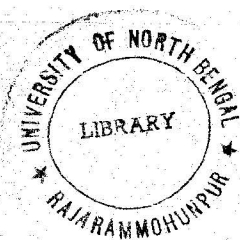


I VISIT YENAN

Israel Epstein

*Eye Witness Account of the
Communist-led Liberated Areas
in North-West China*



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INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK CONSISTS OF THE DISPATCHES SENT BY ISRAEL Epstein, Chungking Correspondent of the *New York Times*, to his paper over a period of five months of 1944, spent in the Communist-led north-western regions of China. From the time that the Kuomintang instituted a blockade—political and economic—against the Communist region in 1939, no foreign correspondent was able to visit that part of China. It was only after long and persistent agitation on the part of the group of foreign correspondents in Chungking, led by Epstein, Gunther Stein of the *Manchester Guardian* and Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle*, that Chungking in June last year allowed a party of four journalists, foreign and Chinese, to visit Communist-led China.

We are printing the dispatches as they were sent with only a few explanatory notes, added by Mr. Epstein when he was in India. Naturally to get round Chungking's very stringent censorship, in places he could only state what he wished to by resorting to roundabout methods; but we felt it was better to give the dispatches as they were written than rather than attempt to change and make more direct these passages, because changing them would have lessened the authenticity and freshness of the writing.

The second part of the book consists of wood-cuts from Liberated China with a note on each, written specially for us by Israel Epstein. They give a simple and clear picture of the way in which the life in the Communist-led areas is organised, how the people live and fight.

In these areas (which include not only the area visited by the correspondents but a huge area stretching right to Hongkong and Hainan Island with a total population of 90 million), the people are struggling to build a new type of democracy, are blazing a new path for all Asia.

We are sure that this book will prove of real value in helping our people to understand just what is this New Democracy. It will help them too to understand just what is the Communist stand in the negotiations still continuing between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang, which are directed to achieving the unity of all China and thus bring quicker the end of Japan.

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FORTRESS OF SIAN

May 28, 1944.

SIAN, WHERE OUR PARTY OF FOREIGN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS PROCEEDING to the Chinese Communist areas—the first in five years—has been for the past three days, is an important city for the future of China and the future of the Allied continental counter-offensive in Asia—all the more important now that opening of the India Road seems imminent (opened recently.—*Ed.*). The Honan campaign has made clear China's desperate need for internal unity, the country's highest governing body* is meeting in Chungking, and a Communist plenipotentiary sits in the capital waiting to know if its decisions will make negotiations possible. The fact that major political decisions can come from Chungking only does not make Sian less of a key point because Sian is a great political and military fortress which the government has been building up since 1937 for a "settlement of the Communist issue" and whether the Central Government's policy is for unity or for civil war it is Sian which will have to give effect to it.

Being a politico-military fortress, Sian looks and feels like one. One's movements are not one's private business. Everything is traced, checked and counter-checked. Chungking by comparison is liberal in the extreme and the visitor's first sense of exhilaration at leaving the hot depressing dampness of the Yangtze valley for the sun-drenched Arizona-like Shensi plateau, which is invigoratingly cool as soon as the sun goes down, is almost immediately succeeded by a feeling that one is a piece on a chessboard with movements strictly circumscribed by fixed rules and generally not subject to one's own volition.

The welcome the press party received was royal. We were wined and dined daily and the official suite attached to us to guide and make us comfortable made us feel like visiting potentates. However, since our purpose was not social, we spent intervals between banquets, seeing key men and key places. General Hu Chung-nan is not here—*after* the Japanese had completed their occupation of the Peiping Hankow Railway he moved to the front with some of his anti-Communist blockade troops—which are seeing action for the first time in this war—to check their advance in the direction of his own stronghold in Shensi. But his Chief of Staff, Major General Lo Tse-kai, who assured us that he spoke in Hu Chung-nan's name, declared flatly that

*The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the party holding exclusive power in China, was meeting in Chungking. The Communist delegate was Lin Chu-han, Chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region Government at Yen-an and Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

the Communist-led Eighth Route Army had never fought the Japanese since the war began, that they have done nothing except impede and attack the Central troops, that all guerillas in Shansi, Hopei and Shantung really belong to the Kuomintang, and that if the Chungking talks achieve any sort of settlement, "we don't hope they will help us fight the Japanese because this is too much to expect. We only hope that they do not interfere with us."

Asked why the *Domei Agency* of Tokyo is constantly reporting Japanese battles with the Communists, General Lo Tse-kai snapped, "if you believe *Domei*, why is America fighting Japan?" Answering a question put by a correspondent of the official *Chinese News Agency*, the General said that armies in this sector never received American lend-lease equipment. This may be technically true but at the very moment he was speaking, planes of the Chinese-American composite wing were roaring overhead *en route* to the Honan front.

Besides the routine visit to the Military Academy where 5,000 cadets were being efficiently instructed in various branches of military science, the Sian authorities showed us their "Labour Camp" for the re-conversion of political malcontents to fit them for return to law-abiding existence in accordance with rigorous local standards. The camp is headed by the Director of the Shensi Kuomintang Headquarters, Ku Cheng-ting, German-educated brother of the German-educated Ku Cheng-kang, national Minister for Social Affairs, and Ku Cheng-lun, Governor of Kansu and former Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Gendarmerie. This concentration camp is a somewhat milder Dachau*, a model of superhuman Spartanism scrubbed to superhuman cleanliness for our visit. We were told that the "course" was of two years—one year political, one year vocational—but senior inmates, close to "graduation" who were asked to come to tea, with us said that some of them had been there for four years.

Information regarding the camp is hard to come by. A whole group of trustees (trusted inmates of the camp) were brought by the authorities to tea told us that they themselves and all other inmates had come voluntarily because they felt that after leaving the Communist areas or party they needed to have their thoughts straightened before becoming normal citizens again. But they were immediately contradicted by the speech of the Camp's commanding officer who said that while one-third of the students had come voluntarily the remainder were sent to the camp for infraction of laws. Later other campers said that they had been sent in from various places of detention for rehabilitation following "confession." Unofficial people in Sian—both foreign and Chinese—intimated that the camp consists exclusively of confessees or unimportant people who have not yet confessed (the

*Dachau is the worst of the Nazi torture camps for internal political opponents. The comparison with Dachau was the only way the writer could get a suggestion of the real nature of the Sian camp past the Kuomintang censor—who was fortunately not conversant with the names of German prisons.

bulk of political prisoners being in secret police jails) and laughed heartily at the suggestion of voluntary entry.

The inmates also told us many stories regarding the Communist areas which, while varying considerably in detail, all contained certain common points. These will be sent later as correspondents were told before leaving Chungking that they would not be allowed to send Communist statements without appropriate refutation and we are all storing up refutations to include in messages from Yen-an.

It would take a long time to reach any detailed conclusion about this "Labour Camp." All I can add to facts given above is that while trusties exhibited remarkable self-possession, other inmates whom we, with accompanying officials, buttonholed on the drill ground and other places blanched and trembled when approached. A correspondent asked one boy who has been interned ever since the New Fourth Army incident in 1940 whether there are many Communists in the Camp. The boy answered "a few." The official broke in: "What, you mean they are still Communists?" The boy quavered: "Most of them, of course have relented."

This is Sian. Whatever decisions are taken in Chungking, Sian will be required to carry them out. Much—perhaps everything—depends upon whether it is this Sian or a different one.

TUNGKWAN—GATEWAY TO NORTHWEST CHINA

May 29, 1944.

TUNGKWAN, WHICH STANDS AT THE ELBOW OF THE YELLOW RIVER AND the meeting point of frontiers of three provinces—Shensi, Honan and Shansi—is one of the most important strategic points in all China. As such it possesses the strongest fortifications in the country and is manned by what is perhaps China's best-equipped division. Although it has faced the Japanese across a thousand yard wide river for six years, nothing has happened here during this time except intermittent artillery bombardment. Wherefore the fortress became a show-place where visitors such as Wendel Willkie and the British Parliamentary Mission could—if they were lucky—actually see Japanese soldiers on the opposite bank, and enjoy the thrill of witnessing realistic battle manoeuvres of the garrison within sight and sound of the enemy. The recent Honan campaign, however, changed the whole situation. The enemy is now not only across the river but a little more than a day's march away on the Tungkwan side. This has made Tungkwan the starting point for counter-attack, the guardian corridor, through which all reinforcements are bound to come and a possible base for diversionary sorties across the river, preventing the Japanese forces crossing into Honan from southeast Shansi, which is the chief source of enemy troops operating against Loyang and other points west of

the Peiping-Hankow Railway.

We arrived at Tungkwan by a highway winding perilously through loess cliffs. We came this way in order to keep out of sight of nearby Japanese batteries of whose existence we were forcibly reminded when on entering the city gate we found two unexploded 280 mm—eleven inch—shells which had come over two days before from great howitzers installed behind Fen Ling Tu.

English-speaking Captain Chiang Wei-kuo, the second son of the Generalissimo, who had just returned to his permanent station here following a brief tour of training under Stilwell in India, welcomed us and told us that small groups of the enemy had made nine recent attempts to cross the river mainly along the northern leg. This suggested that they are exploring possibilities of outflanking Tungkwan by cutting the railway to Sian while investing it from the east and south, as well as north. Chinese patrols also crossed to the other bank last week, and succeeded in bringing back one Japanese prisoner. However, there is no evidence that these activities are anything more than exploratory at this stage. What both Chiang and his divisional commander told us, and which was later confirmed, was that there were only 60 Japanese directly opposite the fortress with some 5,000 a little way behind, and, furthermore, that these forces were not only not increased during the Honan campaign but other troops which might have formed their immediate reserves were transferred away to Honan and along other routes.* The only circumstance that remained puzzling was why the Tungkwan garrison did not take advantage of this position while it lasted to clean up this spearhead, at least gaining a temporary footing on the Shensi bank of the Yellow River, averting an immediate threat of outflanking from the west, and making the Japanese more wary about sending more troops to the critical Honan front.

The major surprise of our half-day visit to Tungkwan was the sudden appearance of General Hu Chung-nan, commanding all Chinese forces in Shensi, and therefore a key man of Kuomintang-Communist balance as well as a person directly responsible for the Yellow River defence. Hu Chung-nan is notoriously inaccessible to visitors, and an American Embassy representative who has been in Sian for more than a year has never yet seen him. Now Hu travelled three and a half hours in a little Soviet-made staff car, over roads under Japanese airplane observation, to come to greet the Press party. He said he was particularly happy to meet us only a thousand yards from the enemy, but declined to answer a question regarding the effect of a possible Government-Communist understanding upon this front after the representative of the Chungking Ministry of Information, who was accompanying us, broke in to say that this question had already been

*Some of them were sent to Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) thousands of miles to the West where they helped themselves in suppressing a national minority (the Kazakhs) and got into a conflict with Outer Mongolian forces.

answered by General Lo Tse-kai in Sian. Regarding military operations, Hu indicated that the Chinese-American Composite Wing, which is taking an active part, promised cheering news within a week. Then he excused himself.

The only net result of the meeting was that we have seen and talked to Hu Chung-nan, who is usually as invisible as he is important. This in itself is a surprising experience. Instead of the stiff regular army martinet that everybody had imagined, Hu turned out to be a small, rather mincing, delicate featured man of about forty, with Bohemian hair growing down over his collar. His face, Mediterranean rather than Chinese, made the General's appearance like that of a patrician of Rome at its nadir. His whole figure expressed extreme self-consciousness, combined with nervous energy and ambition. The tour of Tungkwan's main fortifications as well as the most forward outworks revealed that they are strong and in good repair, but the fortress is certainly not in a state of alarm. The garrison was in quarters at some distance away and the newest magazines in rest rooms behind action stations were dated 1942.

THEATRICALS IN SOUTH SHENSI—A STUDY IN POOR STAGE MANAGEMENT.

May 30, 1944.

FOR FOUR DAYS OUR PARTY HAS BEEN TRAVELLING NORTH FROM Tungkwan parallel to the Yellow River—never more than 20 miles from the enemy lines on the Shansi bank.

For the first three days we moved through a fertile loess plain which witnessed China's earliest glories, where every town has a history which makes Peiping seem ultra-modern, and which today is heavy with the richest wheat harvest of the decade. Today we have crossed the great Hwanglung—Yellow Dragon—mountain range which is at present blanketed with Alpine flowers, and moved into geographic North Shensi. Here everything is different. The plateau is arid and dissected, millet takes the place of wheat, and the mud-built towns still bear traces of the terrible devastation of the Moslem rebellion during the last century which brought death to a major part of the population. This is the kind of territory which the Communists occupy.

The change from the south to the north side of the Hwanglung mountains is not only one of geography. Although the central Shensi valley is immediately across the river from the Japanese lines, this situation has existed for years, and everybody is accustomed to it. Walled towns, with tree-lined avenues and numerous courtyards look as though they have been preserved intact since the heyday of China's feudal history. Fat and prosperous people know that their place has shops full of Japanese goods for those who are able to buy and the uniformed militia drawn up to welcome us was the only evidence of

the existence of war. North Shensi is quite different. While Hancheng, which is 15 miles from the Japanese and fifty miles from the Communists, looked prosperous, the peacetime town of Ichuan which is 50 miles from the Japanese and 10 miles from the Communists was peopled mainly by its garrison. All other towns we passed through in this area were the same.

A constant feature in our party's progress during these four days has been the sumptuousness of the organised welcomes. Each place was beflagged, and in each place we have had to march through long lines of people standing at attention, cheering and shouting slogans at a given signal. Each place, even the poorest, had large Allied flags and portraits of Roosevelt, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin, and the reception halls had foreign table service, with white-gowned waiters and boy orderlies, some with "V" for Victory embroidered on their caps. Each place had similar welcome delegations composed of representatives of District Councils, Chambers of Commerce, women's, peasants' and workers' organisations—all dressed in their traditional long gowns and black silk jackets. Farmer delegates from Hoyang and Hancheng said that they owned 150 and 200 *mows* of land respectively—the average land holding here is 5 to 6 *mows*. A workers' delegate from Hancheng said that he did not work but "lived at home." A women's delegate from Hancheng was the wife of a magistrate who had arrived to take up a new post only a fortnight earlier. In each place we were introduced to people who had escaped from Communist areas, or claimed first-hand knowledge through others who had told them stories of how the Reds were oppressing the people, growing opium, and otherwise raising hell. One man told us how the Red Army had killed his father in 1935 and, when asked why they had come to his Shensi village at that time, replied: "They were sabotaging the war of resistance."*

Although the Communist areas are very near here, the only contact with them is through controlled trade carried on through the medium of merchants, licensed by both sides, who bring salt, kerosene and candles from Yen-an, and non-prohibited articles from Government areas. This trade is a matter of necessity and helps this district considerably. For instance, Ichuan has much better and cheaper candles than Chungking and if salt did not come from the north, it would have had to be transported over great mountains from the sea-coast or from Szechuan. But the Communists who have wool but suffer from the greatest shortage of cotton, are not allowed to import cotton which is one of the prohibited items under the blockade.

Tomorrow we shall cut eastward again through mountain gorges, across the Yellow River into Shansi and reach the Kenanpo mountain headquarters of the old Marshal Yen Hsi-shan who has controlled the province since 1911, but most of whose territories are now in the hands of the Japanese or the Eighth Routers.

*The War of Resistance began in 1937.

THE MAGIC MOUNTAIN OF GENERAL YEN HSI-SHAN

Kenanpo, Shansi, May 30, 1944.

KENANPO, WHICH MEANS "THE MOUNTAIN OF CONQUERING DIFFICULTY," is certainly the strangest military headquarters, and perhaps the strangest place in the world. Five years ago it was a barren, uninhabited 3,000-foot loess and sandstone mountain, standing among other barren mountains just east of the mighty Yellow River which here is a swirling torrent, running through a narrow rock-girt bottle-neck below a boiling 50-foot fall. Today other mountains remain deserted and barren, but the peak of Kenanpo, honeycombed with caves and protected by block-houses, is a thriving town with ten thousand people who live under the patriarchal rule of Shansi's ageing erstwhile "model governor", Yen Hsi-shan. It is a community which is a mixture of Syrian retreat of the old man of the mountain, a medieval baron's eyrie, an early American phalanstery, and Upton Sinclair's EPIC plan.

In present-day Chinese politics, Kenanpo is as many-sided as its associations. Facing Hu Chung-nan's Shensi, 25 miles from Communist territory, and 30 miles from the Japanese, the magic mountain of Marshal Yen has ticklish problems of defence, diplomacy, political competition and adaptation which must all be met and solved if the Marshal is ever again to resume his sway in his old capital Taiyuan.

Mounted on sturdy Mongolian ponies, our party climbed its way to the Marshal's sun-basked pueblo-like Shangri-la. We had had to cross the raging Huang-ho over a swaying iron rope bridge which spans the river at the narrowest point of the bottleneck—only 40 yards wide and, according to poetic Chinese tradition 9 li 7 chang (over three miles) deep. The way up was lined with well-armed sentries who stood with their backs to our winding trail, keeping a sharp look-out over the surrounding peaks and gorges. Arriving at the top we were greeted simply by a number of blue-clad staff members and while six o'clock cannon split the mountain air, we were escorted through a long vaulted, white-washed room like a subway tunnel lined with neat blanketed beds and—amazingly—electric light. An hour later we were sitting at dinner with the Marshal himself—a soft-spoken slippered old man in a private's uniform. He had started life as an innkeeper's water-carrier before the Boxer Revolt, entered the Imperial Army, received a military education in Japan where he joined the Tung Meng Hui—the first predecessor of the Kuomintang—and with consummate dexterity had managed to keep his position as headman of Shansi through the anti-Manchu revolution, during the period of militarist civil wars, the ascendancy of the Nanking Government, the great civil war of 1930, and against Chiang Kai-shek and many other vicissitudes.

We wanted to ask about the Marshal's relations with the Communists, but the Marshal wanted to tell us first about his social experiments—his "principles of war, of people's revolution, the new economic, and the farmer-soldier union system." The last-named system boils

down to a sub-division of the land with peasants permanently attached—every two peasant households being assessed (over and above the national land tax and other taxes collected by the Central Government) a total of 1,400 lbs. of grain, 12 lbs. of cotton annually. This is an amount regarded as equivalent to that necessary for the upkeep of the third peasant taken into the army—whose land they must also undertake to till to keep his family. It makes every man, including the soldier, a worker, who besides 8 hours regular duty, must spend 4 hours in productive work such as spinning, weaving cotton, or making shoes for farmers and digging victory gardens for soldiers and officials—fruits from which he delivers to public storehouses in return for product certificates—labour receipts. With these product certificates he can buy at the co-operative store. articles turned in by others and some imported goods of equivalent value. The total number of product certificates which have now been issued amount to ten million cooperative dollars. Since these represent accretion of labour only, they have not varied in purchasing power during the last eighteen months, and their exchange value in terms of Chinese national dollars has risen accordingly during the past year from two to six national dollars per unit—parallel to the rise in the outside price level. Free exchange is not allowed except by special permit of the Board of Economics.

In the Marshal's shangri-la, this system appears to work well. 10,000 followers whom he has concentrated here—officers, officials and soldiers, all of whom have been with him between ten and twenty years—live like a great patriarchal family. They run a power plant, textile factory (with productive competition and 'Labour Heroes' of similar name but different in nature from those we were to see in Yen-an), and repair and body building shops for trucks which run only to the east. These trucks are themselves brought up from the river's edge in parts by mules because the Central Government, wary of Japanese advances through Yen's territory, wants no highways leading to or from its narrowest crossing.

The favoured inhabitants of the Magic Mountain are sturdy, rosy-cheeked, well fed, and well clothed. Kenanpo holds weekly memorial services and has an anthem of its own on the Kuomintang pattern. But the portraits of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, ubiquitous elsewhere in China, are not visible here. Instead, Kenanpoites, who have a mass get together every morning "to discuss their life and work," can gaze at the portrait of Marshal Yen which, in solitary grandeur, graces all public gathering places and offices. They are also provided with plenty of reading matter in the shape of a daily newspaper and fortnightly magazine put out by Yen Hsi-shan's political department, and the products of the prolific pen of the Marshal himself (he has presented each of us with individual sets of 48 volumes of those of his works which are not out of print, totalling three million words, the latest of which have titles such as *Marshal Yen's View of the Universe*, *Marshal Yen's Philosophy of Life*, *Marshal Yen's Policy*

of Justice and Love of Mankind, Organisation of the Farmer-Soldier System and so forth.)

How Marshal Yen's system works in the naturally poor districts which he controls, from which Kenanpo gets its lavish supplies, we were unable to see because our five days in his dominions were confined to the mountain top, seeing its institutions, hiding in caves from the hot noonday sun, and crawling under two blankets during the dry, cold nights.

With regard to our second question, Marshal Yen told us that he has been very angry at the Eighth Route ever since his "Shansi New Army," organized with the cooperation of Communists and student intellectuals in the heyday of the United Front in 1938 revolted and went over to the Communists in 1939.* Although the Eighth Route still has a representative at his headquarters, the Marshal has not met any important Communist since that time, no longer employs Communists, prohibits their party organisations in his territory and has troops fighting against them at Fushan, Shansi, at this very moment. According to the Marshal, however, this warfare is now conducted in a gentlemanly fashion. If the Communist troops catch one of his soldiers or officials they train him for one month and send him back. The Marshal says that he returns this compliment in kind but trains his Communist captives for only one week because he believes his principles to be stronger (they must be much stronger than those prevalent in Sian where years of training in the "Labour Camp" are not considered excessive).

Yen Hsi-shan says that like the Sian authorities he believes that Communism must be wiped out. However, he differs from them in saying categorically that this must not be done by military force (*his troops were attacking the Eighth Route Army when this was written.—I.E.*). "We have an old saying—things get rotten inside first and then the worms can get in. In order to make it impossible for the Communists to appeal to the masses, we must improve our own administration. The reason the Communists get followers is that our administration is bad." (*Yen executes critics other than himself.—I.E.*)

But the hub of Yen Hsi-shan's theory is much deeper than this.

*The "rebellion" of the New Army to which the Marshal refers was not rebellion at all but self-defence as, when reaction was getting back into the saddle elsewhere in the country, he tried to remove the leaders of this too progressive force and disarm its rank and file, first by guile and then by force. The New Army, which wanted to fight the Japanese and considered itself not Marshal Yen's army but the country's and Marshal Yen's only so long as he himself served the nation, resisted and allied itself to the Eighth Route, going to the rear of the enemy to fight, while Marshal Yen hid behind the Yellow River and negotiated with the Japanese for a local truce. His stories of "gentlemanly warfare" are also manufactured. The death penalty for political opposition is even more common in Yen Hsi-shan's territory than in Sian. An interviewer must report an interview as given, and a correspondent in China must phrase his dispatches so that they can pass the censor, so footnotes such as this are necessary.

Yen says he is a Socialist except that he has some slight differences with Marx. But these differences are important. While Russia collectivised the peasants by "liquidating the kulaks as a class," Yen wants to make China a nation of peasants tied to the soil and providing good soldiers by, in his own words, "liquidating the proletariat as a class."

He says: "The Communist armies are strong militarily because they are able to move fast and collect followers. If everyone has land under the farmer-soldier system nobody will be able to move from the plot he cultivates, so how can they recruit? The proletariat is a mobile element, going wherever there is work. No proletariat; no Communism."

Besides the proletariat the Marshal's chief aversions are smoking, dishonesty (cheating the Marshal), and neglectfulness, all of which his officials swear to eschew.

Towards anyone who has actual strength his attitude is tolerant. Unlike his staff, he spoke of the Eighth Route Army to the correspondents more with sorrow than with rage. Of puppet troops, he says that they are all forced to do what they do out of necessity, and that in all the war years he has not learned of one genuine case of whole-hearted treason. As for the Japanese, he admits that they sent delegates to him twice, once in 1939 and once in 1942 (he received them despite the long years the country had been at war) asking him to cooperate with them in the name of the solidarity of Asiatic peoples. One of these envoys was the Chief of Staff of the Japanese forces in North China and an old schoolmate of his at the Tokyo Military Academy. The Marshal says that he answered both: "How can you speak of cooperation of Asiatic peoples when you are only serving your own necessities" and turned his back on them.*

We leave the Magic Mountain tomorrow morning. Noon will see us in Communist territory.

*It is true that the Marshal, who is a wise old fox and knows who will win the war, refused the Japanese demand for a statement openly announcing his adherence. But it is also true that he must have persuaded the enemy that he could be their friend without any such crude avowal, as his garrisons have lived cheek by jowl with theirs in alternate blockhouses along the Fenyang-Lishih highway for two years without a shot being fired in anger, and both Yen's and Japan's transport roll merrily along it. Yen's troops which attacked the Eighth Route east of the Tungpu railway last May passed across this Japanese-held line without enemy opposition. The Marshal is the only official in China to have held a provincial governorship continuously since 1911, through all changes. His technique is simple: "Soft words to all neighbours. Play all neighbours against each other. Play his own tricks against neighbours one at a time."

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S CHINA

Yenan, June 11, 1944.

WE CROSSED THE BLOCKADE LINE ON MAY 31.

Arriving in Yenan, we found the city and the surrounding countryside through which we travelled by horseback and truck for several days, characterised by an intense atmosphere of hard work, hatred for the Japanese invaders, a determination, on the part of the people, to defend their achievements against all interference, and an urgent sense of the nearness of the Allied counter-offensive against Japan in which the Communist-led armies and guerillas want to participate most fully and for which they are preparing.

The Yenan area—the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region—is regarded as a rear base for armies operating behind the Japanese lines, whose continued intense activity was attested not only by the local people but by the few foreign residents such as Michael Lindsay, son of the famous British savant A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Lindsay, who was previously the press attache to the British Embassy in Chungking and was teaching at the Yenching University at Peiping at the outbreak of the Pacific War, escaped from Peiping immediately after the declaration of war and worked for two years in the guerilla base of Hopei province, before coming here after crossing many Japanese lines three weeks ago. A radio which he had helped set up now links Yenan instantaneously with numerous guerilla pockets in the Liberated Areas which include part of South Manchuria in the North, most of North and Central China in between, and the immediate hinterland of Hong Kong and strategic Hainan island in the South, one of which has just reported the rescue of two American P-51 pursuit pilots by guerillas and the Communist Fourth Army on May 5th and 7th respectively. They had been forced to parachute down behind the enemy lines following attacks on Hankow.

We are not proceeding to the front until the beginning of July but meanwhile we have had an opportunity to convince ourselves of the remarkably effective educational work which has led every soldier, farmer and workman to whom we spoke—whether literate or illiterate—to know already that the opening of the European second front five days ago will have its direct bearing on the speeding up of the anti-Japanese offensive. We have also seen how predominantly barren North Shensi country, which had previously never recovered from devastation and depopulation at the time of the great Muslim-Chinese struggle of the 1860's and many subsequent cataclysms culminating in the civil war which preceded Japanese attack on China, has been transformed into an area of most intensive cultivation, stock-breeding, and handicraft industry, which has created sufficiency in food and clothing, and which has made the Eighth Route Army units here among the best-clothed and best-fed I have seen anywhere in China.

Reclamation of great expanses of waste land was accomplished not only by the people but also by the local garrison who work on land throughout the summer, train militarily throughout the winter, and who are now able to feed themselves without imposing any burden on the peasantry.

Brigadier-Commander Wang Chen of the 18th Group (Eighth Route) Army, who dresses in an old uniform and rope sandals, shabbier than those of many of his soldiers and who rode with us over more than a hundred miles of this country, explained both the production movement and military training, the latter of which he summed up in one phrase: "We study our enemy." The demonstration we witnessed as well as conversations with soldiers confirmed this strikingly. They speak of military things not abstractly but in terms of what the Japanese have done, are doing, and will most probably do. Japanese prisoners here are not held in camps but are impressed with the belief that by helping this army, they are helping to liberate Japan from the militarists and the burdens of the suicidal war into which they have led her. They are also set the task of building exact replicas of Japanese fortifications for training purposes—including one fort for a garrison of 200 which we saw. Even the present Communist army ration has been reformed on the basis of an army nutrition chart which was captured from the Japanese and found good after careful investigation.

Elsewhere in China we have seen among different armies a greater or lesser number of Japanese trophies which are kept on proud exhibition at headquarters. Here every soldier carries a trophy—a Japanese rifle or an officer's sword or a pistol which uses captured Japanese ammunition. In the artillery units we saw ten captured Japanese 75's which their crews themselves captured at Hopei and Shensi where they were previously stationed and whose history they avidly describe.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the armies which have been largely a mystery to the outside world for the last five years are good and valuable allies in the anti-Japanese war and that support given to them—like the support given to the Yugoslav Armies of Liberation—would substantially speed-up victory.

UNITED NATION'S DAY : YENAN OFFERS CHIANG ITS HELP

Yenan, June 18, 1944.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE 18TH GROUP (EIGHTH ROUTE) Army which it leads, and the local civil authorities have responded to the Japanese military threat to Tungkwan, gate to China's northwest and Sian, the northwest's largest city, by calling upon all the population and troops under their control to prepare for assistance to the Kuomintang Army regulars defending these points. At a great United

Nations' Day meeting here in Yen-an on June 14th our group of correspondents heard 40,000 armed peasants, students, soldiers, workers and functionaries shout slogans: "Kuomintang and Communist Parties Unite!", "Defend Sian!", "Defend Northwest China!" "Carry out democracy!" "Mobilise the people of the whole nation!" "Repulse the Japanese onslaught!" "Actively prepare the counter-offensive!" "Co-operate with the Anglo-American forces!" "Improve the condition and education of all soldiers!" "Allow the 8th Route and New Fourth Armies to march to the front to repel enemy attacks!" and others.

Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Communist-led armies and Vice-Commander of China's Second War Zone, addressing a meeting from a stage draped with a huge 50-foot canvas map, showing the military situation in Honan, said that the opening of the second front meant that Hitler's last day is not far off and after this the last day of the Japanese militarists would also be close. "This is the result of a long period of sacrifice, struggle and persistence in democratic unity and joint anti-fascist war. I pledge that our armies and the people of the anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy lines will unite with all anti-Japanese forces in China and with all anti-fascist forces the world over and continue to fight to prepare for the counter-attack against Japan.

"The Japanese on the China front are trying their utmost to consolidate their position and are advancing in Hunan and Honan provinces. The situation is serious and quite unfavourable to us. The reasons for this include the deflection of Chinese forces for attacks on internal opponents, general lack of democracy in the country leading to insufficient popular mobilisation, and antagonism between the army and the people. Such a situation must be thoroughly changed, otherwise China, even though she may fight for seven years, will not be able to launch a counter-offensive, or even to hold on. But although the situation is serious, there is a way out to victory. The experience of the war has taught us that only through persistent unity, the giving up of personal interests, unity with our own people, unity with the Allied forces, and the co-ordination of all armies, can victory be won."

Chu Teh's speech was followed by one by Shushumu Okano, leader of the Japanese People's Emancipation League, whose hundreds of members, former prisoners-of-war, are co-operating with the Eighth Route Army. Okano said that inter-Allied anti-fascist unity and democratic unity in China are the only things which will bring the downfall of the Japanese militarists who are also enemies of the Japanese people. He said that members of the League, many of whom have already enrolled in the ranks of the Eighth Route Army, are ready to march shoulder to shoulder with their Chinese comrades to defend Sian; and that as the war progresses, the forces of free Japan will increase until they become a real factor in the anti-fascist camp.

A resolution was passed by the meeting which repeated the main

slogans and points contained in Chu Teh's speech.

On June 16, the Border Region Government, the North Shensi garrison, and the Communist Party issued joint instructions to officers, officials and Party functionaries of all grades to prepare and assist the armies defending the Northwest if the Central Government permits, to make the situation known to all the people, to strengthen anti-aircraft and anti-spy activities. During the last few days, popular plays, propaganda speeches, and slogans in Yen-an have all stressed the same points. By contrast, it seems incredible to recall that only three weeks ago Major-General Lo Tse-kai, Kuomintang Chief of Staff of the Sian Military Headquarters, when asked what effect inter-Party conversations in Chungking could have on the military situation, said: "Their success or failure would have no military effect. We don't expect the Communists to fight the Japanese because this is quite impossible, but we do hope they do not interfere with us." Lo Tse-kai at the same time was also confident that the Japanese would not be able to disturb the serenity of the Northwest.

HOW JAPANESE ANTI-FASCISTS SEE THE PACIFIC WAR

Yenan, June 18, 1944.

WHEN I HEARD OF THE FIRST AMERICAN BOMBING OF JAPAN SINCE 1942, I immediately requested comment from the scholarly, active 50-year old Shushumu Okano, most important known member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and leader of the United Front Japanese People's Emancipation League, who arrived here last year after underground adventures in occupied North China.

Okano first asked for a couple of hours in order to consult with 70 former prisoners of war, now students of the Japanese Workers' and Peasants' School which he heads here, and then said: "All students were highly excited when they heard the news. One said that the defeat of Japanese militarists and the victory of the Japanese people is coming nearer. Another said that the time for our return to our homeland is not far away.

"My personal opinion is this: The raid may be a less unexpected one to the Japanese people than that of the April 1942 ones because, especially since the Marshall's defeat, the militarists have been warning the population of the serious American preparations to bomb Japan from China or aircraft carriers, though at the same time assuring them that adequate defences have made the imperial soil well-nigh invulnerable. But the degree of success of American bombing will sow panic among the people and the ruling groups.

"The 1942 bombing was a 'guerilla attack' made by a few medium-sized carrier-based planes. Now sixteen B-29's have not only struck at Japan's biggest armament plant at Yawata, but the raids

also come from China bases from which regular attacks on Japan were both expected and possible. Moreover, both the international situation and the Pacific military situation are widely different from 1942 when Hitler and Tojo were still gaining ground. The effect on morale, therefore, must be more serious, the prestige of the militarists will tend to fall, and the people who are already tired will become more anxious regarding wars in the future. This is bound also to affect the spirit of the soldiers at the front.

"In ruling circles, the bombing will stimulate a rising anti-Tojo group which still is not strong but will grow with Tojo's defeats.

"Bombing will militarily benefit the Allies on the Pacific and Burma battlefields because Japan will be compelled to concentrate additional aircraft for home defence. On the other hand, it might stimulate Japan to make new efforts in China with the aim of eliminating bases of attack.

"The general historical meaning of the bombing is that it begins the battle on Japan's mainland."

Regarding the Emancipation League—which has existed since 1938 as the "Japanese Anti-War League" but has now changed its name in accordance with the new prospects—Okano explains that it has no aspirations to become the future government but is merely an organ of those Japanese who believe that militarist domination and aggressive war are suicidal for their country.

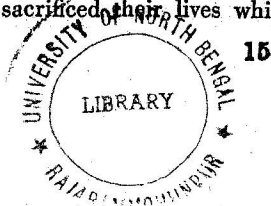
Slogans of the League, which has over 20 members most of whom are working in the Chinese Communist-led armies but some of whom are in Chungking, contain no demand for the dethronement of the Emperor and no attack on the great Mitsui and Mitsubishi trusts, but call for the immediate cessation of war, withdrawal of Japanese troops from all occupied territories, including "Manchukuo," and the establishment of a democratic government.

Though the Japanese *Communists* are unalterably opposed to the imperial system, Okano explains, the League seeks the support of *all* anti-war Japanese, including capitalists and those who retain their belief in the Emperor. Complicating anti-war slogans with others which can refer only to the future, might only alienate some elements now, which is bad for the general cause. "Our job is to stop the war and throw out the militarists. Tojo is already using the Emperor's name to bolster up his own position, and if the Emperor continues to take the jingo side against the anti-war side which is bound to rise with the new defeats, the people will deal with both. If, however, the Emperor is captured by the pro-peace elements who establish a democratic constitution, there will be plenty of time to consider the future of the monarchy."

With Japanese single-mindedness, Okano's students are now as devotedly anti-militarist and as convinced of Japanese revolution as they were formerly—they frankly admit—fanatically pro-war. One proof of their conviction is that many of them have sacrificed their lives while:

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-serving with the Eighth Route Army, in many cases in trying to tell the truth to their former comrades in the Japanese army.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH KUOMINTANG AS SEEN FROM YENAN

Yenan, July 1, 1944.

POLITICAL REALISTS IN THE GOOD POSITIVE SENSE OF SEEKING A REALISTIC basis for winning the war have always considered maximum Kuomintang-Communist collaboration in China both necessary and inevitable if victory is to come in the Far East. During political-military doldrums this lesson has been obscured from others, but the shock of military defeats in the field is now bringing home, even to the less realistic, the penalties which have to be paid for neglecting to maintain and build up national unity in wartime, and the urgent need to remedy such neglect.

This principle is not only political commonsense but is proved by facts from the history of China's resistance. The decision to stand up to Japan in 1937 was accompanied by the abandonment of the bitter 10-year civil war. Every critical period in Japan's early advance brought inter-Party co-operation. During the five-year stalemate since 1939, internal relations have deteriorated and the penalty for this has been that the stalemate was ended not by the Chinese counter-offensive which a proper interpretation of the strategy, of "trading space for time" might have brought about, but by new and more powerful Japanese thrusts on the main fronts which the Chinese forces have been unable to resist because during these years not only space but time also was lost—lost partly because with Japan at war with Britain and America some irresponsible Kuomintang "optimists" thought that victory might come without further hard fighting here and therefore prepared to suppress the Communists instead of preparing to hit at Japan. This is the context in which, in Chungking, negotiations between high government officials and Lin Chu-han, Communist chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region administration who had gone to the capital, assume exceptional importance.

In Yenan to-day, the official *Communist New China News Agency* issued a statement in the form of an interview with Chou En-lai, the major Communist leader, who is entrusted with relations with the Kuomintang and speaks for the Central Committee. Chou said: "When Lin Chu-han, who went to Chungking for negotiations on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party on all problems still under discussion, passed through Sian, the National Government sent Chang Chih-chung, head of the Political Department of the Chinese Army and Wang Shih-chieh, veteran Kuomintang leader who headed a mission to Britain earlier this year, to get in touch with him. After his arrival in Chungking, Lin handed our Party's written suggestions to Chang and Wang

for forwarding to the National Government. There is still a considerable distance between the Government's proposals and our suggestions. The Central Committee of our Party is considering its reply to these proposals and hopes that a rational solution will be found. By rational solution is meant one which would be beneficial to unity, the war of resistance, and the promotion of democracy. Under this principle, our Party would be glad to conduct any discussion."

It is most noteworthy in this connection that Vice-President Wallace, who arrived in China at the height of the Hunan crisis, found it necessary to say in his speech at the Yunnan University that he hoped China would become a strong, democratic and free nation, that Chinese-Soviet relations should be friendly,* and that China can pull herself out of to-day's extreme difficulties only by the united efforts of the whole country. This speech was made to the same students who less than a month ago made the first open demand of youth in recent years for more democracy in the rear areas of China.

As is well-known student demonstrations in China are usually an important indication of very widespread movements. This was confirmed recently by such things as pronouncements critical of government policy by people like Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of the Chinese Republic; Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen; the Federation for Political Democracy composed of small parties other than Kuomintang and Communists, and by others. With both Chinese opinion and Allied policy, as well as China's national interest demanding more unity and democracy, it is fair to say that the internal situation in China holds the possibility, given patriotic responsible handling, of results as positive as the explosion of fighting energy which attended the stoppage of the civil war and reciprocal Kuomintang-Communist co-operation on a democratic anti-Japanese basis seven years ago.

COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUES SLOGANS

Yenan, July 6, 1944.

THE SLOGANS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE CAREFULLY PLANNED AS CONCISE EXPRESSIONS OF THEIR IMMEDIATE POLICIES AS WELL AS PLATFORMS ON WHICH THEY SEEK SUPPORT. THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S SLOGANS ISSUED ON THE SUCCESSIVE JULY 7TH ANNIVERSARIES OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR—HAVE FULFILLED THIS FUNCTION. THOSE PUBLISHED THIS YEAR CAME AT A TIME WHEN THE JAPANESE THREAT TO CHINA'S NORTHWEST EQUALLY THREATENS THE KUOMINTANG AND THE COMMUNISTS, WHEN THE OCCU-

*The reason the American Vice-President found it necessary to speak on this subject was that the Kuomintang during this period, was trying to stir up Soviet-American discord by telling the diplomats of either country tales about ambitions of the other and trying to convince Washington that advocacy of democracy in China would "play into the hands of Moscow."

pation of Hunan has resulted in the loss of the home districts of many Communist leaders (Mao Tse-tung, for instance, is from Hsiangtan, just south of Changsha) and the early recruiting ground and battle areas of the Red Army, when military defeats on the main fronts are causing both China's population and China's allies to demand a new rallying of national forces, and when important negotiations are proceeding between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party representatives in Chungking. Different groups among the twenty-four slogans have something to say on all these issues and may be regarded as the statement of Communist policy towards the present national crisis in general, and toward what constitutes the basis for successful negotiations in particular.

The first three slogans send greetings to the "brethren of the entire country, the fighting troops of the frontal battlefields, eighty-million anti-Japanese people, and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies fighting behind the enemy lines, brethren in occupied territories, and our allies, the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain." They ask for "a strengthened unity to smash the new offensive of our enemy," and define the tasks in China's present situation thus: "Our Southwest and Northwest are in danger. Countrymen! Rise up at once to defend the Southwest and Northwest. Do not let the enemy drive through the Canton-Hankow and Hunan-Kwangsi railways. Do not allow the enemy to break into Tungkwan. Drive out the attacking enemy."

The second group of slogans deals with what the Communist Party considers to be the essential and concrete steps necessary towards the building of a new unity. This group should be read in the context of the present negotiations. "Demand that the National Government improve the treatment and education of soldiers; reform the military command; improve military discipline and fighting capacity, resolutely repulse the enemy's attacks.

—"Demand that the National Government protect the rising people's democratic movement in unoccupied China to insure its free development, thereby strengthening the war of resistance"—this may be taken as referring to the Kuomintang-Liberal wing whose spokesman is Sun Fo, as well as other minor parties organised into the Democratic Federation.

—"Demand that the National Government supply funds, munitions and medical supplies to the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, improve their equipment, despatch them to the Honan and Hunan fronts to smash the encirclement of the enemy, stop military attacks against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies; free General Yeh Ting commander of the New Fourth Army and his captured officers and men (who have been detained since the 1941 incident); free Communists and all patriots in prison; reform internal politics, carry out democracy, immediately realise the Three People's Principles; give the people freedom of speech, assembly, publication and association; mobilise the entire nation to repulse the attack; and prepare for the counter-offensive.

—“Demand that the National Government lift the ban on the Communist Party, legalise all anti-Japanese parties and groups ; readjust relations between the Kuomintang and Communist Parties by strengthening their unity.

—“Demand that the National Government abolish all noxious economic controls, do away with speculation, monopoly, profiteering and hoarding, develop agricultural production, encourage private industrial and commercial enterprises, overcome the economic crisis and build up the economic foundation of the war of resistance.”

In the third group of slogans, Communists, Communist-led armies and the peoples of the Communist bases were exhorted to “strike the enemy more effectively in co-ordination with frontal battlefields, develop guerilla units, strengthen political work for disintegrating Japanese and puppet troops and prepare to become vanguard armies in a nationwide counter-offensive.” They were asked to continue developing the impressive production achievements of this region and the bases in the enemy rear by broadening agriculture and industry, by increasing the role of the mutual aid and co-operative organisations of peasants, by multiplying cultural, medical and public welfare co-operatives among all sections of the people, by reducing rents and interest while guaranteeing their payment at new rates to increase productive enthusiasm ; by guaranteeing support to the army and soldiers’ dependents.

Communist Party members were urged to “persist in unity for the war of resistance, for carrying out the Three People’s Principles and the four promises of our Party made in 1937, for the “One-to-three” system under which Communists are not allowed to occupy over one-third of the seats in the administrative bodies ; for co-operation with America, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. Fight Fascism resolutely. Be humble in your studies. Refrain from arrogance. Work hard to prepare for the counter-offensive.”

People in the occupied areas were told “Your hour of liberation is near. Continue your struggle in all forms—prepare for an armed uprising in response to the counter-offensive.”

The final group hails the victories of the Second Front, of Soviet arms and the counter-offensive in the Pacific-Burma-India theatre, and calls on the Chinese people to “give all aid to the Allied troops fighting in China, help and protect Allied fliers, and support the decisions of the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conferences to overthrow fascism and the Japanese imperialists, enabling the founding of an independent, free and happy new China in a new world of peace, democracy and prosperity.”

All groups of slogans are sufficiently realistic. On an all-national scale, they coincide with general liberal feeling in the country. Despatch of units of the Eighth Route Army to Honan and the New Fourth Army, whose units are already operating on the north of Tungting Lake and who have rescued American fliers in nearby Hupeh, to Hunan, is a feasible undertaking. One has only to listen to such redoubtable Hunanese Communist generals as Ho Lung and Wang Chen expressing

their fury at the loss of parts of the province, speaking with familiarity of operations and terrain there, to realise how much they would like to take a crack at the Japanese there.

North Shensi is the laboratory of how it is possible both to increase the over-all production and the welfare of both the army and population in war-time, even in one of the poorest parts of China and under blockade conditions. Foreign escapees from Peiping now here testify to the effectiveness of the Eighth Route Army's fight in Hopei and Shansi. That the political work of the Eighth Routers among the Japanese and puppets has had some success is also clear from their stories, and the tremendous time and energy consumed in devising propaganda techniques and preparing materials would be inexplicable if experience did not show it useful.

Over and above all, there is one outstanding fact one feels about this area. There is no war weariness of any kind after seven years of war! Both the people, who have cultivated every hillside and are well-to-do for the first time, and the well-fed troops which help to produce their own food and clothing and swing along proudly bearing captured Japanese arms, have confidence in their strength and the general air of "this year we have done a lot but next year will be even better."

It would be the best thing for China and for the Allies if this brave swift-flowing stream were to unite with the stagnant pools and slower rivers of the great hinterland to speed them up, and it would be a great calamity for China, as well as the probable root of a new world war, if Kuomintang-led and Communist-led Chinas come into a major armed conflict now or in the future.

AMERICAN PILOTS MEET CHINA'S COMMUNISTS— AND JAPAN'S ANTI-FASCISTS

July 9, 1944.

INCREASED ACTIVITY OF THE 14TH U. S. AIR FORCE IN BOMBING JAPAN and North China, brings forward more strongly than ever the necessity for the American army to maintain at least liaison officers with the Chinese Communist armies, as it does with other Chinese armies in its areas of operations, even if the present political conditions prevent other closer forms of co-operation which would be of military benefit in the war against Japan. Seven American fliers baling out over technically occupied territories have been picked up, saved and delivered to the rear by Communist-led units—five by guerillas along the Canton-Kowloon Railway, after their B-25 was damaged over Hongkong on May 26, and two by the New Fourth Army in Central Hupeh after they were forced to bale out of a P-51 and P-58 following the May 6 dogfight over Hankow.

In the latter case, the absence of proper liaison facilities caused much trouble. The New Fourth Army has not been recognised by the Central Government since 1941, with the result that Communist sources report that the unit which escorted the pilots to Headquarters was attacked *en route* not only by the Japanese puppets but also by Central forces. Moreover a military despatch from Lih Sien-nien, Commander of the Fifth Division of the New Fourth Army, to Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Communist forces, charges that when the pilots were sent to the rear after recovering from their wounds in the latter part of June—carrying letters from the New Fourth Army to the American authorities promising further co-operation—the Kuomintang authorities detained the Communist adjutant who had accompanied them.

Yenan appears to have excellent communications with the guerilla bases in every part of North and Central China as well as in the Hongkong and Canton areas, as the local newspapers carried almost immediate radio reports giving details of how the pilots were saved—which it may be inadvisable to repeat here. They even included such factual, homely touches as the remarks of Lt. Barnard (as near as I can approximate the name from the Chinese transliteration) to the effect that the food which the New Fourth Army served him, and for which they apologised, was “very good—just like Mother used to make.”

Another report which has a bizarre but probably prophetic flavour concerns the dinner given for the two pilots by members of the Central China Branch of the Japanese People's Emancipation League, composed mainly of Japanese deserters and prisoners of war who joined the Communist-led armies and are now found in considerable numbers doing propaganda and intelligence work in various guerilla bases.

The Japanese representative opened the dinner by saying: “I, speaking on behalf of our anti-fascist united front, welcome our American friends. The wars against America and China are against the will of the Japanese people and are wanted only by the militarists. I hope you will tell the American people about this.”

The report says, with great verisimilitude, that the American pilots at first rubbed their eyes at this strange sight but were soon participating eagerly in the “International Round Table Discussion” which followed the dinner. The Japanese asked how the Americans treated Japanese prisoners and one of the pilots replied that they were treated well, but Japanese soldiers did not seem to know it—citing mass suicides on Attu, and last-ditch fights elsewhere. Then the American said that the Japanese treat American captives abominably and asked whether the Japanese people hate America. The Japanese replied that his people did not hate Americans, that the war was Tojo's war, and also that prisoners in Japan were so closely guarded that the people had no idea of how they were treated. When asked whether Americans hated the Japanese, the pilot said frankly that the sneak attack on Pearl Harbour had made them hate Japan like poison.

When the Japanese asked the pilots to tell the American people that not all Japanese supported the militarists but some were fighting

against them, as they could see for themselves, the pilots promised to do their best to do so, but hoped that the Emancipation League would also stress in its propaganda that the Japanese who fell into American hands were well-treated and they need have no fear of giving themselves up. The Japanese promised they would do so. By this time the pilots were recalling that they had met pretty decent Japanese in California and elsewhere who were unlike the Japanese whom they had fought.

The report ends: "At the conclusion, all shook hands and everyone felt satisfied with the sincere talk and understood that they were fighting for the same cause. A new bond between these two peoples was created. Let Tojo and his fascists die, after which the Japanese and the American peoples can be friends!"

The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army bases and the Liberated Areas to which fortunes of war may bring American pilots in the future include large parts of Shansi, Hopei, Jehol, Liaoning, Honan, Shantung, Hupeh, Anhwei, Kiangsu, and Chekiang provinces, including the immediate vicinities of Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking, Hankow and Taiyuan, as also the strip between Canton and Hongkong in Kwangtung and the mountainous interior of Hainan island. The extent and fighting capacity of these bases is not only the contention of the Communists, supported by the wounded, trophies and the frontline delegates one sees in Yen-an, but is amply corroborated by foreign fugitives from Japanese-held cities who have crossed and are still crossing them while making their way to the rear.

PEOPLE'S SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE NEW DEMOCRACY

Yenan, July 13, 1944

THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS WHO TO-DAY WERE ASKED TO ATTEND THE open joint meeting of the Communist-led Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Administration and the Standing Committee of the Regional People's Council had the opportunity of seeing the working of the prototype of fifteen other similar regional anti-Japanese united front governments in the Liberated Areas behind the enemy lines in China.

The Government and Standing Committee, both of which were elected by the People's Council—the region's highest authority—meet together and this enables the Committee members to report on the proceedings to districts lying upto 10-days' horseback away, where they are normally resident. To-day 22 out of a total membership of 27 were sitting round a long table in a huge barn-like hall, decorated with portraits of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, and Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. The walls were also adorned with the portraits of the Commander-in-Chief of the Communist-led armies, Chu Teh, and over twenty peasant and workers "heroes of

labour" who were elected to this honour for the excellence of their work by their own co-workers and who form the elite of the region. Sparrows flew in and out of the hall through open transoms, in keeping with the general rural outdoor atmosphere here.

The men who sat round the table were also unusual for Chinese administrators. Old and young, they were all sun-bronzed and weather-beaten and some had hitched their horses on which they had ridden. Their composition offered corroboration of the Chinese Communists' contention that they were striving to unite all groups and classes in the area under the banner of anti-Japanese war, internal reforms and reconstruction. In keeping with the "1:3 Ratio System," under which the Communist Party binds itself not to seek more than one-third of seats in any government committee in any base where its armies operate, only eight of them were Communists, while others included one who has been registered as Kuomintang, one National Salvationist (a group existing everywhere in China, advocating anti-Japanese national unity and participating in the Federation of Democratic Parties in Chungking), and the rest, including one former magistrate and one former local militia chief under the Kuomintang in this province, have been registered as "non-party."

Occupations of government members and Committee men range from 2 big landlords, 6 minor country gentry (from districts which Communist troops reached after the announcement of the united front policy and where estates were not confiscated or divided) through several intellectuals, teachers, a doctor, a soldier and a bearded Mullah to shop clerks, tenant farmers and poor peasants. The ages of the conferees ranged from 35 to 82. All but five of them were natives of this region.

In the absence of the Communist Chairman of the Border Region, Lin Chu-han who is a present carrying on negotiations in Chungking, the meeting was opened by the 64-year-old Vice-Chairman, Li Ting-ming, a progressive country gentleman well-known in North Shensi for his 30 years' work in promoting local education and his skill in Chinese medicine. Li Ting-ming said that two problems facing the session were, firstly, combating the Japanese threat to Northwest China and preparing for the counter-offensive, and secondly, increasing production. Regarding the counter-offensive he declared that the Border Region Government would place at the disposal of the Central Government forces defending Tungkwan and Sian, whatever they required of regional products such as foodstuffs and petroleum—(gasoline, diesel oil, kerosene and paraffin candles from the Yenchang wells), salt and wool.* Before passing on to local business, he pointed out that the anti-Fascist armies the world over are now advancing with the single exception of China, and reported to the Government Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh's request to the Central Government that the Eighth Route Army's forces be allowed to proceed to the regular battle fronts.

* No reply to this offer was received.

to fight side by side with the Central troops to beat back major Japanese attacks.

The network of People's Councils in the Border Region, which elects local governments, is a great pyramid going right down to the village. Their composition accurately reflects the region's population of one and a half million which elects them. The electors are all males and females over 18 of sound mind and those not specifically deprived of citizenship by court order. Statistics for several districts which I have seen show that over 70% of these have exercised their vote. A descriptive table of 9,967 elected village councillors in 14 districts classifies, 5,549 or 55% as poor peasants; 2,435 or 24% as middle peasants; 690 or 7% as rich peasants, 502 or 5% as hired labourers, 394 or 4% as workers, and the remainder as landlords, gentry and merchants. Of these Communists number 2,477 or 24%; non-party people 7,138 or 71% and Kuomintang members 352 or 3.7%. In the district committees, however, the proportion of the Kuomintang members is much higher, and one, Sui Teh district, has a Kuomintang majority of 7 as against 3 Communists and one non-party. Sui Teh is the most recent district to come under the Border Region Government.

Kuomintang members serving in various Border Region organs belong to a section of the party that is much more easily found out of office than in on the other side of the blockade line (in Kuomintang China). They say they stand for the line followed by the Party before the ten-year old civil war when the Kuomintang and Communists co-operated, and their membership dates in many cases from that time. They do not maintain contact with the Chungking ruling group, which they criticise.

The People's Council of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region is the only elected body in unoccupied China* which legislates for itself, and the Border Region administration and the Council of the Standing Committee, which are now meeting jointly in Yen-an, act for it between its sessions.

How do these bodies function?

This question is equivalent to asking how democracy would function in all China if the Kuomintang's "period of tutelage to train the Chinese people for democracy" ended tomorrow? To-day I listened to several hours of discussion of the joint meeting and its description might give you some idea.

To-day's speeches were devoted to the Administration's report as presented by its Vice-Chairman, Li Ting-ming, which dealt with everything from the international and military position to education and re-forestation—a vital business in this region where floods and soil erosion are a constant menace. What characterised them all was that they were practical, lively and vigorous, and sometimes downright rude. People in this area, who have had a tough time and who have pulled

* Other New Democratic regional governments are in the Liberated Areas behind the Japanese lines, where they rule 90,000,000 people.

themselves up by their own efforts, do not go in for highflown abstractions, and the Chinese Communists who have fought Japan almost barehanded for seven years frown even on quoting too much Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung instead of concentrating on realities—a tendency which they brand as Party “Paku” (Paku is the famous Confucian “Eight-legged essay”, which is the classical form of expression which has kept all Chinese thought in the strait-jacket for centuries).

When I came in, the non-Party government member Liu Pei-chi, a sixty-two year old farmer, was shooting holes in government’s methods of carrying on reforestation.

He said: “The Government issued some fine orders about tree planting but no instructions about how to do it. Moreover the officials entrusted with this work were all formalists with no practical experience, so the people did not take them seriously. As a result, plenty of trees were planted but most of them died. Some people, in their ignorance and sloppiness, even tied donkeys to saplings and let them eat off the leaves.

“If Government wants the trees planted, it must do four things:

- “(i) Explain carefully to the people why tree planting is necessary;
- “(ii) Find old villagers with long experience and give them, and not intellectuals, authority over the work;
- “(iii) Publish pamphlets describing successful methods;
- “(iv) Enforce half-yearly inspection by people who understand the job.

“When and where to plant; how to protect seedlings from weather, animals and insects; the pruning and grafting of fruit trees—all these are not all so simple. It took me 10 years to learn these things. If the Government leads and helps instead of just circularising the people in this work, it will be done well; otherwise nothing will come out of it but wasted labour repeatedly yearly.”

After the old man had sat down with a snort, Magistrate of Ho Chu-san Sui Teh (a Kuomintang member) got up to say that it seemed to him the Border Region, the Liberated Areas, and all their policies must be bent to the task of uniting people of all classes to face the common enemy. Although he was a landlord he considered the government’s policy of reduction of rent and interest a good one, because if the peasant had to pay out all his surplus, as formerly, and start from scratch, or even in case of bad harvest below scratch each season, he would work in a hang-dog way instead of enthusiastically, production would mark time and no one would care about the war or anything else beyond keeping his own head above water. But the Government also had a policy that, after the reduction had been put through the tenants should pay the rent properly. This also should be enforced to ensure the support of landlords who could also do something for the war. Some officials were too left-wing in their understanding of these policies, some too much the other way—and the result was confusion. The government should impress upon the functionaries

the equal importance of both these aspects and insist on their equitable carrying-out.

The bearded, large-featured Muslim Mullah Ma Shen Fu made his speech from notes in which the Chinese words were written phonetically in Arabic characters. He said that after the announcement of the new democratic Border Region programme in 1940, many Muslims who had previously fled, returned to the area. All Muslim communities now elect officials from among themselves. But still they want the government to give more help to Islamic primary schools, send medical personnel to combat the epidemic raging in Kwanchung, with vaccines for the Muslim population and veterinary workers for cattle and a better organisation for re-forestation and forest protection. They also hope that Lin Chu-han, in the Chungking negotiations, will bring up the question of the cessation of border incidents in which Muslims often suffer losses from Kuomintang incursions. He also asked why, with the Japs pressing on Tungkwan, the Kuomintang blockade troops did not go to the front.

The National Salvationist Vice-Commissioner of Education said that the authorities of his department have been re-examining its work in the light of criticisms made against it and the fact that the percentage of illiterates, in the Border Region still remains extremely high despite eight years of work. Though the number of primary schools has increased ten-fold, to 2,000, the people did not give them enough support and, in connection with increased cultivation and manpower shortage compulsory school attendance actually worked as a handicap. "Now instead of regular summer and winter vacations for schools, we let the pupils out during planting and harvesting seasons. At the same time improvement in livelihood has led to a greater demand for education and such people as labour heroes elected to responsible posts feel most keenly their inability to read or write.

"The remedy is education, to suit people's real needs and in order to secure this, the Government has decided to hand all primary schools over to the people to be run through community committees, employing their own teachers, and getting help and advice from us only when they ask for it. The people should feel that these schools are their own and not imposed on them from above and the government should keep out of people's business when its aid is not solicited. The experiment of people's schools in several districts has succeeded brilliantly with the people supporting and taking keen interest in the practical value of subjects taught and in the improvement of their schools."

Kao Sung-shan, merchant and former Kuomintang militia head, said he did not know anything about fine political distinctions but knew clearly that the Border Region was really working for the Three People's Principles, because it devoted its energies to national defence, democratic organisation and improvement of peasants' living standards through rationalising and increasing production; lightening rents, interest and taxes; undertaking irrigation, improving sanitary, medical and veterinary services.

Of course, there might be many defects but there was no doubt that it was working in the right direction. However, the blockade and border incidents had harmed the interests of the people—here he cited several cases, including the most recent raid on Fuhshien on May 17th.

“Generalissimo Chiang once said while the Chinese people remain unliberated, he himself feels as if he is in prison. We too, in the Border Region, have the same feeling. What we have done here is an honour to Chiang Kai-shek and if all China worked as we do, his glory would be greater. There are hundreds and thousands of people in this region willing to help the Generalissimo to be really one of world’s great leaders. Is this a crime? It is only by carrying out the new democratic policy, taking into account the people’s needs and working hard that China can catch up with the more advanced countries. Does he prefer his followers to be loafers instead of mobilisers of people’s energies for the national cause? Why then does he fight us and not thank us? We hope that Chairman Lin will explain these things in Chungking so that the troubles can stop and we can pull together.”

The bell then rang for the recess and the conferees, all dressed in Chinese peasant clothes or cotton uniforms—I have yet to see a western suit or a formal long gown in this region—opened their collars and dispersed to the square tables set at the back of the hall where some drank tea and ate melon seeds while one group pulled out a deck of local-made cards and began, with great concentration, to play something that looked mighty like Rummy.

This is the style and language in which informal down-to-earth administrations of the New Democratic areas established by Chinese Communists carry on the people’s business.

This has created a totally new type of Chinese that one sees nowhere else—upright, unafraid of those in authority, ready with criticisms and new ideas, forgetful of the old desiderata of politeness and “face” and impatient of obstacles in carrying out what he considers to be in his own and the public interest.

In 1941 these people in their own devastated base of North Shensi which had lost a large portion of its people, livestock and cultivated land than during almost a century of oppression and wars, beginning with the savage Mohammedan uprising in the 1860’s, were in the midst of a great crisis precipitated by their inability to get supplies from the outside, their leader Mao Tse-tung had then told them: “There are only three ways for us: die of hunger, lay down arms or move our own hands to produce.” They chose the last. Political and military leaders and technicians put their heads together. They had shortage of labour. But they tackled it by a form of agricultural co-operation called “Labour Exchange” wherein human and animal labour power was pooled for planting, growing and harvesting seasons, a few of the many short-cuts impossible in individual farming.

WHAT OKANO THINKS OF THE KOISO CABINET

Yenan, July 24, 1944.

SHUSHUMU OKANO, LEADER OF THE JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY WHO leads the Japanese People's Emancipation League in China and the Japanese Workers' and Peasants' School in Yenan, and works with the Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army, to-day gave the following opinion regarding Tojo's downfall and the nature of prospects and ambitions of the new Japanese cabinet :

"I think the first reason for the disappearance of Tojo lies in the Japanese defeats in the Pacific, particularly Saipan. Secondly, Tojo failed in dealing with Japan's pressing internal problems. The ruling class is dissatisfied because he did not expand aircraft and shipping production, nor did he remedy the food shortage. Food shortage and oppression have also angered the people, resulting in increasing cases of industrial sabotage, and peasants' refusing to sell rice to the government, which the Japanese press is now openly discussing. So nobody wanted Tojo. The third, and also very important cause, was the crisis of Hitlerism. The Japanese radio shows that even in the face of these conditions, the Tojo cabinet fought hard for its life. On July 18 they changed the War Minister, and Chief of the Naval General Staff. But at that time, the Imperial Court and elder statesmen were already discussing a new government and the moderates became stronger in their attacks. Thus Tojo had to go.

"The Imperial Court and the elder statesmen held discussions for three days before creating a new cabinet under Koiso. Koiso was once considered an extreme fire-eater, but is now at an age when Japanese generals make their peace with financial interests and incline more to 'moderate' views. The new War Minister, Sugiyama, is an old militarist of similar character. The Navy Minister, Yonai, formerly known as an opponent of war but with a Navy policy advocating a strong force for defence was one of the Admirals who was satisfied with the outcome of the London Naval Conference. Foreign Affairs Minister Shigemitsu is now also Minister of East Asia Affairs. Finance Minister Ishiwata is the former adviser of Wang Ching-wei, and Home Minister Okatu is ex-adviser of "Manchukuo". Minister of Justice, Matusaka, is a well-known suppressor of all progressive movements, and particularly Communists. Munitions Minister Fujiwara is Mitsui's* man. The remaining ministers include a prevailing majority of people connected with the Mitsui and the now extinct party which it previously supported—the Seiyukai, it is to be noted that the Tojo Cabinet's civilian personnel was composed mostly of minions of the Mitsubishi concern, and its Minseito Party. One characteristic of the new Cabinet is

* Mitsui and Mitsubishi are the two great rival financial-commercial-industrial super-trusts in Japan.

that not a single supporter of Tojo or of extreme fascist policy has found place in it. The other characteristic is that eight of its members were in the Cabinet of Baron Hiranuma, who thus exerts great influence over it. The Court and elder statesmen will have greater power than they had hitherto.

"This is not a 'Badoglio' Cabinet. Its main purpose is to fight the war as hard as it can, rally the people around national defence slogans, and try to find a way out of a difficult position. At the same time, it will seek opportunities to compromise with Britain and America and dangle a peace bait before Chungking on terms favourable to the survival of Japanese imperialism. As a preparation thereof they will probably intensify the drive to gain control of more and more of China, so as to use China as a bargaining point.

"Most probably it will not be a very long-lived cabinet because fascist elements will try to destroy it on one side, while the people, who have good reason to hate Koiso and Matusaka, will not have any enthusiasm for it. The Mitsubishi and Sumitomo trusts, which are inadequately represented in it, will also try to undermine it.

"Nevertheless this is a dangerous Cabinet for the United Nations because its purpose is to abort their mutual accord and unity and to preserve the core of Japanese militarism intact and because, especially if Hitler collapses altogether, it will try to do this by seeking to split them, use Isolationist and Munichite tendencies in America and Britain, and win a compromise peace by deception. The American papers which urged vigilance were right. The United Nations should re-emphasise the Cairo Declaration, insisting on the destruction of Japanese militarism and creating conditions for the birth of a democratic Japan. If the United Nations do not do this, Japanese aggression will rise again like German aggression after Versailles, and both the United Nations and the Japanese people will suffer."

"CHINESE COMMUNISTS GROW OPIUM": FOREIGN PRESSMEN NAIL REACTIONARY LIE

Yenan, July 29, 1944.

ON THE 14TH OF JULY, THE MENG LI NEWS AGENCY OF CHUNGKING* published a despatch from its Sian correspondent saying that "the press party of Chinese foreign correspondents decided to change their route from Shansi to Yenan at a moment's notice and, instead of taking a route marked by the Yenan authorities, crossed the Yellow River and passed through some of the most secluded villages before getting

*An agency operated as an "unofficial" concern by Pan Kung-chan, the member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang who wields authority over the Chinese Ministry of Information. The agency is a political weapon paid for by party funds.

on to the main road. Over all the areas through which they travelled, opium poppies grew so luxuriantly that they formed a spectacle. A certain correspondent recently wrote from Yen-an to the Shensi branch headquarters of the San Minchu I Youth Corps and in his letter described in a detailed manner what he had seen and heard."

It is not clear from this distance whether the original liar was really one of the press party, or the Sian correspondent of the Meng Li News Agency who made this "news" up out of his own head. In any case, the fact that it was a lie is indisputable. It is true that the press party took a route which no one expected them to take, but it is also true that none of the foreign correspondents, who never separated for a minute from the Chinese press and official members of the party, saw a single poppy, much less "a luxuriant spectacle." It is furthermore true that, although the party passed through many points where the Sian and Kenanpo authorities had previously assured them that opium was grown, not a single Chinese member of the group said during his stay here that he had seen any opium poppies. Many members of the party, including government representatives, said during the course of conversation that they were unable to locate any, although the whole party was on the alert for the slightest sign of any because of what we had been previously told. Governor Chu Shao-chow of Shensi specifically assured us that 15 per cent of the entire Communist area was planted with opium.

Regarding the general accusation that the Communists were growing opium, it varied from the contention that they were doing it out of sheer cussedness—supported by one alleged proof—a photostat copy of a permit to transport 4 oz. of "special goods" which mentioned neither Communists nor opium by name; to pitying statements that the poor Communists unpaid for so long a time had no other means of existence, that their boasted "opening of virgin land" was precisely for the purpose of growing opium for export to get money to pay their troops who themselves cultivated the drug, that they had company and regimental "economic officers" to dispose of it, and gave some to the soldiers themselves for their own use and for sale.

Our failure to discover any evidence of the above allegation during our two-month stay makes the first version unworthy of discussion. The second version was made equally absurd by things we ourselves have seen. Firstly, the only currency here is issued by the Communists themselves and they do not need any other to pay anyone. Secondly, the blockade has reduced external trade to a small scale and mainly surreptitious barter, and the amount of national currency held in the Communist bank is much greater than that needed for financing it. Thirdly, the opening of virgin land is a fact, but crops grown are grain, vegetables and cotton which we have not only seen throughout more than a hundred miles' travel on horseback but whose effects we have seen in a great variety of foodstuffs in every village, in the well-fed and well-clothed army, and a population which only a few years ago the region could not possibly support. It is true that troops cultivate

the soil and have economic officers, but this is part of the programme of agricultural and industrial self-support which has brought their level above that of any other army in China. These facts have been observed by us in many places including the "most secluded villages" on our outlandish route, among which were many places where we had been specifically told to look for opium.

On the basis of these facts and considerations, this correspondent is willing to stake his professional reputation upon a flat statement that all accusations that the Chinese Communists are growing opium made recently in China and abroad are nonsense.

EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY LIBERATES 70,000 PEOPLE ON CHINA'S "INVASION COAST"

Yenan, July 31, 1944.

THE COMMUNIST NEW CHINA AGENCY WHOSE NET OF RADIO STATIONS, operating mainly with captured Japanese army transmitters, regularly brings reports from bases in the enemy rear and isolated guerilla pockets operating throughout the Northern and Central parts of South China. To-day it describes the action which gave the Eighth Route Army control of a strip of coast, 20 miles long and 15 miles wide, across the bay, and just south of the most important Shantung port of Tsing Tao. Besides the strategic position, this stroke added one hundred villages and a small town with a population of 70,000 to the extensive Communist areas east of Shantung peninsula.

The operation which accomplished this purpose is interesting because it is a typical engagement in the constant offensive which the Communist forces have been carrying on in every sector since Japanese operations in Honan compelled the enemy to withdraw some of their forces in North China and leave minor garrison points in the charge of puppet Chinese troops. It is also typical of the interim strategy of the Eighth Route Army whereby in the lulls between fierce Japanese mopping-up campaigns, it undertakes its own attacks to break into the enemy's lines, encircling his bases and destroy his network of block-houses and strong-points through which the Japanese hope to strangle them.

Because the Japanese have the advantage of air observation, the guerilla practice is to march long distances under cover of darkness and attack places fairly far from where they were last known to be a few hours before dawn. Another principle is simultaneously to attack not only the strong-point which is their chief objective, but also the garrison points nearby wherefrom the enemy might want to withdraw reinforcements and the roads along which these reinforcements can come—keeping the defenders guessing until the last moment which is the real direction of their main attack.

Latest attacks on the Shantung coast were launched simultaneously against three puppet-manned strongholds at the ends and the centre of a 40-mile area, just south of Tsing Tao where the coastal strip stands as a chord. At 2 a.m. on July, 24th, at the southernmost end they entered the town of Ching Sui by surprise and captured 4 puppet officials, 5 tons of grain, destroyed the blockhouse and then moved on in daylight despite bombing and strafing by 2 Japanese aeroplanes from Tsing Tao, assaulting and capturing the second block-house, surrounded by a log barrier and a deep moat, killing 10 out of the garrison of a puppet company and causing the rest to surrender with its commander at the head. They yielded booty consisting of one artillery piece, 2 light machine-guns, 80 rifles, 20 boxes of grenades and a telephone.

300 puppet reinforcements coming along the highway were repulsed and they retreated to their coast position of Shao Chiawan. The Eighth Route Army Commander sent the 10 dead into the coastal strongpoint under a safe conduct and told the puppet garrison that Chinese should not fight Chinese and asked them to surrender also. They refused, and so the same evening an attack was launched, a demolition squad crawling up first under cover of machine-gun fire, to blow a breach in the barbed-wire entanglements around the blockhouse—this is a typical Japanese anti-guerilla fortification in this area. The explosion not only made a breach but snuffed out the torches the puppets had lit to prevent a surprise and the sappers ran forward with scythe blades tied to long bamboo poles to cut ropes which held up and raised the drawbridge across the moat which they cut, after one man had been wounded in the process. Scaling the ladders, the squad immediately followed the Eighth Routers and got on top of the high light-house like a blockhouse, smashed the trap-door and began showering the inmates with grenades including some of which the enemy had carelessly left in a box, on the blockhouse roof. Then the whole Eighth Route Army company rushed in and killed some of the stunned puppets and disarmed others, and occupied the coast position.

Other puppet blockhouses along the arc which are similarly built and equipped, suffered roughly similar fate. A garrison of one of them surrendered immediately. Defenders of another fought stubbornly until the Eighth Routers pulled up a captured field-piece and shot them until they were full of holes. Four other strongpoints, one of which had housed the Puppet Headquarters, fell before the evening of the 25th.

In order to restore the *status quo* before the Eighth Route Army men attacked, the enemy must send a large force of Japanese troops—as puppets were no good for this—once more clear the area, ten reconstruct more than 10 of his interlocking system of blockhouses, dig more than 10 new moats in place of those filled up and build more than 10 outer defence lines of barbed wire and logs. But even if he manages to do this, it will not really restore the previous position because where the Eighth Route Army had been once, the people are

organised for self-defence ; intelligence and sabotage and plainclothed Communists remain to take advantage of any momentary weakening of garrisons and to prepare the ground for the time when the Eighth Routers come back.

This is not a blueprint of a desirable but hypothetical situation ; on the contrary it is an actual fact of accuracy, attested to by eye-witness stories we hear every day from generals, political-workers, ordinary soldiers and Chinese foreign eye-witnesses of similar operations in many parts of North China.

WHO ARE CHINESE COMMUNISTS ?

Yenan, July 31, 1944.

WHO ARE THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND WHOSE SUPPORT HAVE THEY gained ? What groups are represented not only in upper but also in the middle and lower ranks of the Party and Armies which have changed the face of this part of the country and created, maintained and extended the anti-Japanese bases in the rear of the enemy through 7 long years of war ?

The answer is that the Chinese Communists and their present supporters represent the fullest cross-section of the nation.

MAO TSE-TUNG is the son of a middle peasant, who worked his way through school and has never been abroad.

CHU TEH began life as a student of the Military Academy and an officer of the old warlord army.

CHOU EN-LAI, who for several years handled Party's contacts with the Kuomintang, is from an old 'official scholar' family and came towards the revolution through the student movement.

The Party secretary, LI FU-CHEN is an intellectual who lived for many years in France.

TENG FA, Chairman of Party's most important mass movement committee, is a worker, who once was a cook on a British coastal steamer and first came into prominence as the leader of workers' armed picket forces in the early Canton period.

KAO KANG, head of the Party's North-western Bureau, is son of a poor peasant who was beaten to death by a bailiff of a Shensi militarist because he failed to pay tax on a donkey which he had owned. After that Kao became one of the leaders of elementally powerful revolt of the oppressed North-Shensi peasantry which created a Soviet area in this part of the country long before the main Red Army arrived following the Long March.

Of Military officers whom we met one was WANG CHENG, the dashing brilliant commander of the 359th Brigade which not only has a great anti-Japanese fighting record but won the army's first fight against nature by reclaiming vast tracts of virgin land and working at it till it was entirely independent of supplies from the people in all res-

pects. He started his career as a stoker on an engine of the Peiping-Hankow Railway, joining the armed workers' guard during the Northern Expedition of 1925-27.

NIEH YUNG-CHEN, the French-educated chemical engineer who is Commander-in-Chief of the immense Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region has, like Wang Cheng, a long Red Army record behind him but LU CHENG-TSAO, who under Nieh's general command, heads the military forces in the flat Central Hopei plain—whose strategic topographic conditions make it the Eighth Route Army's most difficult front—was formerly an officer in Chand Sueh-liang's ("Young Marshal") Manchurian Army, and did not join the Eighth Routers till after the war.

The same is true of one of Nieh's brigade commanders—the big landlord who first raised the flag of anti-Japanese resistance on his own and only later merged with the Eighth Routers, and of a number of other field officers whom we met.

The Chairman of Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Anti-Japanese Association which incorporates all other organisations (he is also a member of the Border Region Government) is a former agricultural labourer who 5 years ago could not read or write. Chairman of the same association for Yenan city is a young Hankow textile worker, who, long before he knew what Communist Party was, was fired from his mill for leading an agitation for higher wages, after which he almost died of starvation and his wife and children did die. He came to this area in 1938, fought for a while in the army with other Hankow workers, some of whom now command battalions and regiments, then returned to production and became prominent in the Anti-Japanese Association through his work in his trade union to which he was elected Chairman. In the last 5 years he has turned from a starving man to a self-confident, fairly well-educated and very efficient organiser, with a respected position and a bright future, and it is no wonder he says that his "old life was hell and this is heaven." A skilled tailor-cutter who fitted correspondents' overcoats and suits, made from locally woven tweeds, turned out to be a member of the People's Council—the supreme governing body of this region—to which he was elected as one of workers' representatives.

Civil and medical administration is headed by a doctor, FU HUAI-CHANG, who graduated from the Fukien Missionary College and then joined the earliest Red units, because he thought their cause was just and has stuck with Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh through thick and thin since. Doctors of International Peace Hospital include graduates from universities in America, France, Switzerland, Japan and the Soviet Union, of such medical schools as the Rockefeller Foundation's Peiping Union Medical College, Cheloo University and Yale in China and former military doctors from the Central Army Medical Service. A majority of these came here since the war, not because they were Communists but because they were patriots and because the Eighth Route Army caught their imagination—many of them first read of the Communists in Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China" in English—and they not only are not

sorry they came but they have built up a fairly comprehensive system of universal free medical treatment of which they are and have the right to be extremely proud.

Other Yenán doctors are old Red Army Medical Service workers, originally peasants and soldiers who have been retained since the establishment here of a full-fledged Medical University. Some of them had abundance of rough experience but less theoretical knowledge than the outside nurses. It is never too late to study here and the battle-scarred 32-year-old administrative head of Shensi-Chahar-Hopei Military Headquarters Medical Department, has just come back to Yenán to enter the medical school as a fresh student. Medical Service here includes some foreigners—an American who goes under the name of Mahai Teh and comes from North Carolina, a Soviet surgeon Dr. Andrew Orlov who came with the Kuomintang's permission through Lanchow and has been here for almost three years and Dr. Hans Mueller, anti-Nazi German. There is also a Korean doctor. The Medical Department and another International Peace Hospital in South-east Shansi is actually headed by a Japanese physician who was taken prisoner in 1939 and is now a trusted and devoted worker and another German Jewish Surgeon, Dr. Rosenthal, works in far away Shantung where he has been transferred recently after working with the New Fourth Army to which he escaped from Shanghai.

Technicians in the Border Region industries come from every school and major industrial enterprise in China. Thus we have seen the ordnance men who have worked in the Central arsenals, textile engineers from big British mills in Shanghai, chemists and electricians who have studied in various countries. There are no metallurgists here, however, and a blast furnace which produces pig iron for arsenals and machine-shops and well-developed agricultural implements industry, was managed by a team consisting of one mechanical engineer, one civil engineer and one electrical engineer with one German book on metallurgy between them, which only one of them could read. They had lot of trouble with refractories—burned out their first furnace and had to dismantle it, then had more trouble with the cooling system and wrecked a second, but now these problems have been solved and they happily are producing grey iron of good grade. Among radio technicians is the Englishman, Michael Lindsay.

AMERICAN MILITARY MISSION ARRIVES IN NORTH-WEST CHINA

Yenán, August 3, 1944.

A NEW PHASE IN THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC WAR, THE CONTINENTAL front and of Chinese-American military co-operation was opened on July 22 when a big Douglas transport carrying 9 members of the

First American military group to visit the Headquarters of the Chinese Communist-led armies, landed in a Yen-an airfield. Although we correspondents met the plane, this news was taboo until its announcement by the Chungking spokesman in his last Press Conference and only now it is possible to write about it.

The military group was headed by the fluent Chinese-speaking Col. David Barratt—for a long time assistant military attache in Chungking—who is now on active field service. It consists almost entirely of officers who, besides being military specialists, have a good knowledge of Chinese and Japanese languages and in many cases were born in this country. Although no announcement has been made about their work, it is probably safe to assume it will be concerned, in the first instance, with the rapid rescue of American fliers who have been baling out and will probably continue to bale out over Eighth Route and New Fourth Army territories in cases where their machines are crippled after bombing Japanese objectives. It is also safe to assume that they will make a full study of the military value and potentialities of China's "Second Front"—the front behind enemy lines and recommend whatever action is deemed necessary.

Greeting the mission, Yeh Chien-ying, Chief of Staff of the Eighth Route Army said: "For the sake of common victory over Japanese Fascism, the China-Burma-India Headquarters of the U. S. Army have sent a group of gifted officers to study with us war problems connected with the overthrow of Japanese militarism. America has despatched huge forces to Europe, Africa, Australia and Asia to help the peoples of these countries to liberate themselves from the fascists. Victories gained by all the United Nations are inseparable from the sacrifices of the Americans on land, air and sea. China also has received great support and aid from the American Government and its people. In welcoming you on behalf of the anti-Japanese fighters and the people in the remote rear of the enemy, we cannot help thinking of the precedent of the American revolutionary war which won victory in its eighth year. Today Fascism is reeling back from victories of the United Nations' military forces and the gathering upheaval of peoples. But we are still called upon to make great sacrifices and do an enormous amount of work. We will be thankful for any advice or criticism that will help us to improve ourselves and assure the Allied armed forces that we regard their work as of equal importance with our own and will render all aid."

Barratt replied: "We have come to investigate ways and means of defeating Japan. You who have fought for 7 years know more about the enemy than we do and can help us to learn something about fighting him. We hope that on every front the Chinese and American forces can fight together for this objective."

Chu Teh was the host at the reception and Mao Tse-tung was present.

It is not a military secret to say that the impression on the American officers was favourable. They like the simplicity, directness and

enthusiasm with which things are done here as pioneers in a spirit of improvisation, overcoming all difficulties which is in evidence everywhere, and the Saturday night farm dances at which everyone from Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh down mix freely and which are full of vitality and laughter.

One officer whose interests lie in that direction is excited over the fact that whereas such information in Chungking is fragmentary, the Eighth Routers' General Staff maintains files of all important Tokyo newspapers and magazines which were complete upto 3 to 4 weeks ago.

The Medical Officer attached to the Party said about the shinningly clean and efficiently run International Peace Hospitals here after inspection, "What these men are doing here is a challenge to all doctors. If they can do this with little or nothing, what should we be able to do, who have everything?"

IN SHANTUNG, BEHIND THE JAP LINES

Yenan, August 3, 1944.

THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY COMMUNIQUE REPORTS CONTINUED ACTION against puppet troops just south of Tsing Tao, east of Shantung where during the two days of July, 26 and 27, Eighth Route Army troops destroyed 9 puppet blockhouses and garrison points, killed several hundreds and captured 120 officers and men, 505 rifles, 2 machine guns, 220 hand-grenades and other assorted booty, including pistols, bicycles, field glasses and several tons of wheat.

As a result of 2 attacks 2 Eighth Route Army bases (a base is a place with permanent garrisons and regular elected people's Government functioning openly) which were previously separated by a Japanese highway fortified with blockhouses and a 20 metre ditch and wall along the entire length merged into one. It is worthy to note in this connection that Shantung, especially the coastal region, is now one of the strongest Eighth Route bases to which the Yenan Chief of Staff's office figures give credit of tens of thousands of regular troops and five hundred thousand armed People's militia. Chu Jui, the Political Director of Shantung region who arrived here recently from the base says that the anti-Japanese democratic governments are at present established in 82 counties, out of a province of 108 counties, controlling 20,772 villages and 15,500,000 people out of a total of 44,000 villages, with 27,000,000 people.

The Provincial People's Council elected in 1940 has been functioning since. The number of members of the Communist Party which was only a few hundreds before the war is now 150,000 and most of the Eighth Route troops and commanders below the regimental rank, like the local people, were recruited since the war.

The economic situation is good and the local guerilla currency is above par compared to puppet notes and worth 10 Chinese National dollars per unit (currencies of the Eighth Route Army bases vary in value—for instance, the Yen-an currency exchange is 850 for one national dollar, Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region dollar is worth 3 national, etc.).

The region has its own arsenals and is entirely self-sufficient in textiles. There are hospitals and a medical factory making in all over 30 kinds of drugs; also several daily newspapers and 4 bureaus of the New China Agency each with a radio station communicating directly with the Yen-an headquarters.

Chu Jui says the Eighth Route Army controls several stretches of coast in this area—thirty miles from the vicinity of Haichow (the terminus of Linghai railway north of Kiangsu) northward with 4 small harbours; hundred miles with 6 ports along the South shore, east of Shantung Peninsula and over a hundred miles in smaller stretches on the North coast adjacent to Hopei province. Besides operating near Tsing Tao, the guerillas have repeatedly entered Chefoo and the former British Naval base of Wei Hai Wei from whose customs house they abstracted several Vickers' machine-guns of which they are most proud.

The Japanese maintain 3 divisions and one independent brigade in this area, have built 2,000 block-houses and strong-points and over 2,000 miles of "blockade ditches" to keep the guerillas off the main towns of communication and cut their bases into small segments. The enemy tries to keep the Eighth Routers under control by launching several "mopping-up" campaigns every year in which as many as 21 raiding columns of about 1,000 men in each, probe into their bases like fingers of a giant hand probing and combing, seeking to destroy the bases. The Eighth Routers have suffered losses from these campaigns. At the time of the outbreak of the Pacific War, a foreign visitor, an anti-Nazi German, Hans Shippe, well known as a contributor to the Institute of Pacific Relations publications under the pen-name of "Asiaticus," was severely wounded and took poison rather than fall into the hands of the Japanese. But the Eighth Routers with the aid of people were always able to evade the probing steel finger tips and strike at the vital nerve centres of the hand—which were denuded of garrisons during the punitive operations—causing the fingers to withdraw.

The only foreigner present in the Eighth Route bases is Dr. Rosenthal, another anti-Nazi refugee from Shanghai with whom I had once corresponded on behalf of the Medical Relief Committee and who a fortnight ago sent me a telegram saying he was glad to read in the newspapers that I was visiting Yen-an. The radiogram took 2 days to reach me.

Besides the Eighth Route Army, the Kuomintang also maintains about 34,000 troops in the pockets behind Japanese lines in Shantung. The regular provincial government appointed by Chungking, however, has headquarters not in Shantung but in the neighbouring province of Anhwei.

WHAT COMMUNISTS WANT FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Yenan, August 12, 1944.

THE "EMANCIPATION DAILY NEWS", THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE CHINESE Communist Party, has today printed a long documented front page article giving details of the attacks made by troops of the Shansi Governor Yen Hsi-shan (the 61st Army) on the Eighth Route Army in the South-west Shansi province between January and June this year and directly accusing Yen of making an agreement with the Japanese. The paper said that Yen's army crossed the Tatung-Puchow Railway, which crosses Shansi from the north to south through bridges and garrison points held by the Japanese without any fighting. It also said that the Eighth Routers have captured documents showing that they had systematically and officially apprised the Japanese headquarters in Linfan of all their movements and attacks against Communist-led troops so that the Japanese could co-ordinate their own activities with theirs. Attacks on the Eighth Route were launched under slogans of war against "renegades" (former units of Yen's "new army" which went over to the Eighth Route in 1939) and the "traitor army" (Communist troops). People were told that Yen's army had "come to liberate lost territories and all persons having connection with Communist bandits should be killed."

In this connection while the foreign press party was at Yen's headquarters at Kenanpo in Shansi at the end of May, he told us that his troops had crossed the Tatung-Puchow Railway but did not explain how, and said further that the Eighth Route Army had opposed their further eastward advance at Fushan and other places, and that there had been fighting. One of his subordinates said: "We sent our troops to these places to collect wheat. We had no trouble in puppet villages but Communist villages fought back." When asked about his contacts with the Japanese, Yen had said that the last time was in February, 1942 when the Japanese Army Chief of Staff in North China, who had been his schoolmate many years ago in the Tokyo Military Academy, came to persuade him that all Asiatics must unite against the West.

Yen said that he had rejected these advances though Shansi people in Yenan say that Yen even at periods when he fought the Japanese about the respective spheres of influence in Shansi, kept representatives—mostly his own relations—at Tientsin, Taiyuan and Nanking which were all occupied by the Japanese and ruled through puppets.

Yen Hsi-shan has a reputation for great political adroitness in China. His "flexibility" enabled him to remain as Governor of Shansi from the anti-Manchu Revolution of 1911 upto the present time. He is one of the last survivors of the "war lord era" and even his unsuccessful large-scale revolt against Chiang Kai-shek in 1930 when he hoped to take nationwide power in China did not end his career. His present

ability to maintain himself in Shansi is the result of his carefully balancing the Communists, the Central Government and the Japanese, between all of whom he is located both politically and geographically and to all of whom he tries to make himself useful as a buffer, with the ultimate object of resuming control of his province. Yen's political doctrine, which is a kind of ferdal paternalistic "socialism" also carefully balances the things which his various neighbours like, and those they don't.

When we were at Kenanpo we were struck with the complete absence of portraits of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and of United Nations leaders which are ubiquitous in China, including the Communist areas. Yen is master there, with only his own portraits displayed by his own party, "Comrades Association," and it is his own anthem which is the only one sung there.

When we came to Yen'an from Yen's headquarters, two of his subordinates accompanied us. They were taken to visit military and other establishments in the same way as we were, despite the fact that at Fushan clashes had been already going on for some time and returned a month afterwards after paying farewell calls to local leaders. This was the first time any of Yen's people has been here for a considerable period and they crossed the river directly from the Border Region to their own area saying they preferred not to travel through Sian though that would give them the advantage of a motor road.

THE COMMUNIST STAND IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KUOMINTANG

Yenan, August 14, 1944.

TAKING SHARP EXCEPTION TO AN OPTIMISTIC STATEMENT REGARDING Kuomintang-Communist negotiations made by the Minister of Information, Liang Han-chao on July 26th, Chou En-lai, Communist Party leader who since the Sian incident has taken a leading part in its relations with the Central Government, today announced flatly that negotiations have so far yielded no result and described the differences which have led to a deadlock. The statement, made in the form of an interview with a reporter of the *New China News Agency*, was printed on the first page of the *Emancipation Daily*, the official organ of the Communist Party.

Chou En-lai takes up Minister Liang's statement point by point. Regarding the alleged improvement of relations between the two parties, he says this is true in so far as negotiations are at present going on where previously there were none, but his view is contrary to Liang's opinion that problems were mainly solved: "I can say with full responsibility that not one single concrete problem, no matter how small, has been settled. Problems relating to the re-establishment of

our radio connections between Yen-an and Chungking and free use of mails, release of arrested personnel, stopping of rumours and slanders against Chinese Communists have not been settled, and it is almost superfluous to say that none of the major problems relating to the lifting of the blockade and stopping attacks against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies have been settled."

Liang's statement that "there are no serious differences in the viewpoint of the Government and the Communists" is 'branded as a "deliberate attempt to mislead the people here and abroad. In fact, the principles of the two parties show a wide divergence." Chou says that the Communists since the Sian incident have maintained that only democracy can strengthen the war and only democracy can provide a basis for a just and correct settlement of the Kuomintang-Communist and other political problems. This is the view not only of the Communists but of 99% of the Chinese people. "However, the viewpoint of the ruling authorities of Kuomintang and the National Government is different. From beginning to end they have been unwilling immediately to carry out democracy and insist on Kuomintang's one-party rule plus a policy of restricting, weakening and annihilating others (pretentiously and demagogically insisting that others must obey and support unity without permitting the question whether the kind of unity spoken of is beneficial to the war). This is the true reason why the two parties so far are apart." Chou further refutes Liang's statement that the Communist Party, while pledging co-operation acts to the contrary, declaring that Communists have kept the 1937 pledges while the Kuomintang have not carried out the policy of democratic mobilisation and the true realisation of the Three People's Principles which was a corollary to the pledges of the Communists.

Passing on to the negotiations themselves, Chou said the information given by Liang was "not entirely in accordance with the facts." He said that the Communist delegate, Lin Chu-han, Chairman of the Border Region Government, began by suggesting that negotiations start from the question of the general democratisation of politics throughout China; but the Kuomintang negotiators, Wang Shih-chieh and Chang Chih-ching did not accept this as the basis but suggested that first, the problem of the Border Region and Communist troops be discussed. Lin Chu-han then asked for designations for the six armies and 18 divisions, the existing 477,000 Communist-led regulars, but the Kuomintang spokesman offered designations for only 4 armies and 12 divisions (At present the Government recognises only one army comprising 3 divisions which is unrealistic because each "division" has grown to over a hundred thousand men). Regarding the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the Kuomintang wanted that its internal administration be brought into line with other parts of China before its recognition but Lin proposed that since internal administration here is democratic and in line with the Three People's Principles, it should not be changed.

Politically, Lin Chu-han asked for legalisation of the Communist Party, cessation of arrests, confiscation of books and newspapers, full

freedom of speech. Lin said that guerilla regions behind enemy lines "should be placed under the leadership of the National Government's Military Council but it must be settled on principles beneficial to the war of resistance." Regarding the military and economic blockade, Kuomintang spokesmen promised the restoration of commerce as a preliminary step. These were the results of the preliminary Sian talks, a record of which both sides agreed to sign for its submission to the Kuomintang and Communist Central Committees as reference for final decisions. However Wang Shih-chieh and Chang Chih-Ching did not sign the record and so "it cannot even be considered as a provisional agreement" as Liang inferred.

"On May 17th Lin Wang-chang flew to Chungking. On May 21st our (Communist) Central Committee sent instructions to him containing 20 clauses the first group of which requested the Government to institute democracy and a bill of rights and secondly recognition of the legal status of the Communist and other patriotic parties, release of patriotic political prisoners, effective realisation of local self-government. The remainder of the clauses concerned specific unsolved problems."

Regarding the military forces, Communists asked for designations of at least 5 armies, 16 divisions, for supplies of ammunition and medical stocks. Regarding local governments, the Central Government was asked for the recognition of the popularly elected guerilla administrations behind Japanese lines in North, Central and South China as legal local governments. The Government was requested to abolish blockade and stop attacks on all Communist-led troops and areas. As regards supplies, Communists requested that a proportionate amount of Allied armament and financial assistance be diverted to the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Use of insulting terms as "traitor army" and "traitor regime," infiltration of secret agents and slanders in official newspapers must be discontinued. Political prisoners must be released. Other points asked the Government to lift the most rigorous censorship imposed on the Communist *New China Daily News* in Chungking; restore radio stations in Chungking and Sian offices of the Eighth Route Army, allow workers of these offices free travel between Yen-an and Chungking and Sian, and freedom to purchase daily necessities without hindrance.

Chou said that these proposals were handed to Messrs. Wang and Chang on May 22nd but they felt that the original form was simply a bill of charges against the Kuomintang and refused to transmit them. Lin referred their objection to Yen-an and a new list was made out, omitting certain clauses such as blockade etc. which were to be communicated verbally. Wang and Chang replied only on June 15 that these proposals had been submitted. In the meantime, they handed to Lin a list of government "instructions" to be sent to Yen-an.

Chou En-lai said that the two documents differed widely. Government instructions did not mention the realisation of democracy and legal recognition for other parties, release of political prisoners, including the New Fourth Army Commander, General Yeh Ting, suspension

of the blockade, proportionate distribution of Allied supplies ; stopping of infiltration, rumours, insults, unreasonable censorship, restoration of radio communications, freedom of travel, etc. of personnel of delegations. They only proposed to recognize 4 armies, 10 divisions and "in complete disregard for the necessities of war of resistance and circumstances of guerilla warfare, it proposed that hundreds and thousand of troops in excess of 10 divisions be disbanded within a fixed period."

Regarding the Border Governments there was only a request to carry out the regulations of Kuomintang but "no mention was made of the Three People's Principles, of democratic institutions which are not only necessary for an anti-Japanese war but highly successful in practice."

With regard to popularly elected democratic governments of the anti-Japanese bases, the Kuomintang demanded that they hand over power to the so-called Provincial Governments which had long ago fled from where they belong to unknown destinations. Abolition of local currencies was demanded although their issue has actually been due to unavoidable necessity for the anti-Japanese war.

"Although the difference in the proposals was so wide, the Communist Central Committee invited Wang and Chang to Yen-an for discussion and Lin also requested permission to return to report back. This is all that happened during the last three months.

"Liang says 'The Chinese Communists have not replied to government proposals but on the contrary put forward 17 counter proposals which after modification, were reduced to 12. These are apparently different from those agreed upon by Sian three months ago.'

"In fact, our proposals were made first but the Government refused to receive them. Our first proposals contained 20 clauses, not 17, which were later divided into two parts written and oral, as a concession by our Party. They were not in any sense a reply to Government proposals. Mr. Liang has completely disregarded facts though it is hard to see with what object."

Finally, Chou En-lai commented that although Liang says that differences between the parties are in the process of being dissolved and has repeatedly said that China certainly should avoid civil war, realities prove otherwise, shown by the fact that many raids on the border region were made last month, viz., Yen Hsi-shan's 61st army attacked the Eighth Routers in Shensi in agreement with Japanese and Kuomintang troops, and the army under Li Pen-hsien attacked the New Fourth Army units in Hupeh which rescued American pilots and which at that time were attacking the enemy to divert them from campaigns on the regular fronts. Kuomintang troops under Lo Mao-hsun attacked the guerilla detachments operating east of the river in the region of Kwangtung. "These incidents show that armed clashes still continue and the danger of civil-war is not yet past."

To sum up, in order to win final victory over Japan, the Kuomintang and the Communists must unite and the existing problems between

parties must be solved immediately. For this, it is necessary that the ruling authorities and the Kuomintang immediately give up the one-party dictatorship policy—a policy of weakening and exterminating those differing from it, and must at once put democracy into practice, and through democratic procedures reach a fair and just solution in the relations between the parties. “Only thus can success be attained and this is the heartfelt hope of the Communist Party.”

UNITED FRONT AT SUITEH

Suiteh, North Shensi, Aug. 24, 1944.

SUITEH IS THE SECOND LARGEST TOWN AFTER YENAN IN THE COMMUNIST-led Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region but it is as different from Yen-an as any two towns can be. Yen-an, since the destruction of the old town by Japanese bombs five years ago, has been a sprawling collection of cave-dwellings, offices, solid stone-built public auditoriums and theatres. Suiteh is a fortress town on a high bluff girt with great walls and battlements of the kind the Crusaders used to build, but constructed many centuries before the Crusaders. Within its walls are broad flagstoned streets, strong buildings and spacious courts which bespeak its more than a thousand years' duty as an outpost of Chinese military power against the invading tribes from the north. Racially Suiteh is also different from Yen-an. Incursions of Huns, Tartars and Mongols, and forgotten Caucasian peoples are evident in certain types of Chinese I have seen here as nowhere else—some with great aquiline beaks set between deepest Turkish eyes, topping thick, busy beards, some chestnut haired, some blonde and a few even blue-eyed. But most important of all for judging the position and prospects of the Chinese Communist Party is the fact that Suiteh is different socially and politically.

The Yen-an area had gone through the old Soviet revolution before the Anti-Japanese War. Land was re-distributed and the landlords fled the area. In Suiteh the new regime was established after the war of resistance (the Kuomintang Administrative Commissioner left in 1940 after a period of a kind of dual power). Although rents and interest were lowered, ownership of land, remained unchanged. Landlords, retired military and civil officials and the scholars and the gentry who gave lustre to the city's ancient reputation as the greatest cultural centre in North Shensi, are still here, and still have power in the administration. Public organs include not only the traditionally progressive elements among the latter (Suiteh's scholars played a part in the overthrow of the Manchus and in the early days of the Kuomintang Revolution, and Li Tse-chaw, the one-time famous principal of Suiteh's Normal College which supplies this part of the country with teachers, was one of the founders of the Communist Party, and a mentor

of a large group of present leaders who began their revolutionary careers inside these walls).

Among the members of the People's Political Council whom we saw, there are also old imperial officials and former regimental, brigade commanders and staff officers of the Central Government army of General Kao Kwei-tze who once fought the Red Army tooth and nail on one of the most bitterly contested sectors of the ten-year old Chinese Civil War, and some of whom had left the Central Government units as late as 1942. If Yen-an shows the results of an agrarian revolution plus the present Chinese Communist policy, Suiteh is a pure laboratory specimen of the wartime anti-Japanese democratic united front in areas garrisoned by the Eighth Route Army, as it works within and modifies old Chinese society.

An Wen-hsiang, the big, strong, wiry-haired, 69-year-old President of Suiteh's People's Political Council whom we had met once already at a session of the Border Region People's Political Council at Yen-an, is a typical North Shensi country gentleman of the old school. Sitting in his blackwood reception room amid inscribed rolls of pictures of his ancestors and photographs of his children, one of whom has graduated from an engineering school in Japan, he told us that his 400 acres of land have been in the family possession since the Sun Dynasty a thousand years ago. He himself is an old imperial scholar, who before the anti-Manchu revolution was a Prefect, in charge of regional classical examinations, as well as commander of the local militia. After the establishment of the Republic he served on the boards of various local schools but refused to accept any public office during the warlord or the subsequent Kuomintang period, although General Tang En-po had made his Headquarters in his residence during the last anti-Red campaign.

At first old An had regarded Communists with suspicion and fear, but the behaviour of the Eighth Route Army after it took over the city had dispelled these. He had fought all his life against corruption, gambling and opium, wherein in the past many officials indulged, and was impressed by the fact that the administrators of the new regime were entirely free from all these vices. When the Eighth Route Army beat back Japanese attempts to cross the Yellow River, which threatened the city, he made up his mind to support it.

Subsequent developments had not made him regret his decision. There was democracy. Everyone could speak his mind. Production, both agricultural and industrial, had increased. Lowered crop rents made farmers work more because they knew the surplus would be their own, and the landlords did not suffer appreciably because although the proportion of the crop they received was smaller, the absolute amount was not much less. Lower taxes also helped to make up for rent losses. There was no longer banditry and social stability was much greater than he had ever remembered.

I asked: "Many people say that Communism is a foreign doctrine, alien to China. What do you think?" He replied: "I do not

believe in violent Communism, but if Communism can come peacefully, I think there is something in it. Once I went to Shanghai where the rich live in great houses, in luxury which leads to degeneration, while ricksha coolies run their hearts out for a few coppers. It cost me as much to live for a month there as it costs me to live a year here. I was shocked by such inequality between the rich and poor, refused to set foot in a ricksha and walked everywhere though I had to let my wife ride because she has bound feet and could not keep up with me. If Communists can remedy such conditions, I am for them."

An then told us that his 23-year old grandson was teaching in a foreign language school in Yen-an. He had written to him that since he was getting old he hoped his grandson would marry soon, because he wanted to see his great grandchildren before he died. But since these are new times, he would not select a bride but let the grandson choose for himself. The grandson replied that since these were new times he would not only marry whom he pleased but also when he pleased. Moreover, his children would belong not to the An family but to the Chinese nation, so would his grandfather please not bring the subject up again. I sked An Wen-hsiang : "If you were young to-day, would you act like your grandson?" The old man snorted: "I have always done what I was convinced was right and carried it through to the end, whatever anyone said or did. That young scoundrel takes after me, so I can't complain." And his eyes twinkled.

On my way out, Wang Chiang-hsing, an old Communist who for many years had led bands of peasant rebels in the surrounding hills and since then has fought his way to the east of Peiping in the Eighth Route Army, whispered: "Even when we fought the landlords, we knew this old fellow as an upright and honest man."

The other gentry whom we met and who now sit in the same council with peasants, workers and old Communist partisans—weather-beaten from years of guerilla warfare against landlords, warlords, the Kuomintang and the Japanese—included Wang Ching-hsi, former Central Army battalion commander, who had slipped through from Sian only last year after he had got into trouble for accusing his superiors of bad leadership and mishandling army funds; General Liu Chien-shan who had studied military science abroad and commanded a Kuomintang division under Kao Kwei-tze; Chang Chia-hsing, director of a local bank under the Kuomintang, who refused to move when the bank was ordered to Yulin after the arrival of the Eighth Route Army; Wang Wei-ching, the 73-year-old imperial scholar, for many years Regional Director of Education; Lin Shao-tung, former Staff Officer under the Shensi General Chin Yu-hsiu and adviser to Shansi Governor Yen Hsi-shan; Ho Chusan an old local educationist who is at present a district magistrate; Ting Tze-wen, a graduate of Peking University and at present Principal of the Suiteh Normal School; and Chen Chun-hai, Principal of the Girls' Primary School in Suiteh and a member of the Kuomintang. All said they now had a clean government and found work in it both satisfying and productive of results. When asked what difference there

was between the present and past, all of them said in different words that there was more democracy ; the government was by and for the local people instead of being an outside growth to tax the local people, and the level of production and prosperity had greatly increased.

Leaving Suiteh we rode along the valley of the Wuting River, China's old frontier against the Huns, and the theme of one of the grandest poems in the Chinese language which begins : "The bones of countless warriors lie bleaching along the Wutingho." On the bluff above us was the great tumulus of Fu Su, son of Emperor Chin Shih-huang, builder of the Great Wall who died about two hundred years before Christ. The ancient shrine before the tumulus was repaired just before the Eighth Route Army took over. The Eighth Route Army further embellished it with two slogans written in six-foot characters along its stone-walls :

Develop production and prepare for the counter-offensive !

—Mao Tse-tung

Long live the National Liberation of the Chinese people !

SUPPLIES FOR LIBERATION

*Quartermaster, Base of
the Eighth Route Army in Shansi,
Suiyuan Military Area,
August 29, 1944.*

I AM UNABLE TO GIVE ANY LOCATION OF THIS BASE EXCEPT TO SAY THAT to reach it we had to travel 250 miles on horseback from Yanan through a mountainous country and that the main features of the vicinity are the Yellow River and the Great Wall. The atmosphere here has changed. Whereas Yanan occupies itself with every aspect of general, military, internal and international situation, and production, education, culture, brisk life here is measured directly to the immediate day-to-day needs of war. Here scattered through anonymous villages guarded by peasant militia are supply dumps, repair shops for weapons, equipment factories, evacuated hospitals and plant of well-printed tabloid size regional newspaper *Resistance War Daily*. Here also is answer to the question whether the Eighth Route Army fighting in the rear of the Japanese is a loosely organised guerilla formation or a regular military force. The answer is that it is a highly integrated regular army employing guerilla tactics in co-ordination with two kinds of people's forces—guerilla detachments which though not regulars can be ordered from place to place in accordance with tactical needs and a volunteer defence militia, fighting only in the vicinity of their own towns and villages.

One supply dump which we saw was located in the sturdy, stone-walled collection of buildings of the type substantial farmers here have

built for centuries to protect themselves and their property from the raging elements, and Mongol and bandit incursions.

The raw material warehouse for the nearby repair arsenal had a courtyard piled high with rails from the Japanese railways, (the army's chief source of steel) which are cut into short lengths and transported by mules to the rear. There were hundreds of feet of piping ripped out of buildings in temporarily-occupied railway stations, and great numbers of unexploded Japanese shells (Eighth Routers say that the enemy fires lot of duds). Large wooden crates overflowed with old Chinese copper coins with square holes bought up from the conservative local people who had hoarded them since the fall of the Empire. These hoards will be numismatist's paradise. Running fingers through them I found not only thousands of specimens of coinage of every Manchu reign but also many dating back to Ming, Mongol and even Sung Dynasty which ruled China a thousand years' ago. These treasures were destined not for collections but to be made into shell cases. In one corner of the courtyard like a dead snake lay coiled caterpillar treads of a Japanese tank.

The weapons warehouse had more enemy material than I have ever seen in the other parts of China proudly kept in trophy rooms—mortars, machine-guns, rifles, ammunition, tear and blister gas cylinders, field radio and telephone equipment, some broken and battle-scarred, some still fit for use. Old uniforms warehouse was filled with piles of stained and torn cotton padded clothing and furlined leather tunics, pants used by the Eighth Route Army cavalry in the frozen Mongolian plains. Much of the stuff salvaged from these is turned into items of use by the Eighth Route Army men. Old cotton padding is washed well and requilted. Old cloth is pressed and made into thick soles for regulation Eighth Army shoes. Old furs have good pieces cut out and re sewn for linings of cavalry boots.

In other warehouses we saw bales of regulation gray and blue cloth largely woven by the army itself and dyed with materials obtained from the local plants. New cotton-quilted uniforms were preserved in bales, ready for the annual issue to the troops in October. On our way we saw mules being loaded with them for long journeys over mountain trails to various unit headquarters. Also seen here were scarfs of captured Japanese officers, a full wardrobe of a colonel's flying suits—and parachutes. The manufacturing establishment attached to this dump has 30 sewing machines and 130 workers, mostly wounded and veteran soldiers with previous tailoring experience and orderlies and the non-combatant personnel transferred from active units during the last year's "army simplification movement." Many of them were plying their needles, sitting cross-legged in traditional tailor fashion. This plant which is one of the several in the surrounding villages, turns out 200 winter suits daily, besides many caps and shoes. One interesting feature is that in order to save metal and enamel, buttons are lathe-turned from local hard-wood and insignia of a truly Chinese touch are made of porcelain with designs carved in. As in Yen-an and rear

points, soldiers and workers have trade unions and their own club. They work ten hours daily and study one hour under army's general plan of eliminating illiteracy.

This small base has 7 hospital units under a Regional Medical Department, at present accommodating over a thousand patients. We inspected one with 110 men, many of whom were wounded in an engagement which took place on August 13th only 3 weeks ago and who were carried for 12 days by peasant litter bearers after the commander had decided that their injuries were too serious to be treated in the regiment. These men came from the vicinity of Tientsin and Peiping where their unit was formerly stationed. All were farmers who had joined the Eighth Route Army after the war—many after fighting for months in the rear in people's militia and guerilla detachments. They said it was much easier to fight the Japanese now than formerly because their best units had been withdrawn, and garrisons consisted largely of old men and boys, and the spirit of the enemy was lower and the puppets were wavering and often came over. They also said that things were easier because much of Japan's strength was being engaged by Allies in the Pacific and thought the war would soon be over because Paris had fallen and Hitler would soon crack up. Asked how they got this information despite the fact that they are confessedly hardly literate, they said nurses read the newspapers aloud in every ward daily. The wounded were well-fed and high spirited. They were dressed in white hospital pyjamas and had sheets on their beds—something I have never seen on other Chinese fronts where the wounded sleep on the straw in their own uniforms under their own blankets.

One of the patients was a weather-beaten, 34-year old illiterate peasant militiaman whose right hand was blown off in a fight with the Japanese on August 4th. He had been carried to the hospital for 23 days on orders of the village government. His arm was bad and became infected but amputation below the elbow plus care had saved him. Asked what he would do with only one hand, he said, in his own dialect, that now he could neither fight nor be out, but the army would support him while he learned to read and write and he would still work that way. This was also something new in China.

There was one woman patient in the hospital—a pretty, 24-year old political worker whose arm had been shattered by a rifle bullet above the elbow in a surprise encirclement while she, with two other girls, had been organising the village for evacuation before the enemy attack. Of her two friends, one was killed outright, while the other who escaped with her was also wounded. She said doctors—trained for two years in Yen-an Medical College—had promised that she would soon again have a partial use of the arm after which she intended to return to the frontline to continue her previous work.

The area has a home for the crippled and blind soldiers who receive education and do simple productive work. The Eighth Route Army—with almost nothing to do with, except clean lives, good food, blood transfusions, simple antiseptics and similar surgery—takes care

of its wounded.

We have been travelling fast—30 to 40 miles a day over mountains on horseback. The only reason I could sit down today and write this dispatch is that rain prevents our moving. Tomorrow if the rain stops, we arrive at the operational headquarters of Shansi-Suiyuan military region—three-quarters of which is behind enemy lines from where we ourselves are not 50 miles distant.

WARLORD'S SON IN NEW CHINA

Michih, North Shensi, September 1, 1944.

THE SECRETARY OF THE MUNICIPAL COMMUNIST PARTY IN THIS CLEAN picturesque walled city is Yang Lin-hsi, son of General Yang Hu-cheng, a rough, ready, feudal but anti-Japanese Shensi warlord who almost eight years ago made Chinese and world history by joining with the "Young Marshal" Chang Hsueh-liang to detain the Generalissimo in the famous Sian Incident, and is now himself imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek near Kweiyang.

Yang Lin-hsi—known here as "Little Yang"—is a modest, quiet and clean-faced youngster of twenty-four. When the war broke out, he was only seventeen but the Sian Incident and Japanese aggression had set him thinking, and at the end of 1937 when the Japanese occupied neighbouring Shansi and threatened his own province, he decided to organise guerilla detachments in the area around Sian, and like thousands of other young Chinese students of all classes and beliefs, came to learn how to do it in the famous Anti-Japanese University in Yen-an. That was in the heyday of the United Front, and coming to Yen-an did not mean you were a Communist but only that you wanted to learn the Eighth Route Army methods of fighting and mass organisation on which Communist generals were simultaneously advising the Central Army men at Hankow. So "Little Yang" came also and brought his younger sister with him.

But the Japanese did not cross the Yellow River and did not come to Shensi, and "Little Yang," as he told me sitting in a map-behung reception room of the Michih Primary School, became more and more interested in the entire Chinese-Communist pattern of anti-Japanese struggle and "new democracy". So after a time he joined the Communist Party and his sister married a local worker and in time became the mother of a bouncing baby. Students of their class have since become military and political workers all over this Border Region and guerilla areas, stretching east to the gulf of Chihli and Yellow River and in the south to the Lower Yangtze, and the young Yangs, like the rest of them, are wearing blue bottom uniforms and working their heads off for an idea and their upkeep (they receive no salaries) in jobs assigned to them. "Little Yang's" task is to mobilise people in

Michih for increased production and better education and he is proud of the fact that everyone here is working and living better than before, that paupers and beggars have disappeared (we have yet to see a beggar anywhere in the Border Region), that the number of poor peasant children attending schools is increasing every term and that illiterate adults are also learning to read.

The case of "Little Yang" is the most striking symbol of the Communists' success in winning over the more active and more progressive elements among the North Shensi gentry, evidence of which we already saw in Suiteh. Michih is perhaps the luckiest town in North Shensi because it has never yet been captured by anyone in war. The town has three walls. The first and innermost was built in the Ming Dynasty against the Mongols and kept the latter out. The second was built in 1869 against the Moslem uprising and also served its purpose. The third was built only in 1935 against the Red Army and there was a time when the heads of captured and executed Communists were hung from its main gate. But only a year later came the Sian Incident and the Young Marshal's troops garrisoning Michih voluntarily retired in favour of the Eighth Route Army under arrangement between the respective commands. Since then, the garrison and mass organisations have been led by Communists, but the Kuomintang administrative officials retired long after the war.

There was no land division in Michih but Communists have reduced rents and also brought industry to the city. Several of the old local gentry whom we met are now entrepreneurs in wool and silk weaving though they had previously never thought of such a thing. Some of these new factories are corporations in which the entrepreneurs along with their relatives, friends and workers hold an interest. (In one, workers owned a third of the shares). All have trade unions and the union committee sits along with the management to plan production which is partially on army contract. As everywhere else in the Border Region, wages are fixed in terms of millet, which is the basic local staple food (for instance, a worker's wage will be 400 lbs. of millet per month, paid in money at the day's market price and there is no control here). Thus inflation does not affect them and a decrease in wage is impossible.

One peculiarity of Michih is that it lies only two miles from the borders of Kuomintang-administered Yulin district. We walked to the top of a hill and saw a large fort on the other side, and blockhouses on the peaks. Michih has a garrison but no Communist defence works are perceptible. Despite the recent civil-war scares nobody seems to worry about the town's exposed position and none of the citizens are afraid to speak their minds.

As I said before, Michih has a flourishing educated gentry. The town is on the direct road from Peiping through Shansi and produced many generations of scholars who were sent to the old capital for examinations and served Emperors in all parts of China in olden times. The names and deeds of these ancient officials are set forth on hundreds

of grave tablets along the willow-lined alleys outside the town. One of them proclaims that a Michih citizen who sleeps under it was once Mandarin of "the Szechuan prefectural city of Chungking."

HOW PEOPLE AND SOLDIERS FIGHT THE ENEMY

*With the Communist-led Eighth Route Army in
Shansi Province, September 7, 1944.*

FOR SIX DAYS NOW WE HAVE BEEN WITH THE OPERATING UNITS OF China's Communist-led army in country that has passed many times from Chinese to Japanese hands and back again. Instead of the flourishing settlements west of the Yellow River, where people are reaping the fruits of years of reform, education, and steadily increasing production, villages here are invariably gutted. The peasants tell of Japanese atrocities with sombre faces which brighten up only when they recount how they deceived the enemy or drove him out. The entrance to every village is guarded by plainclothes people's militia, with every variety of captured Japanese arms, from tommyguns to hand-grenades, and every variety of local arms from land-mines through muzzle loaders to red tasselled spears.

When anyone approaches, some villager, often a child or a woman who may simultaneously be herding sheep or spinning thread, bars the way and demands to see one's pass. If there is any palaver, people's militiamen immediately appear from a neighbouring shack or clump of trees. There is no nonsense about passes. Everyone must show them, whether in uniform or out of uniform, and the brigade commander who is leading our two companies of Eighth Route Army men through the enemy lines which we cross tonight, has often had to dismount to show his papers and stand docilely by while some ragged thirteen-year old kid counted the members of our party and satisfied himself that we were really people covered by the documents. The reason why children are commonly entrusted with this duty is that they are often the only villagers who can read. To guard against forgeries the forms of passes are frequently changed.

If the enemy moves, the people in the nearest village are immediately informed by mounted scouts whose concealed observation points are located practically at the gates of enemy garrison points, and the alarm is rung for the people to hide their grain and retire to the hills. The militia lays mines and booby-traps. News of enemy movements is relayed to other villages by such simple expedients as signal fires or knocking down flag-poles on mountain tops (this is uneven country). Particulars of Japanese activity are often known before it actually starts from cooks, water-carriers, and even puppet soldiers in strongpoints who work with the Eighth Route.

Right now the state of alarm is constant because this is the har-

vesting season when the Japanese invariably sally forth to loot. For the same reason, men and women, soldiers and guerillas, the militia and the civilians are all working in the fields from dawn till after dark to gather, thresh, and conceal the crop. "Labour Exchange", which by collectively working on fields saves so many man-hours in the rear areas around Yen-an, has different forms here, adapted to front-line conditions. One is Labour Exchange between the militia, troops and civilians. The troops work in the peasant's fields as well as in their own during the quiet season. When they are mobilised for action, the people gather the militia members' harvests as well as their own, so that the fighters are not worried when they go out to scout, hold off and harass the enemy. There is also a Labour Exchange between neighbouring villages as well as individual peasants, so that the village whose livestock is looted and men killed, can still plough, sow, reap and thresh. Formerly the individual farmer had first to cut his crop, then thresh it and then store the grain. Now with peasants and fighters working in common these operations can proceed simultaneously, different groups specialising in each process. The time needed for clearing, and storing the harvest has thus been reduced from six weeks to less than a fortnight, and even if fighters are unable to keep the enemy away from a given spot for this length of time, at least part of the crop is saved. The result is that in Hsingsien district, for instance, the Japanese, who killed 1,384 peasants and stole 6,679 *piculs* of grain and 466 head of cattle in the harvest-looting campaign in 1940, got less each succeeding year, till in the fall of last year they only killed 48 civilians and stole 247 *piculs* of grain and 83 head of cattle. During the same period, Labour Exchange has increased the cultivated area and the total crop yield to above pre-war level, so that even after the campaign losses, people have more to eat than before. Determination to defend the fruits of this increased efficiency of organisation for production and struggle has increased the number of peasants actually participating in armed engagements in co-ordination with the regular army or independently from 245 to 3,100. In 1940, 2,400 people turned out to help the army by carrying food and wounded. In the campaign during the fall of 1943, over 26,000 people turned out. (The total population of the district is just under 95,000).

Last year also—for the first time—a Japanese battalion consisting of over a thousand men, which came to one of the sub-districts of this Liberated Area, never returned to its base at all. The army and militia let it come in for some distance and then subjected it to a series of more than ten ambushes and temporary encirclements which, by progressively whittling down its forces along a sixty-mile retreat lasting a week, finally led to its annihilation only a day's march from the enemy's fortified line where it would have been safe. We spoke to scores of Eighth Route Army men and People's Militiamen who participated in this operation and saw piles of charred bones at entrenched points where the Japs made stands and burned their dead. We also saw hundreds of their rifles, pistols, trench mortars, machine guns, blan-

kets, overcoats and harversacks equipping proud soldiers, guerillas and militiamen.

All equipment which the militia captures is left in its hands and the Army assists with additional items and ammunition for which there is need. Military instruction of the militiamen is one of the obligations of the commanders of Eighth Route Army garrisons, whether big or small, whether temporary or permanent. When militia units are first formed, their members go into action with regulars, one or two being mixed into each squad or platoon of soldiers. When they gain confidence and knowledge they go into action independently under their own elected commanders. Eighth Route Army officers say that at first they had to teach the militia, but now they often find themselves learning from their ingenuity and knowledge of local conditions.

The militia fight only within a radius of twenty miles of their own village, but otherwise distinctions between the militia and the regular army are rapidly being obliterated, equal tasks being entrusted to whichever is available. The two companies of regulars with whom we have been travelling are returning to the front behind the enemy lines after two months' duty with a training regiment at the Shansi-Suiyuan Military Area Headquarters, under the system by which one company from each sub-region brigade (of which there are eight in this region) undergoes instruction at Headquarters once in six months. This instruction incorporates the recent experience of the whole area in countering new enemy tactics, and also preparation for new tasks. After instruction the company returns and teaches the rest of the fighters in the sub-region. Companies cross many enemy blockade lines coming and going, and bring their own arms. In this session's training regiment 64 per cent of the rifles, 47 per cent of the trench mortars and all heavy machine guns were captured from the Japs and puppet troops. The corresponding figures for all troops of the Shansi-Suiyuan area are 48 per cent for rifles and 46 per cent for all machine-guns. Of the rifles carried by our companies part are Czech Zbrojovkas (known in the Chinese army as "Chiang Kai-shek rifles") which, after being ordered by the Central Government just before the war, fell into enemy hands. They were issued to puppet troops and then seized by the Eighth Route Army men who defeated the puppets.*

While the Japs still fight stubbornly, despite the fact that their garrisons now consist mostly of under-age and over-age reserves and their training equipment is inferior to that of past years, we have had ample evidence in the past few days that the puppets are utterly demoralised. Lack of men compels the Japs to garrison many of the blockading forts with puppets alone, and the Eighth Route Army are at present on the offensive to eliminate these and by maintaining the initiative through the harvest season to tie the Japanese down to their own garrison points.

*An Eighth Route Army commander said to me ruefully: "These are the only arms we have had from Chiang Kai-shek in five years and look how we had to get them."

Yesterday and this morning alone, Eighth Route Army men captured two such strongpoints within a few miles of the place where we are at present, with a total of a hundred puppets. In the first strong point they captured the puppet captain who was in command of both places, and they took the second by ordering him to instruct the men in it to come out and surrender because they were surrounded by a superior force of Eighth Route Army men which was already mounting an assault. Eighth Route Army men made the surrender easier by promising good treatment and offering their own transport to bring the families and personal effects of the capitulating puppets from a village near the highway blockhouse, thus securing them from reprisals.

We met and talked to both batches—the puppets who fought for two hours and those who gave in without fighting. They were bedraggled, bewildered, dispirited men who were pressed into service by the Japs and knew nothing of the war in the rest of the world, and were as different from the well-informed, constantly singing, horseplaying Eighth Route Army men as though they belonged to a distinct species. It is worth mentioning here that each burned-out village we have seen in this Liberated Area has a blackboard bearing the latest world, Chinese and local news, supplied by the Radiomen of the nearest army unit, and it was from such sources that we learned of Rumania's capitulation and the capture of Verdun by the Allies. Here, a few miles from the enemy, charred walls bear slogans such as: "Down with Fascism," and "Realise the Moscow Four Power Declaration" alongside those with local meaning such as: "Combine Production with armed struggle," "Defend the Harvest," and "Not one head of cattle, not one ounce of grain for the Enemy."

Tonight we cross the blockade line to the enemy rear.

BEHIND THE ENEMY LINES

Yenan, October 9, 1944.

I AND TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS visiting Chinese Communist-led areas have just completed a seven-week, thousand-mile horseback tour of the Eighth Route Army's fighting front in Northwest Shansi during which we spent 17 days, riding and marching 300 miles behind the Japanese lines. Our trip was the first to be made by any foreign newspapermen through China's "Second Front" in the rear of the enemy in 6 years.

During our brief but incident- and observation-packed stay there, we saw two successful Eighth Route Army attacks from distances respectively of 3 miles and 300 yards from the assaulted Japanese strongpoints; we were in the immediate vicinity of 2 others which resulted in the demolition of additional forts; were ourselves twice hunted with the enemy forces on our tails—once one mile and once ten miles

behind ; slept for two nights in the villages within rifle-shot of enemy blockade blockhouses which the people of these villages had in turn blockaded with hundreds of hand-made mines, booby traps and hidden snipers' nests so that the enemy was afraid to sally out unless the way was cleared for him by strong reinforcements from outside ; saw portraits of Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung flaunted within an hour's walking march of the Japanese, and slogans such as "Back up Four Power Declaration by smashing Japanese Fascism !" staring them in the face as they peered out through loopholes and generally gained a substantial idea of the nature, depth and the infinite variety of the people's war which Communist armies and the local population are waging against the invaders of their country throughout North and Central China.

Kuomintang Information Ministry representative and Major Melvin A. Casberg, United States Army Medical Corps of St. Louis (Missouri) accompanied us throughout the tour, and saw the same things.

Perhaps the best way of packing the wealth of events of experience during these days and nights behind the enemy lines into the limited newspaper space available is to give them in a chronological order.

We crossed the Lishih-Lanhsien motor road which the Japanese hold with block-house forts spaced about 3 miles apart along the entire length on September 8th after 4 companies of the Eighth Route regulars who were detailed to protect our passage, had decided that the best way to do this was to take Mafang fort which they did by sending a suicide squad to cut the ropes which held up the drawbridge which was the only way across the surrounding moat. Subsequently, a two-hour fighting resulted in the surrender of 50 surviving Japanese-uniformed puppets who held the strongpoint, with all their arms. One of the captives was a Captain who also commanded Kaifu, the next block-house in the chain, and the Eighth Routers took him along with them to his men inside to tell them that with Mafang fallen, their position was hopeless and they had better come out quietly—which they did.

With two forts cleared from our path in 24 hours, we were able to cross the blockade by daylight and inspect and photograph one of the captured strongpoints which stood within the most formidable defence works, including the outer barbed wire fence and a draw-bridged moat 30 feet across and 40 feet deep by another barbed wire barrier and 3 concentric lines of trenches and dug-outs (Japanese curiously enough call these strongpoints by the Russian word 'tochka' meaning—dot which was the designation probably of similar Soviet works on which they came to grief on the Manchurian frontier when they sought to penetrate it at Chang Kufeng 6 years ago).

The liberated town below the strongpoint was full of Eighth Routers and Communist local governments from the neighbouring points dressed in peasant clothing and carrying side-arms who were working quickly to organise the people who had been outside their control for over 3 years. Since the population of Mafang itself was still afraid to demolish the fort or even to take away its rafters for firewood fearing:

Jap retaliation, the peasant associations to which almost every one in the Eighth Route Army belongs, were mobilising men from other villages to come to do the job, and as we rode on, we saw at least a thousand old and young flocking in the opposite direction shouldering picks and hoes, laughing and chattering excitedly as though they were going to some entertainment.

When we passed Mafang again 17 days later (the Japs had come once in the interim), the blockhouses, the fort walls, barbed wire, moat, trenches and dug-outs had all completely disappeared and there was nothing on the hill over the town except bare earth (Headquarters of the Eighth Route sub-region of Shansi-Suiyan Border Area to which we came the next day is not more than 30 miles from Japanese strongholds on all sides). It gives the activities of the Eighth Route brigade which forms a regular garrison and consists partly of veterans of years of bitter fighting in the flat plains of Central Hopei, partly of units of Shensi's "new army" and of several guerilla detachments totalling several thousand men operating in the vicinity of big Japanese-held cities such as Taiyuan and Fenyang. In addition to the "Directing Committee" which includes representatives of the army command, of elected local governments, people's associations, and the Communist Party, it issues general directives to over 12,000 armed men and people's militia who differ from guerillas in that they are not divorced from production but are farmers who train in agricultural off-season and fight whenever necessary in their own localities with labour exchange groups tilling their land for them at such times.

The people's militia in the sub-region number 12,000 (We saw 600 foregather from 4 villages alone) and troops and guerillas number about 8,000, making in all 20,000 armed men out of a total population of 4,000,000—a proportion that was similar to two other sub-regions we had traversed earlier. Two-thirds of all these men were armed with weapons captured from the enemy and the whole picture lends a strong corroborative weight to Communist Party's claim that there are 470,000 regulars, two million three hundred thousand people's militia in all areas under its control. Enemy forces in the area are 5,800 Japanese and 3,820 puppets, exclusive of a strong garrison in Taiyuan which is flanked by this region and others, distributed through 110 strongpoints like the one we inspected. During a month of our stay in North-west Shansi, this sub-region alone has destroyed over 20. At its headquarters, we saw 6 Japanese prisoners captured on August 28th in a lightning attack which any one would have been proud of, the Eighth Routers, pouncing on them as they were unsuspectingly eating bucolic Alfresco breakfast outside their blockhouse wall and without their arms. The significant fact was that all these men except one had been in the army only since June this year, some of them being young recruits and others older men who were previously rejected for physical reasons. They as well as 10 Koreans who came over to the Eighth Route Army voluntarily told us that it was well-known in the Japanese army, despite their Officers' indoctrination, that the

Eighth Route Army does not kill prisoners and that they have seen propaganda materials of the Japanese People's Emancipation League not only at the front but also in major garrison points such as Peiping.

At the headquarters of the village, we also saw over a hundred puppet prisoners taken during the past fortnight and a detachment of 40 which had come over of itself and been allowed to keep arms during their training course preparatory to their incorporation in the guerilla forces in the area where they were originally stationed under Japanese command. At the same time, as Japanese garrisons here are decreasing and the enemy compelled to entrust more and more strongpoints to puppets, all indications here are that the puppet forces are disintegrating rapidly. The Eighth Routers' policy toward the puppets plays an important role in this. For instance, we ourselves witnessed how when Mafang puppets declared that they feared surrender because of certain enemy retaliation against their families in town, the Eighth Routers immediately mobilised donkey carts and wives and children with their household effects were moved into a safer area immediately behind the marching prisoners.

Leaving the headquarters, we travelled rapidly through villages with hospital units and hidden mountain caves for doctors and the wounded and a village with arsenal which produces 10,000 grenades and land mines monthly, till we reached the foothills of a mountain range which overlooks the important Shansi city of Fenyang, one of the most strategic points held by the enemy in the province at a distance of only 3 miles. We watched the Eighth Route regulars and guerillas attack the suburbs of this city for three successive nights, burning the railway station, air-field, buildings, the power station and a match factory (whose match boxes bore the inspiring legend "Chinese and Japanese must live and die together, America and Britain must be destroyed!") and taking a fort one and a half miles from the city gate, killing 10 Japanese and many puppets, and capturing 2 Japs and some puppet soldiers and the entire personnel of the sub-district government which had taken refuge there, plus 2 machine-guns, 70 rifles and countless cartons of Japanese cherry cigarettes, biscuits, cakes, canned foods, etc. By forced marches from several directions, we had concentrated a superior force around the city and one of the main objects of the operation was to make the garrison come out to fight which they stubbornly refused to do despite three days' and nights' constant prodding.

The correspondents' group moved every few hours from one village to another, all within equal radius and within plain sight of Fenyang and in each one found Eighth Route Army's government operating, people laughing and cheering over victories, local organisers assuring us that all spies had been dealt with long ago by fellow villagers and that enemy agents appeared only in company with Japanese raiding parties. Thus the regular bases where Eighth Route's undisputed authority reaches extend to the very gates of Fenyang (we slept in one place only a mile from a Japanese fort) and even villages in which forts equally stand

frequently have double government—one open puppet and one patriot that is secret only from the enemy but is known to all people. (The puppet head himself in such places is often delegated to take this post and use it in ways advantageous to the Eighth Route.) From one such place, we used captured Japanese army Post Office stationery to write a collective note to Emperor Hirohito, care of Japanese Commander at Fenyang, telling in terms of facts, what we ourselves saw, of the plight of his army in the area, which a local guerilla detachment promised to have dropped into an enemy military post-box within the town.

After this three days' expedition, we and the armed concentration rapidly dispersed and when our mounted scouts and the secret telephone depots (some using captured wire and some even barbed wire lines which are concealed in the shrubbery or underground) brought news of superior enemy forces on the move, we dodged around often running not away from but in the direction of other enemy strong-points which were effectively surrounded.

Three days later, we were again operating at Lofan, a point on Fen river a few miles north of Fenyang where two surrounded strong-points had been softened up by nightly megaphoned conversations with scouts of the Japanese People's Emancipation League. 300 Japanese and a hundred or so puppets within them were wavering but would not come over, so the Eighth Route decided to dig a tunnel under them and blow them up. Here we were under cover of only 300 yards from the blockhouse and hugged the ground as the enemy who discovered tunnelling, opened fire with rifles, machine-guns, mortars and 75 m.m. fieldpieces. The enemy's night firing was erratic and casualties were few but interference was still sufficient to prevent completion of the mission before dawn and we left without having seen the result of the engagement but the following evening when we were staying in another village, we heard heavy explosions which announced its success and received news shortly afterwards that the Lofan strong-point had been demolished and that apart from a couple of prisoners all the enemy were dead.

Our own casualties in all these attacks (wherein over a hundred Japanese and puppets were killed and much booty taken), were 12 dead and about 30 wounded of whom several were members of people's associations who had brought stretchers, scaling ladders and explosives to the scene of battle. All wounded of our own and enemy's were removed by stretchers immediately from under fire and evacuated to the rear at the same speed at which the troops marched away, new relays of farmers taking over litters at each village. The amazement of the Japanese at being treated as human beings and even given morphia by an American doctor was interesting to watch.

The explanation of how the Eighth Route Army is able to operate in this way lies primarily in its close contact with the people. The militia, guerillas and the regulars co-ordinate their activity in all actions, one, and sometimes the other, taking the main part. The stream of

information from village governments, people's associations and people's militia is constant and we always knew exactly where we were.

Guerilla and militia commanders have repeatedly demonstrated that their knowledge extended not only to the numbers, movements and habits of inmates of every strongpoint but also their names, family situation and relations among themselves, which servants, water-carriers and peddlers dealing with the enemy had transmitted (we were told how a strongpoint was taken because guerillas learned that the wife of a puppet soldier had been allowed to contact her husband by the Japanese and she persuaded him to drop the drawbridge at night after which they quietly entered the fort, knifed the sentry and disposed of the rest of the enemy by means of tossing handgrenades through windows into their sleeping quarters).

The enemy information on the other hand must be miserable, as our group of foreigners were the first to visit this part of the country for many years and were able to go about unconcealed, talk to people and even address mass meetings without the Japanese realising that we were only a couple of miles away. Mutual confidence between the army and people appears to be complete and commanders on arriving at the village, sometimes gave the public an outline of general tasks on which they were engaged and invariably made a detailed report on the results of each action to the entire population, thanking those who had helped and distributing some of the captured arms to people's militia and other supplies to people's organisations.

Add to this the fact that the Eighth Route Army never takes something for nothing and that one of the primary duties of every Eighth Route unit is not only to train people in self-defence but to screen the retreat of women and children to hills and secret tunnels when the Japanese come and it becomes plain why the people of these areas are convinced that resistance instead of capitulation is not only a vague patriotic duty but the best thing for their own communities.

The nature of Eighth Route Army's present operation is also suggested by our experiences. Despite the fact that it is unequipped to meet any major Japanese concentration, the Eighth Route and its auxiliary armed organisations are constantly on the offensive, outwitting the enemy and striking at his weak spots. This not only causes losses to the enemy, destroys his prestige and reduces the area of his military-political-economic control and increases territory and population under the Eighth Route Administration but also does much to prevent enemy retaliation against Communist-led bases and forces and the people as the Japanese have to be constantly on guard everywhere and are unable to locally concentrate an overwhelming force needed for this purpose and must wait until additional troops are made available by the High Command for such centres as Peiping, Taiyuan and Shihchiachuang which entails not only weakening of other areas where the Eighth Route also operates or is drawing on their reserves, but also diversion of railway rolling stock, trucks, gasoline, in quantities that make such retaliation a matter of higher strategic decision.

With the present development of land-mine warfare and sniping among the people (we saw hand grenades and mines lying ready alongside of frying pans, in old housewives' cupboards) small parties of Japanese simply cannot leave their strongpoints safely. These are the tactics of people's war in North and Central China at the present stage. The Eighth Routers say, they are also in preparation for the next stage—general counter-offensive—when more and more of Japan's forces are engaged by the Allies and the Eighth Route itself with augmented supplies (a good field-gun would blow a strong-point to pieces in a couple of hours instead of the present week's or sometimes month's careful preparation, spying and watching for opportunities) will be able to blast its way from north and west to meet the Allies coming from the east and south.

WOOD-CUTS FROM LIBERATED CHINA

This is a set of woodcuts produced in the Lu Hsun Academy of Arts located in Yenan, the headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party and centre of the people's movement and people's armies which have liberated ninety million Chinese people from the Japanese yoke and enabled them to live, work and fight under their own elected local governments.

The Academy is named after the great Chinese national writer Lu Hsun who, like Tagore in India and Maxim Gorky in Russia, loved and served his people and drew his material and inspiration from the life and culture of the masses. Since ninety per cent of the people of the Liberated Areas are peasants, artists create for a peasant audience, using peasant problems and struggles as their material and peasant and familiar national forms enriched by, study of progressive foreign models, as their technique. Its products are of and for the people. As the masses increasingly produce their own artists they are increasingly by the people. The Academy's own definition says they are national in form with New Democracy as their content.

What is this New Democracy? It is the political organisation of the people of Liberated China which enables them to withstand the foreign oppressor and build their own life. It gives them the means with which to fight, things for which to fight, and hope and confidence for the future.

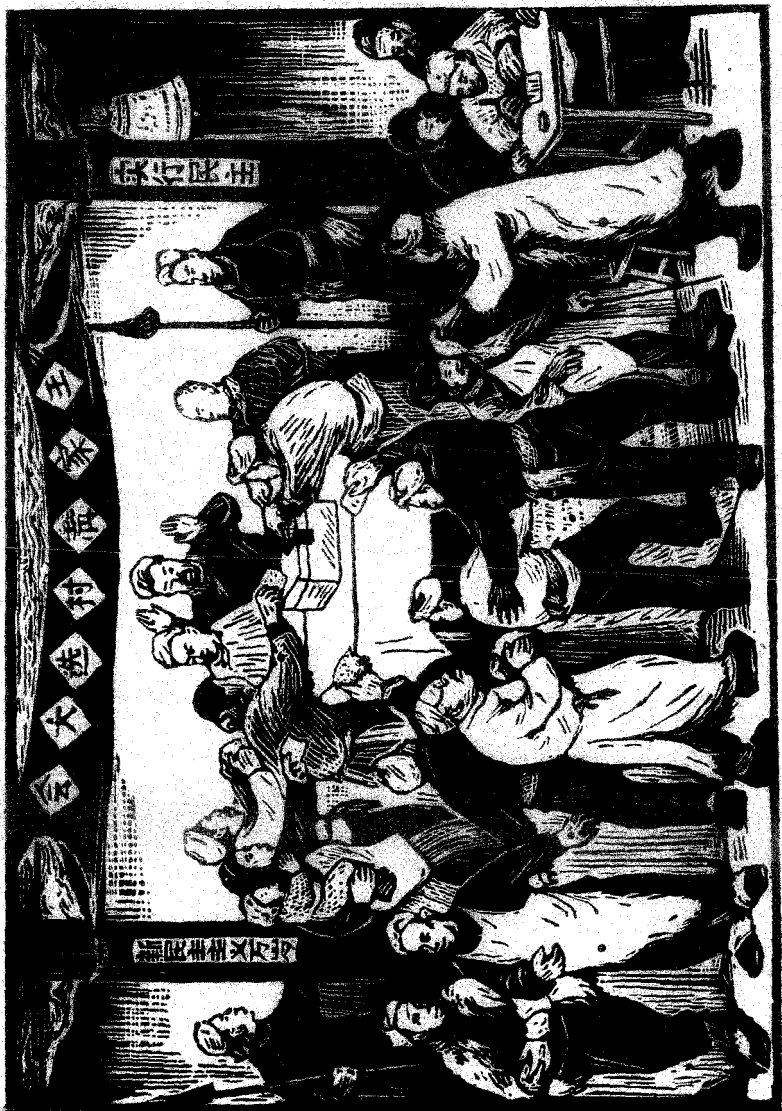
These woodcuts show the new democracy in the villages as recorded by China's new artists and as it is seen by the people, who paste thousands of reproductions on the walls of their homes and committee rooms as an accurate reflection of their own lives.

VILLAGE ELECTION

By Yeng Han

The villages of Liberated China elect their own government by ballot, all men and women over eighteen including landlords and merchants having the right to vote and to hold office. The woodcut shows peasants and their mothers and wives, an aproned blacksmith, and the bespectacled, long gowned village shop-keeper, casting their votes. At the table on the left, the village teacher helps an illiterate girl to write her ballot. The election platform is

guarded by two members of the people's militia—a voluntary armed organisation in which all peasant youths participate and elect their own commanders and which has supplanted the once all powerful police who now no longer exist. There are about 6,000,000 of these militia in the Liberated Areas. The inscriptions around the platform read "Wangchiachuang Village Election" and "Long live the new democracy."



TAKING STRAW TO MARKET By Koo Yuan

This north Shensi peasant has a full load. He is carting not only his own straw but also that of other members of his labour exchange group to sell to a caravan station a day's ride away. Formerly each man would cart his own straw, but now there is division of labour on the basis of the team. Perhaps while he is travelling to market, other men are repairing his agricultural implements.

For to-day land is private property in Liberated China but the new administrations give effect to the government's policy of reduction of rents, interests and taxes, and easy credit to cultivators. Stimulated by the fact that there is now no one to rob them of their earnings, the peasants strive to increase production. The chief method of doing so is through labour exchange or mutual aid teams in which groups of peasants get together and pool their animals to plough straight across the land of the whole village. This naturally saves much labour

which is used to open up waste land which the government gives free to cultivators, but not to landlords who will rent it to tenants or pay other people to work it.

The Mutual Aid Teams—or Labour Exchange Groups as they are also called—are co-operatives of the peasants themselves, headed by elected Chairmen. At the end of the season a general meeting is held at which the crop is divided according to the yield of each man's holding and the number of work-days he and his animals have put in. It is estimated that due to better methods and joint work on waste land, every peasant in the Yen-an area now has a two-year food reserve. The mutual aid teams and labour exchange groups are not collective farms as in the Soviet Union. In Liberated China ownership remains private, but work is co-operative. Most of the recently reclaimed land, however, is owned by the groups in common.



LABOUR HERO RETURNING HOME

By Hsia Foong

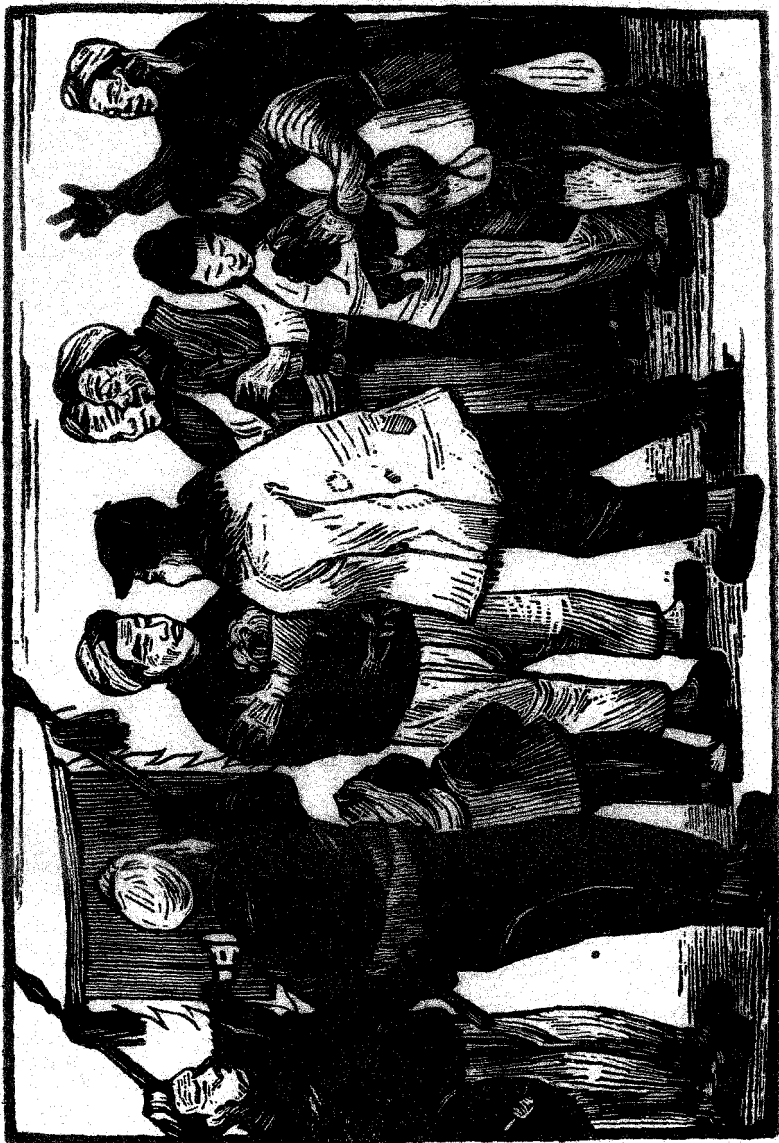
The peasant who works well, teaches others improved methods and has new ideas for the organisation of labour exchange groups, benefits himself, his fellow villagers, and the bases of the anti-fascist army. He, and not the landlord or the rich man, is held in highest honour and has the most influence in the village. His fellows are proud of him and elect him to be a "Labour Hero."

Once a year there are conferences of all the labour heroes in each district, and of representative labour heroes from each district in the whole liberated area. Experience is shared, and through these men villages and labour exchange groups learn from each other. When the people's government frames new production plans and crop estimates it first consults with the peasants and regional labour heroes have the right to attend and speak at all gov-

ernment meetings.

Before Mao Tse-tung—leader of the Chinese Communists—formulated the new agricultural policy of the party, he first consulted with the famous peasant labour hero—Wu Man-you—and after the programme was written asked him for his criticism. Ten years ago Wu Man-you was a landless beggar whose wife and children had died in a famine. Now he is a prosperous peasant and the model and teacher of all the peasants in the Liberated Areas.

In this woodcut the village labour hero returns home after having been elected a district labour hero at a conference. His name and achievements have been written up in the newspapers. His neighbours are glad to see him not only because he has done them honour but because he brings back many ideas which will help them improve their own work and lives.



FAMILY PRODUCTION CONFERENCE

For the first time peasant families in the Liberated Areas have accumulated reserves and can plan for the future. Here is one of them. The father and sons are members of labour exchange groups, the mother has helped the family by her spinning, the younger children are in school and help keep the family accounts.

By Gi Qui-sen

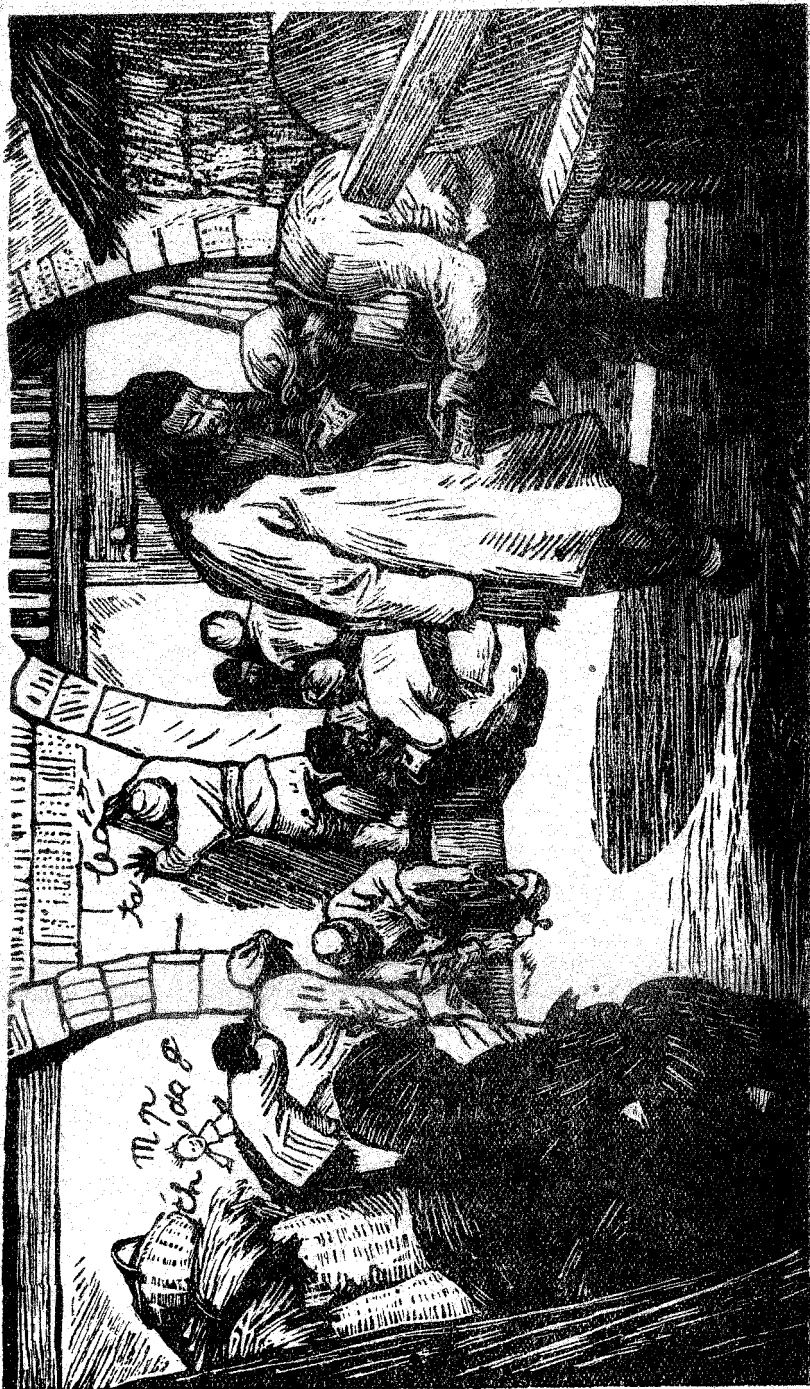
They are discussing what to do with last year's earnings and how much each will produce next year. Because all families and labour exchange groups are now able to plan, the whole village, the district and the Liberated Area as a whole can also plan ahead.



WINTER SCHOOL By Koo Yuan

In the winter when agricultural work is slack, the peasants meet to learn to read and write. This is made easier by the new Latinised script which has now been introduced. Formerly the peasants were sorry that they were illiterate but they were so poor and so sure from experience that they would go on slaving throughout their lives without being able to improve their position that they had no time and no strong desire to learn to read and write. Now they need literacy to keep accounts, to read the re-

ports of their own government and their own armies, to vote, and to carry on government work if elected—something that was previously impossible. Former efforts made to educate the peasants by sending teachers from above always failed. Now the peasants are impatient to educate themselves, even when no teachers are available, because better and richer lives and their control of their own affairs makes it necessary for them.



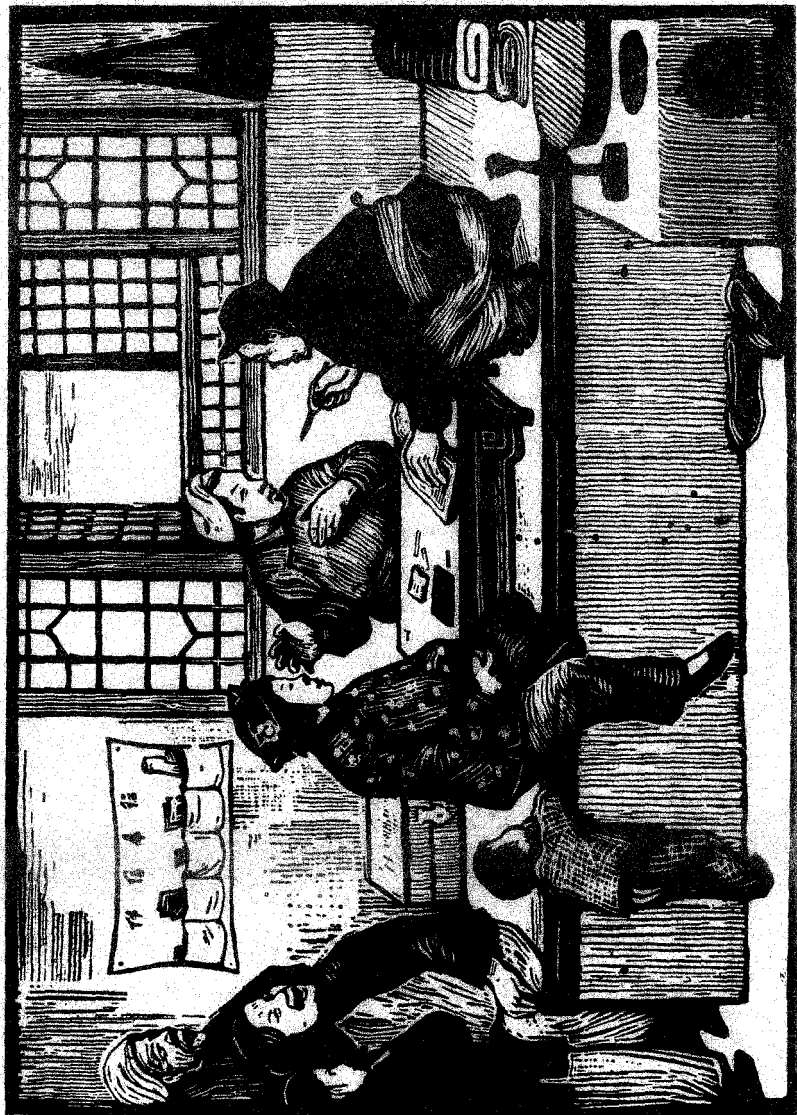
MARRIAGE REGISTRATION

By Koo Yuan

It is now easy to get married. In the old days on the other hand it was very difficult for the poor man to find a wife or for a girl to marry the man she loved. Rather the poor man would go without marrying, the girl would be married into the family of the man who could afford a dowry, and such men usually had more than one wife.

But today all this is changed. Both men and

women work and earn so that a girl can go to the man she loves whether he is rich or poor, and a healthy hard-working man can marry whatever his economic position. The procedure is also simple. The parties go to the elected village government and register their names before witnesses, usually their own parents. Then the marriage is announced or posted and the village has a feast.



MEDICAL SERVICE CO-OPERATIVE

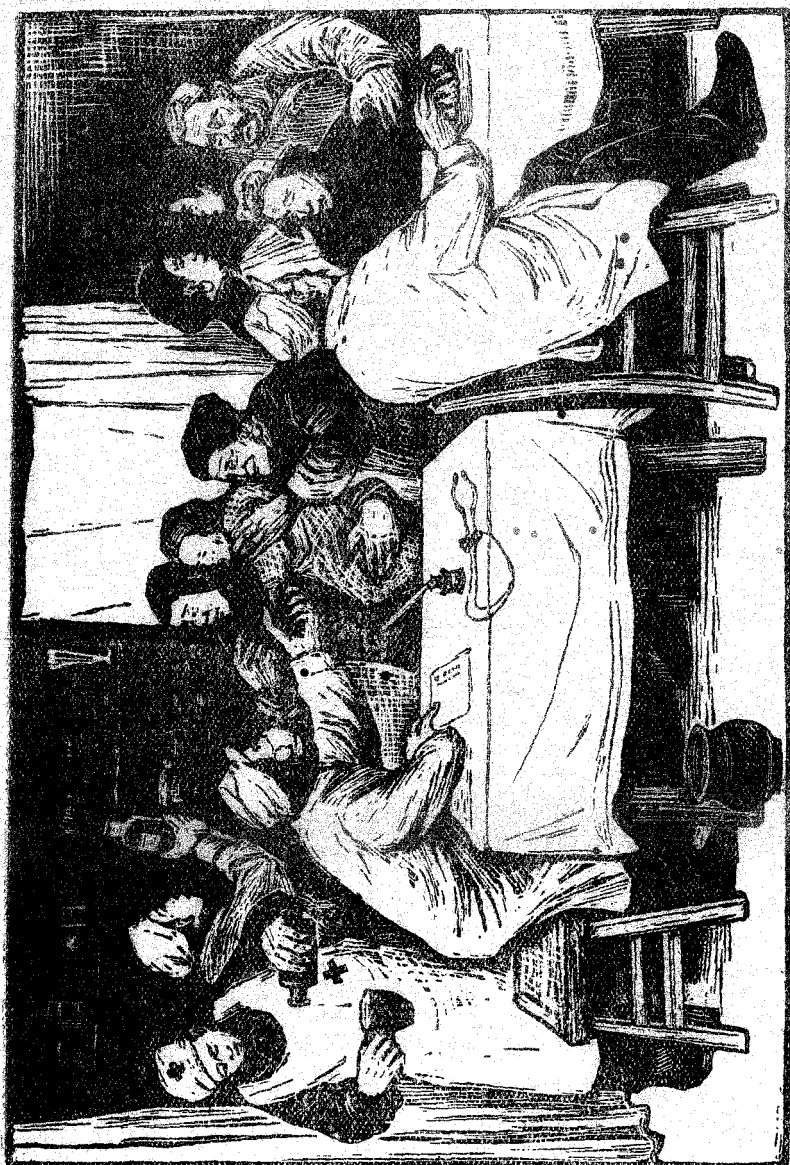
With a better life born of co-operative effort, management of their own affairs and the beginnings of education for their own needs, the villagers of the Liberated Areas have started on the fight against ill health and disease. When there was not sufficient food, medical service would have been a mockery. Now it is an additional step to a new, fuller life.

In the old days the peasants, when ill, went to witch doctors who "exorcised the evil spirits that infested them." In the same way they prayed to the gods against poverty. Superstition is natural where oppression does not allow the people to organise to solve their own problems, and where the rulers—who of course do not care for the people's interests—also do nothing for them. In such a situation who is there to turn to but the gods and spirits?

By Yeng Han

Today the peasants of the Liberated Areas who have routed poverty and the Japanese invaders by their own efforts and their own self-rule have naturally come to believe that they can fight disease as well.

A Medical Service Co-operative is a democratic organisation run by an elected committee of the people themselves. The villagers contribute in money or labour to the building of a house. The government sends nurses and doctors when the people ask for them. Treatment in co-operative dispensaries is free. Attendance in child-birth is free. If a serious operation or more prolonged treatment is necessary, the nearest hospital provides these free also. The sick are cured. More people live. Mothers do not die in confinement and infants grow into strong healthy boys and girls.



REFUGEE LANDLORDS RETURNING HOME

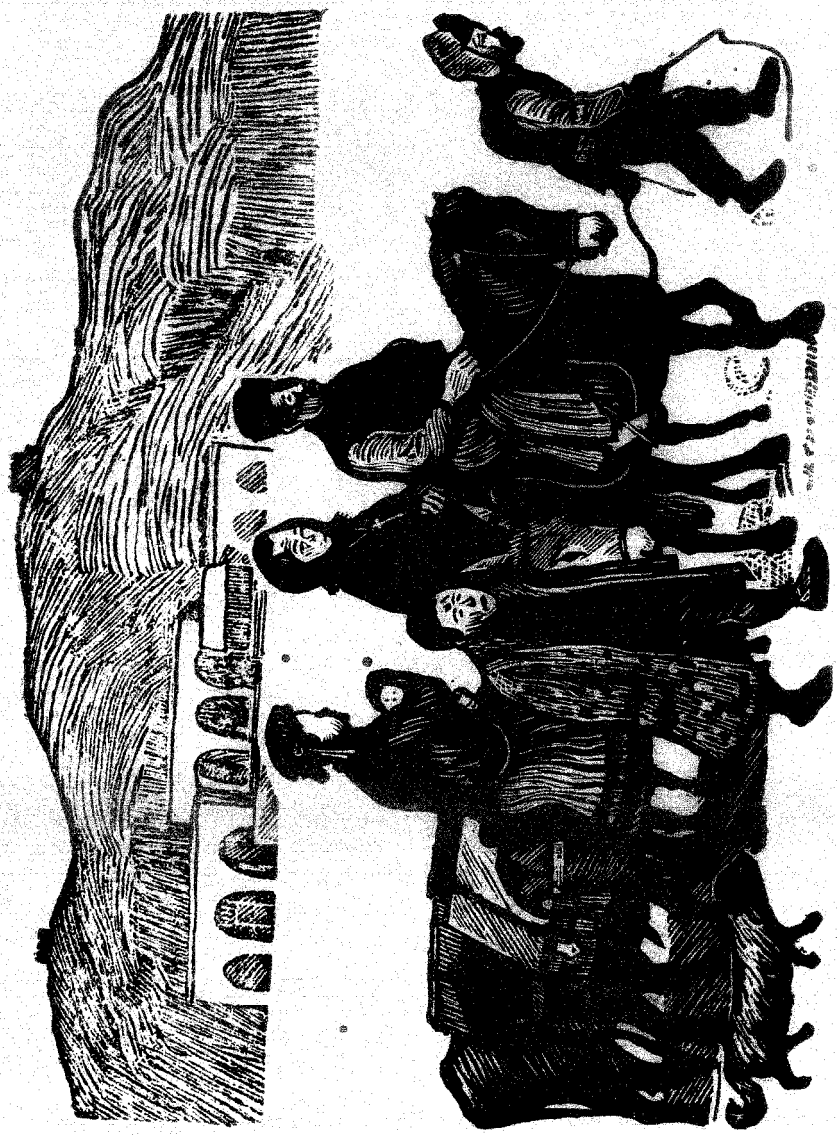
By Koo Yuan

Not only peasants from other place flock to Liberated China. Many landlords who, frightened by the name of the Communist Party, ran away to Japanese-occupied cities or the Kuomintang-ruled provinces, are now returning. This woodcut shows one landlord family on its way home.

Why do the landlords return? Because although crop-rents have been decreased, the peasants, through co-operatives, with better agricultural implements given on credit by the government, with new irrigation and better methods taught them by Liberated China's scientists, are producing more per acre so that the 37 per cent rent they pay now really does not give so much less than the 60 per cent they paid before to the landlord, and yet the tenant has double the reserve left than formerly. The landlord must pay taxes, it is true, but there is no corruption among tax-collectors for which he formerly also had to foot the bill, and there are no extra assessments.

The landlord is no longer lord of the village, because the government is elected by the people. But he can live in peace and security, and if the peasants, who are now richer, persuade him to sell them the land they till, he can invest the proceeds in industry, which is completely tax free because the government encourages all manufactures. Most important of all, he does not have to live under a foreign government, as in the occupied areas, or be in daily fear of Japanese invasion because the government has proved itself incapable of protecting him, as in the Kuomintang areas.

Many landlords in Liberated China are selling their land to the peasants and setting up factories. They now say: "As landlords we only lived off existing production, which is a disgrace when the country needs more of everything. Now we can use our wealth to finance the production of new goods yet make as much money as before. We feel now like patriots, not parasites."



Liberated China is mainly rural, and in most parts of it a machine was never seen before. Both the Japanese and the reactionary Kuomintang keep it from buying machines and manufactures from outside, so the people's governments are digging in the earth for iron and coal and, under the greatest difficulties, setting up new industries.

The metal industries of Liberated China depend partly on locally smelted ores but mostly on steel rails which the army, guerillas and people remove from Japanese railroads. The same plants produce arms to fight with, improved agricultural implements to dig the soil, metal parts for spinning and weaving machinery, surgical instruments to help the wounded and the sick, and printing presses for the spread of culture and knowledge of national problems. Smaller forges everywhere produce the three great necessities for the people's labour and defence—ploughshares, hoes, and casings for hand grenades and land mines. One reason why the Japs leave many villages alone is that all approaches to them are mined.

Tearing up Japanese railways and tearing down Japanese telegraph lines is not only a military task for the army but a subsidiary source of income for the people. The army buys such

metal at a good price, paid in money, in grain, or—where the people want to increase their own fighting power—in equivalent weight of hand grenades for every pound of steel delivered. The people's own governments and forces are of course not afraid of arms in the hands of the peasants. The more weapons they have, the more they will be able to help the army to defend the Liberated Areas.

Most Liberated China industries are co-operatives of the workers themselves. Others are owned by the government or by private individuals, and in these work is carried on under collective agreement between the employer and trade union. Minimum wages and maximum hours are fixed by law. The trade union is consulted on all production plans. Every factory must provide a workers' club and other services.

Because industry is growing under blockade conditions many things have to be improvised and done in new ways. Since the livelihood and safety of all depend on industry's success, everyone is an inventor. Most new inventions and methods have come from the workers whose suggestions the technical staff are obliged by law to consider and try out, and who are given rewards, credit by name, and often the coveted title of Labour Hero for every idea adopted.



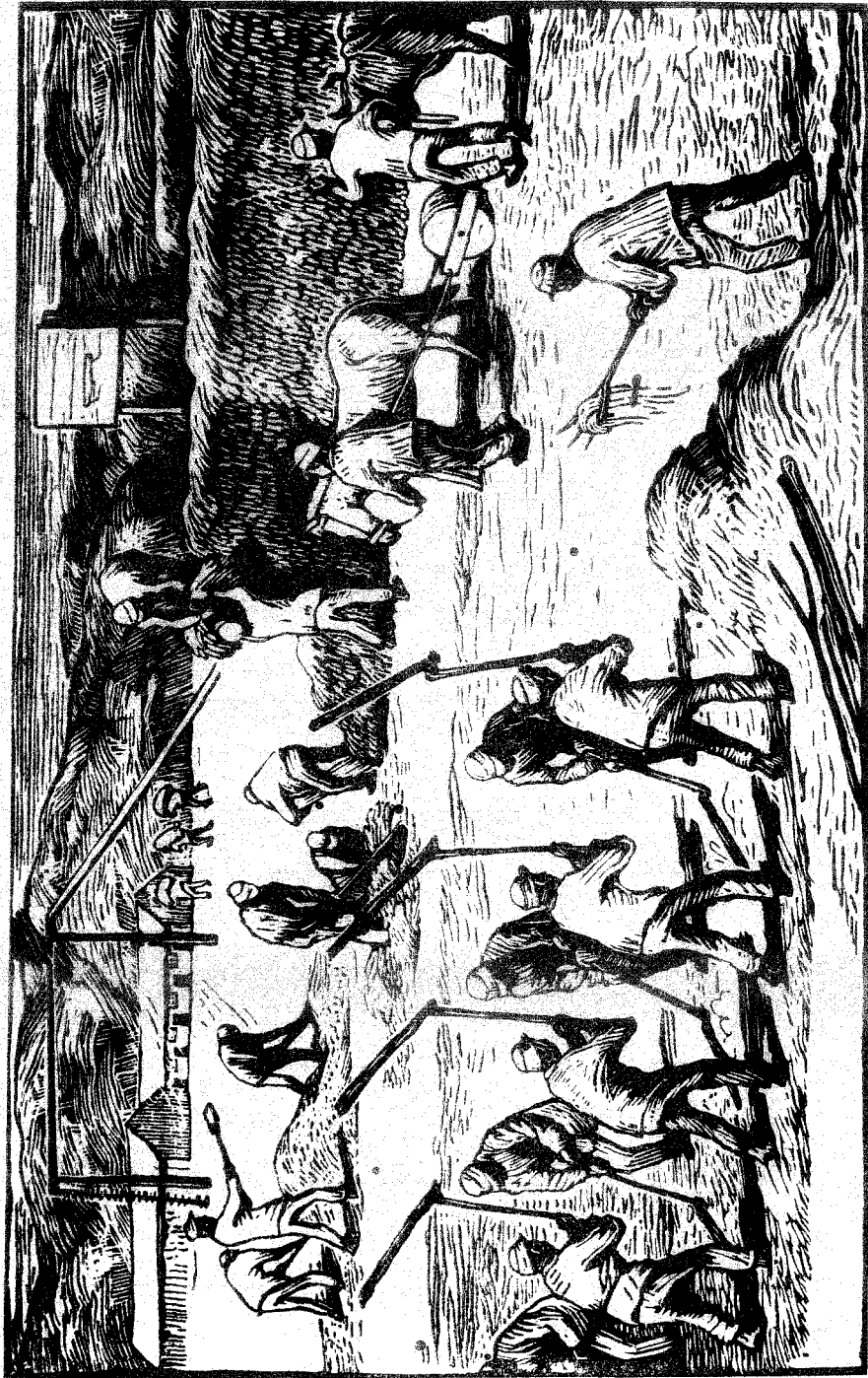
One reason that taxes are low in Liberated China is that garrison troops produce their own food on land which they have reclaimed themselves, thus making it unnecessary for the people to feed them.

The Mutual-Aid Team or Labour Exchange principle is applied not only between individual farmers, but between the peasants and the army. In villages near the front the army comes in at harvest time to protect the crop against enemy raids and, if the enemy does not attack, pitches in to help with the work. In the old days an individual peasant took six weeks to reap, thresh and store his grain. Now, with the whole village working together and the army helping, some men and women reap, some thresh and some hide the crop in the hills—all at the same time—so the fields are cleared in ten days. It is easy to see that the time when enemy attacks are likely to be most dangerous, to give the Japs food and expose the people to starvation, is correspondingly shortened.

Mutual aid helps the people not only to safe-

guard their crop but to fight for it. If every peasant militiaman was taking care of his own land you could not expect him to pick up his gun and go out to fight for the good of the whole village during the harvest season, because he would think: "What of my land, my grain, my wife and children." Now he can be sure that his comrades who stay at home will take care of his crop too while he goes to beat off the enemy to give them time to do it. To fight off the Japs is part of harvest labour. The people of the Liberated Areas have been able to fight for seven years only because they have been able to organise themselves to produce for their own needs, and they have been able to produce and give the people a better life only because they have been able and willing to fight.

When necessary, whole villages also help each other. If, for instance, the Japs have eaten the oxen of one village and killed too many of the young men of another, the two get together to plough their common land and thus manage to raise a crop for both where only one could have done so before.



THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY STUDIES

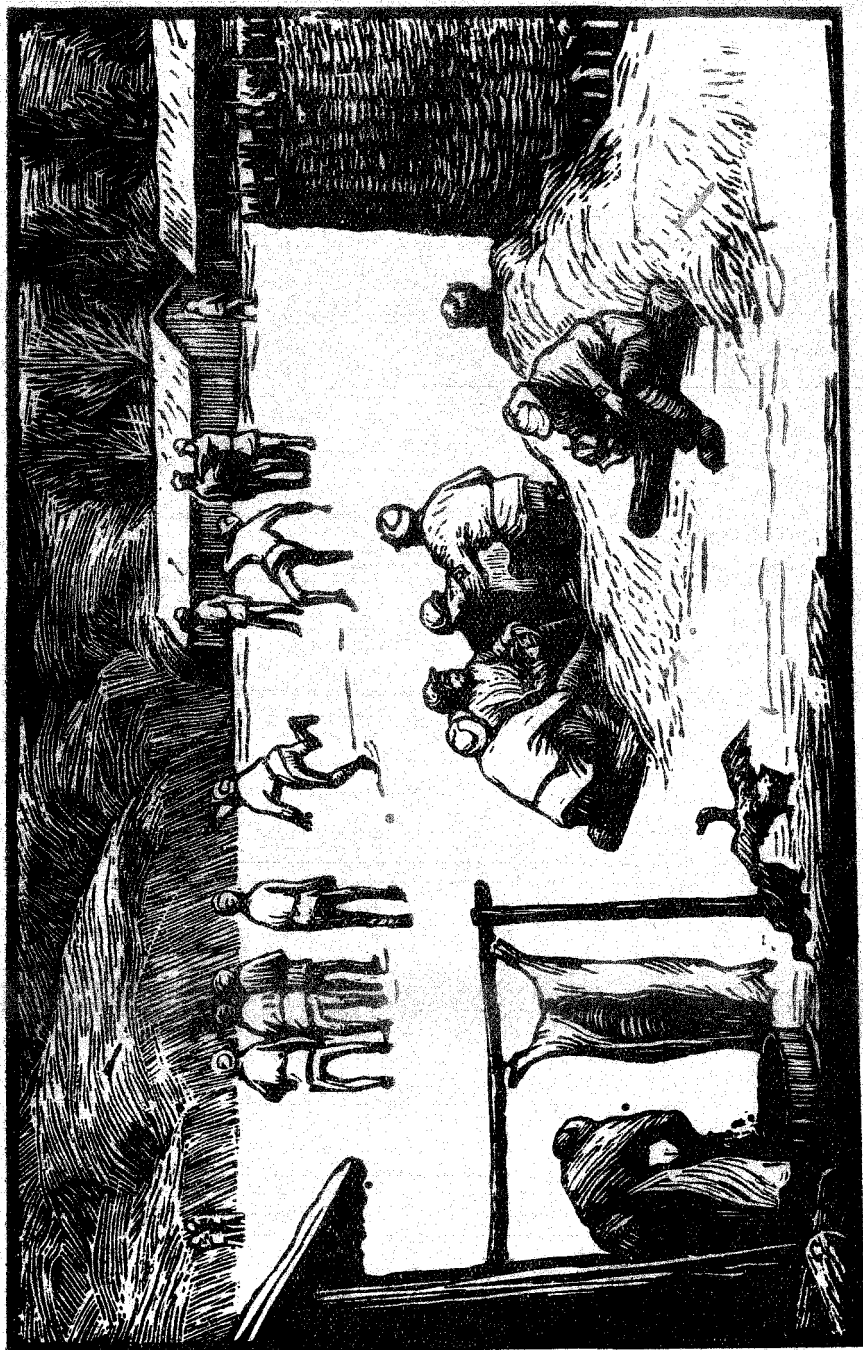
By Koo Yuan

The Eighth Route Army is the army of the people. It does not change men into arrogant loafers good for nothing but war. Its men are never idle, and every week, day or even hour that they are not actually fighting the enemy they work to raise their own food, practise to perfect their military technique, or learn reading, writing and the meaning of events so that they can serve the people better. In time of war, the Eighth Route Army man prepares for peace. He enters the army illiterate but after the war will leave it an educated man who at the same time has not only not forgotten how to work but has learned to work better and in a more organised way.

The people like to have the Eighth Route Army in their villages because it defends them against the invaders, helps with village labour, pays for everything it may need and, under army rules, must return everything borrowed, clean up the places in which it has been quartered, and put back even the smallest article that has been moved from one place to another to its original position. One of the things the army does while quartered in any place is to train the peasant militia so that they can defend

themselves more effectively than before. It also helps with education. When it departs, it leaves a village cleaner, better educated and stronger than before.

- The Eighth Route Army does not conscript. It is composed entirely of volunteers.
- If an Eighth Route Army man molests a woman he renders himself liable to be shot. The fighters are taught never to forget that they are the sons and brothers of the people. If a man takes anything from the peasants or dishonour a peasant girl, is he not robbing the father and mother or forcing the wife or sister of some other anti-Japanese soldier? If the army does this, will not some other soldiers quartered in his own village do the same to his father, mother, sister or wife? Is it not sowing trouble between the army and the people and breaking down their mutual trust, which is the only thing that makes anti-Japanese victory possible? All Eighth Route Army men think so, and if one of their number violates this code, they themselves punish him after he has been tried by a court in which both soldiers and peasants participate.



FIGHT FOR THE HARVEST

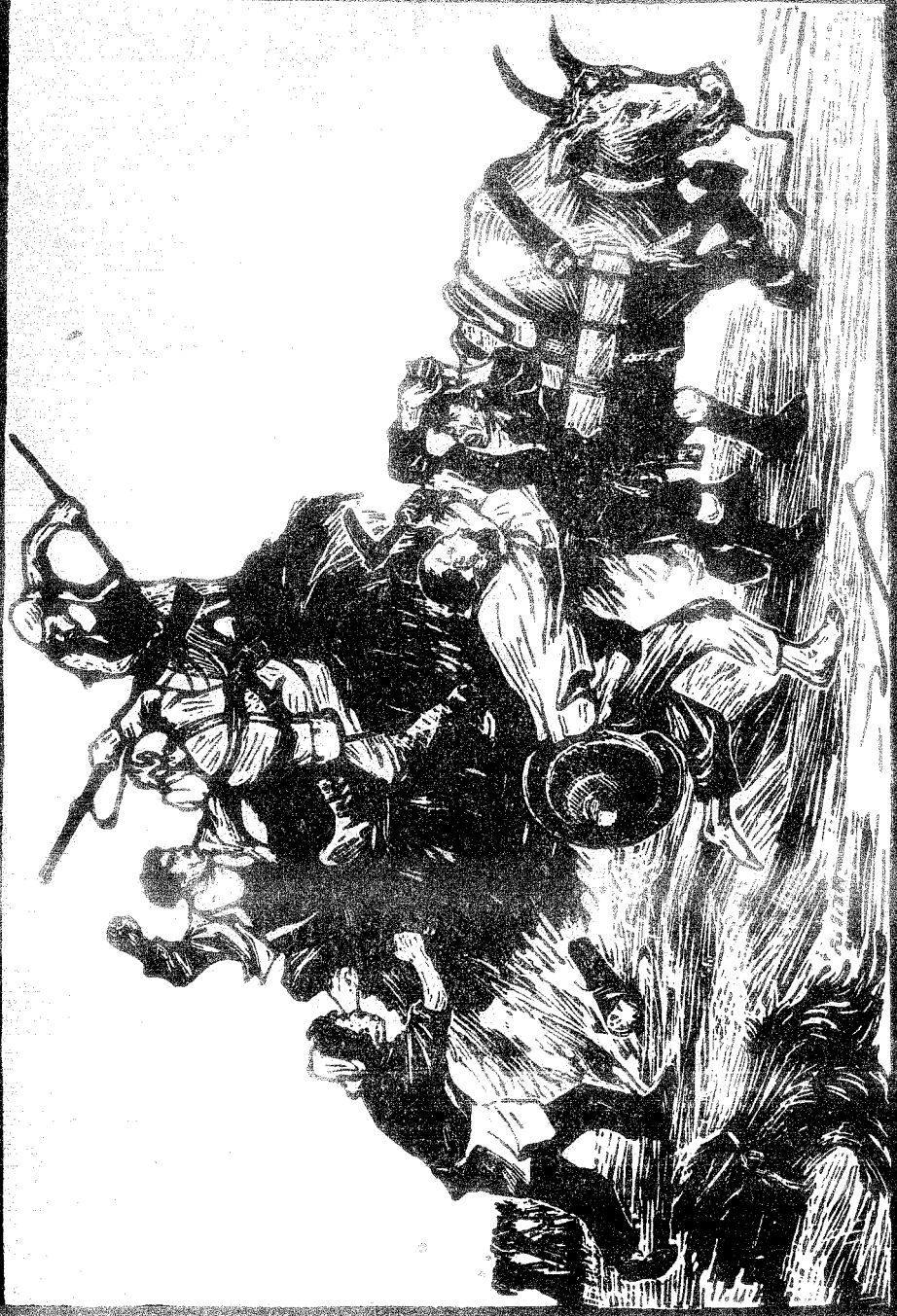
By Yeng Han

The people of Liberated China are no longer afraid of the enemy. They have defeated his attempt to annihilate them militarily, they have driven out his puppet governments and put people's governments in their stead, and by producing and fighting at the same time they have foiled the enemy plot to starve them.

Sometimes small groups of Japanese soldiers hear that a village is undefended and has only old men and women and unarmed peasants in it, that the army is quartered elsewhere and the militia have marched off for training or

some other purpose. They then go in hopefully to steal the people's food on what they think will be an easy looting job.

As this woodcut shows, they often pay for such adventures with their own blood. The chief thing is that the people do not fear them and, knowing their own strength by experience, do not meekly submit to being robbed. Even fists, scythes and pitchforks are good weapons when wielded by men and women who have this spirit.



HAND TO HAND FIGHT By Yeng Han

When there is a choice between shooting it out and coming to close quarters to fight with cold steel, the Eighth Route Army chooses the latter. There are several reasons for this. Firstly the Japanese have more bullets. Secondly, the Eighth Route Army is short of ammunition and prefers to save it for when it is really needed. Third and most important, the Eighth Route Army always wins in a man-to-man encounter because its soldiers fight for the freedom of their people with blazing hatred born of first-hand experience of what the

Japanese have done to them, while the Japanese soldier is stimulated only by orders and a superiority myth which he himself only half believes.

When the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the people's militia of the Liberated Areas go out against the fascist enemy they fight with a ferocity that terrifies the slave soldiers of Japan, who have written home in captured letters that these "are not men but devils."



SPINNING GROUP

By Gi Qui-sen

Labour exchange groups for field work also save women's time. Formerly every wife would take several hours cooking food for her man and taking it out to him where he worked. Now the women are organised into co-operative groups and will take turns at cooking and carrying the food for ten or twenty men at once.

The time saved is used for spinning on wheels which the village co-operative loans to them or sells them cheaply. Cotton is also advanced on credit. The women can sell their yarn and cloth either to the co-operative or on the market at the best price. There is never a lack of buyers because the army needs uniforms and the peasants, who are richer than before, want new clothes.

The woman's labour brings more money into the family. It improves the condition of the women themselves who are no longer a burden on their husbands and thus makes it possible for poor men to marry without ruining themselves. It provides cloth for the armies and people of the liberated areas. They cannot get it from outside because they are blockaded not only by the enemy but also by the reactionary Kuomintang.



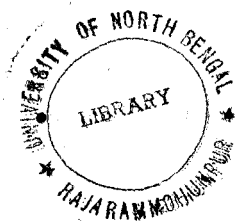
TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE IS THE SOLDIER'S
FIRST JOB By Yeng Han

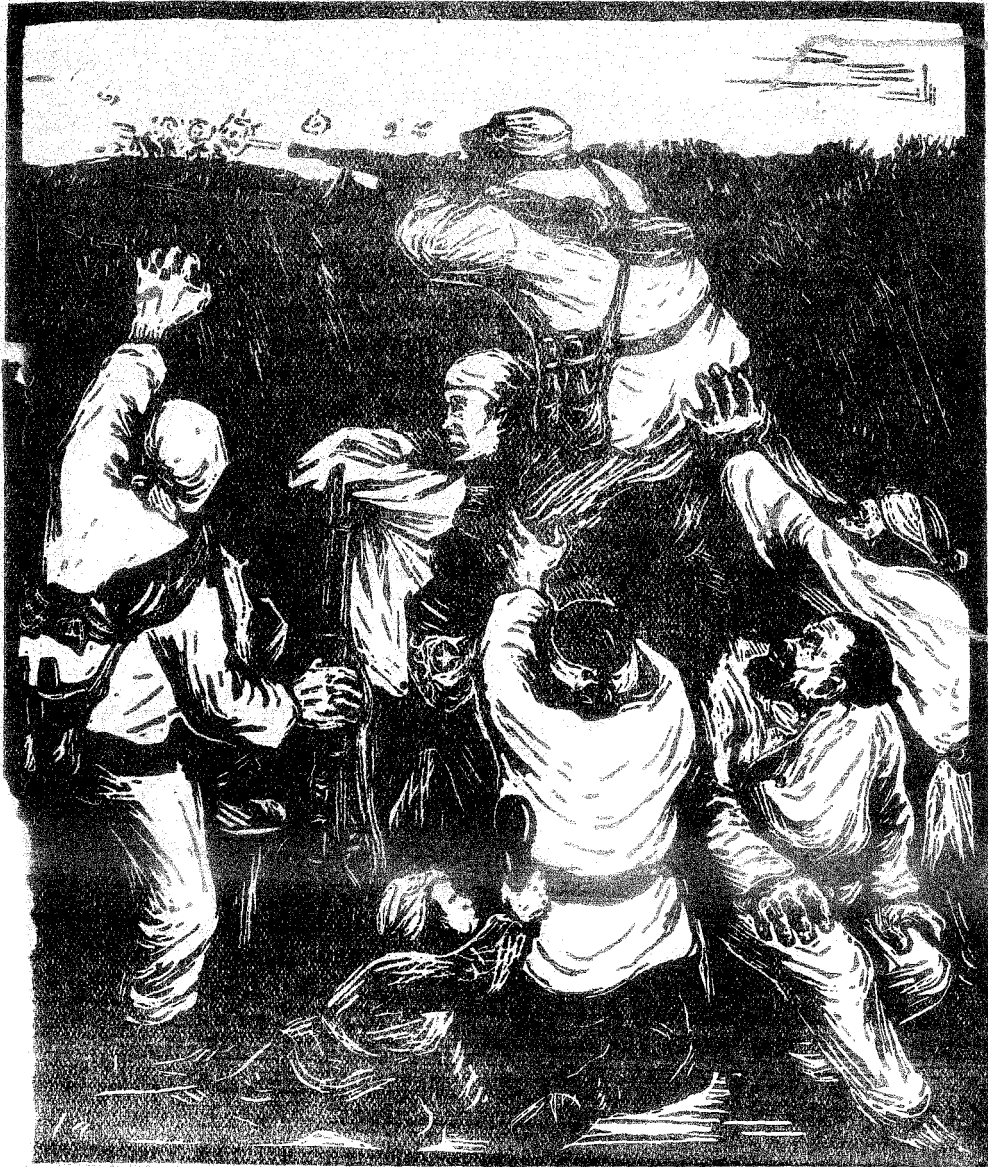
When the enemy penetrates Liberated China in one of his "mopping up campaigns" the army and people's militia go out against him while the old men, women and children in the villages along his path are sent to mountain hide-outs. They are not sent there alone. Details of soldiers and militiamen are sent to protect them, cover their retreat, and beat off any enemy patrol that may stumble on their place of concealment.

In this woodcut the artist shows such an event. An Eighth Route Army machine-gunner and a member of the people's militia are defending a peasant family which helps them to resist a Japanese scouring party. Even the child holds a hand grenade ready to hand to one of the fighters.

Because hide-outs are well concealed, widely scattered, and usually difficult of access only a few Japanese can come to them at one time, even if they discover where they are, and such small enemy groups can often be thrown back or disposed of.

A good warning and evacuation system, combined with the provision of armed guards, saves the people from enemy reprisals which now cause very few casualties despite the increasingly desperate savagery of the Japanese Fascist robbers.





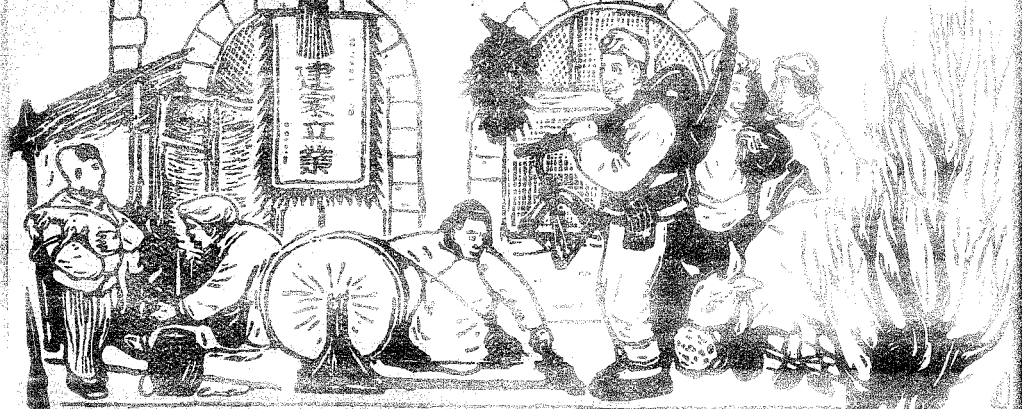
IMMIGRANTS FOUND THEIR HAPPY HOMES

By Yeng Han

Hearing of the more abundant life in the people's own villages, refugees flock in from the occupied territories and Kuomintang areas, where the landlord's oppression and the tax-gatherers extortion make existence a burden. The villagers of Liberated China welcome them. More people mean more work and more wealth for all.

The upper section of the woodcut shows members of an elected Liberated China village government meeting a refugee family with loaves of bread and bowls of hot soup. The middle section shows the re-settled family in the house the villagers have helped them to build, the plough, hoes and cow that they have bought with the loan given them *free of interest* by the village co-operative. The daughter is spinning on a wheel that the village co-operative has loaned her. The land the former refugees till is also given to them free on the condition that they reclaim it and make it produce. For the first three years after settlement the family is not required to pay any taxes or to give any labour for village public works such as roads. The principle is that a man must build his own home first. He is required to shoulder public duties only when he is a householder and citizen.

In the bottom frame the family, after having established itself and collected two or three harvests, pays the village back the original interest-free loan. The husband and sons have now joined a labour exchange group and, with other members, cut down forests and reclaim new land. One of the sons has joined the village people's militia. As you see, the family now also has a pig which has just produced a litter. The Liberated Area now has new citizens, more grain, more livestock, and a new people's soldier to defend what the people have built for themselves.



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