

**The Red Flag Waves:
A Guide to the
Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao
Collection**

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/ N U M B E R T H R E E

The Red Flag Waves:
A Guide to the
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ROBERT RINDEN
and ROXANE WITKE



陸世驥題

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Foreword

In Russia, only nine months elapsed between the fall of the Tsar and the Bolshevik seizure of power; in China, an interval of thirty-eight years separated the collapse of the Dynasty and the final victory of the Communist Party. During this Min Kuo period, 1912–1949, a series of linked wars and revolutions occurred which were of the greatest significance for the course of Chinese and world history—and which evoked human actions and incidents of the highest dramatic proportions. Although scholarly students of modern China have charted accurately these wars, guerrilla struggles, and revolutions, the task remains to recapture the drama of the revolutionary period, to portray living figures deciding between alternative courses of action, and to reveal the true complexity of social change in China.

The 16-volume *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao* collection is valuable for these purposes. It is valuable because of the intrinsic importance of the episodes recorded in its volumes and also because of the value of studying Chinese Communist views of their own history—and their warping of that history in response to changing political demands. However, until the preparation of this guide to the collection, *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao* was virtually impossible to use in any systematic manner. Unindexed, composed of articles of varying quality, and written in most instances by unknown figures, it is a conglomerate collection of reminiscences ranging from tales of Chinese in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution to analyses of major Chinese Communist battles quoting Commander-in-chief Chu Teh. Articles concerning Lin Piao, for example, are scattered throughout the 16 volumes and cannot be identified by title. Primarily in order to make the collection more accessible to researchers looking for supplementary historical materials on a particular subject, two scholars of the Center for Chinese Studies have therefore prepared this guide.

Robert Rinden began the project as a graduate student in political science at the University of California, Berkeley. His first task was to put together a complete collection. Upon discovery that volumes XI and XIV were unavailable in any American library, the Center for Chinese Studies photocopied the missing volumes from a private collection in Hong Kong. I would like to thank Mr. M. H. Su, vice-director of the Universities Service Centre, Hong Kong, for his assistance in obtaining these books. Mr. Rinden, between 1938 and 1964 a Chinese language officer of the United States Foreign Service, having served in Peking, Hong

Kong, Taipei, and Saigon, read each volume and wrote an analysis of its contents. Roxane Witke of the Center for Chinese Studies staff then re-read the volumes independently and completely rewrote and amplified the manuscript that Mr. Rinden had originally prepared.

Robert Rinden, who received his M.A. degree in political science from Berkeley in 1966, is completing a Ph.D. degree at the University of Colorado. Roxane Witke has contributed articles and reviews to *The China Quarterly* and is completing a Ph.D. dissertation on "Modern China: Transformation of Attitudes toward Women during the May Fourth Era" for the Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, where she is also teaching.

John S. Service and James Soong of the Center for Chinese Studies prepared the indexes to the *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao* collection itself and supervised the publication of this guide to its articles.

CHALMERS JOHNSON, *Chairman*
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Berkeley, California
July, 1968

Introduction

By ROXANE WITKE

"Inside every *lao-pai-hsing* there's a Red hero struggling to get out." To demonstrate this proposition in their own historical terms, the editors of *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao* (hereafter HCPP) have published, between 1957 and 1961, sixteen volumes of Chinese revolutionary memoirs, an analysis of which forms the subject of the present volume.

China Youth Press, which brought out the HCPP collection, created the role which HCPP was destined to play in contemporary Chinese life. Founded in 1950 as the publishing organ of the Central Committee of the China Youth League, China Youth Press has sustained a continuous dialogue with Chinese youth by soliciting great quantities of their literary production and, in turn, by publishing efforts which serve the regime's current political goals for the younger generation.* Adopting the same pattern, the editorial board of HCPP sent out a broad summons for memoirs of the revolution. The response, the board claims, was overwhelming. Tens of thousands of memoirs were submitted, and from these were drawn the approximately 336 selections which constitute the present collection. The literary genesis of the HCPP collection shows the principles of democratic centralism at work: the powers above exhort those below to express themselves voluntarily; orthodoxy, in turn, is imposed upon this voluntary expression by the powers above. In the exchange process, both editors and writers modify one another. Conceived in these terms, HCPP has been a means for discovering the mind of the present generation, and for changing it.

As early as 1956 it was becoming evident that although land reform

* The term "youth" (*ch'ing-nien*) in China Youth Press (*Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Ch'u-pan-she*) may be misleading, for the press's function is not analogous to that of a Western publisher of juvenile books. *Ch'ing-nien* appears to have taken on its modern significance around the time of the May Fourth era with the unprecedented generational conflict brought about by the rise of youth as spokesmen for the new generation which sought to usurp social, cultural, and political authority from the older generation. From its beginnings, the CCP has employed the term "youth" for its aggressively modern, revolutionary meaning, one of the earliest usages being in Socialist Youth League (1922) and then in the Chinese Communist Youth League (1925). Since then the connotation of youth has been extended by usage in other socialist countries to designate the young revolutionary generation, which we might more realistically define as young adults, up to the age of thirty or so. See James R. Townsend, *The Revolutionization of Chinese Youth: A Study of Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, China Research Monographs No. 1, 1967).

and other institutional reforms could alter the mode of production, they alone could not alter what Mao Tse-tung and his supporters have steadfastly regarded as the basic material of the revolution—the political and ideological content of people's minds. The inadequacies of mere institutional reforms became disastrously apparent in the course of the Hundred Flowers Campaign. The shock of discovery of widespread political heterodoxy compelled the Party, during 1957, to reverse its stance of allowing the youth movement relative autonomy. As part of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Party sought to draw youth into the struggle for socialist construction. It appears that HCPP, which began publication that same year, was designed as a propaganda device for the ideological mobilization of youth in this stepped-up program of controlled revolution.

By the late nineteen-fifties the lines of generational conflict were becoming more tightly drawn. Whereas the parental generation had been "steeled and tempered" by the continuous threat of internal and external enemies, the younger generation was growing up under relatively stable conditions, which, it was feared, might allow the youth to become "soft" morally and, politically, to sink into revisionism. The crucial problem of this post-revolutionary era was therefore to determine how to revolutionize youth politically and ideologically in a non-revolutionary situation. The HCPP collection was contrived for the purpose of providing study materials which would serve as a surrogate for real revolutionary experience.

A significant number of memoirs in HCPP were originally brought out by other Peking publishers a year or more earlier than the current HCPP volume, and others appeared at approximately the same time as HCPP in more narrowly focused volumes devoted to single individuals or events. However, the HCPP editors have not thought it important to provide the facts of first publication. That some of the memoirs first appeared elsewhere indicates that HCPP was not atypical of current literary production. Perhaps more grandiose than most, HCPP was, nevertheless, a ripple in a great wave of interest in the history of the revolution.* Its handy and cheap format and serial publication suggest that its function was to be largely didactic, intended for wide popular distribution. The

* Another work of the same genre as HCPP is *Hsing-huo liao-yuan* (The Spark That Started a Prairie Fire) (Peking: *Jen-min Ta-hsueh Ch'u-pan-she*), a series of ten consecutively published volumes, the first of which appeared in August 1958. The entire contents of the ten volumes are devoted to the evolution of the PLA and the history of the civil war. Each volume treats of a phase of the revolution; presentation is chronological. Its articles are generally shorter than those of HCPP, and their orientation is more exclusively military. This is, however, only one of hundreds of less ambitious works on the revolution which were put out during the late fifties and early sixties. In English, see translated excerpts from *Hsing-huo liao-yuan* in *The Long March, Eyewitness Accounts* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1963).

fact that the collection has not hitherto been translated into Western languages and that copies abroad are so very scarce confirms what one might naturally suspect: that it was not scheduled for foreign distribution and edification.

The composition of HCPP represents Mao's long-held view that trying to force revolution by armies of secret police is far less desirable than considering the hearts and minds of the people as the real ground of the revolution. While class struggle is an outward manifestation of the revolution, it must be accompanied by the internal process of thought reform, a process which like all phases of the revolution must be continuous and uninterrupted. As a huge textbook of ideological exercises for reforming thought, HCPP obviously cannot, at the same stroke, be a theoretical treatise on Marxism-Leninism or Maoism. No issues are thrown open to debate; none is found or left unsettled. Nor is it a purely narrative record, presented disinterestedly and dispassionately. Lying somewhere between the extremes of speculative thought (political theory) and mere action (narrative history), HCPP combines elements of both, seeking to show how revolutionary theory was transformed into revolutionary action. This method conforms with Franz Schurmann's concept of Chinese Communist ideology as representing abstract ideas transformed into concrete action, a combination of universal theory and concrete practice or "a systematic set of ideas with action consequences."*

The authorship of HCPP exemplifies the Red-Expert controversy, with the clear ascendancy of Red over Expert. History, not exclusively the monopoly of a special class of professional historians, is here regarded as an open field where anyone who has experienced revolutionary events and is right-headed in his recollection of them can make a contribution. The ascendant Red component of the Red-Expert dichotomy has meant that the right emotional orientation to the Party, to the Army, and to the masses takes precedence over any intellectual claim of fact based on documents alone. The authors are amateur, not professional; popular, not elitist; collective, not individual; in short, HCPP follows the "mass line." Rather than depending on copious primary and secondary sources for information, the writers consider the people's minds, literally and figuratively, to be the primary source on the revolution. Rather than being an academic *tour de force* or a scholarly *obligato*, both the writing and reading of HCPP are an act of faith in the validity of collective memory as history.

Awareness of the collection's ideological role poses the thorny question of how faithfully the editors have transmitted the original writings. One may assume that the published materials have survived the scrutiny of two sets of editors: the general editors of China Youth Press, who, as

* *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 18 ff.

guardians of the regime's ideology, have no doubt laid down the guidelines for this collection; and the HCPP editors, who presumably controlled the details of the project over its five-year history. For the most part, HCPP editors preserve anonymity. In almost all cases, the author's name, transliterated in the *Guide* and included in the index, appears at the head of the article, and no other name is connected with the piece. In a few cases one or more editors' names are cited at the end of the article, although these names are not carried over to the *Guide*. In some cases two names appear at the head of the article: that of the narrator who witnessed or participated in the original event; and that of the writer who has recorded the narrator's account. A very few articles were written on the basis of historical documents instead of personal experience; these rare instances of more conventional history writing are indicated. There is also a scattering of articles prepared by historical boards or committees, usually at the provincial level, whose members generally are not identified by name.

It is natural to have doubts about the authenticity of a politically inspired publication, but surprisingly enough, HCPP's mass line authorship may have served the cause of objectivity. While all the memoirs are confined within the limits of then current Chinese Communist views of their own past, the fact that the collection was prepared by scores of authors instead of only one means that the Communist view has as many facets as spokesmen. The total effect of hundreds of viewpoints may well be to achieve greater objectivity in the long run than the work of one professional historian of the same tradition, or perhaps even than of a single non-Communist historian who is relatively non-partisan.

Without probing the perennial epistemological problems of history one can point to two variables which further affect our assessment of the authenticity or objectivity of a given history. The two variables are, first, the original event as it occurred, and second, the original event as it is recalled. In authentic and objective histories, there should be as little disparity as possible between the first and second variables. However, during the time between the original and recollected event much will have been forgotten and much learned. The tumultuous decades of recent Chinese history, along with several rigorous campaigns of thought reform and the restructuring of the record of the past, make this truism even more appropriate than usual in the present case. In these movements to rectify thinking and writing, contradictory or ill-fitting data have been discarded and replaced by acceptable patterns. This filtering and realignment of information is to be found not only in Chinese Communist history, but also in tendentiously wholistic versions of Roman Catholic, Black, Islamic, Tsarist, or Confucian histories, among others.

Inklings of disparity between the original and the recollected event need not be a cause for despair. As the past is continuously subject to

reinterpretation, each writing of history says something not only about the past but also about its own times. When one reads HCPP, one learns more about what happened in Shanghai in 1927, for example, but one also learns something of the preoccupations of 30 years hence. To gain the fullest appreciation of these texts, one must read them with double vision: of the past, and of the times of the people who are recalling the past. The HCPP collection may well be an indispensable source for a scholar concerned with the most recent decade of Chinese history.

All items in the HCPP collection pertain in some respect to the history of the revolution. The regime's concept of "revolution" does not, however, refer solely to the period initiated by the founding of the CCP in 1921, nor exclusively to the civil war period of the late 1940's. As the sweeping breadth of subject matter of these memoirs will indicate, the term "revolution" refers to all events of this century which have had a revolutionary tendency toward the ultimate political triumph of the CCP at mid-century. Yet it is of paramount importance that Mao and his supporters maintain that the triumph of 1949 was merely a bold stroke of punctuation in an unending revolutionary process, one which HCPP enriches with didactic metaphor.

As a tribute made by scores of writers to a revolution which is now thought to be interminable, it is not surprising that HCPP's historical method cannot be defined simply and that its quality is uneven. Because the Communists' view of their past is firmly settled and closed to controversy and because they love to reminisce on it in a disarmingly naive and totally non-skeptical fashion, the collection cannot be regarded in any sense as a consciously contrived intellectual history. Nevertheless, one might consider it as a primary source for intellectual history, inasmuch as the writers' thought processes themselves may serve as raw materials of intellectual histories that wait to be written. As political history in the broad structural sense, it does not add earth-shaking dimensions. Yet, by virtue of the sheer bulk of the texts and the concrete orientation of the writers' interests, it does flesh out with extreme intricacy of detail the bare bones of the official anatomy of modern Chinese history. While most attention is naturally directed to the evolution of the Communist cause, observations of the enemy, both the KMT and its warlord hangers-on as well as the Japanese, are frequent and often to the point, although ritually adorned by the rhetoric of hate politics. Social history is perhaps the collection's most persuasive manifestation, for the collection's existence proves the fact of social revolution: through a complete reversal of historical roles, soldiers, peasants, and workers have displaced the Confucian literati and even the post-dynastic professionals as compilers of history. As ultimate beneficiaries of the revolution; the masses chart the process of their own triumph.

The collection no doubt will be of enormous value to investigators of

regional and local history, topography, geopolitics, and local custom. Multiple authorship has enabled writers to report in great detail on conditions in their native districts and to expatiate knowledgeably on the backgrounds of comrades from the same areas. Economic historians will find that though the collection offers little in the way of statistical data, it is an excellent source of material on the relation between class tensions and change in the means of production, as well as on peasant cooperatives, land reform, labor organization, unionization, and actual work conditions in mines, shipyards, and factories throughout the country.

Depending upon degree of reputation, the subject of biographical studies appear to be roughly of three classes: famous, recognized, and insignificant. Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Lin Piao, and a few other top-echelon leaders naturally fall into the "famous" class. Because their life histories are already familiar, or as familiar as they are permitted to be, they are not given complete biographical coverage in this collection. A vignette of the life of a famous person may be sufficient cause for an essay. Mao, for example, may be cast in a historical event, such as the Tsunyi Conference; or he is discovered in a setting of relatively minor historical importance, such as in the Juichin hospital, convalescing from malaria. Our perception of some famous figures who are reported in the same situation in two or more different memoirs is enhanced by the more rounded treatment.

As some degree of public ignorance is presumed concerning the second class of "recognized" figures, summary accounts of the lives of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Liao Chung-k'ai, Fang Chih-min, Wu Yü-chang, Ts'ai Hoshen, and P'eng P'ai, among many others, appear in this collection. Often these studies reveal useful information on important events of their times. The biographies of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Liao Chung-k'ai, for example, written by their widows, Yang Chih-hua and Ho Hsiang-ning, are outstanding as both history and literature. In addition, crucial phases of the lives of a few important figures receive intensive treatment; Ch'ang I's memoir, "The Martyr Chao Shih-yen at the Time of the Third Armed Uprising at Shanghai" (XVI, 65-93) is a good example.

The "insignificant" figures, who are central to a large number of memoirs, have greater ideological importance than one might at first suspect. It is implied throughout the collection that all members of the *lao-pai-hsing*, or mass, are potential Red heroes. This view derives from the populist strain of Chinese Communist thinking, which maintains that the masses are the repository of the nation's virtues and that even the most exalted hero will never lose touch with the masses. The plain peoples' success stories demonstrate in easily understood terms that through individual exertion combined with Party guidance one can achieve at least prominence within the ranks of the masses, if not rise above them. Moreover, the singling out of unknown individuals solely

on the basis of the discovery of their heroic attributes counters the growing depersonalization and facelessness of the mass society. Carefully cultivating the language of informality, the writers mention to us some insignificant figures only by their nicknames, such as Mama Wang or Sister Pai. A few must remain anonymous because they were "martyred" before there was time to catch their names.

The passionate quest for the discovery of Red heroes, and indeed, at times, for their creation, has compelled the writers to return thematically to certain classic Red virtues in the depiction of character. These Red virtues are static points of value, or telling attributes, which all Red heroes are thought to possess in some degree. To gain the fullest appreciation of the true originality and variety of this collection, one must learn to recognize these themes, and so to read around them. With practice, one can begin to distinguish between their literal and their ritual significance. Below, are suggested eight of the more frequently recurring themes, although one can readily detect others.

1. *The Red Army is democratic.*

Constantly vigilant against the recrudescence of military bureaucracy, the Red Army leaders ostentatiously fraternize with the troops, wear the same drab uniforms, eat the same food, and turn over their horses to convey the sick and wounded. Even at the zenith of their careers, they take care not to lose the common touch. Never assuming an exalted or independent stance on the basis of higher rank, they always sustain the "mass viewpoint" and never the "purely military viewpoint."

2. *Omnicompetence.*

Both sustaining, yet radically amplifying the Confucian cult of the amateur (the omnicompetent scholar-bureaucrat who was no mere specialist or technocrat), the Red hero is never a narrowly professional, one-dimensional personality. In addition to their roles as exemplary Army and Party leaders, Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en I and Chu Teh are practising poets in the classical style. Fang Chih-min, Liao Chung-k'ai, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, and a host of other figures similarly distinguished in both military and political endeavors, are also venerated for their literary genius, but one which is expressed in more modern forms. As omnicompetence, by Communist definition, must also embrace proletarian talents, Red troops under soldier-worker programs in the northwest in the early forties ostensibly took great pride in part-time service as cultivators and textile producers, among other labor activities.

3. *Sexual Sublimation.*

As part of the revolutionary whitewashing of the human mind and society, sexual motives and behavior are totally sublimated in this litera-

ture. Sexual attractiveness, seduction, rape, and prostitution are among the taboo topics never mentioned, not even negatively in denial. Women, like men, are recognized only insofar as they promote the revolution. The theme of romantic love as rival or alternative to revolutionary action could have greatly enhanced the sense of realism of the memoirs, yet it is never developed. Had it been attempted, the authors could still have drawn the canonical lesson of Revolution First and the nobility of sacrificing personal happiness for the public weal. The ancient Chinese theme of parting of husband and wife, or friend and friend, is similarly absent, for this subject would have signaled a potential equivalence of personal and political interests. Failure to acknowledge natural tensions between love and duty impairs the persuasiveness of the literature and, ultimately, the ideological purpose of the collection. A more realistic appraisal of the human condition as one involving choice for and against the revolution would have made this particular tribute to the revolution one of more enduring historical importance.

4. *Comradely devotion.*

While sexual attraction between men and women sinks well below the horizon of these memoirs, intense affection, or simply love, between two men, and less frequently between two women, is openly expressed. In the case of men this sort of love relationship, which is presumably non-sexual under normal circumstances, is idiosyncratic to traditional Chinese society. Therefore, its pervasiveness in this collection is a conservative rather than a novel factor. However, in the revolutionary situation, the grounds of such affection shift conspicuously. Just as good Communist husbands and wives do not love each other for reasons belonging to themselves alone but for the quasi-religious goals of mutual devotion to the Party cause, so two male or female comrades must similarly transcend simple human factors and justify their attachment by shared commitments to the revolution. Even more impressive in this collection are cases of male and female comrades whose liaison has no formal link such as marriage or blood ties. In view of the opportunities for sexual involvement which would naturally exist in this third type of comradely devotion, its survival on a platonic plane makes it perhaps the most compelling tribute to the power of the revolutionary cause to inspire selfless behavior.

The most exaggerated version of comradely devotion approaches the point of obsession in HCPP's later volumes, where many memoirs are heavily larded with devotional passages expressing the Mao cult. Statements of prayerful gratitude to "Our Great Leader, Mao Tse-tung," and even more abstractly, to "The Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung," are interspersed among passages of more meaningful content. The personality cult, with its parody of religious behavior, is of course an old theme in totalitarian societies. Here, however, an interesting direction of thought

is to consider it as the ultimate refinement of the virtue of comradely devotion.

5. Suffering is the mother of revolution.

The Communists admit suffering in the restricted sense of physical suffering, but not moral or spiritual suffering. Just as they do not acknowledge tensions between romantic love and revolutionary duty, so they do not tolerate the suffering of moral ambivalence about the rightness of the Red cause, or the uncertainty about the chances of its ultimate triumph. To do so would set up potentially dangerous alternatives. The acceptable sorts of physical suffering supply some of the most cherished themes of the collection. These are hunger, war injuries, sickness, and harsh climate. Of all phases of the revolution, the Long March of 1934–1935 is regarded as the one which yielded the greatest suffering. For the very reason that it is almost unfailingly recalled as a year of unbroken agony, it is the experience which its survivors look back on with the greatest pride and indeed exhilaration. The episode in which a Japanese officer discovers through autopsy the remnants of General Yang Ching-yü's month-long diet of weeds and bark (see VIII, 57–78) is surely bizarre but still conventional as illustrating the virtue of suffering.

In the Communists' program for character building, suffering is perhaps the most effective instrument. Despite exhaustion from disease and the strain of warfare in the late twenties and early thirties, Mao and Liu Shao-ch'i, for example, did not allow private pain to diminish their revolutionary zeal. Lin Piao has long been known to be of delicate physical health, which, it is maintained, has been more than compensated for by a robust spirit. As these memoirs point out, each of the top leaders was always quick to refuse any special sort of medical attention: no doctor is credited with having performed medical miracles on them. By implication, they survived through sheer force of will, an attitude which is by no means at odds with the recent stress on the miraculous healing powers of Mao's Thoughts, the supreme panacea. While many accounts of extraordinary physical suffering must be read at face value, the ritualistic drone of some of the more prolonged suffering episodes alerts the reader to their didactic purpose: a reminder to the younger generation how their elders suffered for them and a warning against the deleterious effects of a non-traumatic existence.

6. Cooperation between the Red Army and the masses.

Efforts to make the Red Army live up to the promise of its original name, the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army, are perpetual. The White Army, it is maintained, not only did not derive from the people but also exploited them, and so alienated them irreparably. Illustrations of how the Red Army and the masses mutually cultivated and mutually sup-

ported each other are legion. The campaign to win over the hearts of the people is extended even to the border regions, where the Red troops and cadres exerted their formidable powers of persuasion to break down the resentment of the minority peoples against the Han Chinese, which had been building up over the millennia.

7. *Magnanimity toward the enemy.*

The conviction that all but the hard-core KMT are potentially convertible to the Communist cause has Confucian overtones: that education can transform barbarians into civilized human beings. Thus, on some occasions Red soldiers endeavor to alienate the KMT rank and file from the officer corps and to lure them over to the Red side with roast pork and propaganda leaflets. Under other circumstances, Red troops take less pride in destroying their prisoners than in persuading them to abandon their wrong-headed and barbaric political views and to accept the right reason of the Red cause. Similarly, under later and more sophisticated land reform programs, the cadres sought to subdue the landlord class enemy through conversion instead of annihilation. Because of the ideological attractiveness of magnanimity toward the enemy, it is probable that the record grossly underestimates the numbers of war prisoners and class enemies who were destroyed before attempts were made to redeem them ideologically.

8. *Martyrdom.*

That death is a powerful instrument in the work of hero-building is evident from the numerous articles in which "sacrifice" and "martyrdom" are made to appear far more satisfying than life itself. Those who died fighting for the Red cause are said to have been sacrificed (*hsi-sheng*). A smaller number who were among the primary makers of the revolution and who had not fallen on the battlefield, but who were executed by the enemy under civilian circumstances are elevated to martyrdom (*lieh-shih*). In the past the term *lieh-shih* was generally reserved for men who either died in defense of their country, or committed suicide rather than serve the new dynasty. The parallel term, *lieh-nü*, was reserved for chaste widows or otherwise virtuous women who gallantly committed suicide in the service of puritanical Confucian morality. While the term *lieh-nü* with its "feudalistic" connotations has been dropped completely as a modern virtue, the term *lieh-shih* has been extended to include both men and women who die for their country (but not to those who commit suicide, a distinctly non-revolutionary mode of behavior). This new concept of martyrdom, which denotes the highest ideal of revolutionary behavior, is integral to the cult of model heroes to be emulated by the younger generation. Volume V is a veritable martyrology, although memoirs of martyrs are also to be found elsewhere in the collection.

To resume an earlier argument, the HCPP collection can be read in two frames of reference: as a record of the past and as a reflection of the present. In the second frame of reference, one can consider the collection as a dry run of the Socialist Education Movement, which was not launched formally until 1962, at least a year after HCPP's last issue. Nevertheless, the Socialist Education Movement's major themes appear to have been developed in HCPP at least a year or more before they began to dominate the media and to catch the eyes of China watchers. Among the major themes are the "mass line," here turned loose on the field of history writing, and the cultivation of model heroes. Among the most interesting themes is the rise of the Army, displacing both professional historians and the masses as the chief organizers of the record of the past. Volumes XII–XV, published between October 1959 and March 1961, are the ones in which the military firmly gains the upper hand. Most writers are identified by their current military rank, and most subjects are of a distinctly military nature. The military ascendancy is paralleled by the coalescing partnership between Mao and Lin Piao, in which Lin Piao emerges as the chief interpreter and implementer of Mao's Thoughts. With the mounting enthusiasm for the personality cult of Mao, his Thoughts are gradually disembodied from the history of the man himself, gaining transcendence as an invincible body of abstract truth or pure Thought.

Culling the collection for insights on the Cultural Revolution period strongly impresses one with the instability of political fortunes. Volume IV, which is dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, acknowledges the Soviet Union as the founding father and elder brother in world revolution. It is recalled nostalgically that at the time of the October Revolution and during the following decade both Chinese and Russian blood flowed together in the Soviet Union. However, it now appears to have been a last stand of the Sino-Soviet alliance, for within a short time, the propriety of the volume's existence had passed into history.

In the making and breaking of personalities during the Cultural Revolution, begun in 1966, some HCPP authors and/or heavily praised subjects of memoirs have fallen out of favor (*e.g.*, Chu Teh, Ch'en Yun, Ch'en I, and Yang Ch'eng-wu), while others have undergone total character defamations (*e.g.*, Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Te-huai, Ho Lung, and Lo Jui-ch'ing), either having been removed from their posts or assigned marginal political existences. Had Chiang Ch'ing begun to assume her marvelously resilient public role a decade earlier, she most likely would have been included among the authors or subjects of the collection.

The purpose of this *Guide* is two-fold: first, to provide a synoptic account of each memoir, conveying some sense of its depth, range, and style; and, second, to assist scholarly research by preparing a reasonably exhaustive index to the persons and events of the entire collection. As it

stands, the collection is rather unmanageable because the Chinese editors prepared no index, and the order of the memoirs' presentation is neither chronological nor strictly topical. Some volumes were built around timely themes, such as the 30th anniversary of the PLA (III), the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution (IV), and Martyrdom (V), which appeared during the rising tide of hero-worship. Within other volumes there are occasional clusters of articles on a given topic. Among these are memoirs of former Youth Corps members (II, VI), poems by martyrs (XIII), Fang Chih-min's poetry (IX), memoirs of old workers (X), revolutionary struggle at the Fukien base (XI), memoirs by Anyuan miners (XII), and the civil war at Tientsin (XII). Nevertheless, materials in most volumes are mixed, and the articles' titles are usually figurative and capricious, giving scant clue to their actual contents. The titles are translated in the *Guide* as literally as possible. Decision as to what are the salient features of the articles is of course subjective, but it has been made with the diverse interests of the readers in mind. While the goal has been to prepare a guide which is faithful to the original text, no claim is made that the texts are faithful to the facts. Critical asides warning readers against patently or subtly spurious statements have been avoided. The synopses occasionally paraphrase the original text, but never translate it, unless otherwise indicated. References in the index indicate the beginning page of the article in which the subject appears; however, if an individual or event is mentioned only once in an article, the reader is referred directly to that page. While the HCPP memoirs have been written within the canonical perspectives of the Chinese Communist world view, to readers coming from other traditions, they are bound to provoke new insights.

II

Guide to the *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao* Collection

Volume I

May 15, 1957

EDITOR'S FOREWORD (*excerpts from the original*)

In recent years a great many young readers have expressed an urgent need for literature about heroic persons and revolutionary struggles.

"In the years before the victory of the Chinese Revolution Chinese Communist Party members and numerous revolutionaries feared neither mortal struggle nor imprisonment. They left their homes and traveled everywhere, disregarding fame, profit and enjoyment; they were concerned only with the nation's preservation and the people's welfare. For the sake of the revolution they made heroic sacrifices and engaged in bitter struggle. When men were falling at the front, others came forward immediately from the rear. When the revolution met with defeats they rallied immediately and continued the struggle" (*People's Daily*, April 8, 1957). There is much to sing of and much to weep about in the history of our country's people's revolution! But much of this is not very familiar to our modern youth. Not only do they want to acquaint themselves with the history of our people's revolution, but also they seek to draw spiritual strength from heroic persons, to establish a strong, magnificent socialism and to defend the great country of our ancestors. We must always try to preserve a freshness of spirit, fear no danger, boldly overcome difficulties, and with boundless loyalty and sincerity work for the people's revolution. The sentiments of our readers are entirely understandable.

In the past we published materials on heroic persons and revolutionary struggles, but these did not satisfy the needs of our numerous young readers. Our greatest difficulty was that writers who were familiar with the revolution and with heroic persons often lacked the time to devote to writing. Moreover, the writing of comparatively accurate biographies or fiction about heroic persons and of works reflecting revolutionary struggles often requires a rather long time. For this reason, up to now, we have not published much of this sort of material. . . .

The pieces in the collection vary greatly in length, for we did not specify size. There are biographies, short stories, memoirs and chronicles. Some articles describe heroes and martyrs of the revolution, others depict famous heroes and important historical events, and still others recount tales of nameless heroes and of all aspects of life in the revolutionary

struggle. So far the collection has emphasized the publication of articles on persons and events in the successive historical revolutionary struggles. Hereafter, it will sponsor the publication of articles on struggle in real life and on heroic persons in real life. . . .

Editorial Bureau of *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao*,
China Youth Publishing Company

MEMOIRS OF MEMBERS OF THE OLD COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE

Editorial note

"These memoirs are published as a contribution to the Third Congress of the Youth Corps.* They deal with events of long ago, and there may well have been some mistakes made in their selection. Nonetheless, the heroic and self-sacrificing spirit of the former generation will always be worthy of the respect and emulation of today's youth."

5-12 GROWING UP IN A RED CRADLE *as told by Chang Chin-hsi*

In 1927 Chang Chin-hsi, a poor but bright schoolboy from Hopeh, was induced by two favorite teachers who were Communist cadres (Liu Hsien-tseng, geography; Sung Po-chou, language) to join the Youth Corps. In 1928 he returned to his native village to build on class tensions and organize hired peasants to fight for higher pay. That same year the Youth Corps sent him to the district normal school to carry on revolutionary work, a project which culminated in driving out the reactionary school principal, Chang Chao-i. Not only had the principal embezzled scandalously, but he had also disregarded the May Fourth era's legacy of teaching vernacular (*pai-hua*) literature, and had persisted in the classical language (*wen-yen*), forcing the modern-minded youth to read Mencius and archaic poets. By 1930 Chang Chin-hsi had persuaded his fellow students to join the Youth Corps, and together they transformed their school into a progressive institution. The same year they launched a successful peasant revolt against oppressive taxes. Chang's story of grass roots revolution is highly informative and told with zest.

13-18 THE COMMUNIST YOUTH CORPS—MY MOTHER Wen Chi-tse

Wen entered the Youth Corps in 1930 when he was a 16-year-old middle school student in Kiangsu. Thereafter, he concurrently studied and participated in Youth Corps activities in Nanking, Yangchow, and

* The reference here is to the Third Congress of the New Democratic Youth League, which was held in May 1957. It was at this Congress that the name was again changed to Communist Youth League. For a brief history of the CYL, see James R. Townsend, *The Revolutionization of Chinese Youth: A Study of Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien* (Berkeley: China Research Monographs, No. 1), p. 14.

Shanghai. His formal schooling is intimately described, including a revolutionary reading program which began with Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's study, "Three Peoples Principles" (*San-min chu-i*). His account of the student, labor, and anti-Japanese demonstrations in which he participated in Shanghai in 1931-1932 reveals the critical role of the Youth Corps in these events. He describes various types of KMT atrocities of those years and names Youth Corps comrades whom the KMT arrested and executed. The Youth Corps was "mother" in the sense of serving as the matrix of the revolution.

19-51 THE RED ARMY DOES NOT FEAR THE HARDSHIPS OF THE
LONG MARCH
Ch'en Ching and Li Pai

This entry is two chapters from a highly-colored fictional account of how a small group of Red Army followers, having escaped from their KMT enemies, endured hardship and met danger on their passage through hostile territory to rejoin the Red Army.

52-74 A RED ARMY EXPERIENCE (Part One)
Chang Yu-chi

This richly informative account of Ch'en Mao-hui's early Red Army experience was related by Ch'en to the writer Chang Yu-chi. Ch'en was born to a poor peasant family in west Fukien. Like many other peasants during the slack seasons, Ch'en worked from an early age in one of the numerous paper factories in the area which depended on the profuse bamboo groves for raw materials. At the time when Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung's Red Army (*Chu-Mao Hung-chün*) was at nearby Chingkangshan in 1928, Ch'en was approached by the representative of a peasants secret association who assured him that Chu and Mao sought to prohibit landlords from seizing the peasants' pigs. With this enticing prospect, Ch'en and some fellow workers at the paper factory joined the Youth Corps in 1928 by swearing eternal brotherhood to "C Y" (the password for Youth Corps members) and sealing the pact by drinking chicken blood. In October 1929, when Ch'en was in his 19th year, he entered the Red Army school in west Fukien where for the first time he was trained to handle weapons. In 1930 he was inducted into the Red Guard (*Ch'ih wei-t'uan*). By then he had attained the awesome reputation of a revolutionary who had fomented insurrections, overthrown landlords and attended the Red Army school. Soon wounded in combat, he recuperated for two years in the Red Army hospital in west Fukien; in the course of the first three encirclement campaigns the hospital was forced to move several times.

Ch'en's comments on the encirclement campaigns are not merely perfunctory. When the KMT launched the first campaign, the west Fukien

troops scrambled to defend themselves with locally made artillery left over from the Taiping Army and wooden artillery fashioned more recently by the local masses. At New Year in 1933, during the 3rd campaign, Ch'en's men tried to win over Chiang Kai-shek's bedraggled troops by luring them with roast pork, peanuts and oil, a ploy they hoped would entice them to join the Red Army. Their propaganda appeal ran, "KMT soldiers, don't shoot—poor people all over the world belong to the same family. . . ." Defeat in the 5th campaign is typically ascribed to the Party Center's rejection of Mao's "correct strategy objectives." The passage on the Fukien Incident in which the KMT 19th Route Army openly broke with Chiang Kai-shek is of interest.

When the Red Army set out on the Long March, Ch'en was among those who remained on the Kiangsi-Fukien border, vowing to wage guerrilla warfare until Mao ultimately returned. Throughout his account Chang Yu-chi restores original atmosphere by use of expressions and terminology of the times.

75-87 RECOLLECTIONS OF LIAO CHUNG-K'AI
Ho Hsiang-ning

Written by his widow who in the mid-1960's was still active in higher CCP echelons, this is an intimate account of Liao's life. Liao was born and raised in America, and did not repatriate until he was 17. In 1897 he and Ho Hsiang-ning married and jointly embarked upon a political career which would be the primary orientation of their lives. Inspired by the ideals of the 1898 Reform Movement and the record of the Meiji Restoration, Liao and his wife joined the great exodus of disaffected Chinese students to Japan around the turn of the century. Liao studied economics at Waseda and Chuo Universities in Tokyo and became closely acquainted there with Chu Chih-hsin, Su Man-shu and Hu Han-min. In 1903 he met Sun Yat-sen. Liao and his wife were among the first members of the T'ung Meng Hui.

On the eve of the Russo-Japanese War, Liao was caught up in the growing socialist currents of Japan's intellectual world. He was particularly close to Chu Chih-hsin, who translated some of the most advanced socialist tracts into Chinese. Under the pseudonym T'u Fu ("butcher the rich"), Liao himself wrote copiously on socialism. Many of his essays appeared in the T'ung Meng Hui's revolutionary organ, *Min Pao*. His widow's extensive quotations from his political writings and poetry significantly amplify this account of his life.

Liao's relationship with Sun Yat-sen is studied carefully. Sun was dependent on Liao for the latter's knowledge of English, which gave Sun access to a wider range of revolutionary literature. In order to further Sun's revolutionary interests Liao spent time in the Peking-Tientsin area at the time of the Republican Revolution and its aftermath, and was cog-

nizant of Yuan Shih-k'ai's political maneuverings. Moreover, he was with Sung Chiao-jen at the Shanghai railway station when the latter was assassinated. In 1914 Liao assisted Sun in founding the China Revolutionary Party (Chung-hua Ko-ming Tang). There are long passages on Sun's original negotiations with Soviet representatives and on the evolution of the alliance, which Liao firmly supported.

In the mid-twenties Liao was acquainted with the CCP circle in Canton, which included Li Ta-chao, P'eng P'ai, Su Chao-cheng, Chou En-lai, Ts'ai Ch'ang, Teng Ying-ch'ao, Lin Po-ch'ü, Wu Yü-chang, Hsiao Ch'u-nü, Mao Tse-tung and T'an P'ing-shan, to whom he was especially close. Liao collaborated with these figures to forge a workable KMT-CCP alliance. By 1925 Liao had become deeply involved in labor relations in Canton; his role in the massive strikes of that year is clarified. Ho Hsiangning comments on the mysterious agency of his murder on August 20, 1925, presents a moving eulogy, and sums up the political significance of his career.

88-92 **COMRADE TENG CHUNG-HSIA AT PEITA**
as told by Ma Fei-pai

Originally a student at the Higher Normal School of Changsha, Teng, at the time of the May Fourth Movement, went to Peita, where he was converted from classical studies to modern thought and literature. Ma, who was a fellow-student at Peita, tells of Teng's joining the Shao-nien Chung-kuo Hsueh-hui (Young China Study Society), founded in 1918 by Li Ta-chao at Peita. Ma describes Teng's encounter with Mao Tse-tung in 1920, their mutual discussions of Marxism, Teng's own engagement in a combined work and study program, and his evolution as a revolutionary thinker.

93-94 **REMEMBERING COMRADE LO TENG-HSIEN**
Hsueh Wen

The narrator met Lo in Harbin in the fall of 1931 when Lo was a CCP political worker who had been sent to work against the Japanese in the Northeast. Having aroused Japanese suspicions, he was transferred by the Party to Shanghai where he helped to organize strikes against the Japanese at the time of the Japanese attack on Shanghai on January 28, 1932. Later he was arrested by the KMT police and executed in 1934.

95-105 **DAYS SPENT WITH LU HSUN AT AMOY**
Kawashima [?]

This is a delightful and unpretentious record of Kawashima's conversations with Lu Hsun and some associates at Amoy University during a three-week period from December 1926 to January 1927. Lin Yü-t'ang introduced the two men. Casual conversations reveal less familiar sides

of Lu Hsun's character, most notably his absorbing concern with the varieties and limitations of Amoy cuisine. Kawashima makes some trenchant observations on struggles within the student body between the Lu Hsun and Hu Shih factions.

106-121 GLORIOUS MOURNING IN A MOUNTAIN CITY; ON THE
DEATH OF WEN I-TO
Shih Ching

This chronicle of the last days of Professor Wen's life opens with the May Fourth anniversary celebrations at Hsinan Lienta (combining Peita, Tsinghua and Nankai Universities) at Kunming in 1946. For the first time the students were openly advocating the new popular songs, *yangko*, and theatre which were being promoted in the liberated areas. These events were taking place against the background of civil war, abortive peace negotiations and a reactionary local government. Wen I-to looms forth as the leading spokesman for peace and democracy. Portions of his provocative addresses to the liberal university community are incorporated into the text. By this time his reputation as a literary figure and a statesman had become world-wide. Recently, the University of California had invited him to be visiting professor. Not having been in America for over 20 years, Wen was tempted to accept, for he felt that this would provide an opportunity for the outside world to hear the voice of the Chinese people. Yet he decided that rather than abandon the struggle within China it would be wiser, after an 8 year absence, for him to return to Peking where the students desperately needed his guidance.

The assassination of Li Kung-p'u, a prominent liberal whose political ideals were close to Wen's, touched off a massive protest of professors and students against the government. Wen vowed to avenge his death, perhaps not realizing that it prefigured his own. A telegraph dispatched by Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh in immediate response to the grievous news of Wen's assassination is transcribed, as is Chou En-lai's tribute to his democratic ideals, which was delivered in Shanghai.

122-128 TSOU TZU-K'AN GIVES UP HIS OWN LIFE TO SAVE HIS
FRIENDS IN DIFFICULTY
Wan Cheng

Tsou joined the CCP in 1926 when he was a 16-year-old student at Hangchow. At the time of the KMT coup of April 12, 1927, Tsou was arrested because of his CCP organizational affiliations. He was incarcerated in the Chekiang Military Prison where he remained for five years. Despite abysmal circumstances, his Party loyalty and struggle against oppression was dauntless, though conveyed here in a somewhat stilted manner. He was finally executed at the prison in 1932.

129-134 CHANG CHI-LAN, A FEMALE MEMBER OF THE RED ARMY
Meng Yen

This story was told to the author by Comrade Chou Hsueh-lin, a veteran of the Long March. One of the thirteen female members of the 6th Army, Chang Chi-lan and her husband joined the Red Army in 1932 in order to avenge her father's death at the hands of the KMT. Indefatigable in making toothbrushes and grass sandals ("Red Army sandals") for her fellow soldiers, she died courageously for the revolution. The narration extends to mid-1935 and is generally informative on the encirclement campaigns and the outset of the Long March.

135-151 COMRADE, TEACHER, FELLOW-SOLDIER:
IN MEMORY OF CH'IENT I
Ch'en Teng-k'o

Ch'ien I was editor of a small newspaper, *Yenfu ta-chung pao*, in north Kiangsu between 1944 and 1946. Appearing fortnightly, the paper was written in the vernacular for the common people. Having started out as an actor, Ch'ien I's understanding of the peasant masses was not a birth-right but an acquired talent; it represented his persistent and ultimately successful effort to break out of the confines of his "class background." Ch'en Teng-k'o, who for a time served as a reporter for the paper, has taken a deeply devotional approach toward Ch'ien I's courage in continuing to go out among the masses under the perilous conditions of guerrilla warfare in north Kiangsu, and to assist the cadres in creating mass organizations.

Ch'en's narrative illuminates many facets of the shifting social, political and military situations in north Kiangsu. He charts changes that came about as the result of Chiang Kai-shek's transfer in the autumn of 1946 of several tens of thousands of KMT troops to the liberated areas of north Kiangsu. Events which culminated in Ch'ien I's death at the hands of the KMT security police are sensitively retraced.

152-171 THE PEACHES HAVE RIPENED AGAIN: IN MEMORY OF TS'ANG I
Hsiao Yin

This melancholy recollection of a fellow writer, Ts'ang I, is set in Kalgan, Peking and the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region in 1945 and in 1946, the year he was executed by KMT authorities. Presented with close attention to time and relations of events, this article contains insights into the worlds of journalism, KMT figures, American personnel, and the abortive process of truce-making.

172-186 MEMORIES OF THE DECEMBER NINTH STUDENT MOVEMENT
IN NANKING*Li Keng, *Chief Editor and Vice Director of China Youth Press*

At the time of the massive student demonstrations in Peking on December 9, 1935, Li Keng was a student in Nanking. Although allegedly not yet a member, he was clearly involved in CCP underground activity. He describes efforts to stimulate a positive reaction in student circles in Nanking to the initiative taken by the Peking students. He attributes the meager results of his efforts to the repressive atmosphere at the Kuomintang capital, which he depicts as being dominated by "Fascist" groups such as Chiang Kai-shek's Blue Shirts, the various secret police organs, and the Ch'en brothers' "C.C." clique. Kiangsu education chief Chou Fu-hai admonished the students that "True patriotism is sticking to study."

Of some interest is Li Keng's suggestion that some missionary institutions, such as Chinling University (also known as the University of Nanking), were among the leaders in patriotic fervor; that this sentiment was supported by the [foreign] faculty; and that it was especially strong among female students and students from wealthy families. Some activists sought to become baptized. Coeducational social activities were found to be a popular and effective organizational tool.

187-202 AT THE WUTAISHAN HEADQUARTERS OF THE
8TH ROUTE ARMY†
Hsu Ying

This essay describes a visit by a man who apparently was then a newspaper reporter to the new 8th Route Army Headquarters just being established in the Wutaishan area in late October, 1937. The battle of Pinghsingkuan having recently been won, the Communist forces were confidently surging eastward into the open areas in the rear of the Japanese advance. The exciting and heady atmosphere of the day is well conveyed. Lengthy interviews with Jen Pi-shih and Chu Teh are recorded in detail. Interestingly, Chu Teh, using such expressions as "people's war" and "a new peoples' China," discussed broad policies of the Communist Party and the strategy of the Resistance War, without once invoking the thought or name of Mao Tse-tung.

* This article has been omitted from later printings. Possibly, the extensive and favorable reference to patriotism in missionary institutions was later judged undesirable.

† This piece, like the one immediately preceding, has been omitted from later printings. The failure to invoke Mao Tse-tung may be significant.

203-220 MY GUIDE

Hai Mo

In the spring of 1941 Hai Mo and three other middle school students left Japanese-occupied Peking to join the Red Army in the liberated areas. Once they reached the mountains, they were met by an experienced guide, Old Ma, who led them through dangerous territory, where they might easily have fallen into the hands of Japanese mopping-up forces, to Hsiao K'e's headquarters in the West-of-Peking Military Region. This account of their hazardous journey expresses gratitude to their guide's skill and gentle solicitude in escorting them, as well as others before and after them, to Red Army headquarters.

221-233 MY FELLOW-FIGHTER, HSU T'AN

Kao Lu

In December 1941 Hsu T'an, Kao Lu, and their guerrilla comrades struggled to defend their base, Yuantzuai, along the Shu River in Shantung, against the Japanese enemy who were surrounding them. Kao Lu mentions the names of many of his comrades who shared in the tasks of establishing administrative authority, organizing work groups, mobilizing the masses, and putting down banditry in 1940-1941. A leader in these endeavors, Hsu T'an was killed in battle in the spring of 1945.

234-250 THE RED ARMY'S MOTHER

Chang Yü

When the Red Army arrived in the mountainous area of northern Fukien in the early 1930's, Aunt Hsin Hsiu, a Miao woman affectionately known as the "Red Army's Mother," was a strong supporter. When the Army withdrew at the time of the Long March and the KMT resumed control, she fled into the mountains where she lived for more than a decade until the Red Army came back to her home village. Appreciative of her courage and self-sacrifice in furnishing food to the hungry Red guerrillas in the mountains, the Army made a point of looking her up and welcoming her return to the village.

Volume II

July 15, 1967

3 FOUR POEMS SENT TO YENAN
 Tung Pi-wu

Four annotated poems from a collection of verse exchanged between Tung Pi-wu and Chu Teh.

4-5 FIVE POEMS OFFERED IN REPLY TO TUNG PI-WU'S POEMS
 SENT TO YENAN
 Chu Teh

Five annotated poems from the poetic exchange mentioned above.

6-13 NUMEROUS HEROES ON THE BANKS OF THE TATU RIVER
 as told by Yang Te-chih

In 1935 Yang Te-chih was Commander of the 1st Regiment, 1st Division, 1st Group Army of the Red Army. When the Red troops on the Long March were preparing to cross the Tatu River, a tributary of the Yangtse in southern Szechwan, Chiang Kai-shek's troops, seeking to repeat history, shouted wildly, "Chu [Teh] and Mao [Tse-tung] will be another Shih Ta-k'ai!" This of course alluded to the formidable Taiping warrior, Shih Ta-k'ai, who had led his troops to the Tatu gorges on a similar mission in 1863 but was catastrophically defeated by the government troops. Opting for the classic role of government suppressor of bandit insurrection, Chiang directed Chou Hui-yuan, Hsueh Yueh, Wu Ch'i-wei and their several thousand troops to pursue the Red Army from the rear. At the same time he ordered the Szechwan warlords Liu Hsiang and Liu Wen-hui to hold the Tatu River at the Luting Bridge. Responsibility for preventing history from repeating itself fell to the 1st Regiment whose leadership at that point was reinforced by Commander Liu Poch'eng and Political Commissar Nieh Jung-chen. This dramatic account shows how this seemingly impossible operation was carried out.

14-38 A RED ARMY EXPERIENCE (Part Two)
 Chang Yu-chi

This continues the personal reminiscences of Ch'en Mao-hui begun in Volume I (pp. 52-74). The two articles are a useful source of revolutionary history apart from the mainstream. When Mao Tse-tung and his troops embarked on the Long March in the fall of 1934, the Fukien Soviet Government under the chairmanship of Chang Ting-ch'eng was ordered to remain in the Fukien-Kiangsi border region to continue guerrilla warfare against the KMT forces hemming them in from all sides. Ch'en Mao-hui and his guerrilla band, all former members of the Communist Youth Corps, endeavored to protect Chairman Chang Ting-

ch'eng as he broke out of the encirclement. This detailed account of their campaigns against the KMT describes the close relations between the guerrillas and the local worker and peasant organizations, and the assistance of the guerrillas' families in carrying out basic-level resistance to enemy infiltration. In early 1935 guerrilla activities were expanded to Kwangtung and later were deployed against the Japanese.

39-48 THE STORY OF WOLF TOOTH MOUNTAIN
as told by Ko Chen-lin

In September 1941 while the Japanese army was carrying out a mopping-up operation in the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region, a group of comrades belonging to a branch organization of the CCP were holding a conference in a retreat of Wolf Tooth Mountain (Lang Ya Shan). This lively narration by one of the survivors of the Japanese assault tells how anti-Japanese guerrillas endeavored to protect the Communist leaders and eulogizes the few of the conferring group who were lost.

49-55 THE WILD FIRE STILL BURNS: REMINISCENCE ON THE
SOUTH ANHWEI INCIDENT
as told by Chang Jih-ch'ing

This account of the South Anhwei Incident* is told by the former Chief of Staff of the New 3rd Regiment, a vanguard unit of the New 4th Army. In January 1941 the New 4th Army in south Anhwei was ordered to go north to wage guerrilla warfare against the Japanese. When Chiang Kai-shek heard of this plan, he seized the opportunity to attack Chang's regiment from the rear. This lengthy account of the CCP-KMT battle is laced with bitter memories. The article's title is the author's statement on the unquenchable spirit of the New 4th Army.

56-87 RETURN FROM THE SOUTH
Miao Yen-hsiu

Written at Harbin in 1948, this piece is about Kuo Shen, a former propaganda worker of the Hunan Resist-Japan National Salvation Army. Kuo tells how immediately after the Japanese surrender in August, 1945, the KMT forces in Hunan induced Japanese soldiers to fight on their side. Then, vastly out-numbered by combined forces under the command of Hsueh Yueh, Yü Han-mou and other KMT leaders, the Red forces escaped encirclement and ultimate annihilation by fleeing into the mountains. After a long battle under extreme privations, described here at length, the Reds finally returned from the south to Yen-an.

Rambling conversations between Kuo and several comrades touch upon such contemporary events as the Yen-an rectification campaign;

* More commonly referred to in non-CCP sources as the New Fourth Army Incident.

swiftly changing social relations at Yen-an, including marriage reform; the exploits of the New 4th Army; and random speculation on the motives of KMT military action. Wang Chen,* Commander of the Resist-Japan National Salvation Army, and Wang Shou-tao, its Political Commissar, perform as ideal military heroes. Some of Wang Chen's poetry on warfare, excerpts of his prose, and a lesser amount of Wang Shou-tao's poetry weave in and out of Kuo Shen's narration. Textual explanations of Hunan argot referring in shorthand fashion to battles and military figures are provided.

88-99 **ESCAPING FROM A DARK PRISON**
 Ho Lo

Ho Lo and some ten other Communists were imprisoned in the Central Military Prison in Nanking in 1933. Later they were transferred to a political prison in Anhwei where Chang K'o and other prisoners petitioned the KMT government for release. Concentrating on the tedium and deprivations of prison life, this account is of limited historical importance.

100-122 **THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN KUNMING DURING THE**
 RESISTANCE WAR
 Shih Ching

Written by a participant in the Kunming student movement, this is one of the more valuable pieces of the collection. It focuses upon the role of Hsinan Lienta at Kunming as a major center of liberalism during the Resistance War. Shih Ching indicates that Kunming was one of several progressive urban centers, others being Chungking, Chengtu and Kweilin. All were rallying points for the democratic movement, and hence politically at odds with the reactionary central government. The democratic movement was led by several noted liberal professors, including Li Kung-p'u and Wen I-to. They were supported by organized youth who stood "for resistance and against capitulation," "for unity and against separatism," and "for progress and against regression." The differences among Hsinan Lienta's constituent schools (combining Peita, Tsinghua and Nankai Universities under a central administration during the Resistance War) in terms of policy and faculty leadership, and the growing contradiction between the spheres of education and government (the seat of the KMT "fascists"), are well articulated. The effects of Japan's invasion of south China in causing a new exodus of refugee intelligentsia from Hong Kong to Kunming, the South Anhwei Incident, and the arrival of American mediators, are considered thoughtfully.

Shih Ching comments extensively on the emerging role of prominent

* Wang Chen was the commander of the 359th Brigade of the 8th Route Army at Nanniwan during the Resistance War.

professors and students in transforming the functions of art and literature during this period. In the summer of 1939 Ts'ao Yü and Wen I-to founded a new theatre which presented an exciting repertoire of contemporary plays, including a dramatic version of Lu Hsun's "The True Story of Ah Q." Shih analyzes the tensions between the "capitalistic" view of "art for art's sake" and the students' program to make art serve the politics of national salvation.

The students discovered that the most effective form of protest was organized demonstrations. A short poem written in 1941 by Chou En-lai on the South Anhwei Incident has been preserved. Throughout, the conscious cultivation of the spirit of the May Fourth and December Ninth student movements for national salvation are strongly evident. Wen I-to's moving addresses on the anniversaries of these events, in particular the 25th anniversary of May Fourth and the one of the following year, are extensively quoted and cast within the context of the total student movement.

123-129 YOUTHS IN THE BATTLE FIRE: ON LIFE DURING WARTIME
AT THE CHIN-CHA-CHI UNITED MIDDLE SCHOOL
Nan Hsin-chou

When the Japanese invaded Kalgan, Nan Hsin-chou and 300-400 of his middle school classmates, all in their late teens, sought refuge in the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region. With the defeat of the Japanese, the school answered the call of the Party Center for personnel and moved to Shihchiachuang in southern Hopeh. Nan explains the workings of the United Middle School which was established on work-study principles (the current term was "*sheng-ch'an yang-hsueh*," meaning "production to sustain study") enabling it to be entirely self-sufficient. First encounters with Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-ch'i, Huang Ching and other Red leaders are noted. In September 1948 Nan and his classmates went south to work in the areas newly liberated by the Communists.

130-147 A BLAZING HEART: MEMOIR OF AN
OLD YOUTH CORPS MEMBER
Sung Yen

The author (at age 13) joined the Youth Corps just after the April 1927 coup in Shanghai. The organizational techniques and Marxist-Leninist thought derived from experience in the Youth Corps prepared him as a student activist in the Peking Municipal Normal School, where he began studying in 1930. The descriptions of his successive struggles with the KMT school authorities, cooperation with the CCP underground, demonstrations, police encounters, and involvement in labor movements and railroad strikes are ideologically acute and amply detailed.

148-163 THE STRUGGLE OF YOUTH CORPS MEMBERS IN NANKING
Ch'en I*

A Communist Youth Corps member at the time of the Mukden Incident of September 1931, Ch'en I was convinced that the KMT policy of internal pacification before resistance to external aggression from Japan would be suicidal for China. Manchurian refugees, prevented from carrying on a war of resistance in the Northeast, contributed money to demonstrations which Ch'en I and his comrades fomented in the Nanking schools against the KMT policy of non-resistance. Although the students respected Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei for having been a liberal president of Peita during the May Fourth movement, at one time during the struggle for resistance they held him at gunpoint because he supported KMT policies, but the police rescued him in the nick of time. The Youth Corps' view was that only the CCP and the Red Army could successfully carry out resistance to Japan.

164-181 THE FLAG-BEARER FALLS, THE RED FLAG ADVANCES:
IN MEMORY OF DIVISION COMMANDER YIN SHAO-LI
Hsieh Hsueh-ch'ou

This comprehensive account of Yin's military career begins in 1929 when, as a 16-year-old peasant youth, he joined the Youth Corps. In 1932 he joined the CCP and for four years fought against local despots on behalf of land redistribution among the peasants in the Ou-Yü-Wan (Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei) region. In 1933 he joined the Red Army, waging guerrilla warfare in that region in the summer of 1936. By 1947 he was at the Huainan battlefield. In 1948 he was Commander of the 4th Division, 2nd Column of the East China Field Army. He participated in the Liberation Army's march on Nanking in 1949.

182-187. A FEW ANECDOTES ABOUT COMRADE LO PING-HUI
Chang Lo

These lightly sketched anecdotes about Comrade Lo, Commander of the 2nd Division of the New 4th Army, are deeply devotional. Emerging from a peasant background, he was already hailed in his teens as a "hero of the people's militia." After he established the first Huainan base in 1943, he became the subject of much popular folklore for his great skill as a sharpshooter. He was also outstanding in political work, and was always conscientious about meeting production responsibilities. Universally regarded as a model comrade and fighter, he was particularly cherished for having adopted the mass viewpoint.

* This is not the same Ch'en I as the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

188-195 THE STORY OF A GENERAL IN THE UNITED RESISTANCE ARMY
Chang Lin

This article was written from an interview in Peking with Chou Pao-chung, a retired general of the United Resistance Army whose valor led him to be compared popularly with Chu-ko Liang of *San-kuo Yen-i* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms). While the KMT stood aside and tolerated the loss of Manchuria after the Mukden Incident, the CCP dispatched numerous soldiers to join a motley collection of previously existing armies in the Northeast. Chou Pao-chung was among these CCP soldiers who were at first regarded suspiciously by the old ranks. Later charged as a Japanese spy, Chou was arrested, but spared execution on the grounds of his manifest patriotism. For his demonstrated skills in argument he was made a propaganda officer. Chou discusses his role in organizing the Red Guard and the Anti-Japan National Salvation Association, and his joining Li Tu's forces. After the split in 1933 between the Northeast Self-Defense Army and the Northeast National Salvation Army, both of which had been decimated by repeated Japanese assaults, Chou finally formed the Shanlin detachment as a branch of the United Resistance Army.

196-202 SEEDS SOWN IN THE BLACK NIGHT: THE CIRCUMSTANCES
OF THE DEATHS OF JOU SHIH AND YANG KUO-HUA
Wan Cheng

This memoir was based on the writings of Ch'ai Ying-t'ang, who, along with Jou Shih, Yang Kuo-hua, Feng K'eng, Hu Yeh-p'in, Li Wei-sen, Hsu Ying, Pai Mang (Yin Fu), Lung Ta-tao and others making twenty-three in all, were incarcerated in Lunghwa prison in early 1931. Only Ch'ai Ying-t'ang survived to tell the story of the executions on February 7, during the reign of White Terror, at the site of the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison Command.* All were young Communists and many were talented writers, yet the names of most remain unknown. Although this narration concentrates on two of the victims, the general circumstances of the prison and the execution are reconstructed.

203-206 LIU FU-K'AO PREFERRED DEATH TO SUBMISSION
Wang Liang

After the failure of the CCP-led armed uprising on November 4, 1935, against local despots in the Chiaotung area of Shantung, the class enemy became even fiercer. One of its "running dogs," Wang Ch'uan-te, led his henchmen in rape, extortion and arrest. Wang Liang then pulled together a seven-man guerrilla band, including 19-year-old Liu Fu-k'ao, whose

* A description of this episode and the persons involved can be found in T. A. Hsia, *Enigma of the Five Martyrs* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, 1962).

mission was to wipe out Wang Ch'uan-te and his men. Liu was fatally wounded during this operation. One of his senior comrades assisted him in hanging himself, the alternative of being taken by the enemy.

207-225 SSU SAO-TZU

Hai Mo

This is a sentimental recollection of incidents and conversations concerning a peasant girl, Ssu Sao-tzu, who in 1942 belonged to a guerrilla band fighting the Japanese along the Great Wall in eastern Hopeh. Her courage, stamina and nursing of the wounded were greatly admired. By the mid-1950's she had risen to the position of Party representative and organization chief of a Canton factory.

226-240 A YOUTH ON THE SEACOAST

Ch'en Yun-hao

This account of a short span of a boy's life from the time of the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1932 to 1936 is told with a romantic flair. The boy was from Paoshan, a small coastal town near Shanghai; the town is situated near where the Yangtse and Whangpoo Rivers empty into the sea. As the setting shifts to Woosung and Shanghai, revolutionary events, such as the December 9th and the anti-civil war movements, are depicted in the personalized terms of the life of the boy and the persons closest to him. That some dream sequences are recorded is unusual, but in keeping with the psychologically sensitive and apolitical orientation of this piece.

241-253 WIND AND SNOW IN THE TAPIEH MOUNTAINS

Shih Ch'ao

In the summer of 1947 the army of Liu Po-ch'eng and Teng Hsiao-p'ing (Liu-Teng *ta-chün*) entered the Tapiieh mountains stretching along the border between Hupeh and Anhwei, and there fell into bitter struggle with Chiang Kai-shek's forces. Not only were the KMT troops more numerous, but they were also supported by local bullies. Shih Ch'ao and a group of ten odd soldiers constituted a local labor force which performed two types of daily tasks: working with the masses, and leading the peoples' militia in waging guerrilla warfare. The people were so terrorized by the local bullies that they did not dare to reveal openly their alliance with the Red forces.

From 1947, the narration lapses back to 1932 when the narrator was beginning his career as a guerrilla in the Tapiieh mountains. Long familiar with local conditions, Shih Ch'ao's grasp of class tensions during this period is by no means hidebound by Marxist ideology. Rather, his appraisal of the problems of fomenting a revolution in an area which did not yield its own revolutionary potential is remarkably candid and real-

istic. Although Shih Ch'ao and his fellow revolutionaries had lost touch with the Party Center, they continued to be zealous about organizing the masses for political goals. The components of the revolution were not by nature sharply defined or easily recognized; one could not always distinguish readily between good and bad people. Decisions as to which landlords should be murdered and which should be spared were delicate, for the confidence of the masses was in the balance. The account of ruses employed to nab one victim of the landlord class, his abduction and final execution, is rare in a collection which generally avoids depiction of isolated acts of murder perpetrated by a single Red soldier against his class enemy. Although the writer indicates that the men sustained idealism during a period of prolonged suffering, this piece, in contradiction to the norm of this collection, was not designed to be morale-boosting.

254-266 HUANGTULING BATTLEFIELD OF FORMER DAYS

Liu Ch'i

In the winter of 1939, as the Japanese army carried out a mopping-up campaign against the Chinese Communist forces in the Chin-Cha-Chi border region in west Hopeh, General Yang Ch'eng-wu commanded Chinese Communist forces in a victorious battle against the Japanese on the field of Huangtuling; over one thousand of the enemy were slain. In the spring, 1943, the Japanese returned to the same battlefield to launch a vengeful attack, inflicting heavy casualties on Chinese troops and civilians. This article consists of excerpts from a diary kept by Liu Ch'i, who participated in these events in 1939 (November 2-19) and 1943 (November 19-29). Materials are well balanced and detailed.

267-286 NINETEEN THIRTY-SEVEN AND THIRTEEN

Lin Chi-lan

This impressionistic story of Tu Pai-yü begins in 1937 when he was a 13-year-old boy living on the Chiangnan seacoast. His early life was remote from the well-trodden paths of the revolution. Nonetheless, the author conveys the boy's quiet awakening to the significance of Japanese aggression and his reaction to public response to the call for national salvation. Maturing gradually within the contexts of family, friends and school, the boy's sense of patriotism developed to the point where he joined the guerrilla band of the Red Army, the crucial step which qualified him for this collection. Despite political events serving as a vehicle for his growing up, this piece lingers on the fringes of the revolution and its orthodox historical orientations are easily overlooked.

287-306 HIBISCUS

Hsiao Yeh-mu

When the Japanese were waging a mopping-up campaign against the West Hopeh guerrilla base in the fall of 1943, a veteran guerrilla named

Hsiao Yeh-mu was recovering from a long and mysterious illness. The doctor assigned to him a nurse called Hibiscus. This article is written in cheerful appreciation of her heroism under wartime circumstances. Her skillful arranging of hairbreadth escapes is conveyed through the swift pace of reconstructed dialogue and abundant local color.

Volume III

August 8, 1957

THIRTY YEARS OF THE LIBERATION ARMY

Editorial note

As August 1, 1957, was the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army,* the articles in Volume III deal with the traditions of the PLA and its struggles in each historical period. The General Political Department of the PLA made a special effort to commemorate this anniversary with appropriate material: the articles in this volume were selected from 8000 drafts submitted.

5-8 TWO AND ONE-HALF RIFLES: A GLIMPSE AT THE
10TH RED ARMY IN ITS EARLY PERIOD
Shao Shih-p'ing

Shortly after the Nanchang Uprising, Fang Chih-min led the peasants in two hsien of northeast Kiangsi in an uprising against the local government. Shao Shih-p'ing, who was at Fang's side, reports that they succeeded with only two and one-half rifles. By May-June 1928, the KMT troops were pressing the Red guerrillas so hard that there were deliberations as to whether they should conceal their arms and disband, or persist in their struggle. They decided to fight on, eventually forming the nucleus of the 10th Army.

9-20 IN THE YEAR 1931: THE DIARY OF A RED ARMY RADIO CADRE
Major General Ts'ao Tan-hui

These excerpts from Ts'ao's diary of 1931 span the entire year from January 1 to December 30. Set at various locations in the southeastern provinces during the encirclement campaigns, each entry is exacting about time (day and hour), place, situation, and people involved. As Ts'ao was a radio cadre, the radio's crucial roles in keeping contact among the scattered Red troops and intercepting enemy messages are naturally at

* The significance of August 1 is that this was the date of the Nanchang Uprising in 1927; it is now celebrated as Red Army Day. See C. Martin Wilbur, "The Ashes of Defeat," *China Quarterly*, No. 18 (April-June 1964) pp. 3-54.

the forefront of his awareness. There are passing comments on the nature of on-the-spot radio training. Though brief and expressed most economically, the notes are highly informative on the activities of military personnel and troop units of both the Red and White armies. To illustrate, the capture of the White Army officer Chang Hui-tsan on January 1 at Lungkang; the arrival of Chu Teh at Hsiaopu on January 11; the amateur production of plays satirizing the old morality; Mao Tse-tung's arrival at Fut'ien on May 16 to spur the men on to victory; and Lo Ping-hui's role in the conclusion of the third campaign in mid-September, are mere glimmerings of events flashing through these pages.

21-38 THE RED FLAG DOES NOT FALL
Feng Pai-chü

As Feng's entire career has been devoted to establishing Communism in his native place, Hainan island, his authority on its revolutionary history is unmatched. He relates experiences as a guerrilla leader and comments on the gradual organization of the Red Army and civilian government from the time of the failure of the first uprising in 1927, through successive battles with the KMT, and finally to the Resistance War in 1937. Lively portraits of family, friends and comrades are drawn into this informal narrative.

39-44 FATHER AND I SERVED IN THE RED ARMY
Major General Wu Hua-to

This is a filial account of how the author as a young boy of 12 joined his father in revolutionary insurrections, spent the next few years in tandem with his father learning "revolutionary lessons," then joined the Young Pioneers. While on the Long March he was told of his father's death at the hands of the KMT in Szechwan, a loss he resolved to avenge through service to the Red Army.

45-50 THE RED ARMY UNIVERSITY IN THE FOREST
Vice Admiral Liu Tao-sheng

In 1933, when Liu was a 17-year-old political worker in the 8th Army at the Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet, he was transferred to the Political Department of the Red Army University at Juichin, which then had 600-700 students. His discussion of Hungta's curriculum, course titles, and instructors (who included Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Liu Po-ch'eng and Chou En-lai), some brief quotes from their lectures, and observations on the daily routine of the University, are illuminating. There is also reference to the successive KMT encirclement campaigns around Kiangsi during the time he was studying at Juichin.

51-59 RED ARMY, RED ARMY, CLOSE FRIEND OF THE YI PEOPLE
Lieutenant Colonel Ah-erh-mu-hsia (Wang Hai-min)

Written by a member of the Yi people, who became a Red Army officer and represented this minority group in the Chinese Communist government for many years, this piece pays tribute to the solicitous treatment shown to them by the Red Army. In 1934 and 1935, when the Yi people in Sikang province were living under the harsh government of the KMT and its 24th Army, repeated persecutions forced most of the Yi to flee to the mountains. The writer contrasts this repressive policy shown by the KMT toward a minority group with the egalitarianism and generosity of the Red Army when it penetrated the southwest in the mid-1930's. The Red Army's humane tactics for winning over the Yi minority are carefully described.

60-65 THE CAPTURE ALIVE OF YUEH WEI-CHUN
Chang Ming

In the spring of 1931 Yueh Wei-chün, commander of the reorganized 46th Division of the KMT Army, was ordered to surround and destroy the Red forces at the Ou-Yü-Wan (Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei) Soviet District. This piece joyously recounts how this close associate of Chiang Kai-shek was captured by the Red Army and his troops defeated in the Tapiéh mountains.

66-69 THE GLITTER OF BAYONETS ON THE RIVER BANK
Major General Chang Shu-chih

During the KMT second encirclement campaign in the spring of 1932, the narrator was serving in the 3rd Red Army, commanded by Ho Lung in the Hunan-Hupeh region.

70-81 FORTY-EIGHT DAYS AT SUCHIAPU
Admiral Wang Hung-k'un

Suchiapu was the base from which the KMT attacked the Ou-Yü-Wan Soviet district in the early thirties. In March 1931 the Workers and Peasants Red Army began a siege of this base which lasted for over forty days and ended with the surrender of the KMT troops. Admiral Wang presents the details of the siege in vivid figurative language.

82-88 BUGLE CALLS IN THE DEEP NIGHT
Vice Admiral Chou Hsi-han

After the 9th Red Army withdrew from its base in the Ou-Yü-Wan border area to Szechwan, the narrator played a leading role in its defense of Wanyuan. He describes the tactical aspects of this operation.

89-95 A RED ARMY DIVISION COMMANDER
General Ch'en Hsi-lien

Ch'en belonged to the 4th Front Army, which in February, 1933, fell into sanguinary battles with the local warlords of northeast Szechwan, who included Liu Tzu-hou. The purpose of this piece is to pay tribute to the courageous performance of his division commander, Wang Lieh-shan. This includes some comments on his previous military experience, his leadership style in these engagements, and his tragic death on the battlefield just at the final moment of triumph. Eventually, the warlords Liu Hsiang, Yang Shen and T'ien Sung-yao were defeated by the 4th Front Army. But the narrator stresses soberly the high price in blood paid for these victories.

96-110 WARFARE AT KAOHUNAO
Admiral Su Chen-hua

Admiral Su was Commissar of the 13th Regiment, 5th Division of the 3rd Group Army when, in the spring of 1934, the KMT Army attacked his troops at Kuangch'ang, Kiangsi, in the northern part of the Central Soviet District. Just a year before, in spring, 1933, the Red Army had won its fourth consecutive victory against the KMT encirclement campaigns. Su contrasts the buoyant esprit de corps after those triumphs with the gloomy spirits of a year later when the tide of the fifth battle waged since the previous autumn seemed to be turning irreversibly against the Communists. This account of one critical engagement of that campaign concentrates on its manifold tactics, including the KMT use of blockhouses and aircraft. It is remarkably free of recriminations against the "mistaken line" of the current Party leadership. The visit to the scene of battle by Commander of the 3rd Group Army P'eng Te-huai, accompanied by the Commander of the 5th Division, Li T'ien-yu, and Political Commissar Ch'en Ho-chin, is described.

111-116 DEFENSIVE WARFARE IN CANDLE FORMATION
Lieutenant General Chang Chen

In the summer of 1934, just after the battle of Kaohunao near Kuangch'ang described in the entry above, the 3rd Group Army organized another defense against KMT forces attacking the Central Soviet District, this time just south of Kuangch'ang. The two KMT columns involved in this attack were led by Chou Hui-yuan and Wu Ch'i-wei. Chang Chen was then with the 3rd Battalion, 10th Regiment, 4th Division of the 3rd Group Army. He describes graphically the unusual candle-shaped formation of the defensive battleline led by Division Commander Hung Ch'ao, who eventually lost his life in this engagement. Taking advantage of their un-

usual proximity to the KMT troops, Chang Chen and his comrades experimented with various propaganda ploys. They shouted to the troops who were within earshot: "Brothers of the White Army, you have come from worker and peasant backgrounds. Workers and peasants should not attack their own kind. Slaughter the officers who oppress you, shoulder your rifles and come join the Red Army! The Red Army is an army of workers and peasants. We have come from labor backgrounds, and we do not want to attack our own kind." To attract the White soldiers, the Reds also sent over pork and propaganda leaflets, and at times they were given tobacco and food staples in return. On rare occasions the opposing troops conversed with one another. In the last analysis, as Chang Chen praises the valor of his comrades who staked their lives on the Red Cause, typically, he attributes the eventual loss of the 5th campaign to "dogmatism and mistaken leadership."

117-122 NIGHT RAID ON THE CITY OF LUNGYEN

Senior Colonel Yü Ping-hui

This is a suspenseful account of a night raid in the early autumn of 1935 when KMT troops attacked a guerrilla base near the city of Lungyen in west Fukien. Despite their boastful resolve to wipe out the Red base and then to move north to cut down Chu and Mao, in the end the Red 8th Regiment under Ch'iu Chin-shen waged a successful resistance in this late engagement of the 5th extermination campaign.

129-138 SKILLFUL CROSSING OF THE CHINSHA RIVER

Major General Hsiao Ying-t'ang

In the spring of 1935, as the 1st Front Army moved from Kwangsi to northern Kweichow, it fell under increasingly heavy assaults from the KMT encirclement operations. At the end of April, Chairman Mao, on behalf of the Party Center, ordered the Red troops to proceed by three different routes to Yunnan. Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai, one of the major strategists of the crossing of the Chinsha River, is characterized as a dogged worker who rarely slept. Chou's comments on the events at Tsunyi in which he had recently been involved (January 1935) are of interest. The bulk of the article relates the complex process of planning the river crossing which ultimately succeeded in enabling the Red troops to escape KMT encirclement in the Yunnan area.

139-146 IN THE LOWER REACHES OF THE TATU RIVER

Lieutenant General Liu Chung

A month after crossing the Chinsha River, the Red troops arrived at the Tatu River, which they sought to cross in May 1935 on their Long March northward to unite with the 4th Front Army. The troops of the

Szechwan warlord, Liu Wen-hui, were stationed on its north bank in an effort to thwart the Red advance. On May 20, Liu Po-ch'eng arrived at Army headquarters and laid plans for the river crossing.

The masses of both the Han and Yi people in the area of the Tatu's lower reaches welcomed the Red troops enthusiastically. They waved small red flags which said: "The *laopaihsing* welcome the Red Army! Long live the Red Army!" Liu and his comrades discovered that several hundred Yi people had been incarcerated in prison, which was but one manifestation of KMT racial prejudice shown toward them. In accordance with the Party policy of uniting the minorities people, the Red troops set the Yi people free and educated them in the ways in which they had long been persecuted by the KMT. As a result of the Communists' strenuous efforts to forge a close relationship between themselves and the Yi people, the Yi supported them against the KMT enemy and its warlord sympathizers. Although the enemy cherished hopes that the Red Army, like the Taiping Shih Ta-k'ai, would fail ignominiously in its efforts to make a forced crossing of the Tatu, the Red Army rejected the precedent, crossed the river and resumed the March.

147-151 THE ARMY COMMANDER LEADS ME THROUGH
SNOWY MOUNTAINS
Colonel Chiang Kuo-hua

During the summer of 1935 Chiang Kuo-hua served as bodyguard of Chou Yü-ch'eng, Quartermaster of the 3rd Group Army, then in the Szechwan-Sikang border region. Though ill, Chiang was determined not to drop out of the Long March. This piece is written in appreciation of the personal ministrations shown to him by his commander, Chou Yü-ch'eng, as they crossed the snow mountains.

152-157 THE BEAUTIES OF TEN-THOUSAND "SUFFERINGS":
ON LIFE IN THE GRASSLANDS
Major T'an Ch'ing-lin

As a boy of sixteen with the 4th Front Army in late 1935, the narrator and his comrades endured the bitter hardships of crossing the grasslands on their Long March northward, an experience recalled with mixed feelings of nostalgia and loathing.

158-161 GIFTS ON JOINING FORCES
Lieutenant Colonel Liu Ch'iang

In the autumn of 1936 a group of 1st Front Army soldiers stationed in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region showered gifts of sweaters and other woolen garments on their comrades of the 2nd and 4th Front Armies upon their arrival after arduous battles on the trek from the south.

162-164 A NIGHT IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE MIAO

Hsieh Fu-min

These excerpts from Hsieh's diary tell how on November 2, 1934, he and his comrades sought to replenish their supply of foodstuffs in an area of the southwest long occupied by the Miao peoples. But the Miao, having gotten wind of the arrival of the Red Army, whom they had been told to fear, fled from their homes. After patient persuasion by propaganda cadres, the Miao conquered their fears, returned to their mountain dwellings, and generously provided the soldiers with the food they needed.

165-167 HEART JOINED TO HEART

Major K'ang Cheng-te

This is one more in this volume's cluster of articles on winning over the minority peoples. When the 91st Division of the 4th Front Army was on the Long March through Sikang province in the spring of 1935, it came upon a remote community of over 900 Tibetan families. They looked upon the Red troops with fear and suspicion, not realizing, the author points out, that they had nothing to fear because the Reds were of the *laopaihsing*. Though short, this article is revealing of the depressed level of Tibetan existence, and of the Communist propaganda techniques used to gain their confidence. The propaganda company to which K'ang belonged was subdivided into several work groups which could observe closely the laws and customs of these nomadic people who herded cattle and sheep; actual cases of exploitation by an English imperialist and local oppressors; their subsistence diet of the roots of wild grasses and tree bark; and their acute health problems. Respect for the unique culture of this minority people was the basis of winning their support for the Red cause.

168-180 JOINING FORCES IN NORTH SHENSI

Senior General Hsu Hai-tung

This is among the most important pieces in this series on the military history of the mid-1930's. Written by the Commander of the 25th Red Army which, in September, 1934, changed its name to the 2nd Vanguard of the Resist Japan Red Army, this chronicle covers events from that point to a year later. Ch'eng Tzu-hua transmitted the Central Committee's orders that Hsu should transfer his forces from west Anhwei to east Hupeh, and later open new bases where the topography was good, the enemy weak, and the masses favorable. Accordingly, Hsu declared that the goal of the 25th Red Army would be to establish revolutionary bases in the Ou-Yü-Shen (Hupeh-Honan-Shensi) region. He would be acting on Mao's declaration: "The Red Army is a propaganda team; the Red Army is a seeding machine. We have scattered the seeds of revolution over the broad reaches of Hupeh, Honan and Shensi. Wherever we go, we

arouse the masses and leave behind cadres to develop guerrilla warfare.”

After finding a copy of the *Ta Kung Pao* which reported that the Central Committee had gone north in June, 1935, Hsu decided to lead his troops north to merge with those of Liu Chih-tan, so that jointly they could resist the KMT extermination campaign led by Yang Hu-ch'eng's Independent 2nd Brigade against the Ou-Yü-Shen region. When Hsu first met Liu Chih-tan in north Shensi he was surprised at his unaffected peasant manner, which belied the fact that he had been a member of the fifth class at the Whampoa Academy. In the autumn of 1935 Hsu's 25th Army and Liu's 26th and 27th Armies of north Shensi reorganized as the 15th Group Army, of which Hsu was made Commander and Liu Chih-tan Deputy Commander. When the enemy began its third encirclement campaign against the North Shensi Soviet in September, Chang Hsueh-liang's seven divisions attacked the rear of those led by Hsu.

When Mao and P'eng Te-huai arrived at the scene of battle in October 1935, Mao inquired how the campaign, which was still inconclusive, was going. Just as Hsu was about to return to the front line, Mao gave him a telegraph station and personnel to operate it. Upon the conclusion of the third encirclement campaign, Hsu sent Mao a telegram to report their victory.

181-185 BEFORE CROSSING THE YELLOW RIVER: ON COMMANDER LIN
PIAO'S RECONNAISSANCE BEFORE THE ENEMY'S FRONT LINE
Lieutenant General Tseng Ssu-yü

In December, 1935, Tseng Ssu-yü was assigned as a reconnaissance officer with the 1st Group Army led by Lin Piao. Stationed in north Shensi, which was nearly paralyzed by ice and snow, Tseng accompanied Commander Lin Piao on the reconnaissance mission which was preparing for the forced crossing of the Yellow River into Shansi. Accomplished a month later, this crossing initiated the eastward march of the 1st Group Army. There are passing references to the CCP Politburo Conference of December, to the Soviet areas of the Northwest, and to some other Communist figures implicated in these events. Observations on Lin Piao as an individual are more slight than some in other volumes of this collection.

186-190 FORCED CROSSING OF THE YELLOW RIVER
Lieutenant General (Air Force) Tseng Kuo-hua

By early spring, 1936, the Red Army had been in north Shensi for more than a year, during which time it endeavored to persuade the Nationalists to cease civil war and jointly to resist Japan. Another version of the events of the preceding article, this describes how Yen Hsi-shan first rejected the Red Army's request to pass through Shansi on its way to fight the Japanese, and then used the upper reaches of the Yellow River as a natural barrier to block the Army's entry into Shansi. In the face of Yen's thwart-

ing and Chiang's continuous encirclement campaigns, Lin Piao finally engineered a forced crossing of the river.

191-199 BITTER FIGHTING AT LINTSE

Lieutenant General Ch'in Chi-wei

After the victory of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Front Armies in Kansu in October, 1936, Chang Kuo-t'ao falsified the Center's order by advising the 4th Front Army to proceed to Sinkiang. His goal was to "break through the international line." This is a closely textured account of several days of battle at the town of Lintse in the plateau lands of southeast Kansu. The agonies of this militarily exposed situation were exaggerated by the men's lack of clothes and shoes to protect them against the bitterly cold climate. The participation of local men and women in the battle, the fate of several comrades in this engagement, and the regroupings of military units are explained.

200-204 AFTER SINKING INTO AN INACCESSIBLE PLACE

Lieutenant General Li T'ien-huan

In late 1936, Chang Kuo-t'ao, fearing both the KMT and the Japanese, stubbornly carried out his "opportunist" line independently of CCP central authority. From the 5th, 9th and 30th Red Armies Chang organized the West Route Army, which he ordered to proceed from Kansu to Sinkiang. Disastrously attacked by Ma Pu-fang and Hu Tsung-nan of the KMT, this remnant Red Force of 700 odd troops finally regained contact with the CCP central authority. By May, 1937, it reached Sinkiang, where it was greeted by Ch'en Yun, who had been sent by Mao Tse-tung to Tihwa.

205-228 FROM CHILIENSHAN TO EAST KANSU

Major General Hsiao Yung-yin

When the West Route Army, in its effort to reach Sinkiang, ran into decimating attacks by local forces in the Kansu panhandle, the Party ordered Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien and Ch'en Ch'ang-hao to turn over command to Li Hsien-nien and to join the main forces in north Shensi. This is a day-to-day account by one of Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien's escort officers. A KMT blockade forced them to separate, and the author eventually reached Yen-an only after an arduous and round-about four-month journey through the Gobi Desert and along the northern loop of the Yellow River.

229-233 THE EYES OF A HAWK

Yang Shang-k'uei

After the main body of the Red Army set out on the Long March, the remnants left behind in south Kiangsi were forced by relentless KMT harassment to break up into small bands. This short piece tells how an

alert squad leader discovered an assassination plot by a disguised turn-coat, Kung Ch'u (Chief of Staff of the South Kiangsi Military Sub-region before his defection). His timely discovery saved the lives of Hsiang Ying, Ch'en P'i-hsien, and other leaders of the continuing guerrilla struggle.

234-237 A KERNEL OF RICE, A DROP OF BLOOD
Colonel Chiao Chia-fu

With the commencement of the KMT's fifth encirclement campaign, food, medicine, and other necessities were in short supply among the Red Forces in the Ou-Yü-Wan Soviet district. This piece tells of dangerous attempts to find supplies made by a foraging party of the 9th Army, 4th Front Army.

238-245 IN THE DEEP FOREST OF YAOLPING
Senior Colonel Lo Ying-ch'en

In the summer of 1937 the KMT was still secretly trying to eradicate remnants of the Communist 28th Army in the old Ou-Yü-Wan Soviet area. This records the experiences of a 19-year-old soldier from a communications unit, who was given shelter and care for his wounded leg in a small mountain village until he was able to rejoin the Army.

246-253 A LONG MARCH IN THE FOREST
Lin Chan-ts'ai

In January, 1940, a group of some hundred Red Army soldiers finally rejoined the Red Army, having lost contact with the main army and spent a year hiding from the Japanese in the deep snow-covered forests of the Paoh'ing district in the most remote northeastern sector of Manchuria.

254-257 AN EXTRAORDINARY RAID OF FOUR HUNDRED LI
Tai Hung-pin

This is a terse account of a bitter raid during 1935 against a Chinese traitor who served the Japanese in Manchuria and allegedly oppressed the people. The surprise attack destroyed the Japanese military detachment stationed in the traitor's village and bolstered Red morale.

258-262 FOOTPRINTS IN THE SNOW
Major Fan Te-lin

During the winter of 1938 Red Army soldiers were closely pursued by Japanese who were mounting an encircle-and-destroy campaign in the mountainous districts of east Manchuria. Being in no position to meet the Japanese in open combat, the commander of the Communist troops sent a unit of 13 men on a diversionary movement through the snow to safeguard the principal force from Japanese attack.

263-275 INITIAL COMBAT AT PINGHSINGKUAN

General Li T'ien-yu

This dramatic account of the crucial battle of Pinghsingkuan in September, 1937, was written by the man who commanded the 686th Regiment, which served as the vanguard of the 115th Division of the 8th Route Army under the command of Lin Piao. When the Japanese overran north China in the fall of 1937, some 40,000 to 50,000 men in the 8th Route Army were advancing to the front line of battle by two routes: one by northwest Shansi and the other by northeast Shansi. Commander Li was ordered to follow the second route. Li's narrative conveys well the reaction of the populace and especially of the students to the threat posed by the Japanese and to the redeeming role assumed by the Red Army. From frequent conferences with Lin Piao he indicates that Lin's frail health was more than compensated by a robust and dauntless spirit.

276-279 THE RED ARMY CAP

Major Wang Te-ch'ing

A veteran of the 120th Division in Shansi recalls how a 16-year-old member of the Long March longed for a Red Army cap of his own and the circumstances of his obtaining it.

280-293 ONE NIGHT DURING THE WEST SHANSI INCIDENT

Colonel Chou Yü-ch'ing

After the successive losses of Taiyuan and other urban centers and the collapse of Yen Hsi-shan's army in Shansi, only the 8th Route Army, the New Army, and the Sacrifice League survived to fight the Japanese. The narrator describes the Shansi Incident of December 1939 when he was serving in a unit of the Dare-to-Die 4th Column of the New Army.

294-318 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GUERRILLA BASE IN SOUTH SUIYUAN

Senior Colonel An Cheng-fu

During 1942 the Japanese planned to invade the Mongolian People's Republic. As a preparatory move, they carried out a mopping-up operation against the 8th Route Army in central and south Suiyuan in order to drive it into the northern part of Shansi. This vivid account of establishing a guerrilla base in south Suiyuan covers the years 1942-1945. In setting forth the successive stages of this project, the narrator traces the evolution of popular response to Communist leadership and the effectiveness of CCP organizational tactics in transforming an unwieldy populace into a force for resistance against the Japanese.

319-325 BLOODY FIGHTING AT TAIKU

Major Chang Shan-ts'ai

This recounts a fierce engagement between a group of 93 soldiers of a regiment of the 8th Route Army and a much larger Japanese force at Taiku, central Shantung, in November 1943.

326-331 FRIENDS IN NORTH ANHWEI

Lai Wei-chi

At New Year's of 1943, two years after the South Anhwei Incident, some soldiers of the New 4th Army, who had been carrying out anti-Japanese activities in north Anhwei, were swiftly encircled and attacked by the KMT Kwangsi Army and some other anti-Communist local powers. After eight days of struggle against these domestic enemies, the Red troops at last broke out of the encirclement and marched north to fight the Japanese, whom they regarded as their principal enemies. This article describes the kindnesses shown by a poor peasant family to the Red soldiers under this sudden assault in north Anhwei.

332-361 IN CHAIRMAN MAO'S SPHERE

Lieutenant Colonel Chiang Ch'in-feng

This account begins with March 12, 1947, when KMT aircraft began a week's bombing of Yen-an, causing no human casualties but destroying dwellings and livestock. Nonetheless, the threat of advancing KMT troops compelled Mao and his colleagues to quit Yen-an for north Shensi. Abruptly cut loose from their bases, the leadership's experiences on the road are rigorously detailed up to April 19, 1948. Then it was decided to march east and cross the Yellow River en route to Pingshan and the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region. The portrait of Mao, the focal point of this account, is naturally sympathetic but also alive in human detail. Other members of the higher echelon leadership in Yen-an are sketched more briefly; their military rank and current activities, however, are precisely indicated. Included in this sweeping study of Yen-an leadership are Chou En-lai, P'eng Te-huai, Jen Pi-shih, Wang Chen, Chu Teh, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lu Ting-i and Ch'en I.

362-367 AN UNFORGETTABLE ENCOUNTER

Senior Captain Li Yü-lin

This record of an interview with Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and Liu Shao-ch'i shortly after the victory of Shihchiachuang, in which the narrator participated, brings out the easily approachable character and unpretentious manners of these Communist leaders. Chu Teh's casual conversation is highlighted by such aphoristic statements as "If you have faith you will be victorious." Among his comments on military events

were noting that in the battle of Shihchiachuang the Red Army defeated a far better equipped enemy, and indicating that while in the past the Red forces had fought guerrilla warfare, henceforth they would wage only conventional warfare.

Volume IV

October 15, 1957

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Editorial note

The editors explain that this volume celebrates the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution by collecting historical materials concerning Chinese participation in the October Revolution and the Soviet civil war. The major theme of these pieces is that in the days of the establishment of the Soviet Union and the fighting with the regime's enemies, the blood of Chinese and Russians flowed together. This experience led to the creation of a deep fraternal friendship between the two peoples. During the First World War because of labor shortage in Tsarist Russia, several hundreds of thousands of Chinese coolies were recruited to work in Russia. The great majority of them were impoverished peasants from Manchuria, Shantung, Hopeh, and Chekiang. With the coming of the Revolution in Russia, the Chinese joined the Red Army not only as individuals but also as Chinese squads, platoons, companies, battalions, regiments, and as Chinese Red International Battalions. The people of the Soviet Union have deeply grateful and unforgettable memories for the contributions of Chinese soldiers during their revolution. The China Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences last winter began compiling a collection of writings on Chinese participation in the Revolution and the establishment of its new government. This volume of *The Red Flag Waves* represents a joint effort by the two nations and the materials are scheduled to be published formally by 1958. The editors hope that these essays will stimulate other people's views and that they will make an effort to correct whatever errors may exist so that this work may be improved.

Publicity Department
Sino-Soviet Friendship Association

5-8 THE FIRST TIME I SAW LENIN
Fu-lo-hsi-lo-fu [K. Y. Voroshilov]
translated from *Vospominaniia O* [V. I.] *Lenine*, Vol. I

The narrator tells of participating in a Congress of Party Representatives at St. Petersburg in the spring of 1906 when he first saw Lenin.

9-19 RETURN TO RUSSIA

M. Kuo-pieh-erh-man [M. Goberman]

translated from *Novyi Mir*, No. 4 (April, 1957) pp. 121-127

An account of Lenin's return from Switzerland to Russia in 1917 by one of his traveling companions. Some conversations dominated by Lenin are included.

20-25 THE GREAT OCTOBER BAPTISM

Wang Hung-hsun

The narrator went to Russia in 1917 to be a factory worker. He discusses the changes that took place after Lenin's return that year. Wang entered the University for Toilers of the East in Moscow in 1921—the year the University was founded—and graduated four years later. Among the nagging physical trials of life in Russia was the problem of Russian shoes, which were invariably too large for Chinese feet. There are interesting comments on the diverse Asian student body (which included Mongolians, Koreans, Indians, and Japanese, as well as more than 40 Chinese), and on the roles of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Jen Pi-shih, Wang Jo-fei, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Hsiao San, Lenin and others who were on the faculty.

26-37 THE EPOCHAL SOUND OF CANNON FIRE

Pieh-lei-she-fu [A. Belyshchev]

translated from *Novyi Mir*, No. 11 (November, 1955) pp. 3-9

The narrator was a sailor on a Russian cruiser in October, 1917, when the cannons shelling the Winter Palace announced the opening of a new era. He presents the events of October from the point of view of his position in the Navy.

38-49 MEMORIES OF WARFARE IN RED OCTOBER

Liu Fu

This is the saga of a man who started out as a poor peasant in Hopeh and in 1907 went to Manchuria to make his fortune. Scarcely able to earn his livelihood in the capitalist world of Harbin, he departed for Russia in search of more rewarding employment, reaching Moscow in 1917. Liu's account of the fighting against White Russians and the Allied intervention during 1918-1919 is lengthy and detailed. In 1938 he returned to China to join the Communists in resisting Japan.

50-56 MY RED ARMY COMRADES

K'ou Hsi-t'ing

Because he had been exploited by Tsarist Russians in Siberia, K'ou fled to Harbin in 1917 and soon joined a Red guerrilla band which was

fighting White Russian troops. In April, 1918, he participated in warfare against the Japanese who landed at Vladivostok as part of the Allied intervention.

57-86 **LENIN'S CHINESE BODYGUARD, LI FU-CH'ING**
 Li Hsing-p'ei

This richly detailed biography telescopes Sino-Russian relations over the 40 years after the October Revolution. Born in 1898, Li Fu-ch'ing strove to advance beyond his poor peasant background by going to work in Russia. In 1917 he joined a band of Chinese and Russian guerrillas fighting White Russian forces; in 1918 this band was reorganized as part of the Red Army. In 1919 Li Fu-ch'ing and over 200 of his Red Army comrades received the highest honor to which proletarian soldiers could aspire: appointment as bodyguards to Lenin. For Li this distinction was even greater because he was Chinese. The workings of Lenin's personal security system are explained. In 1922 while still in the Army, Li joined the Communist Youth League, and the following year he was transferred to study at the Moscow Military Academy. After graduation in 1926, he worked on a project of translation from Russian to Chinese for the benefit of thousands of Chinese workers in Russia. When Japan established Manchukuo in 1932, Li served in the Soviet Northeast Resistance Army in Sinkiang. In 1950 he joined the PLA.

87-93 **SINO-SOVIET GUERRILLAS**
 T'ien Tzu-fang

The narrator belonged to a coalition of Chinese and Russian guerrillas which was organized in April 1918 with about 200 Chinese members. Three months later the entire band had more than 600 soldiers, three-quarters of whom were Chinese and the remainder Russian. They fought Japanese and White Russian troops in Central Siberia.

94-103 **CHINESE RED BODYGUARDS IN NORTH CAUCASUS**
 REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE
 I. I. Po-ni-ya-t'o-fu-ssu-chi [Y. Y. Ponyatovskii]*

This is the account of a Chinese, Li Chen-tung, who went to Russia in 1916 with about 12,000 other Chinese laborers. After the 1917 revolution, many of these workers were caught up in the spirit of "workers of the world unite" and joined the Red Army during the civil war. After the civil war, some returned to China. Others, like Li Chen-tung, remained in Russia and assisted in the postwar reconstruction. Li became a member of the CPSU in 1929 and is praised for his devotion to the cause of international communism.

* The Russian source from which this was translated is given phonetically in Chinese (see editor's note on page 94) but has not been identified.

104-120 MOSCOW'S OCTOBER

B. Pi-erh Pieh-lo-ts'ai-k'o-fu-ssu-chi [B. Bill' Belotserkovskii]
translated from *Octiabr'*, No. 11 (November, 1956)
pp. 124-133

A Russian member of the Democratic Socialist Labor Party, who had just returned to Russia from the United States, gives an eyewitness account of the events of October, 1917.

121-132 I WAS A RED ARMY SOLDIER

Yao Hsin-ch'eng

Born in Shantung of a poor peasant family, Yao went to work in Russia in 1916 and discovered that capitalists are all alike, Russian capitalists being no better than Chinese capitalists. In 1917 he joined the Red Army and served with it in various parts of Russia during the following years. In 1933 he returned to China to do underground work for the CCP in Shanghai.

133-141 ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF THE SOVIET UNION'S CIVIL WAR

Hsu Mo-lin

This is still another account by a son of a poor family in Shantung who went to Harbin to make a fortune but failed, and so answered the Russian summons for Chinese laborers. By late 1917 Hsu found himself working on a railroad near the Polish border. After the October Revolution he joined the Red Army, saw Lenin, and had the full complement of experiences of a Chinese serving in the Red Army during those years.

142-148 THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE CHINESE BATTALION IN THE SOVIET RED ARMY

Chou Jui

In December 1916 Chou Jui and several hundred other Chinese laborers went from Manchuria to Russia where they found peasant uprisings, workers' strikes, and general upheaval. The October Revolution ended their employment and left them stranded in Russia. In April 1918 they joined a Chinese battalion formed within the Soviet Red Army. During the next few years they fought White Russians, White Poles and other enemies of the USSR.

149-154 I TOOK PART IN THE FIGHTING TO DEFEND THE UKRAINE

Ch'en Li-te

Ch'en was another poor boy from Shantung who went to Harbin to work, first as a servant in a foreign household, and later as a laborer in a Russian tobacco factory. When he lost his job and heard about Russia needing workers, he migrated to the Soviet Union. Here he joined the Red

Army, serving in the Ukraine for three years. He describes graphically the chaotic conditions: banditry, various stripes of enemy troops, the agonies of the severe climate, and widespread starvation. In the absence of black bread and potatoes (which the Chinese palate found almost intolerable), horse fodder served as Army fare. After retiring from the Army he went to Manchuria, eventually returning to China in 1936.

155-163 DAYS AND NIGHTS IN SIBERIA

Ch'en Po-chuan

In 1910 Ch'en left China and went to Russia. In 1918 he joined the Red guerrillas in the mountains of Siberia and fought Allied intervention forces for the next few years. He graduated from the Moscow Military School in 1932. Seven years later he went to Yen-an to support the Chinese Communists.

164-170 IN THE TURBULENT FAR EASTERN BORDER REGION

Kuo Yü-ch'eng

The son of a poor family, Kuo went to Manchuria to work in a Japanese-owned coal mine. Intolerable working conditions forced him, in 1919 at the age of ten, to flee to Siberia where he joined guerrillas fighting the Japanese. Kuo's description of the National Far East Industrial University (later called Far East Normal University) in Vladivostok, where he studied between 1929 and 1932, is informative; he comments extensively on its administration, staff, curriculum, and general conditions. While most of his Chinese colleagues returned to China in the early thirties, Kuo remained to participate in the Soviet collectivization program and did not repatriate until 1953.

171-174 FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE

Chang Tzu-hsuan

In 1916 Chang responded to the Russian call for Chinese laborers. Penniless in 1917, he joined the Red Army, and in the fall of 1918 fought White Polish forces. After being wounded in battle during 1921 he recovered in a Moscow hospital, and then retired from the Red Army. In 1938 he returned to China to join the War of Resistance.

175-179 FROM BLACK NIGHT TO EARLY DAWN

Wang Hung-yuan

In 1907 Wang, a poor boy from Shantung, sought work in Vladivostok. In 1917 he witnessed the revolutionary events in St. Petersburg. In 1918 he joined the Red Army, fighting in Siberia against the Allied intervention forces. In 1921 he and his Russian wife started a laundry in Moscow; it prospered and five years later was converted into a cooperative laundry. He returned home to Shantung in 1927.

180-183 PURSUING AND ATTACKING THE WHITE BANDITS

Wu Liu-ch'iao

In 1919 Wu went to the Soviet Union, joined the Red Army at the age of 18, and engaged in guerrilla operations against the Japanese and their Mongolian allies in Mongolia. From the CPSU and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in the early 1920's he learned much about revolutionary warfare. In 1928 he returned to China to assist in its liberation.

184-190 A CHINESE WORKER AWARDED THE LENIN DECORATION

Chiao Yeh

In 1916 an acquaintance of the narrator, Comrade Shang Chen, along with 846 other Hopeh miners, answered a call from Russian capitalists in the Ukraine to work in the mines there. The extreme sufferings of the Chinese workers as well as Russians all over the Ukraine, particularly at the hands of the White Russians, are transmitted in sharp detail. Nonetheless, Shang continued to work in the mines for 40 years during which he benefited from the fruits of the Revolution. On November 7, 1947, the 30th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Shang was awarded the Lenin Decoration. He returned to China ten years later.

191-194 DAYS AT KHABAROVSK

Hsu Chen-chiu

At age 17 in 1907, Hsu, finding landlord oppression intolerable first went to work in Harbin, then to Suiyuan, and finally to Russia. At the invitation of Russian workers, he joined the labor movement and participated in the October Revolution. After three years in the Red Army he resumed civilian life as a worker in various factories. He repatriated in 1938.

195-198 FRIENDSHIP BOUND BY SOVIET BLOOD

Yü Tung-chiang

A small businessman at Blagoveschensk at the time of the October Revolution, Yü took part in the Revolution in that city by serving as a plainclothesman in its Public Safety Bureau to ferret out counter-revolutionaries. He soon joined a guerrilla band which fought Japanese intervention in Siberia in 1918. Eventually he became a member of the Red Army. On August 9, 1945, when the Soviet troops marched into Manchuria to defeat the Japanese, he was on hand to cheer the Soviet side.

199-203 DISTANT MEMORIES

Liu Yung-nien

Born in 1889 of a poor peasant family in Hopeh, in 1913 Liu went to Manchuria to work in the coal mines. After the October Revolution he

joined the Red Army and fought the Japanese in Siberia. His nostalgic memories of army life focus on the close comradeship of two Russian soldiers who were with him in the Red Army and on the egalitarian spirit displayed by the Army toward both Russians and Chinese.

204-209 THE INEXTINGUISHABLE STAR

Chi Shou-shan

In 1916 Chi and some other Chinese laborers were recruited to work on the railroads at Murmansk and elsewhere in north Russia. In April 1917 he joined the Provisional Government's Red Cross organization to do relief work on the Turkish front. When revolution broke out in October 1917 and conditions on the front became chaotic, he returned to Russia, joined a guerrilla band, and fought the Germans and White Russians for several years. Later he entered the Russian labor movement.

210-214 A CHINESE COMPANY COMMANDER IN THE SOVIET RED ARMY

Hsin Yu

In 1915 Chang Ch'uan-lin, the son of an impoverished family in Manchuria, went to Siberia to work in the coal mines. In the winter of 1917 he and other Chinese miners joined the Red Army with Chang serving as company commander. After fighting for four years, the Chinese returned to civilian life in Russia. In 1932 Chang returned to Manchuria to organize a guerrilla band to fight the Japanese.

215-219 RED ARMY SOLDIER CHAI YUNG-T'ANG

Chiao Yeh

In 1916 Chai, a Hopeh laborer in the Kailan coal mines, went to Russia along with 800 other Chinese miners to work in the coal mines. In the course of the October Revolution he and 32 other Chinese joined the Red Army as members of a Chinese labor detachment. He and his Chinese and Russian comrades in the Red Army waged war for six years.

220-224 OUR SMALL GUIDE

Liu Fu

In November 1918 a squad of Chinese soldiers in the Soviet Red Army was guided through a dangerous area by a young girl.

225-320 LENIN IN THE YEAR 1917

Ni. I. P'a-te-wu-i-ssu-chi [N. Podvoiskii]

translated from *Octiabr'*, No. 4 (April 1957) pp. 129-144;

No. 5 (May 1957) pp. 129-166

This long, reflective and richly detailed study of Lenin and the events of the crucial months of 1917 (spring to November) was written by an active participant in the Revolution described.

STORIES OF REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS

Editorial note

The editors strike the tone of this "Special Edition of Stories of Revolutionary Martyrs" by quoting from Mao Tse-tung's *On Coalition Government* in which he exhorted people of the present to recognize the great sacrifices made by revolutionary martyrs of the past, raise high their banners, and go forth in their "bloody footsteps." By providing their stories as models, this volume reflects Mao's drive to encourage young people to follow in the martyrs' footsteps. Of these memoirs, a few were written by figures who themselves eventually became martyrs, some were written by their comrades-in-arms, and others were written by members of their families. Because of fervent requests from young people for this sort of study material, the editors hope to continue publication of martyrs' memoirs.

5-12 AN EXCERPT OF A MEMOIR OF CHAO SHIH-YEN
Hsia Chih-hsu

Hsia describes Peking as the center of CCP activities between 1924 and 1926, with Chao Shih-yen playing the multi-faceted role of Party Secretary, supported by Chao Ch'en-ch'iao and Fan Hung-chi. The relation between Chao Shih-yen and the May 30th movement and the subsequent workers' uprisings in Shanghai between October 1926 and March 1927 are explored. Hsia discusses the reversal of their fortunes by the April 12 coup, the White Terror that followed, the KMT arrest of Chao and other CCP leaders, and finally his execution on July 19, 1927.

13-19 REMEMBERING T'AI-LEI
Wang I-chih

This impassioned and highly informative article was written by the woman who met Chang T'ai-lei when she was a student in Shanghai in 1922, and bore him a child five years later. Her narrative, which covers the 9-year period between the May 4th Movement and the Canton Commune, combines elements both of Chang's personal and political careers, and of her own early experiences in CCP organs. T'ai-lei was one of the earliest members of the CCP and a participant in Li Ta-chao's seminar on Communism. A student at Tientsin's Peiyang University at the time of the May 4th Movement, T'ai-lei was an activist in its patriotic demonstrations. In 1922 Wan I-chih was a student at the P'ing-min Nü-hsiao, a work-study school for relatively older girls who missed opportunities for an early education; it was run by the CCP with Li Ta as principal. Ch'en Wang-tao and Shen Yen-ping (Mao Tun) taught there, and Liu Shao-ch'i

appeared to give reports. In 1921 Chang T'ai-lei went to the Soviet Union to attend the Third Comintern Congress. He was a close friend of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, who was in Russia at the same time. Back in China, both were colleagues at Shanghai University, which was also under CCP control. In 1924 T'ai-lei was secretary of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps. The Party sent him to Canton to serve as an aide to Borodin in 1925, and in November, 1927, it sent him from Hankow to Canton to help prepare for the Canton Commune, in which he was killed.

20-27 WEI YEH-CH'OU, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE
NORTH ANHWEI SOVIET
Li Li-kuo

A native of Shensi, while a student at Peking Higher Normal School, Wei joined the CCP and helped to organize the progressive youth of north China. He was an activist during the May 4th Movement and became Li Ta-chao's close friend. After graduation from the Normal School in the winter of 1921, Wei went to teach at the Yülin Middle School of north Shensi. There he implemented the ideals of the cultural revolution of the May 4th era by teaching the subjects popularized during that period, using the best May 4th journals as reading materials, and encouraging publications of the student body, which was keenly responsive to his instruction. When he went to teach at a Sian middle school in 1923, he continued to present the "new culture" and to mobilize students for political revolution. A number of his associates in these enterprises are mentioned by name.

In the spring of 1927 the Northwest armies prepared to move east to join forces with the Northern Expedition in Honan. Yang Hu-ch'eng, Commander of the 10th Army of the Northwest forces, asked in Sian that Wei Yeh-ch'ou, who by now had gained a substantial reputation, be made Political Commissar of his Army. The Party granted his request, and when Wei assumed his new rank, he took a number of Party members and revolutionary youth with him. The passages describing his coordination of work groups with the military personnel and the people are of great interest. Eventually Wei and Yang concluded a pact ("*Yang-Wei ch'in-mi lien-meng*") which was a resolution to recruit all Party members and revolutionary youth of the Northwest into their army.

Yang is reported to have wished to continue this cooperation with Wei and the Party even after the breakdown of the United Front and the commencement of the KMT purge of the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek contrived, however, to get Yang to come to Nanking and then to send him abroad, at the same time putting Sun Wei-ju in "acting command" of Yang's army. Sun commenced the purge ordered by Chiang Kai-shek. Wei escaped to the countryside of north Anhwei where he actively took up the work of pulling together the remnants of the Party and mobilizing

the peasants. A military force was organized and Wei led a peasant uprising in early March, 1928, in the vicinity of Fuyang. This was suppressed by overwhelming KMT forces; Wei was captured and killed.

28-31 MOURNING COMRADE HSIANG CHING-YU
Li Li-san

This piece is unusually valuable because of the prominence of its author and the fact that it was written in Moscow as early as 1935. In the 1920's Hsiang Ching-yü was the foremost female leader in the Communist cause for the liberation of both women and China. Her basic philosophy was that individuals would have to be liberated before the people as a whole could be, that this was the only way in which mass liberation could come about. Just after the May 4th Movement she joined the Work-Study Program in France, where she became a serious student of Marxism, socialism, anarchism, and other revolutionary ideologies. She and Ts'ai Ho-shen, whom she married, organized workers among Chinese nationals in France. At the Second Congress of the CCP she was appointed to the Central Committee. Her special responsibility was the mobilization of women which she effected through the revolutionary principle of mixing intelligentsia, student, peasant, and labor women in mass organizations. In 1927 she went to Wuhan to sharpen class-consciousness among the workers and to organize labor. In the spring of 1928 she was imprisoned by the KMT in Hankow and executed on May 1st.

32-45 P'ENG P'AI, LEADER OF THE HAILUFENG PEASANT MOVEMENT
Hou Feng

Born in 1896 at Haifeng hsien in Kwangtung, P'eng P'ai was a precocious reader in his early years. In 1917 he went to study in Tokyo where he was caught up in the overseas Chinese students' national salvation movement. Upon leaving Japan, he returned to Haifeng hsien where he began to implement his view that popular education was basic to the social revolution. Serving as head of the Education Department of Haifeng hsien, with the assistance of a capable staff (named in the text), he structured the primary and middle schools as training grounds for social revolution. In 1921 he initiated the annual celebration of May Day in Haifeng, which helped to forge greater solidarity of labor. By 1923 he was organizing peasant associations in Haifeng. Four years later he established the first Soviet regime there. After its collapse he continued to mobilize peasants at the Tananshan base. In the summer of 1929 he was arrested by KMT authorities, imprisoned in Shanghai's Lunghwa prison, and executed on August 31st.

There are useful sidelights on P'eng's personal life, including the landlord class background which he managed to overcome, and his "feudal" marriage. At sixteen he was married to a tradition-bound girl whom he

personally liberated by unbinding her feet, giving her an education, and facilitating her becoming the leading woman cadre at the Hailufeng Soviet, where she was eventually executed by the KMT.

46-50 REMEMBERING TS'AI HO-SHEN
Li Li-san

Written in Moscow in 1935, this is a companion piece to Li Li-san's study of Ts'ai's wife, Hsiang Ching-yü, which appears earlier in this volume. Like Mao Tse-tung, Ts'ai began his career in Changsha where he and Mao together founded the New People's Study Society in 1917 and launched the influential journal, *Hsiang-chiang P'ing-lun* (Hsiang River Critic), two years later. Shortly after the May 4th Movement he went to France with the Work-Study Program. There he became an enthusiastic student of Marxism and other revolutionary ideologies with the result that toward the end of 1921 the French expelled him for his propagandistic activities. At the Second CCP Congress in Shanghai he was elected to the Central Committee. He was editor of the radical CCP organ, *Hsiang-tao* (The Guide), participated in the May 30th movement, and between 1925 and 1927 represented the CCP at the Comintern Congresses in Moscow. Sent to Hong Kong in 1931 to direct CCP work in Kwangtung, he was arrested by the British and died in prison.

51-53 TS'AI SHENG-HSI, COMMANDER OF THE RED 25TH ARMY
Huang Ho-ch'ing

This is a swift sketch of Commander Ts'ai into whose army the narrator transferred in 1932. Like the paradigmatic Communist military leader, he wore grass sandals, accepted no privileges of rank, and exuded simplicity and democracy. He was killed in the course of the KMT's 4th encirclement campaign.

54-61 WEI PA-CH'UN, AN OUTSTANDING SON OF THE T'UNG PEOPLE
Hsieh Fu-min

Born in Kwangsi in 1894, Wei from his youth despised landlord-oppressors and warlord-bureaucrats and sympathized with the impoverished peasants to whom he and his family donated material goods. In 1922 Wei first led peasants of his own village in a successful rebellion against the landlords and continued to foment insurrections in other Kwangsi districts. In 1923 he began training with Mao Tse-tung's course on peasant movements in Canton, then returned to Kwangsi to carry out the revolution. In 1927 he fought the armies of Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi. After the Red 7th Army departed for the Central Soviet District in Kiangsi in 1930, the Kwangsi revolutionaries were outnumbered by the KMT enemy. After more than two years of uninterrupted warfare, Wei died on the battlefield in October 1932.

62-73 THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF CHI HUNG-CH'ANG'S DEATH
FOR A RIGHTEOUS CAUSE
Chi Hu Hung-hsia

Born in Honan of a poor peasant family, Chi joined Feng Yü-hsiang's Northwest Army as a source of livelihood. Becoming progressively disenchanted with Feng's politics, he quit the army in late 1931 and "returned to the bosom of the people" by joining the CCP. On the Communists' behalf he fought both the KMT and the Japanese. His anti-Japanese activities led to his arrest, imprisonment, trial and execution which are explained here in inordinate detail.

74-78 COMRADE FANG CHIH-MIN AT LOTILANCHIA VILLAGE
Lo Ning

After the Nanchang uprising of August 1, 1927, Fang Chih-min went to Lotilanchia village in east Kiangsi to foment the revolution of peasants against landlords. In order to establish rapport between himself as a member of the intelligentsia and the impoverished peasants, he joined in the local custom of drinking chicken-blood wine to signify valor. Fang's declaration to the incredulous local peasants that the CCP seized land from landlords and divided it among the people, and their gradual awakening to the possibilities of revolution, are charmingly told. Under his tutelage the peasants refused to pay the tax collectors, and mounted a successful revolt against the landlords, whose holdings were then distributed among themselves.

79-107 CH'U CH'IU-PAI'S LIFETIME OF STRUGGLE
Wen Chi-tse

This exceptionally interesting account of a man whose career moved in both worlds of politics and literature covers his lifetime (1899-1935). Excerpts from his published works are interspersed in the narrative as a means of illustrating his own attitudes toward the events of his life. Wen explains the circumstances of Lu Hsun's posthumous editing of Ch'ü's works.

108-118 RED STAR IN THE NORTHWEST: A PART OF
LIU CHIH-TAN'S STORY

Based on interviews with some of Liu's surviving colleagues, this account covers his student years and military career. As a student at the Yülin Middle School in north Shensi he came under the influence of Wei Yeh-ch'ou (see V, 20-27), who had gone to north Shensi in 1921 to mobilize students for revolution. Liu was active in some of the strikes organized in that school. In 1925 the CCP sent him to Canton to study at the Whampo Academy. After graduation he returned to the North-

west to do political work. As a member of the National Revolutionary Army he fought against the northern warlords. After the Mukden Incident he attained a leading position in the North Shensi Red Army. He was killed in action in 1936 during the invasion of Shansi.

119-123 THREE MEETINGS WITH COMRADE YANG CHING-YU
Ho Ch'eng-hsiang

Yang, a native of Hunan, was sent during the spring of 1929 to Manchuria by the Party. When the Party was disrupted in the winter of that year, he was jailed, then released after the Japanese attack on Manchuria of September 18, 1931. The Party next sent him to Harbin, where he led Red guerrillas against Japanese troops during the spring of 1932. He was killed in a fierce battle with the Japanese on February 23, 1940, when he was General of the 1st Route Army.

124-131 GENERAL YANG CHING-YU FIGHTS FROM WHITE MOUNTAIN
TO BLACK WATER
Yü Lien-shui

This article illuminates the last phase of the life of Yang Ching-yü, General of the 1st Route Army, who attained that rank in late 1937. Successive encounters with the Japanese between 1938 and 1940 are discussed, culminating in the battle of February 23, 1940, in which he died. General Yang is depicted in heroic dimensions: a man of great courage, deep sympathy for his troops and the common people, and undying devotion to China.

132-137 DAYS WHEN I LIVED WITH COMRADE TSO CH'UAN
Yang Te-chih

This eulogistic memoir is by a close personal friend. A native of Hunan, after Tso graduated from the Whampoa Military Academy, he went to the Soviet Union for further study. Upon his return to China in 1930 he assumed heavy duties in the Kiangsi Soviet. Tso is characterized as a man with a remarkable mind. He was broadly knowledgeable in the fields of history, astronomy and military strategy, and had thought deeply on problems of learning and teaching. Not merely an intellectual, he was also known for his assiduous work-style. He was killed in battle with the Japanese in May 1942.

138-148 GENERAL TSO CH'UAN IN THE TAIHANG MOUNTAINS
Kuo Shu-pao

This second memoir of General Tso opens in early 1940, when the KMT had dispatched Chu Huai-pin with several thousand troops to mount a large offensive against the Taihang liberated area. The 8th Route Army, of which General Tso was Vice Chief-of-Staff, was ordered to

counterattack the “anti-Communist reactionary clique” of the KMT which refused to fight the Japanese; within a month it succeeded in forcing its retreat. Because General Tso devoted 20 hours a day to accomplishing this mission, he was cited as an excellent model for the army and the populace at large. Under his aegis three military factories for the manufacture of rifles and bullets were set up. He fell during 1942 in action against the Japanese.

149-151 SOME ANECDOTES ABOUT COMRADE CH'EN T'AN-CH'IU
Chang Wen-ch'iu

The narrator first knew Ch'en when she and Ch'en's wife were among Ch'en's students at the Women's Normal School in Hupeh. From her intimate narrative, which entwines strands of her own life with Ch'en's, one learns that he did underground work in Shanghai in the capacity of section chief of the CCP Kiangsu Provincial Committee. Forced to flee Shanghai because of the arrest and confession of a member of the CCP apparatus, he went to the Central Soviet District, was wounded, and sent to the Soviet Union to recover. Returning to China in 1939, he was ordered by the CCP to remain in Sinkiang to manage the 8th Route Army office there and to serve concurrently as the CCP representative in Sinkiang.

At this point the careers of the narrator, of Mao Tse-min, of Lin Chi-lu, and of Ch'en Ch'en-ya all link up with that of Ch'en T'an-ch'iu: all were imprisoned in Sinkiang by General Sheng Shih-ts'ai after his shift from a pro-USSR to a pro-KMT policy. As a result of Chou En-lai's negotiations in Chungking for the release of political prisoners, some were allowed to go to Yen-an, while Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, Mao Tse-min, Lin Chi-lu, Ch'en Ch'en-ya, and others were executed.

152-155 COMRADE MAO TSE-MIN ON THE LONG MARCH
Wang Ch'ün

During the Long March Mao Tse-min's special responsibility was to raise funds and to try to preserve the acceptability of the Communists' own banknotes. With the confiscation of landlords' property, some was distributed to needy people, while the rest was auctioned to the “masses,” who were permitted to pay in Communist notes. These transactions created a demand for the notes, which the people obtained by selling goods to the Red army.

156-165 MY GOOD TEACHER AND USEFUL FRIEND, COMRADE
P'ENG HSUEH-FENG
Chang Chen

Chang Chen was long associated with P'eng, who was born in Honan and educated in Peking. In 1930 the CCP sent P'eng south to do political

work. By 1938 he had risen to command the guerrilla branch of the New 4th Army, and by 1944 he became commander of the 4th Division of the New 4th Army. He was killed in warfare with the Japanese and their puppet troops, who attacked his guerrilla base in 1944. Not only was P'eng a courageous Party man and soldier; he also sustained strong literary interests throughout his hazardous career.

166-171 AN UNFORGETTABLE LIFE: IN MEMORY OF
P'ENG HSUEH-FENG
Chiang Kuo-hua

This second perspective on P'eng focuses on 1935, when P'eng was the political officer for the 1st Group Army 4th Division, of which Chiang was a communications officer. Located in north Shensi, the Red forces were endeavoring to fend off the KMT's campaign to encircle and destroy them. The bulk of this essay compliments P'eng's catalog of classic Red qualities as a brave and selfless soldier.

172-174 AN EXCERPT FROM THE STORY OF COMRADE WANG JO-FEI

Composed on the basis of reminiscences of Wang which originally appeared in Yen-an's *Liberation Daily* during April 1946, this brief but informative piece begins just after the May 4th Movement, when Wang went to France on the Work-Study Program and joined the CCP. In order to strengthen the Program, Wang and Ts'ai Ho-shen jointly organized the Work-Study Mutual Assistance Society (Kung-hsueh Hu-chu She). During February 1922, in a Paris coffeehouse, he founded a congress of these overseas Chinese students whose goals were securing the "rights" to eat, work, and study; and the following winter he established the Socialist Youth Corps. In 1925 he studied at the Toilers of the East University in Moscow and eventually joined its faculty. In 1927 he returned to China to serve as a CCP official in the Honan-Shensi district. Arrested at Pao-tow in 1931, he spent almost 6 years in prison. He was killed in a plane crash while returning to Yen-an after peace talks between the KMT and and CCP in Chungking.

175-179 ACCOMPANYING GENERAL YEH T'ING FOR TWO YEARS
Hsiung Hui

Between January 1939 and December 1940 Hsiung Hui was one of the six bodyguards of General Yeh T'ing, Commander-in-Chief of the New 4th Army, in South Anhwei. Hsiung presents admiringly the General's personal habits and military record. His relations with General Ku Chu-t'ung at the time of the South Anhwei Incident, in which the KMT forces attacked the New 4th Army, are interestingly documented.

180-224 THE LIFE OF GENERAL LO PING-HUI

Shih Fen

Prepared on the basis of the papers left by General Lo at the time of his death in 1946, this biographical account evenly covers the major phases of his life. Born in 1897, Lo was maturing at the time of the 1911 revolution. The early stages of his career reflected the social and political ruptures of the period: bitter generational conflict between himself and his tradition-bound family, flight to join the KMT army as a means of self-support, and eventual service as an officer in the Northern Expedition. After the CCP-KMT split in 1927, he became disenchanted with the leadership and goals of the KMT and so joined the Red Army as a guerrilla and went on the Long March. Both in Nanking and in other areas south of the Yangtse, he fought against KMT and Japanese forces during the Resistance War. In October 1945 he led the 2nd Division of the New 4th Army to south Shantung to accept the surrender of Japanese and puppet troops. Throughout the essay he is celebrated as a "hero of the people," one who arose from the condition of "muddy legs" to become a stellar general in the Red Army.

225-234 AN EXCERPT FROM THE STORY OF COMRADE

KUAN HSIANG-YING

Drawn from various written accounts of his life and interviews with people who knew him, this piece starts with Kuan's career as a CCP activist in the late 1920's, follows him on the Long March, and later traces him in his capacity as a political officer in the 120th Division of the 8th Route Army. Kuan's talent for austere living and fraternizing with the masses are emphasized throughout. There is discussion of his abiding interest in literature and his conviction that the biography and writings of Lu Hsun contained important lessons for contemporary life. His career led him to Yen-an where he convalesced from a disease. Ho Lung, with whom Kuan had worked for 15 years, deeply mourned his death in 1946.

235-251 COMRADE HSU FAN-T'ING IN THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE
WAR OF RESISTANCE

Nan Hsin-chou

A general in the National Government's New 1st Army, Hsu eventually came to believe that China should change to active resistance of Japanese aggression. Hoping to convert Chiang Kai-shek to this drastic reversal of policy, Hsu went to Nanking and obtained an interview—which was not successful. To underline his case in blood, he then attempted suicide—but was saved in the nick of time. After the Sian Incident, Hsu joined the Communists and helped to establish a base in his home area of northwest Shansi. This put him in conflict with Yen Hsi-shan—who is the

subject of extended and derogatory comments. There are useful descriptions of events during this period of the Resistance War.

252-256 DEEP MEMORIES OF CHU JUI

P'an Ts'ai-ch'in

Chu Jui joined the Communist Youth Corps in 1926, then the Party two years later. Subsequently he went to Moscow to study artillery, and in 1945 he took over the direction of the Yen-an Artillery School. After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, he set up a revolutionary base in Manchuria and there organized people's artillery stations, to which he transferred some staff members of the Yen-an Artillery School. Chu and his comrades diligently collected war *matériel* abandoned by the Japanese, which aided them in spreading artillery units all over the Northeast.

257-260 BY THE SIDE OF COMRADE JEN PI-SHIH

Mao Shao-hsien

In August, 1934, the 6th Group Army, of which Jen Pi-shih was the Chairman of the Political Committee, started to move northward from its area of operations (in east Hunan) to link up with the 2nd Group Army, commanded by Ho Lung and Kuan Hsiang-ying. This junction was finally accomplished during October, 1934, near Hsiushan (in the southeast corner of Szechwan). Because of the early date of this movement, it is here claimed to be the vanguard of the Long March "to move north to fight Japan." This account, by a member of the 6th Group Army, is a series of short vignettes of Jen Pi-shih who, despite poor health, was a model morale-builder in his contacts with peasants and comrades along the difficult march.

261-264 COMRADE YANG LI-SAN DURING THE ERA OF THE RED ARMY

Chu Ta

This is a series of short notes on another military leader of the early 1930's and on the Long March, one who appears as a model of fortitude and solicitude toward his subordinates, among whom was Chu Ta. Among his virtues were encouraging illiterates to learn to read and to use their minds, and sponsoring the planting of vegetable gardens for personal use.

Volume VI

February 1, 1958

3-8 POEMS
Lin Po-ch'ü

This group of three poems was written by Lin Po-ch'ü in 1941 while he was Chairman of the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region government. The first is in gratitude to Hsu Fan-t'ing; the others reflect the historical background of the north Shensi area.

9-11 POEMS
Mo Wen-hua

These two poems grieve the loss of old friends and martyrs: Liu Po-chien, killed while defending the old Soviet region after the main force had left on the Long March; and Jen Tso-min, a veteran worker in the White areas.

MEMOIRS OF OLD COMMUNIST YOUTH CORPS MEMBERS

12-21 IN THE DAYS OF THE WHITE TERROR
Li Shao-ch'en

By the time Li Shao-ch'en went to Wuhan in 1928 he had a long experience of political activism. He had participated in the May 4th demonstrations, the May 30th movement, and the Canton Commune. In this penetrating and informative article Li compares the plight of his colleagues and himself in Wuhan during 1928 to a ship without a rudder: having lost contact with the CCP whose Wuhan organization had been shattered by KMT persecutions, they were left with no authority but themselves. As Communist Youth Corps members, they organized a Youth Corps cell at Wuhan University and mobilized young workers, peasants and women of that city for revolution. Li's report sharply details the plight of isolated groups of Communists and sympathizers in the city at that time.

21-27 RECOLLECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH CORPS
STRUGGLE AT NANNING
Mo Wen-hua

This piece is more bluntly ideological than most on behalf of Marxist analysis. Nonetheless its discussion of "feudal" conditions during the 1920's in Nanning, Kwangsi, and the struggles to establish a clandestine Communist Youth Corps there in 1926 is of interest. Relatively apolitical poems by Chou Sung-wu and Chou Chün-shih are quoted, providing other more personal viewpoints on conditions in Kwangsi.

28-33 THE FIRST TEST
Chou Ch'ang-sheng

During the "second internal revolutionary period" in Chou's village in Kiangsi there was a Soviet regime. Its Young Pioneers had 300-400 youngsters, mostly of ages 11 and 12. Among them was Chou, who went on to join the Red Army at age 19. Some experiences in both the Young Pioneers and the Red Army are recounted here.

34-41 A BRIEF GLIMPSE AT THE STUDENT RESISTANCE MOVEMENT
IN SHANGHAI DURING THE SEPTEMBER 18 PERIOD
Wen Chi-tse

News of the attack of September 18, 1931, by the Japanese in Manchuria reached Shanghai the following day, and immediately "Resist-Japan Save-the-Nation" societies were established in all its universities and middle schools. Many of the schools were closed down, and some organized petitioners to go to Nanking to ask the KMT government to dispatch troops to resist Japan. At that time Wen Chi-tse was a student at Futan University Middle School and a member of the Youth Corps. Unlike the mass of more idealistic students, Wen and his close comrades knew that attempts to change the policy of the KMT government would be in vain. Nonetheless over 2000 students organized to go to Nanking. At first refusing to meet the students, Chiang Kai-shek finally appeared and maintained staunchly that policy toward the Japanese was the responsibility of the government and not of the students. By mid-December student demonstrators from Peking, Canton, Amoy, Tsinan, Hangchow, and elsewhere descended upon Nanking to declare their resolutions. The government continued to turn a deaf ear and hundreds of students were arrested and jailed. By January, 1932, the Resist-Japan movement gained greater momentum as support for it spread among workers, the bourgeoisie, and students of Shanghai.

41-53 BLOOD CANNOT BE SHED IN VAIN
Wu Kuang

In 1932, in the atmosphere of nationwide student demonstrations in favor of resistance to Japan, Wu Kuang, a Communist Youth Corps official in Peking, went to Paoting, Hopeh, to advance the Corps' work among the students at the normal school there. Wu provides a close chronology of the resulting conflicts between the student demonstrators and the KMT politicians and troops. Short biographies of the 12 "martyrs" of these events are appended to the end of the article.

54-78 A JULY STORM: THE MOVEMENT TO PROTECT THE SECOND
NORMAL SCHOOL AT PAOTING
Tsang Po-p'ing

This is the third consecutive article dealing with student resistance to the KMT policy of seeking to exterminate the Communists before expelling Japanese invaders. Its analysis of the long and sanguinary siege of the Second Normal School by the KMT troops lays blame first on left-wing opportunist students, who made the mistake of giving the students' posture the appearance of armed struggle, and thus brought military force down upon them to quell it; and second, for undertaking the demonstration during the summer vacation, when students from Tientsin and elsewhere were not available to lend support. The KMT siege of the school endured so long that the students were reduced to eating weeds, bark, and dogs. Still, many starved or were killed in the bitter and protracted battle.

79-90 A RED YOUTH COMPANY'S PASSING THROUGH THE GRASSLANDS
Su Hung

This is a tribute to Youth Corps members and young CCP comrades who died in 1934 and 1935 while crossing the grasslands of Szechwan on the Long March. An 18-year-old commander led this company of some 120 youths, ranging in age from 12 to 16, whose acute physical sufferings are the subject of this somewhat overwritten essay.

91-182 ABOUT HO LUNG
Sha T'ing

This piece was written in 1939 as a record of the life of Ho Lung during the early period of the War of Resistance, and has been revised for this volume. Intending to present a portrait of Ho Lung on the battlefield, the narration is heavy with presumably actual conversations, but the effect is to give this protracted tale an implausibly familiar, fictionalized air.

183-204 IN THE BURNING FIRE OBTAIN ETERNAL LIFE:
COMMEMORATION OF THE MARTYRS WHO DIED AT THE
SINO-AMERICAN INSTALLATION OF CHUNGKING
Lo Kuang-pin, Liu Te-pin, Yang I-yen

In 1948 the authors were imprisoned in the "Sino-American Special Technical Cooperation" installation at Chungking.* This well-composed article delves not only into conditions of incarceration in KMT hands, but also into underground CP activities in the late 1940's, including the un-

* The reference presumably is to an old war-time installation of SACO, in which American participation had been terminated in early 1946. See Milton E. Miles, Vice Admiral, USN, *A Different Kind of War*, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1967).

derground newspaper, *T'ing-chin pao* (Onslaught), and into the nature and personnel of the KMT and CCP leadership operating in Chungking. Poems by fellow prisoners evoke the anguished psychological climate of the prison, adding significant dimensions to the narrative.

205-214 AN INGENIOUS CAPTURE OF CHIANGCHUANGTzu BASE

Wang Lin

Consciously applying Mao's principles of guerrilla warfare, the people of Chiangchuangtzu, a small village in north China, won a victory over the Japanese and their puppet troops in the spring of 1942. This thickly textured narration demonstrates keen awareness of Japanese tactics. The challenge posed by the "traitor" Ch'ai En-po and his final undoing are closely followed.

215-225 A SURPRISE ATTACK ON LIU HEI-CH'I

Ch'en I

In south Shantung during the Resistance War, retribution and death were brought to bear on the local bad man, Liu Hei-ch'i. Formerly Liu was a bandit chief, and at the time of the story he was in the pay and service of both the KMT and the Japanese as he cruelly exploited the people.

226-259 THE MYTH OF THE ANCIENT PAGODA

Hsieh Hsueh-ch'ou

Heavily laden with traditional literary charm, this piece attempts to document a Communist regiment's military activities in the course of liberating central China and the area along the Yellow River. However, the text is so richly washed with impressions of landscape and climate that the palpable detail of the military record falls somewhere by the wayside.

260-276 MY TEACHER: IN MEMORY OF CHAO CHING-CH'EN

Ch'en Teng-k'o

This memoir explores sensitively the personal aspects of Ch'en's close relationship with Chao, a guerrilla leader and district official in the 1943-1948 period, who died in 1951.

277-283 CHRYSANTHEMUMS IN THE DEEP MOUNTAINS

Hai Mo

A Red Army soldier cheerfully recalls a crone, her daughter-in-law, and a child he encountered in the mountains in the 1940's, when chance meetings with friendly strangers were a rare pleasure.

284-293 FLAMES ON A HIGH MOUNTAIN

P'eng Shou-sheng

Seven severely wounded survivors of a bitter engagement with the KMT in Kiangsi in the fall of 1934 searched for a rumored hospital for several days before finding it. Though the hospital turned out to be extremely primitive and situated in stone caves, the seven comrades, with P'eng among them, recuperated sufficiently to move on. For more than a month of their wanderings their diet consisted solely of bark, wild grasses, and a piece of leather which they cooked to a turn and shared. Later they organized themselves as a guerrilla band and eventually became part of the New 4th Army's advance units.

294-304 TALKING AT NIGHT ON THE GRASSLANDS

Yang Yu-wei

The narrator is Comrade Chung Lung, a veteran of the Long March with a reputation as a raconteur. On this occasion he regales his comrades with tales of the most dramatic period of his revolutionary career: warfare against the KMT in northwest Hupeh during 1946-1947 when Chiang Kai-shek was trying to wipe out old units of the New 4th Army. His recollections are cast in intensely personal terms, showing compassion for the tragic experiences of his wife and child, which in themselves are revealing of the hazardous conditions of those times.

Volume VII

April, 1958

3-5 VISITING NANNIWAN WITH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF CHU

Wu Yü-chang

Written by the distinguished and aged revolutionary, Wu Yü-chang, this lengthy and boldly styled poem commemorates his association with Chu Teh at Nanniwan in 1942. Appended to the poem is a letter from Wu to the editors of HCPP which explains the situation of the poem.

6 THOUGHTS WHILE ILL

Wei Wen-po

Two short poems set in 1942 and 1943 respectively, with explanatory prefaces by the author.

7 ILLNESS ON A DISTANT JOURNEY

Wei Wen-po

Three short poems set in 1943 and prefaced by the author.

8-19 AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF "FEBRUARY 7"
Ling Pi-ying

In the early 1920's the author, then a barely literate railroad mechanic, participated in two of the major railroad strikes during that period. In this extraordinarily lucid and detailed narrative, Ling presents the background of the 1922 strike of workers in railroad repair shops in Kaifeng, the role of foreigners in the clashes, and the final victory of the workers. Impressed with the CCP leadership in this strike, Ling joined the Party during the winter of 1922, and from then on was active in CCP work in the labor movement.

When the union of workers on the Peking-Hankow railroad was being formally established in Chengchow in 1923, Wu P'ei-fu tried to dissuade workers from organization and the strike, but they defied him and went ahead. February 7, 1923, the fourth day of the strike, witnessed the final showdown in which the workers were bloodily suppressed. Despite this setback, the workers considered themselves vindicated by the successes of the Hong Kong strike and the May 30th strike in Shanghai occurring during the next two years.

20-55 THE TURBULENT WATERS OF THE WHANGPOO RIVER
Nan Hsin-chou

Nan's article is based on an interview with a revolutionary comrade who remains nameless, and it covers the 1928-1938 decade of his life. After the introduction, the interview is recorded in the first person and is highly informative. In 1928 the subject, then age 10, was taken by his father to join his mother and sisters in Shanghai where the whole family worked in various factories. The subject describes realistically the hellish conditions in the Japanese silk factory in which he worked and the cautious but growing sense of comradeship among the exploited Chinese workers, who included women and children. After work he attended a night school where teachers, who were sympathetic to the plight of the workers, were bitterly persecuted by the government. Other matters he touches upon are public reaction to the Mukden Incident; demonstrations for resistance to Japan and demands that the Nationalist regime change its policy; the Japanese attack on Shanghai on January 28, 1932; and the general strike against Japan in 1935. After joining the CCP he went to Yen-an in 1938.

56-65 REMEMBERING COMRADE HUANG LI
Shuai Meng-ch'i

In 1931 the Kiangsu Provincial Committee of the CCP sent a female comrade, Huang Li, to Shanghai to mobilize the textile workers in the

Japanese-owned factories in the western district of the city. By the time Huang Li arrived in Shanghai she already had considerable experience in labor activities, and had spent some time in Vladivostok. Hence she spoke Russian fluently and also knew English and German, which she had learned in Berlin in 1928. Shuai Meng-ch'i, who was also experienced in labor problems, knew her well because they had been students together in the Soviet Union and later collaborated in Shanghai. After the Mukden Incident, Huang Li devoted herself to organizing students, workers, and women to resist Japan. In 1932 she was arrested by KMT agents, imprisoned, and executed in July 1933.

66-78 THE REVOLUTION'S DOCTOR: IN MEMORY OF MY
COMRADE-IN-ARMS, HSU KEN-CHU
Huang Chi

When the Red Army entered Fukien in the early 1930's, it mobilized the masses, abolished rents, and convinced people that the only way they could manage to survive in the future was to join the revolution. Hsu Ken-chu, then a 13-year-old son of an impoverished Fukienese family, threw in his lot with the Red Army.

This biographical essay was written by one of Hsu's comrades, Huang Chi, who worked with him as a medic after 1939, and thus understood the problems of medicine during warfare. During the early phase of the Long March, Hsu served in the nursing corps, and by the late phase he began taking training in the Army's medical school. Because of environmental emergencies, he qualified as a physician in a relatively short time. Later he and the author spent three years working in a Yen'an hospital. The descriptions of the life of a medic under war conditions are excellent, and only partially bogged down by liturgical reminders that Dr. Hsu was a model physician who emerged from the lowly ranks of worker-peasant to attain "intelligentsia" status. The essay was first written in 1948, a year after Dr. Hsu's death while performing duties on the front line. It was revised nine years later.

79-108 A FEMALE GUERRILLA SOLDIER IN THE RED ARMY
Wu Hsing

In 1931 Li Fa-ku of Kiangsi joined the Party when she was 14 years old. Rising through the ranks, she was by 1945 in Yen'an attending the 7th Party Congress. While this account extends over 20 years of her revolutionary experience, it focuses on the 1934-1937 period when she served as a guerrilla. The account is written from the highly personalized viewpoint of her comrade Wu Hsing. Nonetheless, it is informative on those aspects of the Long March, and warfare with the KMT and the Japanese which were relevant to Li Fa-ku's own experience.

109-119 THE ARMY'S MOTHER

Liu Pin

This is the story of Wang Pu-mei, who was affectionately known as "Mama Wang" among the boys of the Red Army, the 8th Route Army, and the Liberation Army, whom she mothered as they passed through her village in north Shensi. Her cave dwelling became a rendezvous of CCP activists and soldiers in distress. Although the story centers on the 1932-1942 decade, it continues up to 1958, when Mama Wang, in her late sixties and still happily ensconced in her cave, was doing her best to raise production.

120-128 RAIN

Huang Kang

Set in north Shantung in the late 1930's, when the author was with the 358th Brigade, 120th Division, of the 8th Route Army, this piece fulfills little more than the promise of the title—a long wet spell.

129-135 IN A GROVE OF TREES

Huang Kang

This sequel to the above sustains the same human subjects and setting. After escaping enemy attack, the 358th Brigade bivouacked in a grove of trees without any casualties. Although this, like the account above, is somewhat strapped by weather conditions, it does provide some sense of the quality of life in the Red Army during the early period of the War of Resistance.

136-162 BELOW YENCHOW CITY

Hsieh Hsueh-ch'ou

This is a first-hand account of the Red Army's successful offensive during the summer of 1947 against the city of Yenchow, which was then garrisoned by a large KMT force under the command of Li Yü-t'ang. The mission of taking this strategic city in central Shantung was assigned to the 7th and 13th Columns of the East China Field Army. The plan of attack and the various ways in which it was actually implemented leap forth in vivid detail in this well-written military history.

163-181 FATHER AND SON AS SOLDIERS

Wang Fu-ju

Wang's account is about experiences shared by his father and himself in the Red Army. It opens in 1938, the early period of the Resistance War, when the father and his 14-year-old son joined the 8th Route Army and served in the same platoon as squad leaders. The following year they both joined the Party. Subsequent pages record their military experience

from that time through the mid-1940's. In 1951 the son went into political work for the Army, and the father, then sixty, retired from the Army and returned to his native village, where he was elected to public office. Occasional ambivalence of inherently contradictory attitudes of filial piety, loyalty to the Party, and patriotism is in some passages treated openly.

Volume VIII

July, 1958

A GROUP OF POEMS BY MARTYRS

3 OFFERED TO NEW POETS
 Teng Chung-hsia

4 WALKING WITH FETTERS
 Liu Po-chien

Written while the poet was in prison during March, 1935 (see also VI:9).

5 THE PRISONER'S SONG
 Lin Chi-lu

A rather long and heavily patriotic verse. For notes on the poet see page 79 of this volume.

6 MY CONFESSION
 Ch'en Jan

Ch'en Jan was a member of the staff of the underground Communist journal *T'ing-chin pao* (Onslaught) in Chungking. Before Szechwan was liberated in 1949, he was captured by the KMT and tried by the "Sino-American Cooperation Center." Attempts were made to force him to confess but he refused to do so. In this poem he bitterly repudiates confession. In retaliation, he was murdered in Chungking a few days before the city was liberated. (See also VI:183.)

7 UNTITLED

In 1935 this short poem was found scratched on the wall of Lunghwa Prison in Shanghai. The author is unknown.

8-19 A DIARY BEFORE DYING
 Ho Jui-lin

In 1928 the KMT arrested Ho Jui-lin for his Communist activities in Nanking and executed him later in the same year. This article consists

mostly of entries from Ho's diary from September 28 to October 5, 1928; one part is amplified by a long passage of poetry. The tone of this diary, written in anticipation of execution, is both tautly anguished and loosely sentimental.

20-23 THE LAST ENCOUNTER: IN MEMORY OF CHUNG-HSIA
Hsia Ming

This dramatic account was written by Teng Chung-hsia's widow, who recapitulates the events of the last weeks of his life. In May, 1933, Teng was arrested and incarcerated in the prison of the French Concession. Although Hsia Ming feigned not to recognize him when she visited him at the prison, eventually she was revealed as the wife with whom he had worked in Moscow, though it was not ascertained that they had lived together as man and wife in Shanghai while they collaborated in Party work. Her account of her husband's final statements of courage and loyalty to the Party, while fraught with uxorial grief, is not mawkish.

24-56 RECOLLECTIONS OF CH'IU-PAI
Yang Chih-hua

Both as intimate biography and as a candid record of the first 15 years of the CCP, this is one of the outstanding pieces of the collection. Yang Chih-hua was Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's second wife, and thirty years after his death in 1935 she continued to be active in the Party's high echelons. In 1923 when Yang was a student at Shanghai University, she met Ch'iu-pai, who, along with Teng Chung-hsia and Chang T'ai-lei, was on the faculty. Ch'iu-pai was then chairman of the Department of Sociology, where he offered courses which were immensely popular. Like many of his colleagues, Ch'iu-pai was simultaneously devoting much of his energies to the Party, particularly to the Propaganda Department.

Ch'iu-pai's first wife, to whom he was deeply devoted, died in the early 1920's after a long illness. When Yang married him in 1924 she became familiar with the facts of his early years, which she presents here. Her description of the social and political life among their Communist comrades in the 1920's is realistically detailed. She discusses Ch'iu-pai's carrying out the Party directive to found the newspaper *Je-hsueh jih-pao* in the wake of the May 30th movement.

A year after the loss of Shanghai in 1927, Ch'ü and Yang went to the Soviet Union. This was his second trip, the earlier having been in 1921. Yang Chih-hua comments on her husband's chronic tuberculosis, the relation between his precarious physical condition and his performance in politics and literature, and the added strain of the alien and severe Russian climate. His intimate friendship with Lu Hsun in the early 1930's is sensitively explored. Ch'iu-pai's arrest and execution in 1935 are

soberly related. Of special interest is Yang Chih-hua's excursus into her husband's controversial and "humanitarian" style of communism.

57-78 THE STORY OF GENERAL YANG CHING-YU
Chang Lin, *compiler*

This is the third heroic biography of General Yang appearing in *The Red Flag Waves* (see two others in Volume V, pp. 119-131). Not only the longest, this is also the most melodramatic. It opens in a hospital in Manchuria in February 1940. A high-ranking Japanese officer, with "wolf-like cruelty," orders the doctor to open the stomach of the freshly dead General Yang "to see if there is anything special inside." Grief-stricken, the doctor carries out the orders and reveals that the stomach contained absolutely no food, only tree bark and wild grasses. Recognizing this sign of the General's extraordinary fortitude during the last month of resistance to his troops, the Japanese officer gnashes his teeth and concedes, "He was one of China's true patriots (*hao Han*)!" Having dealt with his death, this essay, which is a compilation of several of Yang's comrades' recollections, goes on to present his life in an episodic fashion, sensationalized with acts of superhuman courage, hairbreadth escapes, and highpitched but no doubt largely imaginary conversations.

79 "THE PRISONER'S SONG" AND ITS WRITER
Fang Chih-ch'un

These are notes on Lin Chi-lu, the writer of "The Prisoner's Song," which appears on page 5 of this volume. A native of Kwangtung, Lin joined the CCP in 1935, and shortly thereafter went to Japan where he became a leader in the overseas student movement. In 1937 he returned to China to join the Resistance War. In 1938 the Party sent him to Sinkiang to work among the masses, particularly among the students, with whom he was especially effective. In 1941 General Sheng Shih-ts'ai arrested and imprisoned Lin and several other comrades then working in Sinkiang. In 1943 he was executed along with Ch'en T'an-ch'iu and Mao Tse-min. Lin wrote the song while in prison in order to fan the spirit of struggle among his compatriots who were about to be martyred.

80-95 RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE
GREAT STRIKES IN HONG KONG
Liu Ta-ch'ao

This excellent account of the struggles to form seamen's unions and to carry out strikes in Hong Kong in the early 1920's is by a sailor who began to work for British ships in Kowloon in 1911. After long struggles with British and Japanese ship owners, who endeavored to thwart all forms of labor organization, he was among the labor leaders who finally

succeeded in establishing a Chinese seamen's union in 1921. This made possible the first successful strike in January, 1922, and, after massive organizational efforts, the great Hong Kong strike of June, 1925. It is significant that despite Liu's long experience with labor organization, he did not join forces with the CCP and become a member until 1927.

96-99 NOTES FROM A RED FIGHTER
Li Chih-ming

During the KMT's third encirclement campaign in 1931, Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, and Chou En-lai paid a visit to the Red Army School at Juichin. The tone of these notes is light; the most substantial passage concerns a parable related by Chu Teh on the ballfield. He compared the two sides of the game to the Red and White Armies, and said that when you play ball, like fighting a war, you've got to struggle!

100-121 I SAW THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY
Huang Kang

In the summer of 1939, Huang Kang, who was then a reporter, visited the 386th Brigade, 129th Division, of the 8th Route Army. On the basis of his findings he wrote up this piece during May 1940 in Yen-an. Huang's enquiries and observations were diverse; his recorded interviews with T'ang Liang and Li Yü-shan are of special interest.

122-140 THE RED FLAG ON FENGHUANG MOUNTAIN
Pai P'ing

This piece opens with the massive Japanese invasion of North China following July 7, 1937; and it describes the withdrawal of the KMT in the face of this onslaught and the Red Army's methods of mobilizing peasants for resistance. The particular geographical settings in Hopeh and Shansi are closely detailed and correlated with military movements. A Resist-Japan Self-Defense Committee was organized in order to cooperate with the 8th Route Army in wiping out bandits, protecting the people's welfare and property, and opposing the recrudescence of reactionary forces. Quite free of political cant, this essay is extremely informative on methods of mass mobilization.

141-145 ENCOUNTERING THE ENEMY IN A THATCHED HUT
Feng Chung-yun

In 1935 Japanese and puppet troops made a long assault on Chuho hsien in Sungkiang, Manchuria. This is an unadorned record of the various ways in which a small group of peasants organized themselves for resistance.

146-157 UNFORGETTABLE DAYS AND UNFORGETTABLE PEOPLE

Liu Yen-chin

In 1942 the Japanese carried out a "May Mopping-Up Campaign" against the Red Army's central base in Hopeh. The specific subject of this account is to show how a young actress traveling with political workers perilously sought to escape Japanese encirclement. The writer has also prepared a sensitive and realistic study of the reactions of various members of the local populace to Japanese attack.

158-175 THE AVIATION INSPECTOR'S BIG ROW AT THE COUNTY SEAT

Liu Liu

Like the account above, this excerpt from a longer work by Liu Liu on the Resistance War documents the resistance of peasants in the environs of the Red Army's base in central Hopeh to the Japanese mopping-up campaign of May, 1942. Liu's dense narrative is a great fund of insights into both military and civilian aspects of these events.

176-189 ON WORKING IN ENEMY TERRITORY

Chang I

In the fall of 1946 the CCP sent the narrator back to his native village which was in an area (apparently in Honan) held by the KMT and instructed him to persuade his cousin, who was head of the provincial peace preservation brigade, to quit the KMT and come over to the CCP side. The diverse experiences of his delicate mission are well recounted.

190-195 THE STORY OF COMRADE CHU TEH IN WEST FUKIEN

Ling Feng

Belonging to the genre of memoirs of leading Communists who are recalled in the spirit of comradely informality and intimacy, this piece reminisces about Chu Teh's arrival with his Red Troops in west Fukien in January, 1929. It savors such simple events as Chu Teh's bungling in the kitchen, his kindness toward children, his habits in food and drink, and his geniality as a host.

3-12 WRITINGS LEFT BY THE MARTYR FANG CHIH-MIN

Fang Chih-min was chairman of the Soviet regime in northeast Kiangsi. These writings were among those left to his lover, Miao Min, who in recent years has become his biographer and the custodian of his literary corpus. This selection consists of three poems and four prose sketches. The poems are called "Spitting Blood" (1922), "My Heart" (1923), and "A Sympathetic Heart" (1923). The prose pieces are entitled "A Private School" (1921), "The Sound of Weeping" (1922), "Seeking Employment" (1922), and "Li Lieh-chün Was Originally Like This" (1927). This last piece is about a CCP comrade who went over to the KMT in 1927 and so was denounced as a renegade and an enemy of the masses. The poems are written in *pai hua*. Both the poems and prose are better appreciated as examples of the New Literature arising from the May Fourth period than as historical documents.

12-14 MOURNING OLD MRS. FANG
Shao Shih-p'ing

These are some recollections of Fang Chih-min's mother by an old friend of her son. Mrs. Fang had a long career as a revolutionary which included participation in the peasant uprisings of 1927, guerrilla warfare against the KMT and the Japanese, and activity in other Communist military programs. She died in 1957 at the age of 81.

15-28 THE YOUNG HERO CHIANG MO-LIN
as told by Chou Pao-chung; written by Nan Hsin-chou

Chiang joined the anti-Japanese movement led by the CCP in Kirin province in 1932, when he was only 11. In 1935 he joined a Communist guerrilla band which continued to fight the Japanese in Manchuria into the late 1930's. After 1941, as a means of keeping pressure on the Japanese in Manchuria, the 2nd Route Army, of which he was a member, separated into a number of small units. Chiang participated in the work of these small units, whose mission was to reconnoiter the enemy's situation, gather intelligence on economic, political and military conditions, do underground work for the Party, establish underground organizations, and carry out anti-Japanese propaganda activities among the masses. Chiang continued this work up to the time of his death in 1943.

29-36 RECALLING THE TRAGIC INCIDENT AT P'INGCHIANG
Hsu Min

On June 12, 1939, the KMT 27th Group Army, on secret orders from Chiang Kai-shek, attacked the communications office of the New 4th

Army at P'ingchiang, Hunan, killing several top-ranking CCP officials on duty there. These included T'u Cheng-k'un, Lo Tzu-ming, Tseng Chin-sheng, Wu Ho-ch'üan and Chao Lü-ying; all were shot and allegedly buried alive. The only survivors were Hsu Min and a few other cadres who happened not to have been in the office at the time of the attack.

The communications office was set up in late 1937 to serve both the New 4th Army and the Party. The Party's chief goal was to mobilize the people in that area to struggle against imminent Japanese invasion. It was also concerned with caring for the sick and dependents of military personnel. Not long after the KMT attack of June 12, 1939, the Japanese took over P'ingchiang, causing widespread suffering among the people, but never diminishing their resolve to wage guerrilla warfare.

37-55 AN INFORMAL ACCOUNT OF THE RED 10TH ARMY'S
FIRST OFFENSIVE IN NORTH FUKIEN
Miao Min

In March 1931, Fang Chih-min, chairman of the Northeast Kiangsi Soviet, followed the Party directive by serving temporarily as a political officer in the Red 10th Army, of which Chou Chien-p'ing was commander. In this account, which deals almost entirely with political and military matters, one learns of Fang's indefatigable political work among the soldiers and the masses and of his tirelessness as a speaker; portions of his speeches are preserved here. In the course of its offensive in north Fukien, the Army fought eleven battles and won all of them. These victories not only bolstered the Army's prestige but also facilitated the expansion of the North Fukien Soviet and the Red Army.

56-64 AN ACCOUNT OF THE RED 10TH ARMY'S SECOND OFFENSIVE
IN NORTH FUKIEN
Miao Min

In September 1932, the CCP directed the 10th Army to undertake a second offensive in north Fukien. The goal of this mission was two-fold: to expand the North Fukien Soviet District; and to open relations between the two Soviet Districts of North Fukien and East Kiangsi, which at the time were separated by only 30 *li*. Fang Chih-min was put in charge of all military activities, but the commander continued to be Chou Chien-p'ing. Although the second offensive succeeded in the first mission of making military, political and economic progress for the Army, it failed in the second, of opening relations between the two Soviet Districts of North Fukien and East Kiangsi. The speeches of Fang Chih-min and Chou Chien-p'ing to the soldiers and masses are quoted extensively. Although it is not likely that they are quoted verbatim in an essay written 35 years later, their remarks do convey an important sense of the strategy of the military campaign and the tactics employed.

65-75 THE CAVALRY'S NETWORK
Chou Ch'un-lin

After the South Anhwei Incident of 1941, KMT and puppet forces attacked the New 4th Army's 4th Division base north of the Huai river. Chou's lively narrative provides a full chronology of the engagements between the Communist and KMT forces in this area during 1941-1942, and also takes romantic liberties with the subject as it conveys the excitement of life among the men and horses of the 4th Division's cavalry. When most of the men joined the cavalry they had had no professional experience with horses, and their simple affection for the animals often displaced a grasp of the larger military situation. But after a few months of rigorous training, the cavalry became nearly invincible. The character and policies of the 4th Division's commander, P'eng Hsueh-feng, who died on the field in 1944, are well delineated. The local people were responsive to the cavalry's cause, and so made provisions and horses available at a modest price.

76-121 A SWIFT CROSSING OF THE YANGTSE
Hsieh Hsueh-ch'ou

Hsieh belonged to a Liberation Army battalion that fought its way from the Huai river region to the north bank of the Yangtse. This complex essay is set in the spring of 1949, when the battalion was preparing to make the perilous southward crossing of the Yangtse. With a superb command of the sweep of human and cosmic events, reminiscent of Tolstoy's panoramic depiction of military engagements in *War and Peace*, Hsieh studies one movement, the crossing of the river, which was finally executed swiftly in three days (April 20-23, 1949), for nearly 50 pages. Unlike the more narrow conceptualizing of most writers for this collection, Hsieh occasionally lapses into passages of philosophic reflection on these events.

122-135 AN EXCERPT FROM A MEMOIR OF THE UNDERGROUND
STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH CORPS OF PEKING
Wu Kuang

This briskly written essay reveals the ingenious techniques employed by members of Peking's Communist Youth Corps in their campaign to stir up popular support for resistance to Japan just after the Mukden Incident of 1931. Because the KMT government in Peking and its military forces acquiesced in Japanese aggression and endeavored to silence any opposition to their so-called "capitulationist" policy, the Communist Youth Corps resorted to illicit as well as legal means of turning the tide of public opinion against them. Among the illicit underground activities

were the posting of notices on walls (the perennial *ta tzu pao*) and the distribution of propaganda leaflets. In order to protect their names, Youth Corps members transposed them into a combination of coded letters from the alphabet and arabic numerals. They staged so-called “flying meetings”—propaganda speeches lasting from 3 to 5 minutes followed by the swift flight of the speaker to avoid arrest. Another device was the use of art classes for drawing “political” pictures. One amusing passage concerns the arrival from England of a professor who lectured at Peita on what turned out to be the evils of the Soviet system and the meagerness of its living standards. Irate Youth Corps members denounced him as a “running dog of imperialism” and pelted him with eggs. One of the Youth Corps’ more significant achievements was the organization of rickshaw pullers of Peking into a proto-union.

136-166 FIRE IN THE MINE

Miao P’ei-shih

Although by the spring of 1938 Japan was occupying most of north China, the Kailan mines (the largest in China) were still under Sino-British management. Operating behind the scenes, the CCP organized a strike of mineworkers against both Chinese (KMT-affiliated) and British capitalists. Miao’s account of the strike, which was finally launched on March 16, 1938, and lasted for 50 days, is thorough and realistic. It takes backward glances into the lives of some individual miners, notes that some miners got cold feet just on the brink of the first strike against their employers, who had terrorized them for years, and makes a suspenseful countdown on the calling of this momentous strike. The Chinese and British managers were reduced to using military methods in an attempt to suppress the strike, with the result that blood flowed and lives were lost. Nonetheless, in the end the capitalists surrendered and agreed to accept a workers’ representative at the negotiated settlement, which eventually granted many of the workers’ demands.

167-175 SISTER PAI

Chang Lin

This piece belongs to the genre of Communist memoirs which celebrates an unimportant person, in this case Sister Pai. When Chang Lin was serving in the Red Army in 1938, he had a chance encounter with the Japanese military police, was injured, but escaped into a dense forest. By a stroke of luck he was rescued by Sister Pai, a dazzling female warrior from Korea. The slight bulk of this essay descants on her moral (staunchly anti-Japanese) and physical wonders—“she should have been painted.” This is among the least sexually inhibited memoirs of this collection.

176-178 FANG'S WIFE

Hu K'uang

As the result of encirclement and blockade by KMT forces, there was an acute shortage of articles of daily use and military equipment at the North Fukien Soviet in 1937. Among the many people who secretly sought to penetrate the White areas in order to bring back supplies was Fang's wife, a peasant woman who was mother of five and again pregnant. In 1937 she was caught by the enemy, who discerned that the items she was smuggling—medicine, batteries and shoes—were intended for the Red Army. She was imprisoned but refused to give any information about CCP members inhabiting her village, and so was killed.

179-182 A NAMELESS HERO

as told to Sun Mu-lin; written by Sun Chi-liu

When the Japanese Army was attacking the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region during the winter of 1941, a unit of the 8th Route Army was encircled but escaped, thanks to the aid of an elderly peasant. Shortly thereafter the old man was caught by the Japanese and killed: he remains a nameless hero.

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3-12 CHAIRMAN MAO AT YUTU

Fu Lien-chang

In early September 1934, when the CCP Central Committee was located at Meik'eng, some 30-40 *li* from Juichin, Fu Lien-chang was serving as head of the Central Red Hospital. This piece recapitulates ten days of caring for Chairman Mao, who at that time was wasted by malaria. With his legendary self-effacement Mao refused to be put under the full-time care of a doctor, saying that doctors, being scarce, should devote themselves to his men. Alternatively, Mao was placed in the care of a 17-year-old hospital aide.

13-24 A GUIDE FOR THE YOUNG: AN INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN MAO IN 1945 AT CHUNGKING

P'u Kung-ying

In late September and early October, 1945, Mao made his historic journey to Chungking for peace talks with the KMT. P'u Kung-ying belonged to the Young People's Study Society founded in 1940. It engaged in various progressive activities, including publishing a journal, operating

a bookstore, and conducting regular political discussions. Chou En-lai and Kuo Mo-jo were among those who presented reports to the Society. Although its student members were generally ill-disposed toward the reactionary policies of the KMT, the Society was not technically a Communist organization. Nonetheless, the students' natural attitudes of anti-traditionalism and progressive idealism were easily translated into and sanctified by Communist ideology.

The meeting between Mao and four members of the community of progressive youths, among them P'u Kung-ying, was conducted in a leisurely fashion with cups of tea on a mountain top outside of Chungking. P'u's description of the youth movement in Chungking and his record of Mao's rambling discussion with the boys is revealing of the political and intellectual climate of the times. Mao told these students, who were eager to do their part in the revolution, that it was not necessary for them to go to Yen-an, that they could as well foment revolutionary activities in Chungking. P'u and his three colleagues therefore stayed back to carry on underground work in the White areas. They all eventually joined the CCP.

25-43 COMMONPLACE STORIES, AUSTERE CONDUCT: A FEW
 ANECDOTES ABOUT HSU T'E-LI
 P'eng Wen-lung

This piece is prefaced by an editorial note referring to a letter of congratulations which Mao sent to Hsu T'e-li (here affectionately addressed "Hsu Lao") on the occasion of his 60th birthday in 1937. In his letter Mao praised Hsu by saying that Hsu had been his teacher twenty years ago (in Hunan) and still continued to be his teacher. Unlike some of the other "higher intellectuals" who had defected to the KMT after joining the CCP in 1927, Hsu remained loyal. Because Hsu lived steadfastly by the principle, "Revolution first, work first, others first," Mao hailed him as a model for the CCP and for all the people.

The four anecdotes which constitute the body of the text provide glimpses of his exemplary character at work. The first and second are set in north Shensi in 1942, when he was concurrently serving as head of the Propaganda Department of the CP Central Committee and as head of the College of Natural Sciences. The third anecdote, set in north Shensi in 1945, reminisces on the year 1937, when he was head of the Education Ministry of the North Shensi Soviet. The fourth occurs at a Peking hospital where he was a patient in 1945.

44-48 LIN PIAO JOINS US IN WAGING WAR
 Senior Colonel P'an Feng

In the winter of 1932 the KMT launched broad attacks on the Central Soviet District and on the Northeast Kiangsi Soviet District. The KMT's objective was to sever connections between these two districts, and after-

wards, to destroy each separately. P'an Feng belonged to the 10th Division of the 4th Army under the command of Lin Piao. He characterizes in swift, bold strokes Lin Piao's leadership, strategy, and final victory in these engagements.

49-52 A FEW ANECDOTES ABOUT COMRADE P'ENG TE-HUAI
as told by Yen Fu; written by Chao Hai-chou

In October 1930, the General Headquarters of the 3rd Group Army assigned Yen Fu to serve as the guard of Chief-of-Staff Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Shortly thereafter Yen Fu was transferred to serve Commander-in-Chief P'eng Te-huai in the same capacity. Yen Fu took advantage of his unusual proximity to Commander P'eng to take careful note of his behavior.

P'eng possessed the canonical virtues of the revolutionary leader. Upon being presented with a new uniform to replace his tattered grey one, as well as replacements for his cap and grass sandals, he refused on the grounds that the revolution was not yet complete, the life of the people was still bitter, and besides, his old uniform was still wearable. On the march he frequently insisted that the sick and wounded should ride his black horse. His unflagging courage on the battlefield impelled him to command his forces always from the front line.

53-56 COMRADE LIU PO-CH'ENG'S CONCERN FOR THE WOUNDED
Ch'en Yu-meng

After the 8th Route Army's Hundred Regiments Offensive against the Japanese in the fall of 1940, the Japanese retaliated with a mopping-up campaign against the Red bases. Ch'en Yu-meng was a nurse charged with establishing a field hospital to care for over 300 casualties resulting from the Japanese attack on the Taihang base in early September 1940. Working under the general direction of the head of the 3rd hospital of the 129th Division, despite acute shortages of medical equipment, supplies, and foodstuffs, she was remarkably effective. Liu Po-ch'eng called at the make-shift hospital, showed concern for the stringent circumstances, and promised to help out.

57-60 COMRADE HO LUNG AT THE BANK OF THE CH'INCH'I RIVER
*as told by Chao Ch'ing-hsueh, Chang Ch'i-cheng and
Ho Jui-feng; edited by Ma Te-feng*

In June, 1929, Ho Lung led the 2nd Group Army to his native place at Sangchih hsien, Hunan, on a mission to arouse the masses, fight local despots, redistribute land, enlarge the Red Army, and establish a revolutionary base. These activities were extremely upsetting to the local "reactionary" politicians, who posted a notice offering 5000 *yuan* for Ho's head and dispatched troops under Chou Han-chih against him. However,

Chou lost disastrously to the Red forces, with over 300 men killed in action.

In July a second attempt to “encircle and destroy” was made by Hsiang Tzu-yun, who also was tantalized by the 5000 *yuan* award. Hsiang descended upon the Ch'inch'i River bank at Sangchih hsien with 3000 troops, while Ho Lung had only 500 men, 300 rifles and assorted swords, hatchets and kitchen knives. Despite handicaps the Red troops scored a second stunning victory.

61-72 MARKSMAN HERO WEI LAI-KUO
 Chung I

After Wei Lai-kuo joined the Red Army in 1942, he developed not only class consciousness but also skills as a superior marksman. Wei's skills as a sharpshooter were so remarkable that a few years later a “Wei Lai-kuo Marksmanship Movement” was launched throughout the Red Army. The bulk of this essay describes Wei's military career in Shantung during the years 1946-1948, particularly from the point of view of his virtuosity as a marksman. Throughout the essay, Chung I reiterates that Wei Lai-kuo was not a born marksman but that the Party and his own efforts made him so. Because he voluntarily went far beyond the minimum requirements of training, he is elevated as an ideal study model for the younger generation.

73-111 THE STRENGTH OF THE MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS
 Lieutenant General Li T'ien-huan

This extraordinarily vivid and detailed account of the West Route Army's abortive Long March into Sinkiang under the leadership of Chang Kuo-t'ao was written at the time of the event, 1936-1937. It is part of a much longer work by Li T'ien-huan of the same title as the above (China Youth Press).

An editorial note prefacing this lengthy excerpt indicates that in the fall of 1936, the “right opportunist” Chang Kuo-t'ao defied the authority of the Party, the Central Committee, and Chairman Mao when he reorganized the 5th Army, 9th Army, and 30th Army as the West Route Army and led it across the Yellow River on its march westward. Chang's alleged goals were to establish a base west of the Yellow River and to break through the international line. As his superiors foresaw, he failed disastrously and the losses were heavy. This piece is presented both in the spirit of documenting the total history of the CCP and the Red Army, and of providing a negative example in the notorious “error” of Chang Kuo-t'ao. Even though edited for this publication in 1958, Li's judgment is remarkably unbiased and for the most part submerged in the progress of the events themselves.

112-116 A SAD DEPARTURE FROM SSUMING MOUNTAIN
as told by T'an Ch'i-lung, Governor of Shantung;
recorded and edited by Chang Chung-t'ien

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the CCP anticipated a second "South Anhwei Incident" in the form of a KMT attack on Red forces in Hangchow. To avoid this, the Party ordered a secret withdrawal of these forces by sea to the north. The central authorities and the local people of Ssuming mountain, just south of the Bay of Hangchow, aided the Red forces—numbering over 1500 men—in collecting an assortment of small craft and ships necessary to carry out this maneuver in three stages. The theme of the people's intense concern for the soldiers' welfare and the soldiers' gratitude and promise to return (which they did 4 years later) weaves throughout the narration of the actual execution of this hazardous withdrawal from Hangchow Bay to the north.

117-121 RECALLING THE BATTLE OF FENG MOUNTAIN
Chang Ming

In December 1946, the Red forces were ordered to leave the liberated area in south Shantung and to proceed to the north Kiangsu battlefield where they would join other Red troops. Chang Ming, a participant in this movement, recapitulates the swift exchange of conversation, the sense of elation in winning victories over the KMT, and the triumphal taking of the peak of Feng mountain.

122-155 ON THE STRUGGLE IN SINKIANG PRISON
Yang Nan-kuei

When the Japanese commenced massive aggression against China in 1937, the CCP sent some comrades to Sinkiang to promote cooperation among the various minority races and expand the anti-Japanese United Front. At that time the most prominent warlord in Sinkiang was Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who had recently laid down his so-called "Six Great Policies:" anti-imperialism, cooperation with the Soviet Union, democracy, honesty, peace, and reconstruction. He maintained that these were merely the practical application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to Sinkiang. Still holding reservations about Sheng Shih-ts'ai's genuine integrity, the CP nonetheless decided to send Comrades Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, Mao Tse-min, and others to assist him in implementing these policies and in bringing about a general transformation of the government, economy, and culture of Sinkiang. Upon arrival they discovered widespread corruption and a mounting disenchantment among the people. Nonetheless these CP workers persisted and succeeded in curbing corruption, carrying out some of Sheng's six policies, and in establishing a newspaper, college, and middle schools. Moreover, they instructed the people in the thoughts of

Mao Tse-tung, which are said to have stayed with them even after Sheng Shih-ts'ai turned against the Soviet Union and CCP in 1942 and became a "running dog" of the KMT.

As secretary to Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, the author was imprisoned by the KMT along with Ch'en, Mao Tse-min, and other comrades who had come from Yen-an to Sinkiang. Yang graphically describes the harsh treatment, with particular emphasis on the ruthlessness of Chiang Ching-kuo, who had a part in it. He includes in the text long passages of the lyrics of songs which evoke a sense of the material and psychological conditions of their incarceration. Between 1942 and 1946 some 60,000 CCP members and sympathizers among the people are said to have been arrested by Sheng and the KMT, and 30,000 are said to have died.

156-158 TWO POEMS

Hsieh Chueh-tsai

The two poems are: "In Memory of Comrades Chiang Meng-chou, Ho Shu-heng and Wang Ling-po" (1943); and "The Grave Illness of Comrade Hsü Fan-t'ing" (1947). The three subjects of the first poem were of nearly the same age as the author and were fellow revolutionaries. Chiang Meng-chou was killed in Changsha in 1929, Ho Shu-heng was killed in Fukien in 1934, and Wang Ling-po died at Yen-an in 1942. Both poems are written in literary Chinese with extensive interpretive notes.

159-175 THE MOTHER OF THE MOSLEM PEOPLE

Ch'en Ch'ing-po

After the Lukouch'iao Incident in July 1937, the CCP selected Ma Pen-chai to serve as leader of his fellow Moslems of Hopeh in the struggle against the Japanese. Accordingly, Ma led Moslem units attached to the 8th Route Army. After repeated attempts to defeat these Moslem units in battle, the Japanese and their Chinese puppets endeavored to blackmail him into surrender by capturing his 68-year-old mother and threatening her life. As both a filial son and patriot, Ma's conscience was wracked by not knowing whether to put his mother's life above his country's interests. However, the mother put herself squarely on the side of the country and refused to capitulate to any of the various stratagems of the Japanese and the traitorous Chinese in their employ. The price of her patriotism was arrest, imprisonment, and execution; the reward was elevation to the status of "martyr" of the Moslem and Chinese people.

176-180 HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING IN THE MOUNTAIN RAVINE

Yang Shang-k'uei

This is a methodically laudatory account of how a young CCP member, Lo Shao-tseng, carried out a perilous mission. In the winter of 1935 Red guerrillas on the Kiangsi-Kwangtung border were fighting a desper-

ate rear-guard action against the formidable strength of the KMT troops encircling them. In this critical situation Comrade Lo was entrusted with taking a message and some money to the beleaguered guerrillas, a mission of unusual courage and high adventure.

181-187 AN EXCERPT FROM A MEMOIR OF COMRADE LIU YUAN-AN
Li Tsung-lin

When the White Terror commenced in Szechwan in April 1927, Liu Yuan-an, one of the CP leaders in Szechwan, became deeply involved in organizing workers and the proletarian class in general. Unlike many of his comrades at that time, Liu was critical of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's "opportunist" thinking. He was, moreover, ingenious in devising techniques of organizing workers and setting up study societies and night courses which would withstand the test of time better than those of Ch'en Tu-hsiu. The bulk of this essay records dialogues between Liu and Li Tsung-lin, who was also organizing the proletariat and who regarded Liu as his teacher and exemplar in this sphere. In August 1928, Li went to Shantung to experiment in organizing labor there. The dialogues are a rich source of information on labor issues of that period.

188-200 A COMRADE IN ARMS TEN YEARS AGO
Ch'en Teng-k'o

The subject is Lu Ting, a female comrade whom Ch'en Teng-k'o met in north Kiangsu in 1945. Like many of the persons commemorated in this collection, Lu Ting was not an outstanding person, heroine, or study model. On the contrary, she was merely a reporter and editor of a small newspaper and a comrade of very ordinary proportions. What made her significant in the eyes of this writer were the tirelessness and sincerity of her work. During the period of the War of Liberation in north Kiangsu, Lu Ting edited *Yenfu Daily*, which was published by the Party Committee of the Yen(ch'eng)-Fu(ning) District in north Kiangsu and directed toward elementary readers among the peasants, soldiers, workers, and cadres. The function of the newspaper in this context is usefully explained.

MEMOIRS OF OLD WORKERS

201-206 THE HARDSHIPS OF THE OLD SOCIETY
CAN NEVER BE ALL TOLD
Ya-sheng-k'u-erh-pan

The son of a poor peasant family in Sinkiang, the narrator's story of early hardship is as formulistic as his manifest joy at the Communist liberation of Sinkiang. While still young he began working in the coal mines and continued to be a "slave" of the mines for over 20 years. After the liberation of Sinkiang in 1949, his life underwent a total transformation; it was as if he had been "revived by spring rains and spring breezes . . .

like a full-blown flower.” In plain terms, the Party and government assigned him to a state-owned coal mine where, for the first time in his life, he served as manager of the mine. Food, shoes, a uniform, and the complete equipment for his job were issued, and all medical care was freely provided. After having been an impoverished bachelor for over 40 years, the Party went so far as to find him a wife so that he might enjoy the comforts of home life in his waning years.

206-217 THOUGHTS OF THOSE YEARS BRING TEARS

Hsueh Shu-hua

Similar to the testimony above by an “old worker,” the plan of this essay also is a black and white contrast between conditions before and after liberation. This provides, in addition, some seemingly objective information on labor conditions in the cotton textile industry in Tientsin prior to liberation. Hsueh’s report of his and his wife’s experiences working under the harsh conditions of a Japanese-owned textile factory, their struggle to raise children at the same time, and general comments on tensions in the factory situation, provide useful data for students of the labor movement in the 1930’s. Transformed conditions after liberation are expressed in categorically glowing terms.

218-220 THE STORY OF SMASHING THE DINING HALL

Hung Yü *and* Wan Chiang

At the Fushun mines in Manchuria in 1933, the Japanese employers issued food coupons to the Chinese workers in lieu of wages. These coupons were valid only in the Japanese-operated dining establishments where food was meager and prices high. A two-day strike forced the Japanese to modify the food coupon system and to lower prices.

220-226 STRUGGLE IN THE HONG KONG SHIPYARDS

Chu Chih-chung

Written by a man who began his career in the Hong Kong naval shipyards in 1934, when he was 14, this account is informative on the labor situation on the Hong Kong waterfront in the mid-forties. Spreading discontent among the dock workers and a growing facility for using the technique of the strike culminated in a massive strike for higher wages and other benefits in February 1946. The winning of this strike tightened organization within labor ranks and led to the formal establishment, on April 20, 1946, of a union in the shipyards.

227-242 STRUGGLE BEFORE EARLY DAWN

Pai Ming

After the KMT had imposed White Terror on Shanghai for two years, causing imprisonment and death of CCP workers and “patriots” of all sorts, and the sinking of living standards below subsistence level, certain

more responsive segments of the population began to rebel. In late January 1948, strikes took place among students of Shanghai University and Shanghai dancing girls and their several thousand dependents. Rebellion mounted: on January 29 and extending through the first days of February, some 7000 female textile workers and 500 male workers of a large Shanghai textile factory called a strike of the entire work force of the factory.

Pai Ming's close attention to the numerous aspects of the deplorable working conditions which finally led to the strike, and his alertness to all phases of its final countdown, make this one of the most useful labor pieces in the collection. Personalities of the individual strike leaders emerge clearly. The harshness and brutality of the armed police called in to disperse the strikers and the unbending resistance of the KMT authorities to all manifestations of popular will are conveyed with an absence of rhetorical convention rarely displayed by contemporary Chinese Communist writers. CCP journalists took advantage of the arrests and violence by spreading the news throughout the nation, thereby fomenting sharper class consciousness and revolutionary opposition to Shanghai's KMT regime.

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3-18 THE FOUNDING OF THE CENTRAL RED HOSPITAL; A STORY ABOUT CHAIRMAN MAO Fu Lien-chang

In the fall of 1932, after Mao Tse-tung led the Red Army to the great victory at Changchow, Fukien, in which an entire KMT division was smashed, Mao was physically so exhausted that he had to take daily treatments at the Fuyin Hospital and eventually to enter the hospital for a period of four months. As director of the hospital, Fu Lien-chang thus had a good opportunity to observe Mao on a day-to-day basis. His account of their frequent conversations reveals Mao's absorbing concern with the hospital, particularly his wanting to step up radically the pace of the medical training program by qualifying doctors in one or two years. The founding of the Central Red Hospital came about by changing the name of the Fuyin (Gospel) Hospital (which Mao objected to because it signified a Christian mission) and its locus to Juichin, where the Army was based and where the hospital could continue to treat the common people as well as military personnel. Hsu T'e-li, Chou I-li, and Ch'en Cheng-jen were among the hospital's other well-known patients during this period.

19-28 COMRADE LIU SHAO-CH'I AT THE CENTRAL SOVIET DISTRICT
Ma Wen

In 1933, Ma Wen, already experienced in labor organization, was transferred to Party headquarters at Juichin, where he was assigned to work with Liu Shao-ch'i, then head of the Executive Committee of the all-China trade union organization, recently transferred from Shanghai. As Ma Wen's special task was the preparation of official reports on labor conditions, he confesses that Liu often criticized the reports' disorder of thought and style and requested that they be made more clear. Ma Wen comments on Liu's habit of taking views presented by others and synthesizing them into some more ordered and meaningful form. Apart from these strains of intellectual ascendancy over his men, Liu was frugal in his personal habits which, from the point of view of his being leader, was of as much moral as economic significance. In the spring of 1934, the labor executive invoked the spirit of "May First" as it unionized more than 90% of the workers in the Soviet District. Thereafter Liu departed for the White areas, where he carried out underground work. In 1938 Liu first went to Yen-an where Ma Wen again worked with him.

29-51 ACCOMPANYING VICE-CHAIRMAN CHOU EN-LAI
ON THE LONG MARCH
Wei Kuo-lu

In August 1934, Wei Kuo-lu, an 18-year-old Party member, was assigned as Chou En-lai's bodyguard during the Long March. With this appointment, Wei agreed to abide by the Red rule for security work: "What you don't need to know, don't seek to know; what you don't need to talk about, don't talk about recklessly." Although the reader should keep in mind this limitation of candor in reporting his two years of service with Vice-chairman Chou, Wei has nonetheless written an amusing string of vignettes in which other leading comrades also figure. In the spring of 1936, Chou, to whom Wei sometimes refers *in loco parentis* ("like a benevolent father"), strongly urged him to attend the Red University (Hungta). During this three months at Hungta as a student, Wei overcame illiteracy and engaged in various forms of *hsüeh-hsi*.

52-57 COMRADE CHU TEH ON THE LONG MARCH
Chang Hsien-yang

In 1935 Chang Hsien-yang was assigned as one of Chu Teh's bodyguards on the Long March. Chang's spirited account of the arduous journey over the Northwest plains is enhanced by such tragicomic passages as one occurring at a time of near famine when weed gathering was carried out along para-military lines. Transforming a grim task into mock-organized play, some soldiers formed "brigades of weed gatherers"

while others pretended to be systematically grappling with such problems as deriving oil from some weeds for cooking the others. Keen observations of the characters of Chu Teh and some of his illustrious comrades glimmer through the tale.

After the Red Army reached Yen-an, Chang quit the guard and in 1942 registered in the Yen-an Party School. His description of how its students and staff followed a work-study curriculum under the direction of P'eng Chen, including working on critical reclamation projects, casts light on the broader patterns of the productive style of life in Yen-an.

58-70 ACCOMPANYING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF CHU
Li Shu-huai

In the fall of 1937, the narrator was made communications squad chief at the 8th Route Army headquarters, which had been pulled together just after the Lukouch'iao Incident as a means of prosecuting the war against Japan. This account not only traces the career of Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh but also to a lesser degree those of Vice-Commander P'eng Tehuai and Comrades Jen Pi-shih and Tso Ch'üan. As in earlier memoirs of Chu Teh, there are digressions on his fondness for basketball as sporting relief to the strains of warfare. The Red Army's guerrilla activities calculated to meet the movements of the Japanese are traced geographically. Later scenes depict Chu in the loess caves of Yen-an, struck in the various poses of the model comrade, vigorously spearheading the ambitious reclamation projects of the 359th Brigade at the Nanniwan frontier, and going nowhere without his faithful companion, a huge horse from Japan.

A SPECIAL COLLECTION OF STORIES ABOUT
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AT THE FORMER
FUKIEN BASE

71-76 THE RED FLAG DOES NOT FALL (*Preface to this
Special Collection*)
Chang Ting-ch'eng and Teng Tzu-hui

This panegyric on the complete history of the base in southwest Fukien from its founding by the CCP in 1926 through its guerrilla period between 1934 and 1937 and up to liberation in 1949 establishes the sequential phases of the memoirs which follow. From the time of Mao's arrival with the Red 4th Army in Fukien in 1927, the role of his thoughts and deeds are blown so very large in these passages that they are nearly synonymous with "Red Flag" and "Party."

77-82 THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE RED ARMY'S
ENTERING CHANGCHOW
Teng Tzu-hui

In December, 1931, the CCP Provincial Committee in Fukien sent the narrator, Teng Tzu-hui, to the Fukien district of Changchow in order to correct the "purely military viewpoint" of its guerrilla troops by forging a closer relationship between the masses and the guerrillas. Changchow's local history and political structure are presented succinctly; revolutionary leaders in both civil and military affairs are cited by name, as are the "local despots." Teng explains the techniques with which he succeeded in training this group of 20-odd guerrillas to work among the masses and, by so doing, to arouse their revolutionary spirit. In 1932, the Red Army under the direction of Mao, Lin Piao, Lo Jung-huan, and Nieh Jung-chen arrived in Changchow to set up a base and organize the Independent 3rd Regiment. Mao's role as leading ideologist is praised lavishly at this memoir's close.

83-90 THE BEGINNING OF THE FUAN PEASANTS' MOVEMENT
Teng Tzu-hui

Teng has prepared an excellent case study of the techniques of mobilizing peasants under the actual conditions of Fuan in east Fukien. In April, 1931, the Party sent Teng to Fuan to try to restore revolutionary progress after the damage wrought by the "Li Li-san line." Teng carried out his mission in close cooperation with Comrade Ma Lieh-feng, whose gradual process of mastering the techniques of peasant mobilization is well conveyed. Both the general lines of social stratification and tensions between classes, as well as individual personalities, emerge from this sensitive study. By the spring of 1932, the peasants had become sufficiently militant to launch an armed uprising. After a long period of struggle Fuan became one of the guerrilla bases in east Fukien.

91-96 AN ASSAULT ON SHANGHANG CITY

In March, 1929, Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh led the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red 4th Army into west Fukien. This article, for which no author's name is cited, shows how the capture of Shanghang city furthered the cause of peasant struggle by organizing the peasants into the provisional government, farmers' associations, Red Guards, Children's Brigades, women's organizations, and secret workers' associations. Mao himself led the application of the principles of guerrilla warfare in the popular armed uprising. Eventually a Soviet regime and an array of mass organizations were established.

97-102 THE STORY OF SEIZING A "SOVIET"

Chiang Pin

One spring morning in 1928 a wild display of revolutionary posters—calling for land redistribution and the overthrow of landlords, imperialists, and the KMT—were suddenly splashed all over the city of Yungting in west Fukien. This subversive event set off a flurry of ultimately unsuccessful efforts by the KMT civil and military authorities to seize this supposed "Mr. Su Wei-ai." The brouhaha of political hide-and-seek and the superbly evasive tactics employed by some of the Communist activists (named in the text) are recalled with elation. With the uprising's final success, farmers' associations and dare-to-die troops, which had been subterranean, emerged in the open, and Mao and Chu Teh appeared on the scene to praise the good works.

103-108 ARMY COMMANDER CHU TEH ATTACKS CHUNGCH'UAN

Ts'ao Hsing *and* Erh Hu

In the spring of 1930, Chu Teh led his men in attacking the west Fukien village of Chungch'uan, which had long been the province of the "White Bandit" Hu Tao-nan and his militia of over 500 men. In the course of narrating this adventure, which culminated in Chu Teh's taking possession of the Chungch'uan arsenal, local characters are brought to life. Some idiosyncratic ploys of the Red guerrillas, including one occasion when five Red soldiers got where they wanted to be by masquerading as women, are recalled.

109-120 THREE YEARS IN NORTH FUKIEN

Huang Chih-chen

After the main force of the Red Army departed on the Long March in late 1934 and the troops commanded by Fang Chih-min marched toward south Anhwei, the revolutionary bases of north and south Fukien were left with reduced troop strength in their campaigns against both the KMT and Japanese aggression. This meticulously prepared article traces the underground movements of Communist cadres who were both penetrating village life as civilians and serving as guerrillas. In the course of charting the jagged record of Red losses and victories in the 1934-1937 period, Huang maps out not only the gradual spread of Red guerrilla bases throughout this area, but also reports in detail on corresponding KMT troop movements with clear identification of military units and personnel.

121-135 THE MIRACULOUS EXTINCTION OF THE WHITE ARMY

Hsieh Pi-chen

In October, 1944, "Wang T'ao's Detachment" was formally established in west Fukien. It was composed of 49 male and female members who

had been commissioned to wage armed insurrection, protect the CCP organization, fight counter-revolutionaries and so expand their power. This recitation of their engagements with the enemy in west and south Fukien from the time of the detachment's founding to the summer of 1945 is somewhat paralyzed by overly formalized presentation of ideological and tactical matters.

136-143 STRUGGLE AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE

Wei Chin-shui

Although civil war had generally abated by 1937 after the Sian Incident, Chiang Kai-shek while talking peace nonetheless transferred his 157th, 158th, and 159th divisions from Kwangtung to southwest Fukien in order to exterminate Red guerrillas there. Because Chiang's ability to execute this mission was severely curtailed by Japanese control of much of south China, including Amoy, a faction of the KMT Party and Army adopted a "capitulationist" policy which tolerated Japan's expansion into Fukien. This threat compelled the Southwest Fukien Military Government Committee to advocate rigorously the CCP United Front policy and to launch a propaganda campaign to this end. In spite of allegedly broad popular approval of united KMT-CCP resistance to Japan, KMT authorities proved "insincere." While they mouthed conciliatory statements at the negotiating table, they were in fact endeavoring to secure the Communists' surrender. Written by a military representative at the negotiations of 1937-1938, this article lists the demands and concessions made by the CCP in the course of peace talks.

144 150 THE GREAT BATTLE AT SHUICHINGP'ING

Wang Han-chieh

When the KMT in 1947 launched a massive offensive on all fronts against Communist-held areas, the Communists in south Fukien took up arms. On August 1, 1947, a new guerrilla band of some 20 men was organized at Niaoshan, south Fukien. Because the guerrillas possessed only about 10 infantry rifles, and the local populace, for all its alleged enthusiasm, could only provide food, the guerrillas turned to the Peace Preservation Corps (Pao-an Tui) for additional weaponry. After some minor skirmishes they won a major victory at Shuichingp'ing which also yielded rich booty, including 3 machine guns, over 40 rifles, ammunition, and clothing. Not wanting to be burdened with prisoners, they stripped the defeated men of all their arms, gave them a good talking to, and released them. Thereafter guerrilla forces rapidly expanded in this region.

151-195 COURAGE AND LOYALTY

Liu P'ing

This lengthy biographical essay on a female comrade named Chang Lung-ti is one of the most significant pieces in this volume, not because of

the intrinsic importance of Chang's life but because her life personified the revolutionary history of Lungyen, her native place in west Fukien. Liu P'ing's sources are more sound and diverse than most because he relies not only on Chang's testimony but also on local Party archives in Lungyen and on the accounts of other comrades who were familiar with Chang and the general situation in west Fukien. In 1927, Teng Tzu-hui, whose career as a revolutionary leader in Fukien is well documented earlier in this volume, was a young primary school teacher who was awakening to the revolutionary potential of some of the local figures of his district; among them was Chang Lung-ti, who in 1927 was already 46 years old. As a Marxist Pygmalion, Teng sharpened her sense of class consciousness and awakened her to the revolutionary potential of her environment. While her public *persona* continued to be that of a tea leaf carrier, her secret life, which she managed to conceal even from her landlord-class husband, involved her in the organization of the earliest farmers' associations in west Fukien, her special province being the recruitment of women workers. When Mao and Chu Teh led the Red 4th Army in the liberation of Lungyen in 1928 and established a Soviet there, Chang participated in the Soviet's administration. By bobbing her own hair and urging others to unbind their feet, she prepared other women of the community to follow her in joining the Red Army. In 1930, KMT raids forced the Red troops to retreat to the mountains, where Chang joined the guerrillas in waging almost incessant warfare throughout the thirties, most intensively between 1934 and 1937 and until the PLA liberated west Fukien in 1949. In 1957, when she was 76 and still bristling with revolutionary ardour, her old mentor, Teng Tzu-hui, escorted her to Mao's home in Peking for an interview, which was the great moment of her revolutionary career.

196-208 A HEROINE FORGED IN A RAGING FIRE
Wang Huang-ts'ao

This article, which parallels the preceding one, was based on an interview in 1957 with the heroine, Ch'iu Lien-ti. Because her revolutionary career spanned three decades, she was known affectionately as "The Mother of the Revolution." Like Chang Lung-ti, Ch'iu Lien-ti was born of poor peasants in the Lungyen district of west Fukien, and she supported herself from an early age. In 1928 the example of her brother's revolutionary ardour inspired her to throw in her lot with the revolution, an act which led to her appointment as head of the women's corps of the Soviet. Eventually she married the Soviet's Chairman, Chang Mu-liang, and together they led armed struggle against the KMT. She was a participant in Fukien's period of most intensive guerrilla warfare between 1934 and 1937.

After the South Anhwei Incident of 1941, which dissolved joint CCP-

KMT resistance to Japan in this area, the Communist troops to which she belonged were forced to retreat to the mountains. In 1944 she was arrested by the KMT, who submitted her to prolonged torture. While recuperating she was completely out of the reach of others and had no chance to talk with anyone for three years. For this she is compared to the heroine of Communist drama of the Yen-an period, "White-Haired Girl," whom wartime conditions similarly exiled from society under the most bitter circumstances. With the liberation of her district in 1949, her fortunes took the upswing that is said to have swept over all of China.

209-217 CH'EN K'O-MA
Miao Lan-t'ien

This is the third in the series of studies of female revolutionaries of west Fukien, but here the treatment is less comprehensive of the total situation and more sentimental about Ch'en K'o-ma, a young widow with two children who joined the revolution in 1928. When she was arrested and tortured by the KMT in 1934, she refused to reveal the whereabouts of the Red guerrillas infiltrating the mountains. In retaliation she was killed, and with this memoir is elevated as a martyr.

218-227 AN OLD MAN OF WEST FUKIEN
Yü Yen

As the subject is an old man known as Li Ken-jung, the writer's attitude is ritually pious to the point of overlooking fresh content. Joining the revolution in 1929, Li was subsequently arrested and tortured by the KMT. Out of respect for his venerable age, the KMT was loathe to slaughter him outright, but preferred to employ more excruciating means of drawing his life away slowly. Thanks to his extraordinary fortitude, Li survived to see liberation day and to enjoy the fruits of the revolution in his dotage.

228-232 THREE RED BROTHERS
Chiang Pin

In 1937 Mao Tse-tung published "A Study of Rural Villages," of which one chapter was "A Study of Ts'aich'i Village." This slight piece begins in the Fukien village of Ts'aich'i at the time of its peasant uprising in 1929 and follows the careers of three "Red" brothers from that point to 1934, when they set out on the Long March.

233-239 FOUR SHORT STORIES
Li Chu-min

All four vignettes testify to the Communists' popularity in west Fukien during the United Front period of the Resistance War. In the first, occurring in 1937, a devious KMT official attempts to play upon the peas-

ants' superstitions in order to rupture their amicable relations with the Red Party and Army; he fails. In the second, which is set in the Lungyen district in 1938, local villagers give voluntarily and generously to a CCP comfort fund, but they resist KMT bids for contributions—a discriminatory policy which causes the KMT to lose face. In the third anecdote, also set in the Lungyen district in 1938 shortly after the 2nd detachment of the New 4th Army had gone north to resist Japan, some local landlords supported by the KMT plot to collect rents but are foiled by the massive resistance of the incensed peasantry. In the last, after the "West Fukien Incident," a KMT official of the Peace Preservation Corps engages an old man in a sizzling political debate which gets the KMT side nowhere.

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A COLLECTION OF MEMOIRS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN KIANGSI

3-54 THE RED KIANGSI-KWANGTUNG BORDER
Yang Shang-k'uei, *First Secretary of the
Kiangsi Provincial Committee*

This is an excerpt from a longer work of the same title which was written out of the author's experience as a leader of the Kiangsi-Kwangtung guerrillas, whose base dated from 1925. This excerpt covers the period from November 1934 to December 1936 and exhibits the classic motifs of fierce fighting against the KMT, Long March hardships, and the responsiveness of the peasants along the way. However, the episodic, novelistic technique of rendering historical data makes it far more absorbing and entertaining than the standard didactic treatment. The activities of Ch'en I, including passages of his *wen-yen* verse, and the collaboration of Lu Hsun and Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai in Shanghai, are just two of the many casual references to stellar figures.

55-64 THE BIRTH OF THE CHINESE WORKERS AND PEASANTS
RED 10TH GROUP ARMY
Shao Shih-p'ing, *Governor of Kiangsi*

After the failure of the August First uprising, the revolutionary situation in the various regions of China changed radically. This article discusses the effects of this failure on two areas of east Kiangsi—namely, Yiyang and Hengfeng. It traces the mounting strength of the peasants before "August First," and afterwards the resurgent power of the counter-revolutionary forces bolstered by the Nanking government. The peasants'

self-defense army was forced to retreat to the mountains. After numerous regroupings, defeats, and triumphs, these revolutionaries ultimately formed the nucleus of the Red 10th Group Army.

65-68 A STORY ABOUT GUNS
Shao Shih-p'ing

During the early years of the Red Army there was a great shortage of rifles and ammunition. After the victorious battle of Chinchishan, the troops of the Kiangsi Red Army Independent Regiment rapidly increased in number. This brought about a growing disparity between men and weapons, which the men expressed in the slogan, "More men than guns, more guns than ammunition." All efforts were made to collect the rifles of the enemy fallen on the field, and a bounty was offered to the "masses" who turned over rifles to the Red Army.

69-75 STRUGGLE ON A DEADLY FRONT
Liu Chün-hsiu

In August, 1934, the 6th Group Army departed from the Hunan-Kiangsi border region on the Long March,* an event which is described in considerable detail. The narrator, Liu Chün-hsiu, remained in west Hunan heading a work group commissioned to reinforce and enlarge CCP activities in that area. After the KMT defeated the Red forces in January 1935, and stationed occupation forces in the area of west Hunan, Liu along with some ten each of cadres and guerrillas resolved to remain in the area of occupation in order to carry out guerrilla warfare. Liu gives a spirited account of encounters with the KMT "bandits." On one occasion he was saved in the heat of battle by recalling some Marxist military formulas which he had learned at the university, and on another occasion he narrowly escaped in the borrowed costume of a generous peasant.

76-82 A SHORT BUT GLORIOUS LIFE
as told by Teng Hung, Vice-Governor of Kiangsi;
recorded and edited by Hu K'uang

Subtitled "In Memory of My Adopted Son, Comrade Chung Ch'iang," this memoir begins when the boy, at age 13, joined the revolution just after his natural father had been killed in Changsha in 1930. After a brief stint with the Children's Brigade, he joined the Youth Corps, and by 1932 he was in the Red Army in the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi military district. In 1936 he was killed by renegades because he refused to desert the Red Army for the KMT.

* For another account of this movement see Vol. V, pp. 257-260. Although more than two months prior to the breakout of the main Red forces from the Kiangsi-Fukien Soviet base, it is now treated by Communist historians as being a part of the Long March.

83-93 AN ARMED COMMUNICATIONS UNIT
as told by Teng Hung; recorded and edited by Hu K'uang

When the KMT was waging its fifth encirclement campaign in January 1934, the soviet districts were then in the throes of rectifying the policy of "right opportunism," which had sprung up within the Party leadership. The provincial Party Secretary, Ch'en Shou-ch'ang, sent Teng Hung, escorted by a squad of 10 CP members, on a mission to deliver critical documents which would further this rectification campaign. Their perilous 14-day journey through White territory is related in detail. It succeeded not only in conveying the message but the experience provided Teng Hung with what he regarded as a fundamental political education.

94-117 THREE YEARS IN THE HUNAN-KIANGSI BORDER REGION
Major General Tuan Huan-ching

Tuan Huan-ching was among the men left behind in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region when the main force of the Red Army set off on the Long March in October 1934. This brilliant narration of his three years in this highly unstable and vulnerable region traces his experience of the conscious application of Mao's precepts on guerrilla warfare in the mountains, along with mobilization of the populace into revolutionary organizations. In the course of charting sporadic contact between the Party Center and its representatives in this Border Region, the roles of significant figures at both the central and regional level emerge clearly.

When the Japanese attacks were renewed in the autumn of 1937, the CCP Central Committee dispatched Ch'en I (who had stayed behind on the Kiangsi-Kwangtung border to direct rearguard action after the Red Army's main force set out on the Long March) to the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region. Preceded by a letter of introduction, Ch'en I's sudden presence was somewhat disorienting. A chain smoker, he lectured tirelessly for days on Party policies, continuing deep into the night. Because the Party had resolved to establish a United Front with the KMT so as to consolidate forces against the Japanese, it would be necessary for the guerrilla bands in seven of the southern provinces to descend from the mountains and join forces with the KMT. As this conflicted with the policy of T'an Yü-pao, who, along with Liu Pei-shan, was leader of the local guerrilla forces, it was only after lengthy persuasion that T'an backed down and ordered his men to abandon their mountain retreats, where "they had been living like prehistoric man." Besides warfare and mass work, Ch'en I maintained, the time had come for these men to be exposed to politics and culture under Party tutelage. Accordingly, in November 1937, this assortment of guerrillas was reorganized as the 2nd Regiment, 1st Detachment, of the New 4th Army and was ordered to proceed to the Japanese rear south of the Yangtse.

118-131 THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ARMY INSURRECTION AT YUTU
Major General Hsiung Po-t'ao

This superb account of the momentous rebellion in December 1931 of some 10,000 men of the KMT 26th Route Army at Yütu sustains a fine balance between the narrator's subjective recollection of this experience, which was intense and dramatic, and an objective account of the event in all its facets. By autumn, 1931, the long-sustained burdens of drought, warlord oppression, and exploitation by bureaucrats, landlords and merchants, which were intensified by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, led to mounting unrest among members of the 26th Route Army, who were becoming more keenly aware of the folly of the KMT policy of non-resistance to Japan. Recognizing this situation, the CCP seized the opportunity to exacerbate this discontent. The revolt finally broke out on the night of December 4, 1931. After indoctrination and training by the Red Army and the CCP, the rebel troops were converted to the Red 5th Army Corps, which eventually scored an outstanding military record.

132-139 PRELUDE OF A STORM
Lai Shao-yao

The narrator reminisces on plotting the attack on the ancient Kiangsi city of Kanchow in 1929. The style is chatty and casually informative on the ruses used to throw the White enemy off guard.

140-146 THE PEASANT INSURRECTIONS AT YIHENG
Miao Min

After the August First uprising of 1927, Fang Chih-min was sent to Yiyang, his native place in east Kiangsi, where he immediately threw himself into organizing the cadres and masses. Overexhaustion led to tuberculosis. Accordingly, in November 1927, the Party transferred him to Hengfeng, another district in east Kiangsi, where again he initiated the process of peasant insurrection. Although the "Yiheng" of the title is a summary reference to both these places, this addition by Miao Min to her studies of Fang Chih-min focuses on Hengfeng, an area which was even more depressed than Yiyang. She conveys Fang's formidable grasp of the components of a revolutionary situation, his systematic mobilization of workers, and his discriminating sense of the various economic levels of peasants who were ripe for insurrection. Continuities between local custom and revolution in the Maoist idiom were apparent as the peasants followed the traditional rite of drinking chicken blood as they took oaths to carry out the revolution, and shouted such slogans as "Down with local bullies and landlords," "Establish government by workers and peasants," and "Carry out equal land redistribution."

SOME VIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE MINES IN ANYUAN [KIANGSI]

(The sources of the following seven memoirs are former miners at Anyuan. Both the miners' names and the names of the mines at which they were employed are provided in the Chinese text.)

147-149 WHEN CHAIRMAN MAO WAS AT ANYUAN

These simple impressions of three miners hark back to their first encounter with the charismatic Mao, whose unpretentious dress, easy way of relating to ordinary workers, deep sympathy for the bereaved families of casualties among the miners, and indefatigable energy for conversations with individuals and the mass, brought tears streaming from their incredulous eyes. Documenting Mao's visits to Anyuan in 1922, 1927 and 1930, there is some recall of Mao's aphoristic expression of revolutionary goals but almost none of the general situation at that time.

149-153 CHAIRMAN MAO'S CONCERN FOR THE WORKERS AT ANYUAN

Sustaining the emotional ardor of the piece above, this reminisces on a talk by Mao at Anyuan in 1924. Again, Mao's pithy statements on political matters and strong conviction that Anyuan must be defended against predatory capitalists are transmitted effectively. In this account Mao upstages Liu Shao-ch'i, who was the local man in charge of leading the workers in a struggle against the capitalists.

154-156 REMEMBERING CHAIRMAN MAO

At a time of near famine in Anyuan during July 1930, the Red Army led by Mao and Chu Teh arrived there bearing rice and complementary fare, which they shared generously with the populace.

157-161 REVELATION OF TRUTH

When the narrator was working in the Anyuan mines, he was persuaded by Liu Shao-ch'i to conquer illiteracy by attending the night school where both Liu and Li Li-san were on the staff. In his pedagogical role, Liu was concerned not only with academic matters; he was also intensely interested in learning about the workers' grievances regarding poor pay, the brutality of foremen, and other matters. He told them that they should endeavor to settle accounts not only with the foremen but also with the management; that if necessary they should kill in the process of redressing their wrongs; and that to this end they should employ the strike. This they did.

161-165 BY THE SIDE OF COMRADE LIU SHAO-CH'I

After the great victory of the strike in the Anyuan mines in 1922, the narrator was assigned as the bodyguard of Liu Shao-ch'i. From his three

years' service with Liu, the narrator became familiar with his character and habits: self-effacing, an inveterate smoker, in rather poor health, who spat blood frequently but would accept no special diet for this. In May 1925, the narrator was among the many Party cadres who were transferred to Kwangtung to share their revolutionary experience with the peasants there. The writer's verbose account of his tearful parting from Liu Shao-ch'i, reportedly the object of his comrades' universal love, may exhaust the reader of this highly sentimental memoir.

166-169 THE FIRST WORKERS' SCHOOL

In the winter of 1921, 23-year-old Li Li-san (then known as Li Neng-chih) returned to Shanghai from France. The Party's Central Committee immediately sent him to Changsha to see Mao Tse-tung, who told Li to go to Anyuan in order to open a school for workers along the lines of the *p'ing-min hsueh-hsiao* (plain peoples' schools), an experimental form of popular education which had recently been put into effect in Changsha, Shanghai, and elsewhere. This richly informative article tells how, not long after the school was opened in 1922, Mao and other comrades went to do their stint of teaching at this first night school established expressly for workers. The school's curriculum, reading materials, and physical properties are described in telling detail. Members of the staff and some of its approximately 60 students are identified; its program of "mutual assistance" (*hu-chu*), and the informality whereby all participants were known on a first-name basis is explained. Out of enthusiasm for the education process the students put out a newspaper, *Lao-tung chou-pao* (*Labor Weekly*), which catered to their own class interests.

170-174 FOUNDER OF THE ENGINEERING CORPS

When the Anyuan mines stopped production in 1930, the narrator and a number of his fellow workers, who consequently were out of work, joined the Workers and Peasants Army when Mao and Chu Teh led it to Anyuan for the third time. The process of integrating the workers into the Army is discussed in some detail, while the eventual exploits of this "first ancestor of the PLA" are sketched more briefly.

COLLECTED MEMOIRS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN KIANGSI

Editorial note:

As historical background for the seven poems which follow, this note makes formal mention of major revolutionary events, including the August First uprising at Nanchang, the revolutionary base at Ching-kangshan, and the central revolutionary base in Kiangsi.

176-180 RECOLLECTIONS OF THE NORTHERN MARCH

Wei Ch'uan-t'ung

All seven poems describe successive stages of the 4th Front Army's Northern March of 1936, just after bitter fighting with Chiang Kai-shek's forces.

181-238 THE RED FLAG WAVES ON TAPIEHSHAN: A MEMOIR OF
THREE YEARS OF GUERRILLA FIGHTING IN OU-YU-WAN
as told by Ho Yao-pang; written by Su Po

This third chapter of the entire work of the above title (also issued by China Youth Press) pertains to events which have been covered more simply elsewhere in the collection. Its inventive and extravagant style of a historical romance modify its usefulness for historical research.

239-249 SEIZING AND HOLDING THE "IMPORTANT BASE" AT NAOMA
Lieutenant General Liu Chung

In July 1948, the 15th Column (later the 62nd Army) and other troops under the command of Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien destroyed the main force of Yen Hsi-shan's army, an act which liberated a million people of central Shansi. As a member of the 15th Column, Liu Chung was aware not only of the tactical details of the war from the Red side, but he also exhibits a strong grasp of Yen Hsi-shan's military strategy. In its advance on heavily fortified Taiyuan, the Red Army decided first to take four outlying strongholds before attacking Taiyuan directly. The 15th Column was deployed to attack the stronghold at Naoma, just 56 *li* outside of Taiyuan. The actual seizure and holding of the "important base" of Naoma, culminating in raising the Red flag over Taiyuan, is related in extensive detail.

250-260 THE GUERRILLAS MANIFEST SUPERHUMAN POWERS
Major General Tseng Yung-ya

A former guerrilla of the 8th Route Army, the writer of this thorough and sober account was almost as well informed of the Japanese enemy's troop movements as of his own during this encounter at Lunghua in west Hopeh, which ended in a resounding victory for the Red side.

261-265 TWO POTATOES
Lieutenant General P'i Ting-chün

At age 16, P'i Ting-chün joined the Red 4th Army in 1932 in its march from the Ou-Yü-Wan Soviet District to Szechwan. P'i's account of his experiences on the trip is both freshly descriptive of topography and actual events and conventional in its recall of hardships (especially the two-potato diet) suffered en route.

REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR AT TIENTSIN

266-269 THE FIRST BATTLE AFTER ENTERING THE PASS

Major General Chang Chieh-ch'eng

After Manchuria was liberated in November 1948, the narrator's division was ordered, on December 1, to enter the Shanhaikuan pass and advance on north China. Morale was high among the men who were preparing to liberate Tientsin. By December 30, the army reached the western outskirts of Tientsin, and the general offensive began on January 14, 1949. This account relates the successive stages of the capture and liberation of Tientsin.

269-275 THE DEFEATED GENERAL AT TIENTSIN

Colonel Han Huai-chih

Taking another view of the situation described in the account above, this episode deals with the action of the main force of the Northeast Field Army as it besieged Tientsin in early January, 1949, in preparation for the general offensive in the middle of the month. The Army's tactics are well reconstructed within the actual neighborhoods, walls, and alleys of the city. The narrative is suspended at the point when General Ch'en Ch'ang-chieh was taken prisoner.

275-279 THE CAPTURE OF CH'EN CH'ANG-CHIEH, COMMANDER OF THE ENEMY FORCES HOLDING THE CITY

Major general Yang Ta-i

This third and concluding piece in the series on the liberation of Tientsin explores in detail both the general offensive against the city and the capture of General Ch'en. The writer's bold depiction of Ch'en's iniquitous past as Commander of Yen Hsi-shan's 61st Army makes his seizure by the Communists at this juncture all the more triumphal.

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3-18 CLIMBING CHINGKANGSHAN WITH CHAIRMAN MAO

General Huang Yung-sheng

Huang Yung-sheng has composed a memoir on the Chingkangshan episode which is powerful both in content and writing style. After the failure of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, the morale of the surviving troops was extremely low and the soldiers were even further dispirited by the intensely hot and dry September of summer in south China. In this distressed situation, where most of the troops were totally inexperienced,

confused in their thinking and organization, and behaving like “motherless children,” Mao’s sweeping intellectual grasp of the military potential of these chaotic conditions and his uncanny gift for rendering technical concepts in colloquial language were outstandingly successful. By exerting these unique talents for leadership, Mao was able to transform the despair of defeat into resolve for victory.

By the time Mao led his troops to Chingkangshan in October he had already organized them as the 1st Division of the Workers and Peasants Army. Not only had he trained these troops, but he had also begun arousing the masses to support them. This writer sustains Mao’s conceptual distinction between the “local bullies” (*t’u-hao*) and “common people” (*lao-pai-hsing*), makes a close chronological analysis of their continuous confrontation, and features some local bullies as individuals. The major theme is the dominant role of Mao’s military tactics and political ideology in the training of troops, directing their movements, and establishing the revolutionary base at Chingkangshan.

19-34 AN IMPORTANT STAGE: ACCOMPANYING CHAIRMAN MAO
FROM KIANGSI TO NORTH SHENSI
Major General Ts’ao Tan-hui

The beginning point of this article is the Red Army’s first acquisition of a radio station. Prior to the end of 1930 the Red Army was without a radio and attributed some of its defeats to the lack of instant communication. In January 1931, when Mao and Chu Teh were still situated at the Central Soviet in Kiangsi, they organized a special radio unit to which Ts’ao Tan-hui was assigned. As most of the Red soldiers had had almost no experience with these “miraculous instruments,” Mao and Chu launched a training program whose initial course was, characteristically, political education, taught by them and other comrades. Stretching from this point to the settlement of north Shensi in 1935, the progress of this piece is scheduled by Chiang’s encirclement campaigns (where the Reds were well served by radio communication) and the Long March. Mao’s heroic dimensions are naturally at the fore, including his habitually positioning himself at the front line of battle. The author has included one of his own rather straightforward poems in the vernacular which comments on these events.

35-61 ACCOMPANYING CHAIRMAN MAO TO NORTH SHENSI
Ho Ch’ing-hua

When Mao led the Red Army eastward across the Yellow River in February 1936, he was fully determined to confront the Japanese on the battlefield in Hopeh. However, it was soon apparent that Chiang Kai-shek had recently dispatched more than 10 divisions in aid of the Shansi warlord, Yen Hsi-shan, whose strategy was to block the Red Army’s east-

ward mission against the Japanese. Although, in the narrator's opinion, a concentration of Red Army strength could surely have ruptured the Chiang-Yen coalition, the CCP Central Committee under Mao's aegis resolved that in view of the nation's imperiled state it would be wisest to avoid civil war and to unite domestic forces in resisting Japanese encroachments. For this reason Mao reversed his course and led the Red Army westward across the Yellow River to north Shensi.

At this juncture Ho Ch'ing-hua was chosen to serve as one of Mao's bodyguards in Paoan and Yen-an during the 1936-1942 period, an assignment he would use to prepare himself as Mao's Boswell, recording a highly important chapter of his life. Ts'ao remains faithful to the political and ethical categories of the Communist canon, but is by no means confined by them. Casting Mao against the panoramic backdrops of Paoan and Yen-an, the Sian Incident, and the shifting theatres of the civil war and resistance to the Japanese, this is one of the collection's most satisfactory treatments of Mao and this many-sided stage of the revolution. Although Mao is shown to possess the typical virtues of the Red hero, these are not his final definition. Throughout this extensive account Ts'ao has chosen to present the telling event and significant detail. Far from being a mere obligatory essay by one who served Mao, this gratuitous performance has depth and dynamic style.

62-68 REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST: GLIMPSES OF LIU SHAO-CH'I
AT THE CENTRAL SOVIET DISTRICT
General Yang Chih-ch'eng

In the winter of 1931, when the Soviet government was established at Juichin, Liu Shao-ch'i was serving as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. One of Liu's singular achievements was to set up a factory for military products, whose workers and managers were Red soldiers organized in a special military workers' union. In this experimental liaison between the military and labor worlds, the broadly paternalistic role of the union as a basic unit of socialist organization included such welfare functions as offering relief to the bereaved families of sons or husbands in the Red Army. Again, Liu's unflinching selflessness, affability, and thorough intellectual grasp of the inherent political nature of situations is firmly delineated.

69-81 COMRADE LIU SHAO-CH'I RESISTING JAPAN AT THE
ENEMY'S REAR NORTH OF THE HUAI
General Chang Ai-p'ing

As the CCP endeavored to create large-scale bases and troop units to strengthen China against Japanese invasion, the notorious Party dissenter, Wang Ming, adopted his "right-opportunist capitulationist line," which is explained in this particular context. To correct this deviation, Liu

Shao-ch'i was sent by the Party in the early summer of 1940 to a base at the enemy's rear north of the Huai river. This well-conceived account restricts itself to the most significant phases of Liu's short tour of duty at this base. His patient and effective dealings with various obstinate political factions are presented in the detail which makes them historically relevant. Of special interest is the author's lucid analysis of Liu's promotion of the "study" (*hsieh-hsi*) of "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" on the Party, warfare, and related subjects. Requiring of others the same personal self-discipline which he demanded of himself, Liu sought to instill in individual soldiers the spirit of "self-cultivation" (*hsiu-yang*), here for Communist rather than Confucian goals. The contents of some of his reports at this base are said to have become part of the subsequent rectification campaign.

82-86 **BREAKING THROUGH THE NATURAL BARRIER OF THE
WU RIVER: A STORY OF THE LONG MARCH**
General Yang Te-chih

This slender piece on outwitting the enemy and making a forced crossing of the Wu River in January, 1935, is made buoyant by the swift banter of reconstructed conversation, which carries the movement of this joyful triumph.

87-91 **THE SOUTHWARD CROSSING OF THE WU RIVER**
General Hsiao Hua

Carrying on from the preceding episode, this piece deliberates the pivotal juncture just after the Tsunyi Conference, when the CCP Politburo, under the leadership of Mao, revised the "mistaken line" and defeatist policy (of Chang Kuo-t'ao). The Politburo resolved that from then on it would pursue the purely offensive course of the Long March with the paramount goals of self-protection and destruction of the enemy. In accord with this revised plan, the 3rd Regiment, 1st Division of the 1st Army Corps, to which Hsiao Hua belonged, was deployed to make the crucial southward crossing of the Wu River. The encounters with the enemy in the course of crossing the river are related in considerable detail.

92-118 **A HOLDING ATTACK AT BLACK MOUNTAIN**
Lieutenant General Liang Hsing-ch'u

By October 1948, the final battle for Manchuria had been in progress for over a month and was regarded by all levels of the PLA as the crucial engagement of the Northeast campaign. On October 21st, the 10th column, to which Liang belonged, received a telegram from the Northeast Field Army, quoted here in full, announcing a plan for the sudden encirclement of KMT forces at Chinchow and ordering the 10th Column's

return to Black Mountain in order to conduct a holding attack there, one which would protect the arrival of the main force at Chinchow.

From October 23-25, the 10th Column held back five times its own number in enemy troops and, on October 26th, began a counterattack in the region east of Black Mountain. While the author is melodramatic about the great mission which fate had bestowed upon him and extravagant in the celebration of its ultimate victory, he has, nonetheless, shed light on the roles of Lin Piao and Lo Jung-huan in their respective ranks as Commander and Political Commissar of the Northeast Field Army. The chronology of this critical operation is densely detailed.

119-131 THE GREAT SHANGTANG VICTORY:
THE ROLE OF THE 386TH BRIGADE
Lieutenant General Liu Chung

During the Resistance War, the 129th Division of the 8th Route Army (Liu Po-ch'eng, Commander; Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Political Commissar) crossed the Yellow River, penetrated deep into the enemy rear, and established itself in the strategic area of southeast Shansi, famous in ancient military history as Shangtang. Lying between the Taiyueh and Taihang ranges, this was a position at the head of valleys leading south to Honan and the Yellow River plain, and east to the plain of south Hopeh and north Shantung. Although the principal towns were held by the Japanese (and some, with Japanese collusion, by Yen Hsi-shan), the Red Army—enthusiastically supported by the villagers—recovered and held the countryside. Buttressed by strong positions in the Taiyueh and Taihang mountains, this became the heart of the Red Army's Chin-Chi-Lu-Yü base, vital because of its central location in relation to the other base areas in north and central China.

Immediately after the Japanese surrender, Chairman Mao flew to Chungking to avert civil war. But the KMT secured American backing and, while talking truce, moved at once to seize the liberated areas. Already by August 15, Yen Hsi-shan—soon to be supported by Hu Tsung-nan—began moving forces into the "Shangtang" area. The Communists fought back. The ensuing campaign, which lasted until mid-October (1945), became one of the important opening engagements of the Liberation War. Because their base was successfully held, the Communists claim the victory.

The body of the essay describes the campaign in lucid detail. The victory is credited to the "military thought" of Mao Tse-tung, and the use of mobile warfare. The claimed significance is that it upset Chiang Kai-shek's schedule for the occupation of north China, and gained time for the Communists to mobilize the masses, carry out land reform, and build their army.

132-148 BATTLES AROUND THE YANGTSE, HUAI, YELLOW AND HAN
RIVERS: THE SOUTHERN MARCH OF THE ARMY OF
LIU AND TENG
T'ang P'ing-chu

On June 30, 1947, the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Field Army led by Commander Liu Po-ch'eng and Political Commissar Teng Hsiao-p'ing launched an offensive by crossing the Yellow River, along which 400,000 of Chiang's troops were posted. Once this perilous crossing was made, Liu, Teng, and other ranking figures reviewed plans for future strategy, taking into account the heavy losses sustained during the last month. The slow-paced narration leads the reader through the range of considerations, pivoting on the question of whether they should attempt to destroy the enemy at the present site or carry the attack further south. Because of the marked disadvantages of the present predicament, it was resolved to turn southward as of August 7th. By August 26th they reached the Tapiéh mountains, the kingpin of Chiang Kai-shek's defense network. Bitter struggle and deprivation are at the forefront of the long narration of the southern offensive at Tapiéhshan. Appreciation of the heroic efforts of the Liu-Teng team under such adverse circumstances is ponderous.

In February 1948, Liu and Teng left behind one portion of the Field Army to continue fighting at Tapiéhshan and led the main force northward across the Huai River. Thereafter, in concert with the Ch'en/Su and Ch'en/Hsieh* forces, they set out on their major task, the liberation of Loyang, Kaifeng, Chengchow and other cities in that area. These events immediately preceded the crucial battle of the revolution, that of the Huai River, which was just about to begin.

149-155 REFLECTIONS ON THE PEASANTS' STRUGGLE TO REDUCE
RENTS AT TOUPAO IN LIENCHIANG HSIEN
Teng Tzu-hui

Resuming the narration in earlier parts of this collection of Teng Tzu-hui's experience as a peasant organizer, this dwells on conditions in east Fukien in 1931. Just after Teng reported to the Party Committee at Foochow on the revolutionary situation at Fuan, where he had been working most recently, the Committee sent him to inspect work being carried on at Lienchiang on the east coast of Fukien. At that time Lienchiang had no Party organization, but only one Party cadre, Yang Erh-ch'ang, a graduate of the Lienchiang Middle School and a primary school teacher

* The references here are to the East China Field Army (led by Ch'en I and Su Yü), which coordinated by moving south from Shantung; and to the group army (led by Ch'en Keng and Hsieh Fu-chih), which advanced southward from southern Shansi into western Honan.

at nearby Toupao. Yang and Teng's lengthy dialogues recorded here are of great interest because they represent contrasting approaches to the problem at hand. As the local informant, Yang presented candid views on actual conditions and attitudes among the peasantry and on their feeble clandestine attempts to pull together peasant associations, while Teng's ideological expertise and long experience in peasant organization elsewhere in the southeast enabled him to assess the revolutionary potential of this fresh situation.

In retrospect, Teng blandly takes total credit for the success of the rent reduction struggle in Toupao. Because he applied the principle of the mass line, he said, 80-90 per cent of the peasants of diverse levels of economic background threw in their lot with the rent-reduction struggle. Membership in the peasant associations swelled to over 200 persons, peasant class-consciousness was heightened, and the first village branch of the Party was established at Lienchiang. In 1932, Comrade T'ao Chu, then secretary of the central municipal committee at Foochow, went to Lienchiang to aid Yang Erh-ch'ang in launching guerrilla activities, which eventually made Lienchiang one of the guerrilla bases in east Fukien.

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3-18 CHAIRMAN MAO LEADS US UP CHINGKANGSHAN *General Ch'en Po-chün*

Set in late 1927, this informative article follows Mao's retreat to the Chingkang mountains after the failure of the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the armed insurrection at Nanchang. The roles of prominent as well as relatively unknown figures who participated in the two earlier events and now joined in the withdrawal are drawn vividly into the text. Among many others, these include Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh T'ing and Liu Po-ch'eng. A rather long passage explains the origins of the Whampoa Academy, its staff, students and the nature of its training. CCP members of the staff are identified, as are a number of Whampoa graduates who first joined the KMT but later defected to the Communist camp and linked up with the procession to the mountains. The psychological anguish suffered by men defeated in trying to carry out Mao's revolutionary strategy of peasant uprisings is revealed, as is Mao's compensatory revival of the ancient phrase, "failure is the mother of success," and in original ways insisting on learning from defeat. Mao's inexhaustible talent for drawing inspiring lessons from recent history neutralized the potentially alienating effects of defeat and created the mass will to carry on. The author has traced in unsparing detail the numerous shiftings and regroupings of troops in the course of the retreat.

19-27 **A BITTER MANEUVER: A GLIMPSE OF CHAIRMAN MAO
AT CHINGKANGSHAN**
General Yang Chih-ch'eng

Since December 1927, the Nanchang Uprising troop remnants led by Chu Teh and Ch'en I had been mobilizing the peasantry of south Hunan. During April 1928, Mao led his troops there, and the following month the troops of Chu and Ch'en incorporated with Mao's 4th Army at Ching-kangshan. Quotations of Mao's public presentation of his own maxims on guerrilla warfare are extensive. In the coverage of the several months of guerrilla struggle in the Ching-kang mountains, the movements of individual troop units are traced in detail. Yang Chih-ch'eng maintains that the appalling shortage of food and medical supplies considerably weakened the Communists' fighting power. Perhaps seeking to soften the harsh facts of defeat and desolation at Ching-kangshan, the author reassures us that "wherever Mao went he raised the Red flag."

28-38 **THE RED FLAG WAVES ON CHINGKANGSHAN: RECOLLECTIONS
OF LIFE AMONG THE TROOPS**
General Huang Yung-sheng

Compared with other accounts of the Ching-kangshan episode, the approach of this essay is more romantic, both within and beyond the Marxist system of values. When Mao's troops first encountered the panorama of the Ching-kang range, they were awestruck by its vast sweep of lofty peaks which appeared to stretch on endlessly. With the joining together at Ching-kangshan (spring 1928) of Chu Teh and Ch'en I's troop remnants with Mao's survivors of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, they moved into a situation where the sparse population's livelihood barely reached subsistence level. Accordingly, the Workers and Peasants Red Army, which could not receive regular rations under such circumstances, sought to accelerate the peoples' food production. The clothing situation was even more dire, for nowhere were there sufficient garments to shield them from mosquitoes in summer and the bitter cold of winter, high in the mountains. Considerable attention is given to the Party representative of the author's company (9th Company, 3rd Battalion), Lo Jung-huan, who is depicted as not only a deeply compassionate leader but also a faithful and enthusiastic advocate of Mao's Thought and military line. Pressing further this romantic vision, the author comments that the Party and Mao were so profoundly committed to the revolution and confident in its ultimate triumph that no matter how excruciating the material conditions of life at Ching-kangshan, in their hearts they were at ease and kept buoyant by an irrepressible inner joy.

39-50 CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEFENSIVE WARFARE AT
HUANGYANGCHIEH
Liu Hsing

Use of Mao's poem called "Ching kangshan" of autumn 1928, in which Huangyangchieh is mentioned, underlines the historical significance of this outpost. In questions of fact Liu Hsing goes beyond the call of duty in this thorough and well-paced presentation, but in questions of value his drawing out the lessons of Ching kangshan and Mao's allegedly faultless record there are not only totally predictable but also dully presented. Huangyangchieh, a community of roughly 2,000 Hakkas nestled in the Ching kang mountains, and its relation to nearby settlements which similarly were of potential political importance, are presented graphically. Mao is shown to have supervised personally all work carried on at the base and ingeniously to have tailored propaganda to the customs and capacities of this particular sampling of the masses. Mao and Chu Teh's establishing the Red 4th Army in April 1928, the gradual steps of their policy formation regarding land redistribution and other matters, and their setting up a border region government are carefully outlined. In the lengthy reports of battles with the KMT in Hunan in the summer and fall of 1928, and on the KMT's third anti-Ching kangshan campaign, the roles of individual military figures and the movements of various levels of troop units, are well charted.

51-55 GRASPING THE ENEMY'S THROAT
Lieutenant Colonel Li T'ien-yin

On December 29, 1930, just as the troops were roasting pig for their New Year's celebration, word suddenly came of the impending attack by Chiang Kai-shek's forces, which eventually took shape as the first "encirclement" campaign. At that juncture Li T'ien-yin was serving as the head of the communications squad of the 52nd Regiment, 9th Division of the Red 3rd Army, whose festivity was so disrupted. His swift account of the ensuing battle is realistic. That primary credits are extended to Mao personally for smashing the enemy and protecting the Ching kangshan base in the coming year is to be expected.

56-62 A CROSS-COUNTRY SWEEP OF 700 LI
Colonel Hsu Sung-lin

In response to the second KMT "encirclement" campaign, the Red 1st Front Army made a cross-country sweep of 700 li from its station in Kiangsi eastward to Fukien. Hsu Sung-lin participated as a Red Army soldier in this campaign, which extended over to the latter half of May 1931. In the rather dry style of a personal journal he addresses himself to the military aspects of the event, marks geographical points of prog-

ress, and comments on the functions of Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh and lesser leaders. Hsu boasts that in the course of reaching its destination at Chienchu, Fukien, the Red Army completely smashed the second "encirclement" campaign, destroying 30,000 of the enemy and seizing more than 20,000 rifles.

63-68 RECOLLECTIONS OF REPULSING THE THIRD "ENCIRCLE AND DESTROY" CAMPAIGN
Colonel Hsu Sung-lin

This episode picks up where the preceding one leaves off. With the victory over the second "encircle and destroy" (or "encirclement") campaign, the Red 1st Front Army made its headquarters at Chienchu, Fukien, where Mao and Chu Teh immediately ensconced themselves in the tower of an abandoned Catholic church outside the west gate of the city. The Army then extended its control to the surrounding communities and began the work of setting up a soviet. Before they had been settled even a month Chiang Kai-shek mobilized his forces for a third "encircle and destroy" mission. Sustaining the same close attention to military affairs of his preceding piece, Hsu identifies the various groups of Chiang's forces and discusses his deployment of them and the responsible roles of Ch'en Ch'eng and Lo Cho-yin in prosecuting the campaign. Hsu claims that the fighting from June to September, 1931, resulted in another stunning Red victory, with thousands of enemy killed and a handsome booty of livestock and rifles. Moreover, Chiang Kai-shek and all his defeated generals "returned to Nanking with their tails between their legs."

69-76 THE GREAT VICTORY AT HUANGP'O
Major General Hsiung Po-t'ao

This piece sets its tone squarely by opening with a quotation from Mao's essay, "Resolution of some Historical Problems" (April 20, 1945), in which he maintained that if his own far-reaching policies had not prevailed at the time when the Party's central authorities were being misled by "mistaken lines," the Red Army could not have repulsed the KMT's fourth "encirclement" campaign. The implementation of Mao's views on offensive and mobile guerrilla warfare is credited for the victory in the mountainous region of Huangp'o, the site of the most crucial engagement of the fourth campaign. Between 40-50,000 Red troops demolished Chiang Kai-shek's two most prized units, the 52nd and 59th Divisions, staffed with his underlings from the Whampoa Academy and equipped with the most modern French and German artillery, the likes of which the Red soldiers had never seen before. The concern of this article is largely the tactical aspects of the battle.

77-85 AN HISTORIC EVENT: MAO GOES TO THE SOUTHERN
BATTLE LINE
Fang Ch'iang

In contrast to the previous treatments of the first through the fourth KMT campaigns, the pitch of this one is ideological in substance and somewhat analytic in technique—a novel departure from straightforward narration of military engagements. In the spring of 1934, Chairman Mao arrived at Huich'ang, a district on the southern battle line of the Central Soviet in south Kiangsi. His appearance there astonished both the people and the troops, largely because the newly established 22nd Division of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army had been “infected” by Wang Ming’s “mistaken” line of “left opportunism.” In the repulse of the four previous KMT campaigns, Mao’s policies of waging mobile guerrilla warfare with the support of the people’s militia had been successful. Against the 5th encirclement, the policy of “not giving up one inch of Soviet territory” had been tried. This sudden ascendancy of Wang Ming’s opposing line is cited as the cause of the Reds’ drastically weakened position in the fifth campaign. Naturally, the champion of Mao’s cause, the writer Fang Ch’iang, who then belonged to the 22nd Division, shows how the “mistaken” line led to the wanton wiping out of rich peasants, an act which aroused the resentment of the local masses and led to the circulation of false rumors by landlords, rich peasants, and anti-revolutionary elements. The bulk of this essay, which is unusual in a collection which generally avoids ideological controversy, conveys Mao’s talks to his troops and cadres at Huich’ang. Mao employed skillfully his own special rhetorical devices of political education and propaganda to bring their thinking into line with his own policies.

86-90 A FEW STORIES REMINISCING ON THE STRUGGLE AT HUNGHU
General Ho Ping-yen

This scant handful of recollections of Ho Lung is a strictly conventional estimate of this seemingly lovable Communist hero. A long-time associate of Ho Lung, Ho Ping-yen refers here only to the period between Ho Lung’s stay at the Hunghu base in south Hupeh in 1932 and his departure on the Long March during 1934. Besides being reminded that Ho Lung emerged from the common people without ever losing rapport with the masses, one also learns that he would have absolutely nothing to do with Wang Ming’s “left opportunism” and that he was a faithful devotee of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. There was a popular pun on his name: “Ho Lung is a *huo lung* (living dragon).” If he were seized by the KMT Army, they continued, he would exhale the winds and call down the rains, and then, like a dragon, “slink away.”

91-105 REMARKS ON THE TSUNYI CONFERENCE

Lieutenant General Mo Wen-hua

The ideological divisions which were undercurrents during the early KMT encirclement campaigns surfaced during the fourth and are angrily pointed to by the Maoists as the reason for the Reds' defeat in the fifth campaign. This highly important article explains the resulting ideological confrontations at the Tsunyi Conference, in January 1935, between the "left" opportunist leadership promoted by Po Ku and the "correct" line of Mao, and the epochal significance of the triumph of the latter for subsequent Communist history. The first ten pages of the article provide a full and balanced chronological survey of the five "encirclement" campaigns, periodically drawing the ideological lessons which inevitably point toward the correctness of Mao's Thought. While only the last five pages deal directly with the Tsunyi Conference, its historical dimensions in Maoists' eyes are boldly indicated and the emerging arguments articulated with chords of finality. In short, the Red Army's failure to repulse the fifth Campaign was blamed on the "left opportunist" leaders' disastrous reliance on positional and defensive warfare, and on their refusal to cooperate with the 19th Route Army at the time of the Fukien Incident. Chang Kuo-t'ao's rightist "run-away line" (*t'ao-p'ao lu-hsien*) and his activities against both the Party and government were also denounced by the Maoists. There is careful commentary on Mao's key policies of mobile guerrilla warfare and their formulation in his statements on "Peoples' Army" and "Peoples' War."

106-117 FROM TSUNYI TO NORTH SHENSI: SOME BRIEF TALES ABOUT
COMRADE LIN PIAO ON THE LONG MARCH*Lieutenant General Liu Chung*

In January, 1935, Commander-in-Chief Lin Piao led the 1st Army Group in the siege of the Kweichow city of Tsunyi, the site of the historic conference discussed in the preceding article. At that time a reconnaissance officer of the 1st Army Group, Liu Chung employs this event as the background of his first tale about Lin Piao. There are interesting commentaries on the policy deliberations of the Army's next move and passing reference to Lin Piao's long-cherished tripartite military formula: "strike savagely, attack savagely, pursue savagely" (*meng ta, meng ch'ung, meng chui*), which he implemented successfully at that time. The second story takes Lin Piao over the great stretch of the grasslands, one of the most tedious stages of the Long March. Lin Piao was suffering from chronic ill health and his men from malnutrition and occasional poisoning from grasses, which were thought to have been edible. Lin is given the chance to express some of his views on social levelling and random philosophical insights. The third sketch concerns Chiang Kai-shek's com-

missioning of his pet aide, Hu Tsung-nan, to block the Red Army in east Shensi in order to prevent its reaching its final destination in north Shensi. Lin Piao's triumphant leadership in the ensuing battle at Ch'ingshihtsui is described.

118-125 THE NEW HONOR OF THE MODEL 5TH REGIMENT

General Lai Ch'uan-chu

When Lai Ch'uan-chu returned to the Red 5th Regiment to serve as political commissar in the spring of 1935, the Red Army was struggling to break its encirclement by the KMT and to march north to resist Japan. The Army's immediate goal was the River of Golden Sands (Chinsha Chiang) on the southwest Kweichow border. During April, the 5th Regiment, which was personally trained and led by Mao, was commissioned to provide escort for both the Party and military leadership. The main credits for the 5th Regiment's successes, including restraint of an enemy ten times its own size, go to Mao's guerrilla ethos, which is carefully spelled out here; at the same time, Commander-in-Chief Lin Piao and other military figures are drawn into this boldly colored picture of the model attributes of the 5th Regiment.

126-132 THE VERY LAST FOOTPRINT: A RECORD OF THE 2ND FRONT ARMY'S PASSING THROUGH THE GRASSLANDS

Major General Li Wen-ch'ing

In their march north to resist Japan, more than 1800 men of the 15th Regiment, 5th Division of the 2nd Front Army, during June, 1936, began to cross the swampy and desolate grasslands in the footsteps of the Party Center and the 1st and 4th Front Armies. The purpose of this essay is to record the hardships and the gradual decimation of troops suffered in the course of this march northward. By October, 1936, the surviving forces linked up with fraternal troops and made their way to Kansu.

133-147 COMRADE LIN PIAO DURING THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN THE NORTHEAST

Chou Ch'ih-p'ing, Secretary of the Yunnan Branch of the CCP

This biographical study is exceptionally good because Chou Ch'ih-p'ing exhibits both great command of his subject and reasoned confidence in his own judgment of it. While Chou has taken seriously his task of designing a piece which will inspire contemporary youth, he has exerted sufficient intellectual and literary skills to set the subject in the longer perspective of Chinese history and culture. During the four years between 1946 and 1949, the turbulent period which saw the Northeast Peoples Liberation Army (later the 4th Field Army) liberate first the northeast and gradually areas as far south as Hainan island, Chou served under Lin Piao, whom he came to idolize without forsaking entirely a balanced judgment of his character.

Referring to Lin Piao always as “Lin *tsung*”,* Chou devotes the first part of his essay to a study of Lin in the context of successive stages of the civil war during the late 1940’s. He puts into Lin’s mouth long passages which are analyses of the military situation and deliberations on tactics to be employed. Significantly, Mao is given equal time to expound his own views on the same subjects, and their complementary accounts provide a rounded view of shifting tides on the broad fronts of the war of liberation.

The last part formally poses the rhetorical question which is implicit throughout: What sort of man is Lin Piao? While the characteristics which Chou draws out fall within the classical canon of virtues of the Communist hero, one is led to believe that in the case of Lin they not only *ought* to be true, but that surely they *are* true. Lin is said to be a profound thinker, to identify closely with the masses, to be rigorous in personal self-discipline, and to be a most enthusiastic and indeed “best student” of Mao’s Thought. In spite of his weak constitution, he commanded his troops from the front line of battle. As a host he was gracious but unpretentious; the food he served was plain. His dress was always ordinary, and as late as 1958 he continued to don his habitually drab costume.

Lin Piao never studied just for the sake of study. Most of what he read was Marxism-Leninism, Mao’s writings, and ancient and modern Chinese and foreign political tracts. He belonged to the traditional school of thought which held that “study is for practical use” (*hsüeh i chih yung*). He was invariably realistic and successful in applying other men’s theories to the situation at hand. Among the Confucian (here referred to less exclusively as “ancient”) standards by which Chou judges him, in the course of showing how Lin was not egoistic, he quotes Fan Chung-yen’s classic definition of the neo-Confucian statesman, dating from the Sung dynasty: “Before the world grieves he grieves; after the world rejoices he rejoices.”

148-157 THE STORY OF “ONE POINT, TWO SIDES, THREE-THREE SYSTEM”

Li Shih-wen

Compared with this collection’s penchant for narrating events and cataloging Red virtues and enemy vices, this piece is intellectually ambitious. It is conscientious about dates and places, and it also goes beyond these to discuss at length Lin Piao’s application of Mao’s theory of contradic-

* *Tsung* is an abbreviation for *tsung-ssu-ling* (commander-in-chief). Its use by subordinates seems to indicate a degree of informality and intimacy. Among the marshals of the PLA, it appears that only Lin Piao and Ho Lung have enjoyed the distinction of having this form of address applied to them in this type of Party history.

tions (*mao-tun*) to the military tactics of the War of Liberation in Manchuria during 1945-1946. Li Shih-wen's own adeptness in the techniques of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy enables him to recapitulate Lin Piao's manipulation of philosophical materialism, historical materialism, and Mao's theory of contradictions. These led him to devise several formulas (such as "one-point, two sides" and the "three-three system") as analytic devices in resolving the military situation with which he was faced. Li confirms other writers' accounts of Lin Piao's love of reading—again almost exclusively Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao's writings. However, Lin Piao realized, and this point is made pedagogically, that reading is only one aspect of "study" (*hsüeh-hsi*), for true study in the Maoist sense meant both reading and its practical application.

158-167 THE SOUTHWARD CROSSING OF THE SUNGARI RIVER
Lieutenant General Liang Hsing-ch'u

In Manchuria during January, 1947, the KMT mapped its strategy "Attack the south, hold the north; first the south, later the north." Its first point of attack was Linchiang, just north of the Yalu, in Antung. At that time Liang Hsing-ch'u was serving as Deputy Commander of the 1st Column and concurrently as Division Commander. In this engaging narrative, whose realistic and technical detail is of relevance to military historians, Liang describes how, on January 5th, the Red forces made a southern crossing of the Sungari River and encircled KMT troops at Changmatzukou. In the final analysis the Reds' outstanding victory is ascribed to Lin Piao's encouragement and to his effective implementation of Mao's military thinking.

168-178 THREE SOUTHWARD CROSSINGS OF THE RIVER
Lieutenant General Li Tso-p'eng

While the Red forces were engaged in setting up a base in North Manchuria, just north of the Sungari River, the KMT decided again to apply its strategy, "Attack the south, hold the north; first the south, later the north; destroy every last one." The Red Army's goal was to hold its position in South Manchuria, for if it were lost, the base in North Manchuria would be vulnerable to attack. During October, 1946, the KMT began a fierce attack against this southern position and, in January 1947, reinforced this offensive with new troop strength. To meet this danger Lin Piao, Commander of the Northeast Peoples Army, turned the tables with reverse application of the enemy's formula, "Attack the south, protect the north," to be used against the KMT. Accordingly, in January and February, 1947, he ordered the 1st Column to which the narrator Li Tso-p'eng belonged, along with other columns, to attack south of the river three times, withdrawing north after each attack. These movements are presented here in close chronology and detail.

179-185 THE BATTLE AT LINCHIANG

Hsiao Chien-fei

Retracing areas covered by the preceding articles, Hsiao Chien-fei, a member of the 1st Column during this period, further rounds out the picture of the military situation in Manchuria during the War of Liberation. Armed and otherwise supported by the "U.S. Imperialists," the KMT launched a full-fledged offensive in October, 1946, against the liberated areas in south Manchuria as the first step in dismantling the Communists' defense of their base in North Manchuria. The bulk of this article relates how Commander Lin Piao deployed his forces in the repulse of this attack on the southern position. Again, the narration of the cause-effect process of actual events is ceremoniously capped by appreciation of Lin Piao's success in putting down the KMT assault as a victory for Mao Tse-tung's military thought, which Lin had studiously applied.

186-199 THE NORTHEAST BATTLEFIELD'S DECISIVE LIAO-SHEN
CAMPAIGN*Lieutenant General Li Tso-p'eng*

As a fitting conclusion to the present volume, this piece makes a summary assessment of Communist victories in the Northeast Liberation War of 1947-1948. After the engagements of the spring, 1948, the Communists undertook a rigorous five-month training program in preparation for the final takeover of urban centers still held by the KMT and their military units. As a member of the 6th Column, which was training in Kirin, the author was especially cognizant of events in that area. When the Reds liberated the city of Changchun in southwest Kirin, they learned of the policy which had recently been implemented in the areas south of Changchun when they were under KMT domination: "Slaughter people, support soldiers." In this deeply depressed area starvation was widespread. When questioned by the newly-arrived Communist work forces, the inhabitants said of themselves: "In their hearts the people were terrified; day and night they longed for liberation." The role of Lin Piao was paramount in this final phase of the liberation of Manchuria, when Red troops from east Hopeh, Jehol, and south Manchuria encircled KMT forces in the course of liberating Changchun, Chinchow, and neighboring areas. The battle for Shenyang (Mukden) for which this article is named (Liao Shen is an abbreviation for the Liaohsi and Shenyang Campaign) began on October 1st and lasted 52 days. The author claims that 470,000 KMT troops were killed, amassing a Red victory which was the beginning of the end for Chiang Kai-shek. The people of the Northeast and the whole country were wildly happy, and the Northeast People's Liberation Army then set into motion the final recovery of China proper.

Volume XV

March 1961

3-22 THE FIRST SPRING: THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE
BATTLE OF ANNIHILATION AT HSIUSHUIHOTZU
Liang Pi-yeh

The opening article in this volume strikes a newly strident tone in the militant crusade for the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. Playing throughout is the counterpoint, on the upper register, of Mao's Thought and Lin Piao's practical application of that Thought, and on the lower, the progress of events, with Mao's Thought serving again as the drone. A stylistic innovation in this volume is the practice of tagging footnotes to each Thought, with citation as to its origins in Mao's *Selected Works*.

Before the last shots of the War of Resistance were fired, the "enemy of the people Chiang Kai-shek" plotted civil war. With heavy military support from the American "imperialists," Chiang launched a three-pronged attack by sea, land, and air on Manchuria. The battle of Hsiushuihotzu, in January 1946, was one engagement of the renewed civil war. The process of gaining the victory on behalf of the Northeast Peoples Liberation Army, assisted by the people of Manchuria, is the formal subject of this essay.

Of greater interest than the battle itself and Mao's abstracted Thoughts, are the comments on the manifold uses of Lin Piao's two doctrines, "One point, two sides," and "three-three system," the practical application of which are spelled out here. At a capricious moment an enthusiastic soldier bursts forth with a playful rendition of his formula in song.

23-49 LAUGHING AS WE MAKE PRISONERS OF A FIERCE ENEMY A
HUNDRED-THOUSAND STRONG
Lieutenant General Chan Ts'ai-fang

Chan Ts'ai-fang's long and varied military career has prepared him well to write this authoritative account of the phase of the Mukden campaign which, in November 1948, culminated in wresting from the KMT the city of Chinchow, which was also the site of an airbase in this area of southwest Liaoning province. The liberation of Chinchow was part of a larger operation planned by Mao and Lin Piao for the liberation of two other critical urban centers on this warfront, Shenyang (Mukden) and Changchun. While the seizure of Chinchow was planned by Commander Lin Piao and Political Commissar Lo Jung-huan, both of whose actions are in the foreground of this dramatic account, the genius of the overall strategy is of course assigned to Mao, who handed down the shrewd and dissembling formula: "Shout in the east, attack in the west, and catch the enemy off guard."

While launching distracting offensives in the Northeast theatre of the

war, the troops in southwest Liaoning made their preliminary move against Maoerhsan, a mountain in the environs of Chinchow, metaphorically “the enemy’s eyeball which we must gouge out, leaving him blind, so that with our birdseye view of the whole city of Chinchow we can transform our near defeat into victory.” With this mountain lookout attained, the systematic capture of the city was under way. The first instance in the HCPP collection of a diagrammatic map appended to the record of a military engagement is indicative of the unusual professionalism of Chan’s account.

50-67 THE VICTORY OF CHAIRMAN MAO’S GREAT STRATEGIC
THOUGHT: RECOLLECTION OF THE DELAYING ATTACK
AT T’A SHAN
Lieutenant General Hu Ch’i-ts’ai

Ascribing ultimate origins at the outset, Hu Ch’i-ts’ai opens with phrases abstracted from Mao’s *Selected Works* (Volume IV), in which Mao gives top priority to liberating Chinchow in the Mukden campaign, one of the three major campaigns of the War of Liberation. This campaign was also the first, the subsequent two being the Peking-Tientsin and Huai-Hai campaigns. The battle for Chinchow was the beginning point of the Mukden campaign, and the delaying attack at T’a Shan was one of its preliminaries. A former member of the 4th Column, which was entrusted with the T’a Shan mission, Hu quotes from and comments extensively on the series of telegrams from Mao to Commander Lin Piao and Political Commissar Lo Jung-huan, advising them on its actual execution.

The unique relationship between Mao and Lin which has begun to emerge in a number of earlier articles in this collection is presented here with crystal clarity. Already, at the conference of higher level cadres held in Harbin in 1947, Lin Piao was most distinguished by his “creative application of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung.” Mao is regarded as the ultimate ideological authority and Lin as his best student, one who translates ideas into action by means of his own formulas for military strategy. Among those which were applied in the battle of Chinchow were “one point, two sides,” and the “three-three” systems, *san meng* (attack fiercely, strike fiercely, pursue fiercely), and “don’t wage a bureaucratic battle”—*creative* applications of Mao’s Thought and brilliant leadership which were, in the last analysis, responsible for the victories. Beyond the required formalistic presentation of the ideological underpinnings of the engagement, Hu has presented an extraordinarily balanced, informative, and lively account of the T’a Shan attack of November 1948 and of its place in the history of the War of Liberation.

68-130 SHREWD FORESIGHT, CORRECT BATTLE PLANS:
 RECOLLECTION OF THE HUAI-HAI CAMPAIGN
Lieutenant General Chang Chen

As with many of the more ambitious pieces of this collection the extent and richness of the data make it difficult and indeed pointless to attempt to distill its general significance or sift out its lessons. Particularly in these later volumes, gratitude for all success is ritually extended to Mao, yet these pious streaks can usually be seen apart from the historical realities with which the text is most concerned. "Shrewd foresight and correct battle plans" are naturally the exclusive gifts of Mao to this protracted Huai-Hai campaign of the War of Liberation. Beginning November 6, 1948, it was concluded, after several significant Red victories, on January 10, 1949. Then a member of the East China Field Army, Chang Chen offers his personal recollections as an act of "study" (*hsüeh-hsi*) of Mao's own written testimony concerning the Huai-Hai campaign in Volume IV of his *Selected Works*. With a finely balanced account of the objective military events and the subjective experience of the participants, Chang covers the successive stages of the campaign with extraordinary evenness of attention and detail, supplementing the text with a diagrammatic map. The strategy, personnel, and military record of Chiang Kai-shek's forces are the subjects of rather long passages, as is the role of the local peoples militia in championing the Red cause. Personal experience of the engagement is projected through recall of the agonies of insufficient food, clothing and shelter, and of the joys of battle songs and spontaneously created slogans which kept spirits buoyant.

131-151 SOLDIERS REACH THE BASE OF THE CITY WALLS:
 REMINISCENCE ON THE LIBERATION OF PEKING
General Ch'en Po-chün

This straightforward account sets the surrender of the KMT occupation of Peking in the historical perspective of the Liberation War's three major campaigns of Mukden, Huai-Hai, and Peking-Tientsin. While the praises of Mao's Thought are not so long-winded as in some other articles of this stage of the evolution of *Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao*, the "brilliant foresight" demonstrated by Mao after the liberation of Mukden in November 1948, when he wrote the essay, "The Momentous Change in China's Military Situation" (*Selected Works*, Volume IV), is given its due. In Mao's essay, which served as a military directive just prior to the Peking-Tientsin campaign, Mao predicted that as a result of disastrous defeat at Mukden the "Chiang dynasty cur's life" could hope to survive only one more year, a prophecy which elated the Red soldiers and spurred on their will to conquer.

A former member of the Northeast Field Army, Ch'en guides the

reader through the string of military victories over Kalgan, Hsinpaoan, Tangku and Tientsin, culminating in the Northeast Field Army's and the North China Field Army's arrival at the city wall of Peking and its "peaceful liberation." The author comments on the roles of Lin Piao and Lo Jung-huan in the bloodless triumph. A diagrammatic map of the campaign appears at the end of the article.

152-167 FIGHTING ON THE PINGSUI RAILWAY

Lieutenant General Wu K'e-hua

In early December 1948, Wu K'e-hua's 4th Column and the 11th Column of the Northeast Field Army were ordered to launch an attack and destroy a section of the Pingsui Railway in order to deny its use to KMT forces. By December 24 the mission was accomplished, resulting in the defeat of the KMT forces at Kalgan and the destruction of more than 54,000 enemy soldiers. This absorbing account, almost completely free of ideological embroiderings, is exacting about personal names, places, and the timing of events.

168-194 A RECOLLECTION OF THE BATTLE FOR TIEN-TSIN

General Li T'ien-yu

Renouncing the anonymous style of typical Communist prose, Li T'ien-yu's account is excellent both as history and literature. The spare language and staccato cadence of his *wen-yen* leanings flash reflections of the past and a stately air to a subject usually treated routinely. After the victory of the Liao-Shen campaign of late autumn and early winter 1948, the Northeast Field Army (Lin Piao, Commander; Lo Jung-huan, Political Commissar) was ordered by the Party Center and Mao to pass back through the Great Wall and to make its way south to carry out the P'ing-Tsin (Peking-Tientsin) campaign. The Army's formidable strength of 800,000 "hero soldiers" and their great assortment of vehicles and weapons, drew out thousands of onlookers who lined the roadways, awestruck by the sight. Along its route, the common people offered all sorts of assistance, including doing the laundry while the troops took their ease. The present richness in men and material is contrasted with their impoverished condition when they went to the Northeast three years earlier. Li presents their attitude as being exceedingly confident even before the battle, which they anticipated as a sure victory. Lin Piao's strategic formulations are quoted at length, including Mao's directive first to surround the enemy at Tientsin without attacking it. The battle which finally ensued is explained in the successive stages of penetration of the city, whose plan, rich varieties of architecture, and complex society leap forth vividly.

The massive popular jubilation over Tientsin's liberation was crowned by the arrival of Mao Tse-tung, with Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou En-lai, Chu

Teh, Jen Pi-shih, Lin Piao, Tung Pi-wu and other top echelon leaders in his entourage. In his remarks on this epochal event, Mao reminded his comrades of Ts'ao Ts'ao who, after a similar victory in the San Kuo period, led his 830,000 troops south (to *chiang-nan*). So should his comrades now lead their 2,000,000 troops south in three columns. The first was to be headed by Ch'en I and Su Yü, the second by Liu Po-ch'eng and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and the third by Lin Piao and Lo Jung-huan. These would, he indicated, ultimately extend the victory over the entire nation.

195-218 BRAVE SOLDIERS CROSS THE YANGTSE
Lieutenant General Pao Hsien-chih

When Chiang Kai-shek at the time of the Huai-Hai campaign made what appeared to the Communists as fatuous gestures toward the peace table, Mao exposed his hypocrisy and dismissed his ploy to restrain the Liberation Army north of the Yangtse. Mao's directive was straightforward: "Make a southward crossing of the Yangtse and liberate the entire country." Unstinting in all manner of detail, this account patiently guides the reader through the numerous small decisions which eventually, in April 1949, led to the massive task of ferrying the troops across the river. Recollections of the myriad problems of pulling together sufficient boats of all descriptions and of assembling a motley crowd of sailors, fishermen, and ordinary folk to man them are savoured and expressed with profound feeling. In his attempt to revive the atmosphere of the original event, Pao Hsien-chih addresses lengthy apostrophes to the mighty River itself and quotes the lyrics of the troops' rousing songs as they carried out this mission. The participation of Red guerrillas stationed in southern Anhwei is drawn into the narrative. Once the troops had crossed the River, they immediately resumed their southward march. En route, the infantry made use of trains no longer monopolized by the KMT, and salvaged military equipment and an assortment of vehicles which had been abandoned by the enemy. The liberation of cities and towns along the eastern seaboard is summarized.

219-236 FORCED CROSSING OF THE YANGTSE RIVER: MISCELLANEOUS
 RECOLLECTIONS OF THE BATTLES IN CROSSING THE RIVER
Chung Hsi-tung

Addressing itself to the same topic as the preceding article, this assortment of personal recollections continues to round out the picture of the monumental river crossing. After the conclusion of the Huai-Hai campaign, the 27th Army of the 3rd Field Army underwent a brief period of training before embarking upon its next mission, for which there was said to be great enthusiasm among the troops—the southward crossing of the Yangtse. Through allusion to ancient heroes whose reputations were

closely tied to the terrain of Anhwei, which was cut through by the Yangtse, Chung Hsi-tung has added historical depth to his account. Among the ancients was Ts'ao Ts'ao, whose experience in Wuwei hsien and the legendary reason for the hsien's being given this unusual name (a term deriving from early Taoism, meaning "non-action") were deliberated seriously and lightly in puns by the men faced with a new mission in the same area. Resolving that "What the ancients could not do we surely can," and exclaiming, "How could ancient heroes compare with warriors of the proletarian class!", the Red heroes moved to subvert the literal meaning of *wu-wei* by taking positive action to overcome the natural barrier of the Yangtse, at this juncture fearfully wide and deep. Chung's account of drilling the troops for this crossing, the gathering of craft and crews, and their final coordination in making the perilous crossing, is somewhat less vividly and exhaustively treated than in the previous piece.

Chung was among the representatives of the Communist side at the peace talks which were being carried out at the same time in the spring of 1949. He reviews the basic issue of debate: could China be liberated peacefully? He alleges that the Communists were willing to take the positive position because of their sincere concern for reducing the casualties and losses of civil war. However, as has been commonly held, the KMT was "insincere" and "out to cheat" the Reds when it came to striking a bargain. Thus, the question was ultimately resolved by the Reds' successful crossing of the Yangtse which, as Chung puts it, finally shattered "the Chiang clan's petty dynasty" and caused its mandate to be lost irreversibly.

The moral which Chung draws ponderously from these events is that the victory was one for Mao's strategy and for his military thought, which elicited the cooperation of the people and continuously forged the integration of the military with the masses, about whom Chung waxes properly sentimental. Chung's conclusion is fitting for the didactic sense of both this article and the volume:

Our army will always be the army of the people; the wars we wage will always be the people's wars. This, objectively, is the absolute truth which we must not disturb, even by a hair. This is a necessary conclusion of our experience of revolutionary wars in history.

Volume XVI

October 1961

3-29 THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF COMRADE WU YU-CHANG
DURING THE HSIN HAI REVOLUTION

T'ien Hai-yen

When this tribute to the venerable Szechwanese revolutionary, Wu Yü-chang (also known as Wu Yung-shan), was being written, Wu himself (at age 84) was composing his own revolutionary memoirs of a life which both affected and was shaped by all significant revolutionary events since the turn of the century. T'ien Hai-yen's intensive study of his life marked the 40th anniversary of the founding of the CCP in 1921 and the 50th anniversary of the Hsin Hai revolution of 1911. In his intermittent comparisons of Wu with Tung Pi-wu, Hsu T'e-li, and Hsieh Chueh-tsai of the same early vintage (all vowed to be revolutionaries for 100 years), T'ien echoes at once the lingering traditional veneration of old age and the Maoist commitment to the "incomplete revolution" as an unflagging and unending life style.

Wu's story is told in a series of 16 consecutive vignettes which in sum are an account of deep human relevance and important historical detail. At the time of Wu's boyhood, his native province of Szechwan was still swathed in tradition and remote from the new centers of cultural change. Nonetheless, the events of the late Ch'ing period awakened his conscience to the reformist arguments of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and aroused in him a deeply felt patriotism. When he arrived in Tokyo in 1903 he promptly cut off his queue and was caught up in the life of revolutionary Chinese students there. Wu's testimony is informative about the organizations, activities, and publications of the Chinese exiles in Tokyo and of a wide range of contemporary intellectual currents. As, naturally, he was most active among his fellow Szechwanese, he contributed regularly to the newsletter which sowed seeds of revolution among their compatriots back home in Szechwan. In 1905 he joined the T'ung Meng Hui, whose policy of armed uprisings he supported actively. However, partly out of impatience with the inadequacies of the T'ung Meng Hui's political program, in 1907 he and his Szechwan compatriots in Japan founded a weekly, *Szechwan tsa-chih*, which was more radical than the T'ung Meng Hui organ, *Min Pao*. In the latter half of 1907 he was instrumental in organizing the Kung Chin Hui (Progressive Society) on the basis of broad provincial representation and the support of several secret societies, including the Ko Lao Hui Society, the Filial Fraternal Society, and the Triads. Wu served as provisional chairman and general manager. The Kung Chin Hui was committed to rectify the causes of the T'ung Meng Hui's repeated failures at armed insurrections. Its program is cogently explained and its personnel and their provincial origins identified.

The events immediately preceding the 1911 revolution are seen in terms of Wu's own experience, conveyed in part by extracts from his prose and poetry. These include the abortive uprising at Canton, Szechwan's Railway Protection Movement, provincial independence movements, the assassination of Tuan Fang, Wu's opposition to the political machinations of Yuan Shih-k'ai, and his journey to France for extended study after the Hsin Hai revolution. These are but a few of the events which T'ien has covered competently in this sensitive study.

30-64 THE ANGRY ROAR OF CHANGSHA CONSTRUCTION WORKERS Yuan Fu-ch'ing

This study of one of the several bitter labor struggles of the 1922-1923 period aids in assessing the role of labor and the urban proletariat in the early stage of the Communist movement. The successful strike of the Changsha construction workers for some 20 days during October 1922 is submitted by Yuan Fu-ch'ing as "the glorious first page of the Chinese labor movement." While the dimensions of the Changsha struggle are scaled in foreseeably black and white terms of the "feudalistic" oppressors in the government-owned company against the "enslaved" construction workers, the actual conditions of Chang Ching-yao's warlord government as they impinged upon the workers' lives are presented in fairly realistic detail. Among the most unbearable effects of Chang's administration was the depreciation of the currency, which drastically reduced the workers' purchasing power. The general problem of wage and price scales in Hunan at that time are competently handled.

When labor struggles first burst into the open, the narrator Yuan and his fellow workers were so inexperienced that for them "it was like mounting the bridal chair for the first time." The workers sought union organization without knowing how to implement it. The only CCP member at the factory was Jen Shu-te, who represented the workers throughout the strike. It was decided to organize "10 man teams" to carry out agitation and organization, and to search out Mao Tse-tung for assistance and guidance. As the strike persisted and continued to hold its own against the repeated incursions of the police, the original agitators were joined by construction workers from all over the city as well as by workers from other industries in the area, including silk manufacture, mines and railroads. Emerging proletarian class solidarity inspired a sense of camaraderie among workers as distant as Hupeh and beyond. Changsha's liberal newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, came out strongly for the strikers' cause.

When at long last Mao arrived at the scene of the strike, he argued that previous strikes had failed in Changsha because they lacked the necessary techniques of organization, particularly that of the "10-man team," which he considered indispensable. Mao's lengthy interview with

the head of the provincial political affairs department at Changsha articulates the issues which were basic to labor and its quest for independence at that time.

65-93 THE MARTYR CHAO SHIH-YEN AT THE TIME OF THE THIRD
ARMED UPRISING AT SHANGHAI
Ch'ang I

The author of this valuable study departs from the norm of personal memoirs. Ch'ang I claims to have edited (*cheng-li*) the extant materials pertaining to the uprising without having been eyewitness to the event itself. However, that Ch'ang I's role should more closely approach that of a professional historian (although in typical Chinese style sources are not cited) rather than one who merely records personal recollections, in no way detracts from the importance of his work.

A succinct preface summarizes the events of the last phases of Chao Shih-yen's short life (1901-1927). This includes his joining the Work-Study program in France in 1920, being instrumental in founding the European headquarters of the CCP in Paris in June 1922, and moving on to study at the Moscow University of the Toilers of the East in March 1923. After Chao, Li Ta-chao, and some other Chinese attended the 5th Comintern Congress (June 1924), Chao returned to China during the autumn of 1924 and immediately began working for the CCP in north China, in the Kiangsu-Chekiang region, and in Shanghai, where he led propaganda work.

The unique contribution of this piece is its careful analysis of the mounting tensions between the KMT and the CCP, which in the spring of 1927 ruptured in Shanghai over the role of the urban proletariat. Thereafter, the two parties were to follow their separate courses. Ch'ang I deals well with the swift confluence of events which culminated in the third armed uprising in Shanghai. It succeeded, he maintains, inasmuch as it did not repeat the failure of the leaders of the first two uprisings. As Chao is the focal point of the study, his individual political stance (for which Mao, contrary to custom, is given no credit) serves as the standard by which all others are judged. Most probably reflecting his experience among the proletariat of France and the Soviet Union, he was convinced that the revolution could succeed only by organizing and arming the masses, particularly the workers. As he put it, "we [the workers] must use revolutionary armed power to overthrow anti-revolutionary armed power."

The tense atmosphere generated by the arrival of Chiang Kai-shek, the reign of White Terror, and Chao's switching his political tracks to the underground are transmitted in a tight, day-by-day, hour-by-hour narration. The final countdown brings all involved parties into the picture, highlighted in telling detail. Both the infamous and famous are drawn into the scene. On April 4, Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Wang Ching-wei issued their

“manifesto on unity,” which here is decried as not sufficiently critical of Chiang’s reactionary stance. By contrast, Li Li-san, Nieh Jung-chen, and Ch’en Yen-nien, who arrived from Wuhan in the middle of the month, had long been suspicious of Chiang. For this, history has judged them more kindly than Ch’en Tu-hsiu.

Chao’s fate was linked with that of Ch’en Yen-nien, who likewise was arrested and put to death by the KMT. At the news of Chao’s sentence several comrades offered their own lives to be taken in his stead, and the entire labor world was profoundly grieved. Ch’ang I conveys the sense of Chao’s last words, which encapsulate the significance of his brief but influential career: first, support for the proletarian revolution with the goal of promoting class struggle; second, castigation of Chiang Kai-shek for having repudiated Sun Yat-sen’s advice to cooperate with the Soviet Union and the CCP; and third, refusal to protest his own death because, in his view, as the seeds of revolution had already been sown in the north and south, the CCP and the proletariat would ultimately triumph.

94-112 RED FLOWERS BLOOM IN NORTH SHENSI

Liu Chan-chiang

This refreshing piece is valuable for rendering the hard-worn concept of “mass mobilization” in terms of actual human lives. It is written by a man who recollects his early revolutionary experience with a band of Young Pioneers in their native district in North Shensi in 1933. The “red flowers” of the title refers metaphorically to their “blooming success” in mobilizing the peasants in mass organizations. Like red flowers, he says, their red flags spread out over the plateau and covered both banks of the Wu Ting River. Although the concept of mass mobilization is a long-standing preoccupation of the Communists, this is not a strongly ideological essay. It is entirely free of lessons in right and wrong thinking, of celebrations of Mao’s Thoughts, and of official heroes of any standing. Being non-didactic, its style alternates from amusingly mundane to lyrical. The intricate dynamics of the peasants’ struggle against the “evil gentry and landlords” is so ingeniously handled as to appear to be the relatively unencumbered expression of simple facts of life, rather than manipulation of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The young Liu and his friends promoted the revolution both within and beyond the context of their families. Some fathers had already been imprisoned by the landlords, and their sons contrived to free them from jail. These Young Pioneers employed many levels and pitches of propaganda to pry people out of the ruts of their miserable lives and win them over to new social units in which cadres would provide the continual agitation needed to prevent them from reverting to old ways of thought and behavior. Much of the political activity was carried out in underground party organs and in study sessions (*hsüeh-hsi*) conducted in the

ubiquitous loess caves. The keen articulation of a range of individual personalities renders humanly understandable such collective movements as peasant associations, Red Guard units, Young Pioneers, women's associations, relief associations and children's brigades.

113-122 BREAKING THROUGH THE NATURAL BARRIER OF LATZUK'OU
Yang Ch'eng-wu

After the Red Army completed the strenuous lap of the Long March which carried it across the grasslands, it reached the Paishui River on September 14, 1935. Orders were received from Lin Piao and Nieh Jung-chen to continue northward to Minchou in south Kansu and to seize the natural barrier of Latzuk'ou. Breaking through this pass should both shatter the KMT plot to halt their northward progress and prove the correctness of the Center's policy of undertaking the march to the north. If Latzuk'ou had not been taken, the Red Army would have been forced to retreat to the grasslands. By this time Chang Kuo-t'ao had already opposed the Red Army's northern advance and had openly carried out anti-Party and anti-Center activities that had fractured Party-Army unity. Yang Ch'eng-wu projects what *might* have happened (with disastrous consequences) if what *did* happen had not successfully been carried out. The point of these speculations appears to be rigorous justification of the correctness of the final decision to continue the march north to seize the pass.

Once apologies have been made, the writer's *persona* merges with the events themselves. His narration of the battle for the pass is robust and informal. The immediacy of events is conveyed by the swift exchange of reconstructed dialogue. Officers directly implicated in this mission are identified by name and depicted realistically within the context of the battle. At the article's close, Yang resumes his didactic role and proclaims that the Red victory at Latzuk'ou smashed Chiang Kai-shek's plot to starve out the Red Army on the grasslands.

123-136 NORTH SHENSI'S "KIANGNAN": RECLAMATION OF
SHIHCHIACH'A
Yen Te-ming

During the Resistance War, Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese conspired to demolish the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region through military attack and economic blockade. Because this Border Region was an impoverished area with about one million population, the task of feeding and clothing several tens of thousands of cadres, soldiers, and students was nearly insurmountable. As Mao put it, "We have reached a point where we have no clothes to wear, no oil to eat, no paper, no food; soldiers have no shoes or socks, and in winter the workers have no blankets. . . . Our difficulties are really extreme!" Accordingly, Mao ad-

vised Party members to rely on their own initiative to meet these challenges. Their response is the subject of this essay.

Yen Te-ming belonged to the 359th Brigade, which during 1942 was charged with defending the Yellow River in the Border Region. In compliance with Mao's summons and the orders of Chu Teh, the Brigade went to Nanniwan to initiate a massive reclamation project. Digging into the local history of Nanniwan, Yen compares its early flourishing population and productive capacity with its later decline under the Ch'ing dynasty and then under the KMT. When the Brigade arrived in Nanniwan food and shelter were non-existent. Organizing themselves into work teams ("with rifle in one hand and hoe in the other"), the soldiers carried out a series of reclamation projects described here at length, with nearly as much attention to their emotional value as to their material significance. Alternately exalting and despairing in the primitive joys of creation, the soldiers fretted over such problems as making toothbrushes, sanitation, and disease prevention (seeking advice from seasoned old villagers). Their crops were so successful that by the end of 1942 Nanniwan attained self-sufficiency in food production.

In the spring of 1943, Chou En-lai and Lin Piao, on their way to Yen-an, praised the wonders of the reclamation project. The article closes with Commander Chu Teh's poem, "On Going to Nanniwan," commemorating in *wen-yen* style the pleasures of his own visit there in 1942, and the soldiers' song celebrating the same events with popular lyrics.

137-147 STARTING FROM SCRATCH: THE TA KUANG TEXTILE MILL
OF THE 359TH BRIGADE
Liu Yun-ch'iu

In the winter of 1939, the 359th Brigade of the 120th Division, 8th Route Army, was transferred from the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region back to north Shensi. Besides the nagging problem of lack of material for clothing, the troops were plagued by the pressure of Japanese and the "bandit" armies of Yen Hsi-shan, Hu Tsung-nan, and Ma Hung-k'uei surrounding them on all sides and conspiring to starve them out by cutting off communications and imposing an economic blockade. In January 1940, Mao issued the directive which was to be the basis for sending the 359th Brigade of over 10,000 men to Nanniwan for the dual purpose of protecting the home base and raising production. Mao urged, "Change your lives through your own efforts, become self-sufficient, overcome difficulties and establish the Border Region." Liu's account of the implementation of this directive reveals both noble and ludicrous aspects of being confronted with the improbable task of creating a self-sufficient economy from scratch. After massive exertion of resourcefulness and ingenuity, the first loom of the Ta Kuang Textile Mill was set up in the temple of a local deity. Brigade Commander Wang Chen wrote out the

following verse on two long strips which he hung on the temple door. It expressed the essential nature of their mission in the most elegant terms:

Move hands move feet
 Self provision self sufficiency
 Same heart same mind
 Love country love people.

Despite the surrounding enemy, who tried to cut off the supply of cotton to the Communist-held areas, the 359th Brigade succeeded by stages in building up their textile industry. The local populace participated with apparent enthusiasm. Schools were set up for children so as to free the mothers for work. As soon as the soldiers returned from the fields at the end of the day they began twisting thread while they ate, and continued the twisting into the late evening. When white cloth became monotonous, they concocted a dye using local roots which initiated the production of a range of colored cloth. Solid colors were soon relieved by patterns in over 200 varieties. Eventually production was expanded to include woolens, making the mill one of the three largest of its kind in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region. Commenting on this spectacular triumph of self-reliance, some old folks said in jest: "Our troops don't mind being bachelors. Except for producing babies there's nothing they can't do!"

A conference of factory heads and labor union delegates from all the Border Regions was opened at Yen-an on May 1, 1944. Comparing problems of production in remote and primitive areas, the delegates concurred that although their achievements were indeed astounding, they must at all costs avoid complacency. On May 22, Mao appeared unexpectedly at the conference and spoke forcefully. Citing copious facts and figures, he credited the Border Regions' remarkable production achievements to the triumph of the human will and the spirit of self-reliance.

China's industrial weakness, he said, had left room for Japanese imperialism; the mission of the entire Chinese people should be to eliminate economic backwardness because it was self-defeating. He pointed out that of all types of work—economic, military, political, cultural, moral, and religious—the most fundamental was economic, especially as it related to industry. Urging all CCP members to engage in economic work, he said, "We don't want to be empty-headed revolutionaries!"

148-166 RECOLLECTIONS OF LIFE AT THE LU HSUN ACADEMY OF
 ARTS AND LETTERS AT YENAN
 Ma K'o

One of several schools established in Yen-an during the War of Resistance, the Lu Hsun Academy offered instruction in Party policies on the arts and literature. In addition to recruiting local peasants into its pro-

gram, it also sought out members of the intelligentsia and art circles, most of whom had migrated inland from the coastal cities and were not from rural or proletarian backgrounds. The Academy's declared mission and the main theme of this article was the popularization of culture (along preferred lines).

On May 30, 1942, Mao Tse-tung, introduced by the Academy Head Chou Yang to a large audience, began the first of the "Talks on Art and Literature," and by the same stroke the Rectification Campaign, which would continue for the next two years. The essential message of the Talks was that from then on art work was to be carried out by the "people" and that the criterion of art work's acceptability was to be a political one—prosecution of the Resistance War. Compared with earlier campaigns, Mao's attitude was now relaxed and genial, for this was the first time that he and his colleagues enjoyed sufficient leisure to extend politics to art. The dynamics of the Rectification Campaign, which was the other side of the art program, are discussed at length. The Campaign began with stringent sessions of mutual criticism carried out in small groups and reached its deepest level as self-criticism and self-reform (*kai-tsao tzu-chi*).

Ma K'o digresses on *yangko* as a vehicle for arousing and diffusing the mass viewpoint in the arts. As Chou Yang put it: "The responsibility of the new artistic creation is to demonstrate the new era of the masses; study, application, reform, creation—all must be directed toward achieving this goal." Some *yangko* performances are described vividly. Each was followed up with a critical review by the masses, which sometimes included exchanges of puns and in-jokes. By applying new lyrics to ancient musical formulas, the *yangko* was related to such contemporary topics as "Brothers and Sisters Open the Wilderness" (*Hsiung-mei K'ai-huang*). "The East Is Red," the song which has since become so famous, originated in this setting. Its fresh and topical lyrics were set to an old tune, long familiar with the people, by Li Tseng-cheng, a young captain of one of the settlers' brigades in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region.

Another popular production was "White Haired Girl," a play written collectively by the people on the basis of actual experience. In the autumn of 1944 some comrades returning from the mountains of west Hopeh brought in a girl who was nearly an apparition, for her hair was totally white. Some of the peasants called her the "white-haired fairy," while others more fearful thought she was a ghost. Ma's account of the transformation of her devastating personal story into a play of compelling political significance is excellent. When Mao attended its premier performance, he was most taken with the line, "The old society turns men into ghosts and the new society turns ghosts into men."

167-182 ON THE REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATION OF
PEASANT VILLAGES
Li Ch'eng-jui

Early in 1948, Li Ch'eng-jui was sent to Fup'ing hsien in the mountainous areas of west Hopeh, the heart of the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region. With the cooperation of Huang Ching, Second Secretary of the Central Office of the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region, Li led an investigation team in a survey of peasant villages which had already undertaken the first stages of land reform. To be completed within 20 days, the team's report was to serve as a basis for apportioning the tax of public grain which was to be handed over to the PLA in order to sustain its final drive to destroy Chiang Kai-shek's forces.

The peasants were at first suspicious and uncommunicative. Huang Ching advised Li that he would have no difficulty winning over the peasant mass if he carried out the investigation in the spirit of a young student and adopted the mass line. In order to ease divisive tendencies, the village cadres, activists from among the masses, and members of the investigation team were drawn together into the Production Responsibility Study Association, whose dual function was to stimulate discussion by the masses and inquiry by the investigators. The Association was particularly concerned to relieve mutual animosity between the middle and poor peasants over the equalization of landholdings and the determination of production responsibilities. Disparity in the size of households and other unbalancing factors were also to be taken into account. A village where the grain tax problems were settled successfully was designated a model village. Expressions of devotion to the mass line and to resolution of contradictions among the people permeate the essay. On May 1, 1948, the Administrative Committee of the Chin-Cha-Chi Border Region convened the meeting which employed this village survey as the basis of a new grain tax policy for the liberated areas.

183-207 PACKING THE WORKSHOP ON OUR BACKS WE WAGED
GUERRILLA WARFARE

Compiled by HCPPP's editorial board on the basis of the workshop's records, this piece is not signed by individual authors. Nevertheless, the account is cast in the first person and events are made to appear as if seen from a single, sustained viewpoint. This story of a mobile weapons workshop begins with its origins as an agricultural machine tool shop during the earliest period of land reform, prior to the Long March, a stage when its only "capitalization" was a handful of saws and pliers. Circumstances of this period forced the shop to convert to the handicraft production of weapons. Packing all equipment on their backs, over one hundred weapons workers set out on the Long March, but by the time

north Shensi was reached, only seven survived. During the War of Resistance it was they who were responsible for building the first native-made infantry rifles in the Border Regions.

In March, 1947, Hu Tsung-nan descended upon Yen-an. In the eyes of the weapons workers now settled in the environs of Yen-an, Hu's formidable airforce resembled huge swarms of flies buzzing in the sky. At the insistence of his worker-comrades, workshop head Wang Yuan-i agreed to allow his men, including some eager female workers, to form a guerrilla detachment for the recapture of Yen-an. Representing Yen-an headquarters, Fang Chung-ju instructed Wang Yuan-i's guerrilla detachment to let the enemy hold Yen-an for a while before recapturing it. Fang urged the worker-guerrillas to pack along their weapons workshop so as to continue production uninterruptedly.

At the outset of Hu's attack, Mao, the Party Center, and the Army had evacuated Yen-an but still remained in the north Shensi area. The climax of the guerrillas' adventure was the discovery of Mao's mountain retreat. When the guerrillas met him on the afternoon of April 8, he was attired in his drab ash-colored uniform; he smiled faintly, nodding to the admiring throngs lining the roadway. With him were Chou En-lai, Jen Pi-shih, Lin Po-ch'ü, Lu Ting-i, and others (not named in the text). The guerrillas then presented Mao's bodyguards with a selection of their finest weapons for the protection of Mao and the Party Center.

Technical comments on weapons production at the handicraft level are frequent, and there are ample assessments of the relative strengths and importance of the various troop units deployed in the recapture of Yen-an. The perennial theme of the need for both individual initiative and group cooperation is illustrated convincingly. While "responsiveness of the people" is virtually a required sign of the Red troops' moral and professional competence, the peoples' willing assistance in tracking down the enemy is expressed in non-categorical terms from which individuals emerge in credible proportions. The lyrics of popular songs descanting on these events are included. With the liberation of Sian, the defeat of Hu Tsung-nan was accomplished. The guerrillas summed up their success in the following: "The enemy temporarily held Yen-an, like a fish bone stuck in his throat! History shows that as the wheels of the revolution spin faster, there can never be any turning back."

208-217 SEARCHING FOR CANNON IN THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS

K'uang Yü-min

The Red Army's shift in March 1947 from defensive to offensive strategy called for a greater supply of cannon than was already possessed. Accordingly, a platoon of the 2nd Company, 3rd Artillery Regiment of the Northeast Field Army, was dispatched to search for cannon abandoned by the defeated Japanese "fascists" of the Kwantung Army in north

Manchuria. This account plays upon well-worn themes as it recapitulates some perils of this mission. Company Commander Chou T'ien-ts'ai is depicted both as the real leader of the situation and as a canonical Red hero. He literally gave the shirt off his back to the man who needed it. In the same self-sacrificial vein Platoon Leader Tu Hsueh-lin donated his own cloth shoes to one of his unshod men.

When the Company's antiquated trucks proved inadequate to transport the salvaged cannon, Chou T'ien-ts'ai and his men turned from mechanical to human resources and visited each home in the area in search of support. At first the old villagers were obstructive, saying that people were not likely to survive long exposure to the bitter cold. However, the cadres' gentle persuasion dissolved their stubbornness. Gradually all the people were drawn out to climb the mountain, thereby sharing the burden of transferring every last piece of heavy artillery back to the camp. The cadres went out of their way to make these "civilian workers" (*min-kung*) comfortable by provisioning them from their own meager rations of food and clothing.

In recognition of the rich booty gathered by the soldiers and cadres over a 60-day period, the 2nd Company was extolled as the "search cannon model" (*sou-p'ao mo-fan*) and Chou T'ien-ts'ai was hailed as the "search cannon hero" (*sou-p'ao ying-hsiung*). The retrieved artillery was repaired for use in the campaign in the northeast, in the Peking-Tientsin campaign, and for so distant an engagement as the liberation of Hainan Island. But the crowning compliment was Mao Tse-tung's review of some of these retrieved and restored cannon in the parade at T'ien-an Men for the founding of the People Republic. In view of the date of Volume XVI's publication (October 1961) this article's salute to the Soviet "big brother" is of interest.

218-229 SO LONG AS THERE ARE MEN THERE WILL BE THE RADIO Ch'ü P'ei-yung

On May 1, 1942, General Okamura Yasuji led 50,000 Japanese troops in a mopping-up campaign against the Red military districts of central Hopeh. In the early phase of this violent converging attack the local populace assisted the "heroic fraternal troops of central Hopeh" in their struggle against the enemy. In early June, Commander Ch'ang Te-shan and Political Commissar Wang Yuan-yin led the 2nd Battalion, 23rd Regiment of the 8th District, as reinforcement for the resistance on the north bank of the Hut'o River. The 2nd Battalion, to which the writer Ch'ü P'ei-yung belonged, was supported in this operation by a radio transmission squad whose simple equipment consisted merely of a box enclosing a receiver and transmitter and a hand generator.

By August the enemy troops attained a strength several times more powerful than the Reds. Through his telescope Commander Ch'ang could

watch the enemy hordes zooming in on bicycles from the west and cavalry storming in from the east. As the enemy continued to close a ring around the west, south, and east sides. Ch'ang ordered his troops simultaneously to resist the encirclement and to break through it to the north. The narration effectively recreates the tumultuous sound and action of the battle with dramatic face-to-face encounters with the enemy which are unusual in this collection. Several of Ch'ü's close comrades emerge as individuals. Casualties are reported in highly realistic detail with no efforts to extract sentimental or moralistic lessons from them. While some individuals gain admirable proportions, the real hero is mechanical—the radio which was able to unify forces far out among the hsien of central Hopeh, an achievement far beyond the reach of natural human capacities.

III

Index

There are obvious and serious problems in preparing an index of so voluminous and diverse a collection. This index makes no claim to completeness: hopefully, it will assist the researcher by providing some useful guideposts.

Basically, the index has been prepared from the editors' annotations of each article. It therefore reflects the necessary selectivity of those notes. In two main respects, however, the index has been carried a step further. An attempt has been made to include the names of *all* persons—Communist, Kuomintang, or others—who are believed to be of significance. Likewise, we have tried to pick up all major Communist military units. These vary from period to period (see index under Army). National Government (Kuomintang) military units are not indexed, but in many cases they can be traced through the index references to the principal KMT generals.

Generally, we have been guided by the assumption that most users will initially be interested in either time or place. The index thus tries to bring together articles dealing with specific areas (e.g., Ou-Yü-Wan Border Region), and major phases in the history of the period. The scheme for this chronological classification is as follows:

United Front	(1924–27)	Soviet Remnants	(1935–37)
Urban Insurrection	(1927–32)	Shansi Invasion	(1936–37)
Soviet Period	(1927–34)	Resistance War	(1937–45)
Long March	(1935–36)	Liberation War	(1946–49)

Page citations are usually to the first page of the article. This is particularly true of subject categories and persons who are prominent in the article. However, it will be found that in many cases (particularly in longer articles and for personal or military unit citations) the index reference is to the first mention in the particular article. It is necessary here to add a warning: a name (or military unit) is cited only once in the article in which it appears. Thus it is probably safe to assume that it does not occur in that article before the page cited, but the researcher should remember to scan the following pages to the end. It should also be borne in mind that names are not cited unless, generally speaking, there is some substantive content involved. Thus merely passing references to Mao Tse-tung or Chiang Kai-shek (to take two prominent examples) are not indexed.

Romanization is Wade-Giles except that (a) umlauts have been omitted when not essential to distinguish the pronunciation, and (b) postal spellings have been used for well-known geographical names. Chinese charac-

ters have not been included because it is assumed that researchers will have access to the Chinese volumes.

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