The way Fuhsin supplied more medium-sized washed coal, one of the many varieties supplied to Angang, was a typical incident in this emulation drive. It all began when an Angang leader told a visiting group from Fuhsin Colliery who were there to find out how their coal fared, that this washed coal was "first rate" and a decisive factor in Angang's success in boosting production. "With an extra ton of this coal, we can make an extra ton of steel. So let's have more," he added.

### For More and Better Coal

This news spread through Fuhsin as if on wings. The coal-dressing plant which specializes in producing the coal

in question was soon astir and Chang Chao-tien, the plant director, sent word to Anshan on its behalf: "Go ahead with plans to boost production. We'll deliver as much coal as you need!"

To make good their pledge, the workers began by giving the coal-dressing and washing equipment a thorough check-up. When it was found that stocks of some spare parts were a bit low for continued high-speed production, the whole town lent a hand: some with ready-made parts, others with rolled steel to make them. Workers at the Pingan Mine, a major mine of Fuhsin Colliery, offered their own brand-new leather belting when they learnt that the coal-dressing plant needed a new belt for its conveyor. "Aid to Angang is everybody's business" has become the order of the day around Fuhsin.

With everything in good working order and sufficient spares at hand, the washer operators set themselves the goal of turning "every operator into an emergency maintenance- and repair-man." Realization of this goal considerably lengthened the effective working hours of equipment; minor hitches were attended to right away on the spot by the operators themselves without having to wait for a regular repair-man.

This set the scene for labour emulation in the coal-dressing plant to go full steam ahead. The three shifts there challenged each other to raise output 20 per cent. On the first day of the emulation drive, the third shift fell short of this mark by 100 tons. So its leader had to decorate members of the first shift — winners of the race by topping the target an extra 256 tons — with red rosettes as specified in the emulation agreement. Undismayed and determined to excel in the drive to aid Angang, the third shift got together to study their drawbacks and thrash out concrete measures to overcome them. The next day, working methodically and with gusto, they came out on top, 107 tons ahead of the first shift — and the drive goes on.

Fuhsin's washed coal is "first rate" because, with an understanding of what quality means to steel-making and a strong sense of responsibility, Fuhsin workers make a point of turning out only the best quality coal. They



**Bringing Coal to a Steel Mill**

*Woodcut in colour by Shen Kuo-jui and Wang Chuo*

wash the coal as if they were washing gold. They pass the coal through six processes of dressing and washing so that all stone and slack are sifted out and every piece of coal is of just the right size. To make doubly sure, samples are taken and tested every 30 minutes. Quality control is so strict that no inferior coal is allowed to leave the plant.

Thus both output and quality of the washed coal rose steadily and the monthly targets were overfulfilled consistently. Last year, the amount of first-rate washed coal which Fuhsin supplied Angang was a third more than originally planned. Angang, of course, was more than satisfied. The steel-makers there pushed steel output to an all-time high.

### **Prompt Delivery**

When the washed coal is stored in the bins, the railwaymen take over and rush it to Angang. The following episode is typical.

When dusk fell on May 13 this year and the second shift at Fuhsin railway station was winding up the day's work, the dispatcher's office got a phone call saying that 50 empty wagons were arriving from Chinchow and the other party wanted to know whether the shift going off duty would begin work on them. Regulations say that if the wagons cannot be loaded, formed and dispatched before the shift's time is up, that shift can refuse to work on them. But considering that it was a good opportunity to get off an "exclusive express" to Angang, the shift dispatcher answered without hesitation: "Yes, we will handle them." Then he broadcasted over the intercom: "Comrades of the second shift, it's still half an hour before we knock off. Let's get ready to work on the

incoming wagons and make a good start for the next shift. . . ." On learning that it was to make preparations for an "exclusive express" for Angang, the shift immediately went into action. It was pouring with rain. Sun Han-kuei, the deputy station master on duty, slipped into a raincoat and went to the yard to direct the work of the shunter.

As soon as the empty wagons came in, maintenance men took them and finished checking them over in less than a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile, engine drivers, stokers, dispatcher . . . all gave a hand in the preparations for loading. At 20:00 hours sharp, the third shift took over. Shunter driver Fu Chan-lin manoeuvred the empty train onto the loading line beneath the coal bins and shiny washed coal was dumped into the wagons automatically. The whole loading operation took less than 30 minutes. Then the shunter hauled the loaded train onto the dispatch track for the regular locomotive to take over. The train rolled off less than three hours after the arrival of the empty wagons. Every station on the route gave the green light and the express reached Angang in exactly seven hours—about half the usual time.

### **Socialist Train**

Fuhsin workers call this special through express a "socialist train." It is not only fast and efficient, but epitomizes the wisdom and socialist spirit of railwaymen who take pride in handling the hard work themselves to give the best possible service to the community.

It was to make their aid to Angang prompt and efficient that the Fuhsin railwaymen, led and supported by the city committee of the Communist Party, improved co-operation with the colliery, completely rebuilt their marshalling yard and contrived their efficient and speedy automatic loading device. Thanks to them transport of coal from Fuhsin has become much more efficient. But up to last year, coal wagons destined for Angang were interspersed in trains with those for other places. This meant that whenever a train reached a marshalling yard, it had to be dissolved and re-formed before it could set off again. To end this, the Fuhsin railwaymen began, in April 1960, to dispatch exclusive expresses—trains loaded with coal exclusively for Angang and run to the steel centre non-stop. This is not so easily accomplished. To dispatch an exclusive express means mustering enough empty wagons and sufficient washed coal to make up a whole trainload at one go. But the trouble taken is well worthwhile; a big increase in transport efficiency results. As the railways and colliery improve their work, more and more exclusive expresses are being dispatched to Angang. The monthly average for 1960 was some 30 trains. It shot up to 99 in May this year.

Fuhsin's aid to Angang is only one example of the socialist co-operation that prevails among China's enterprises today. Guided by the idea that the entire national economy is like a single chess game and every single move should be made and co-ordinated in the interest of the entire game, people in every field of endeavour are working in ever closer co-operation, each providing more favourable conditions for others, to speed the advance of the nation's socialist construction.

# SIDELIGHTS

**Million Blossom Flower Show.** The 15,000 exhibits of the Million Blossom Flower Show jointly sponsored by the Canton Cultural Park and the South China Botanical Research Institute will fill the Cultural Park for two whole months. The first of its kind, it was opened on July 1 to encourage and promote the cultivation of plants, flowers, fruits and vegetables, and provide horticultural instruction.

Beautifully laid out, with an immense variety of plants both decorative and "useful," it gives a good idea of why China is said to possess the richest temperate flora in the world. There is also an abundance of tropical and subtropical flora, both indigenous and introduced.

As one wanders among the eye-catching exhibits, a tribute to the skill of the gardeners, one is reminded how many species of fruit and flower now decorating gardens and delighting palates all over the world originated in China—the exotic *lichee*, bitter rhubarb and sweet orange, the popular *Wistaria chinensis* and the many species of rhododendrons, camellias and magnolias to mention only a few.

The indoor exhibition housed in four big halls is devoted mainly to flowers and fruit, mostly natives of Kwangtung and well known, but where ordinarily they would never meet, gardeners here have brought blossoms and fruits of all four seasons together at once. Rare orchids and common garden favourites of early spring, autumn and winter are displayed together with exquisite miniature Chinese gardens and seldom-seen wild flora that the Kwangtung Botanical Exploration Team has brought back from its many excursions.

**Popular Picture Story Books.** Published by the million and read by even more, pocket-size picture story books are read by children and adults for the interesting and instructive tales they tell in pictures and a minimum of words. Newly literate readers find them an easy and pleasant shortcut to learning new words and knowledge. They are published not only in

Han but in many national minority languages as well.

Their subjects are many, ranging from ancient legends that have enthralled generations to stories of the latest scientific discoveries, from retellings of the classics of world literature to stories of the Chinese revolution and socialist construction. In none of the 20,000 titles printed in 600 million copies will you find any resemblance to the corrupting "comic strips" of pre-liberation China with their vice and violence.

**Harnessing the Sun.** Man has been using the sun's energy to help his work ever since he first learnt to plant crops but very little was done in this country to convert solar energy directly into mechanical work until recent years. Three years ago the Solar Energy Research Committee was set up to study how to utilize solar radiation. Since then much progress has been made in putting the sun to work. Today in Shanghai over 80 factories have a hand in the manufacture of devices using solar energy for cooking, sterilizing, distilling, drying, pumping water and ordinary heating purposes. One plant producing solar energy pumps and other solar power devices also makes equipment for heating factory showers. This is regarded as only a small beginning. Scientists and technicians are working on many more exciting possibilities of harnessing the sun to lighten man's labour.

**Worker-Critics.** Several articles carried by *Renmin Ribao* on the Chinese film *A Revolutionary Family* and on the American film *Salt of the Earth* recently attracted wide attention and favourable comment.

They were written collectively by a group of thirty worker-critics who are all bench workers, lathe operators, machinists, cotton mill workers or printers from a dozen Peking factories. Before the group was set up a year ago, its members all attended special classes on literary and drama appreciation and theory. Some members were only semi-literate a few years ago but now all have a middle school

education after attending factory-run sparetime schools.

The national monthly *Drama* commended the group for "making a tremendous step forward from simple first impressions to effective ideological analysis" in its recent work.

This is only one of many groups organized among the city's workers by the Working People's Palace of Culture and engaged in regular literary and artistic criticism for the press.

**Farms from the Marshes.** A dozen big prosperous state farms have been set up on former marshland around Lake Tungting, China's biggest freshwater lake, in Hunan Province.

Since liberation the whole system of dams, dykes and irrigation and drainage channels on the lands and marshes around the lake has been put into order, co-ordinated and improved. It is on the new land so formed that the state farms have been established. They are growing industrial and food crops on more than 66,000 hectares of rich reclaimed farmland. People's communes about the lake's shore have also reclaimed a lot of land. The lake provides both communes and state farms with excellent fish-breeding grounds and an inexhaustible source of water in times of drought.

This land was there for the making these many years but landlord land-grabbing and feuding in pre-liberation times kept it from being drained and properly utilized. Ricketty, makeshift dams and dykes irrationally sited without any central plan fouled up the natural drainage system of the lake, causing it to flood its banks frequently, and keeping whole areas permanently water-logged to the constant misery of the local farmers.



Woodcut by Liu Hsien and Hsiao Ling

# ART

## Two Flower-and-Bird Painting Exhibitions

Two Peking exhibitions, both of flower-and-bird paintings, made an attractive 3-week summer show. Opened simultaneously, one presented recent works by Shanghai artists (at the Artists' Union Gallery), and the other works by Peking artists (at Beihai Park). They offered an excellent opportunity to art lovers here to study the achievements in this particular field of artists in the two leading cultural centres of the south and north. Incidentally these were the first exhibitions devoted exclusively to flower-and-bird paintings to be held in several years.

Traditional Chinese paintings of flowers and birds comprise a unique genre in the oriental school of painting. Rich in national colour and decorative effect, they have a strong and enormously popular appeal. The best of them are the fruit of a fine feeling and love of nature closely observed, and a keen appreciation and knowledge of the traditions of the genre. Such paintings do not, of course, directly depict the struggles of real life, but nevertheless, like all works of art, they do participate in and reflect those struggles. One of their roles is that through them the artist arouses in his audience a love of beauty, of life and of the land of their birth.

Painters of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) well known for their flower-and-bird scrolls included Hsueh Chi, Pien Luan, Liang Kuang, Yu Hsi, Kuo Chien-hui and Chien Yu. With Hsu Hsi, famous for his flowers, and Huang Chuan, a great master with a delicate style, of the Five Dynasties (907-960 A.D.), they set a high standard for this type of painting. From then on its beauties have been explored by a galaxy of fine painters. The Chinese school of flower-and-bird paintings has evolved a variety of techniques all of which could be seen at the recent shows — *pai miao* (delicate outline drawings without colour), *mo ku* (painted directly with bold ink strokes and washes without using ink outlines), *hsieh yi* ("idea-writing," a special kind of freehand, expressionistic brushwork), *kung pi* (fine brushwork characterized by meticulous attention to detail and an outline technique); there

were also paintings done in light, ethereal washes of colour or in rich, thickly applied paints, or with the subtle gradations of Chinese ink alone. The paintings displayed at the two exhibitions represented a wide range of subjects and styles. The artists have admirably carried on the fine tradition of the past but at the same time they have introduced innovations and new developments, a practical application of the Communist Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge."

A predominant phenomenon was the marked individual style of different artists. The three paintings, *Wagtails on the Lotus Pond* by Shanghai's Hsieh Chih-liu, *Winter Birds Under a Blue Sky* by Shanghai's Chiang Sheng-hua, and *Peacock and Cuckoos* by Peking's Tien Shih-kuang were all painted in the *kung pi* manner, yet each of them excelled in its own individual way. The first attracted by its novel and fresh conception and its lush elegance. The second was highly decorative and recalled the gardens and scenes typical of areas south of the Yangtse River. The richly coloured *Peacock and Cuckoos* was delicately executed yet its fine lines showed no lack of strength. Its line-drawing technique was derived from the style of the Sung (960-1279 A.D.) painters. It had also absorbed a good deal from the brushwork of the late master Yu Fei-an but had its own new features. The same was true of the *hsieh yi* school of freehand painters. *Loofah Vines* by Tang Yun from Shanghai was quietly attractive, with a graceful formal design, vividly and simply presented and full of life. *Plump French Beans* by Wang Ko-yi from Shanghai was executed with bold strokes and clear, bright colours and great fidelity to nature. The technique clearly came from the late eminent master Wu Chang-shih of the end of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.) but the artist has evidently infused it with his own manner.

*A Hundred Flowers and Eternal Evergreens* by Chen Pan-ting from Peking was outstanding for its grand conception and vigorous handling of the brush. While carrying on the brush manner of Wu Chang-shih and his contemporary, the great master Jen Ponnien, Chen Pan-ting has evolved a style of his own. His brushwork is

characterized by his talent for depicting movement and for showing the wondrous through the seemingly ordinary subject. On the other hand, *Mountain Eagles* by Li Ku-shan of Peking created a scene of majestic vigour with a few bold strokes and sharp contrasts of light and shade. A student of the manner of flower-and-bird painting of the eminent painter of the late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Pa Ta Shan Jen, as well as of the late master Chi Pai-shih, the artist has also developed a brushwork which is singularly his own.

Most of the works at the Shanghai exhibition came from the hands of well-established painters who excelled in painting subjects from life and boldly developed the new out of the old; the Peking artists' exhibit was noteworthy for the development of different schools and styles and new departures in traditional brushwork. Peking artists seemed to surpass their colleagues in Shanghai in the fostering of a new generation of artists. An even stronger impression left by these two exhibitions was the picture they gave of a flourishing garden of a hundred flowers, an essential and basic feature of New China's cultural life. Another circumstance which evoked no little admiration was the participation of quite a few artists who are well over eighty like Ho Hsiang-ning, Chen Pan-ting and Sun Sung-chao. It is grand to know that these veterans are making new advances in their creative work.

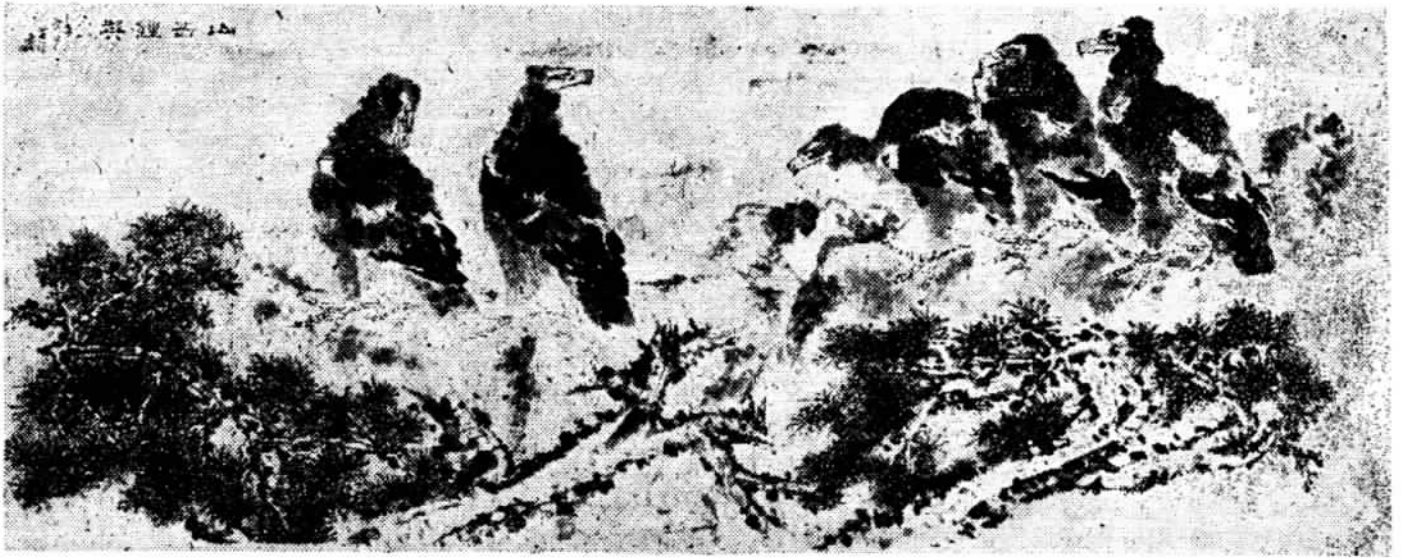
— TSUI TZU-FAN,  
Vice-President of the Peking  
Academy of Traditional  
Chinese Painting

## LITERATURE

### Literature of the Chuangs of Kwangsi

*The Literature of the Chuang Nationality of Kwangsi (First Draft)* has just come off the press. It gives a general account of the growth of Chuang literature and introduces the reader to some of the more important Chuang literary works created in the past 3,000 years.

Concentrated mainly in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region in the southwest, the Chuang people is one



"Mountain Eagles" in the "hsieh yi" style

Traditional Chinese painting by Li Ku-shan

of China's largest national minorities. They have a long history of heroic struggle as well as a fine tradition of folk literature but what with oppression under the reactionary rulers of the past, and the lack of a written language of their own, many of their fine literary works have either been lost or confined to a small local audience. It was only after liberation that Chuang literature received the attention that was its due. Over the last ten years great efforts have been made under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to bring the wealth of Chuang literature to light and make a systematic study of it. Study teams of over 60 writers, professors, teachers, students and cadres of different nationalities were organized in 1958. They conducted their investigations, working out of 32 county towns and cities into the surrounding countryside collecting material for a history of Chuang literature. Repeated revisions were made in 1959 and 1960, and the present volume is the fruit of this effort.

The book is in four main parts which conform to the division of periods in the social history of the Chuangs. The first part includes literature created before China became a unified empire under the house of Chin (3rd century B.C.). Although there is no written record of the social and cultural conditions among the Chuangs in these ancient times, a great deal can still be traced and deduced from folk literature handed down orally from generation to generation and from Chuang mythology. Corrob-

orative evidence has been forthcoming from archaeological data unearthed earlier and in recent years. The second part covers the time from the Chin Dynasty to the Opium War (mid-19th century) when the feudal system took shape and developed. Much of the oral literature of these times reflecting the life and struggles of the Chuang peasants and handicraftsmen is still on the lips of the masses to this day. The third part covers the time from the Opium War to the May 4th Movement of 1919. During this time, like the rest of the country, the Chuang areas were gradually reduced to a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state; on the other hand, there were frequent peasant uprisings in protest against imperialist and feudal oppression. Literature reflecting this struggle constitutes the main current of the period. The last part deals with literature from the May 4th Movement up to the present. This again is divided into two sections, the first, in the period of the new-democratic revolution, includes literary works depicting the struggle of the Red Army and of the people in the revolutionary bases, and the second, the rich and varied literary creations of the Chuang people reflecting the socialist revolution and construction.

Special chapters devoted to the interchanges between Chuang and Han literatures supplement the material of each period. The song contest, a specific form of musical and literary activity among the Chuang people, is

discussed at length in a separate chapter.

#### SHORT NOTES

**Polish Pianist Ends China Tour.** Maria Wilkomirska, the eminent Polish pianist, has concluded a successful two-week tour in China. She gave recitals in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai.

In Peking, her programme included Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata*, Chopin's *Mazurka in C Major* and works by Debussy and Prokofiev. As an encore, in answer to the prolonged applause of her audiences, she played a Chinese item, *Blue Flower*, with great charm. Chinese audiences have in recent years heard more than one performance by outstanding Polish pianists. Maria Wilkomirska, with a rich experience of 40 years in recitals and musical education, brought them another splendid opportunity to hear and study the fine Polish pianoforte school.

\* \* \*

**New Peking Concert Hall.** A new concert hall was opened last Saturday in Peking with an inaugural concert by the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra and Chorus. Remodelled out of the former Zhongyang Cinema, the new hall supplements Peking's two other concert halls, the open-air Zhongshan Park auditorium and the Peking Exhibition Centre concert hall.

A series of nine concerts by ten of China's leading orchestras has been arranged for the inauguration of the new hall.

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## "Tokyo-Peking"

"Fear not trials and tribulations; joining hands we become stronger than ever. . . ." These words from the Japanese song, "Tokyo-Peking," now being popularized in Peking and other cities of China by a visiting Japanese chorus, well depict the bonds of friendship forged between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Ours is a militant friendship: every popular struggle waged by the Japanese people has the full sympathy and support of the Chinese people and vice versa.

**Victory for the "Matsukawa" Defendants:** In August 1949, 20 Japanese trade unionists and workers were arrested by the Japanese police. They were tried on framed-up charges of derauling a train with the loss of three lives. This has become widely known as the infamous Matsukawa case. For 12 years, the trial dragged on. Not only was there a lack of evidence against the defendants, but it was conclusively proved that the incident was actually the handiwork of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary Japanese authorities who used it as an excuse for persecuting the Japanese patriots and democrats. Under pressure of widespread protests, the sentences against the defendants were revoked. But despite this, the Japanese authorities, bent on getting their victims, decided to stage another trial.

The cynical frame-up stirred up a powerful popular movement in Japan in support of the Matsukawa defendants. In China, the people have given consistent support to the Japanese people's struggle to save the Matsukawa defendants, in the form of messages of sympathy, solidarity meetings, donations, etc. On the eve of the scheduled announcement of the verdict at the retrial, representatives of Peking citizens from every walk of life held another mass rally to demand the immediate and unconditional release of the Matsukawa victims.

On August 8, when word came that the Japanese court had at last been

compelled to declare the Matsukawa defendants "not guilty," there was joy throughout China. In Peking, the Chinese audience joined members of the Chorus of Japan in tumultuous cheers when the good news was read out at the beginning of a concert by the Japanese chorus. Seven Chinese people's organizations cabled joint congratulations to the defence committee of the Matsukawa defendants, hailing the verdict as a great victory for the Japanese people, gained by their persistent struggle and broad-based unity.

**Peking-Tokyo Trade Unions Issue Statement:** The Peking Trade Union Council and the visiting delegation of the Tokyo Council of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan have issued a joint statement. It reaffirms the friendly relations and militant friendship between the Chinese and Japanese workers, particularly those in Peking and Tokyo, and points out that U.S. imperialism is not only the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and workers, but also the most ferocious enemy of the peoples all over the world. The Japanese side condemns the Ikeda government for its intensified activity in following the U.S. line of creating "two Chinas."

## West African States Independence Day

In the past week, China greeted two West African states, the Republic of Niger and the Republic of Upper Volta, on the first anniversaries of their independence.

On August 2, Chairman Liu Shaoyi sent a congratulatory message to President Hamani Diori of the Republic of Niger, wishing prosperity to Niger and happiness to its people.

On August 4, Chairman Liu Shaoyi, in his message of greetings to Maurice Yameogo, President of Upper Volta, said: "May the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of Upper Volta develop further. I wish prosperity to the Republic of Upper Volta and happiness to its people."

## Support for People in Portuguese Colonies

The 650 million Chinese have always given, and will always give, firm support to the popular struggle in the Portuguese colonies for national in-

dependence and against imperialism and colonialism, says a cable of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference of Nationalists' Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies. The cable was sent on the occasion of the "Day of Support for the People of Portuguese Colonies."

The message said that the armed struggle of the Angolan people has dealt a heavy blow to Portuguese colonial rule and greatly inspired the other peoples who are suffering under it.

It also expressed confidence that with the support of the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world, the people of the Portuguese colonies are assured of final victory in achieving national independence so long as they strengthen their unity, persist in their struggle, sharpen their vigilance and overcome their difficulties.

## BRIEFS

A Soviet trade delegation led by P. N. Kумыкин, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, arrived in Peking on August 7. The delegation came to China for talks on Sino-Soviet trade.

Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, called at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Peking on August 8 to express condolences on the death of Vaclav Kopecky, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

His Majesty the King of Nepal, Mahendra Bir Bickram Shah Deva, and Her Majesty the Queen of Nepal will leave for China at the end of September for a state visit.

About 2,500,000 Ceylonese people have paid reverence to the Buddha tooth relic which was taken from China to Ceylon by a distinguished delegation of Buddhists. After being on exposition in Colombo, the sacred relic was then taken to 8 other major Ceylonese cities. It has now been returned to Colombo for further exposition.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## *Anniversary of Laotian Patriotic Coup d'Etat*

August 9 is the first anniversary of the patriotic coup d'etat staged by the Coup d'Etat Committee headed by Captain Kong Le, then commanding officer of the Second Paratroop Battalion of the Kingdom of Laos. In the coup, the traitor government fostered by the United States was overthrown. At the request of the Laotian people and the troops staging the coup, Prince Souvanna Phouma organized a new government of the Kingdom of Laos. This was a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism which had persisted in its aggression and intervention in Laos, says *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial published on August 9 to mark this anniversary.

For the past year, *Renmin Ribao* declares, the Royal Laotian Government, in close co-operation with the Neo Lao Haksat, has made brilliant achievements in the struggle for the realization of internal peace, to preserve national independence and implement the policy of peace and neutrality. After the patriotic coup, U.S. imperialism immediately egged on the rebel clique in Laos to start a large-scale civil war, vainly hoping to wipe out the patriotic and democratic forces in that country. This scheme of the U.S. aggressor was, however, firmly repulsed by the Laotian people. Fighting side by side, the troops of the Royal Laotian Government and the Fighting Units of the Pathet Lao heroically resisted the rebel troops of the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique under the command of U.S. imperialists and invaders from without, liberated a large expanse of Laotian territory and brought by far the greater part of the country under their control.

In the fight against armed intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism, the editorial notes, the patriotic and democratic forces in Laos have been greatly strengthened and expanded. The patriotic people of Laos as a whole are fighting for a common goal: to achieve Laotian independence, neutrality, national harmony and unification, and to make their country prosperous. In a joint communique

issued last November in Sam Neua by Prince Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong a clear-cut political goal was put forward — to lay a firm foundation for unity and co-operation among the patriotic and democratic forces in Laos. These great victories and achievements in the military and political fields scored by the Laotian people were a powerful support to the correct stand which Prince Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong upheld in the Zurich talks. The result was that the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique had no alternative but to accept the consistent stand of the patriotic forces in Laos. This resulted in the Zurich communique which reflects the common aspirations of the Laotian people and paves the way for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

Over the past year, the editorial points out, the struggle of the Laotian people to preserve their independence and sovereignty and to win peace and neutrality has gained the universal sympathy and support of the peoples of the world. At the enlarged Geneva Conference in particular, delegates of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat have fully expressed the will and aspirations of the Laotian people in firm, clear terms. They have won the active support of the socialist countries participating in the conference, of other peace-loving countries and just world opinion. This

completely isolated the U.S. aggressor and its hangers-on, both politically and morally.

The development of the Laotian situation in the past year, the editorial says, shows conclusively that the will of the Laotian people to preserve their sovereignty and independence, and to pursue a policy of peace and neutrality, cannot be destroyed; and that U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression against Laos is generally denounced. But the U.S. aggressor is not reconciled to the series of defeats it has suffered in Laos. At this very moment, the United States is stepping up its plan to undermine the positive results of the Zurich talks of the three Laotian princes, and is obstructing the formation of a coalition government in Laos. While playing its political tricks, it is also energetically prompting the Savannakhet clique to embark on another military adventure, to try another "test of strength." This is why the Laotian people have all along been keenly vigilant, standing ready at any moment to defeat any fresh aggressive and adventurist move by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The Chinese people, the editorial concludes, are gladdened by the great victories won by the Laotian people in the past year. They sincerely hope that the Laotian people will further strengthen their unity, consolidate and develop the achievements they have already made, work for an early realization of Laos' independence, neutrality, national harmony, unification and prosperity.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### For Services Rendered

Eichmann, the S.S. commander who carried out the Hitler programme to murder 8 million Jews, is on trial in Israel. In Bonn, the West German Bundestag has passed a law providing pensions for former Hitlerite S.S. men. Eichmann is evidently eligible to apply.



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