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This serial publication contains the translation of all of the articles in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG ON PEOPLE'S WAR

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 12, 1 August 1967, pp 2-16.]

Editorial note by Hung-ch'i, Jen-min Jih-pao, and Chieh-fang-chun Pao: To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we are publishing quotations from Chairman Mao on people's war.

Chairman Mao's theory of people's war constitutes an important part of Mao Tse-tung's thought -- Marxism-Leninism of the present era.

In this era, Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guide for all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggles for liberation. The most important thing is to arm oneself with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war, and, with the barrel of a gun, smash the old state apparatus, topple imperialism and its running dogs and transform the whole world.

After the proletariat attains political power and throughout the entire historical period of socialism, there exists the struggle between the proletariat which is endeavouring to consolidate its dictatorship and the bourgeoisie which is trying to overthrow it. In attempting to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie always tries desperately to get a grip on the gun through its representatives within the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union, the Khrushchov revisionist clique usurped military power and staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. This is a serious lesson for us. In China, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road colluded with the big conspirators, careerists and warlords Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching for 17 years in

order to bring about the restoration of capitalism. They engaged in frenzied underhand activities to usurp army leadership in a vain attempt to turn our people's army into their tool for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The imperialists, headed by the United States, are vainly attempting to invade and subvert the socialist countries. Therefore, revolutionary people in the socialist countries must also conscientiously study Chairman Mao's theory of people's war and skilfully grasp this sharpest of ideological weapons in order to smash the schemes for capitalist restoration and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must be vigilant at all times against armed aggression by imperialism and its accomplices, ensure that the gun is firmly and safely in the hands of the proletariat and prevent the revisionists from usurping military power or changing the nature of the proletarian army. This is the vital factor for preventing the restoration of capitalism.

Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has fulfilled its great role as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, and gained new merits; at the same time it has been educated, tempered and tested anew in the storms of this great revolution. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has participated in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the localities. This is the latest development of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao's theory of building a proletarian revolutionary army.

Today, it is of vital significance for the whole Party, the entire army and the Chinese people to restudy Chairman Mao's theory of people's war.

Revolutions and Revolutionary Wars Are Inevitable in Class Society

War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War " (December 1936), Selected Works, Vol I, p 180.

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937),
Selected Works, Vol I, p 344.*

History shows that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust. All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust. We Communists oppose all unjust wars that impede progress, but we do not oppose progressive, just wars. Not only do we Communists not oppose just wars, we actively participate in them.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),
Selected Works, Vol II, p 150.

War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), Selected Works, Vol I, pp 182-183.

Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

"Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), Selected Works, Vol II, p 219.

Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

ibid., p 224.

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian

Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

ibid., p 225.

Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In these years [the 18 years since the founding of the Party] the development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood.

"Introducing The Communist" (October 4, 1939), Selected Works, Vol II, p 292.*

Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

"Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" (August 1946), Selected Works, Vol IV, p 100.

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature -- they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites -- the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat -- grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they devoured people, devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy

the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are -- paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking.

Speech at the Wuchang Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (December 1, 1958), quoted in the explanatory note to "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," Selected Works, Vol IV, pp 98-99.*

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again ... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious," we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again ... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.

"Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle" (August 14, 1949), Selected Works, Vol IV, p 428.

People of the world, unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

"Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (L.) Against US Aggression" (November 28, 1964), People of the World, Unite and Defeat the US Aggressors and All Their Lackeys, 2nd ed., p 14.

The Decisive Factor of Victory and Defeat in War Is
People, Not Things

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24,
1945), Selected Works, Vol III, p 257.*

Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people.

"On Protracted War" (May 1938),
Selected Works, Vol II, pp 143-144.

The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people. It is mainly because of the unorganized state of the Chinese masses that Japan dares to bully us. When this defect is remedied, then the Japanese aggressor, like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames, will be surrounded by hundreds of millions of our people standing upright, the mere sound of their voices will strike terror into him, and he will be burned to death.

Ibid., p 186.

Take the case of China. We have only millet plus rifles to rely on, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's aeroplanes plus tanks. Although the Chinese people still face many difficulties and will long suffer hardships from the joint attacks of US imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries, the day will come when these reactionaries are defeated and we are victorious. The reason is simply this: the reactionaries represent reaction, we represent progress.

"Talk with the American Correspondent
Anna Louise Strong" (August 1946),
Selected Works, Vol IV, p 101.

The Revolutionary War Is a War of the Masses

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

"Be Concerned with the Well-being of the
Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work"
(January 27, 1934), Selected Works, Vol
I, p 147.*

What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.

Ibid., p 150.*

Considering the revolutionary war as a whole, the operations of the people's guerrillas and those of the main forces of the Red Army complement each other like a man's right arm and left arm, and if we had only the main forces of the Red Army without the people's guerrillas, we would be like a warrior with only one arm.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), Selected Works, Vol I, p 238.

This army is powerful because it has the people's self-defense corps and the militia -- the vast armed organizations of the masses -- fighting in coordination with it. In the Liberated Areas of China all men and women, from youth to middle age, are organized in the people's anti-Japanese self-defense corps on a voluntary and democratic basis and without giving up their work in production. The cream of the self-defense corps, except for those who join the army or the guerrilla units, is brought into the militia. Without the cooperation of these armed forces of the masses it would be impossible to defeat the enemy.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol III, p 265.*

This army is powerful because of its division into two parts, the main forces and the regional forces, with the former available for operations in any region whenever necessary and the latter concentrating on defending their own localities and attacking the enemy there is cooperation with the local militia and the self-defense corps. This division of labor has won the whole-hearted support of the people. Without this correct division of labor -- if, for example, attention were paid only to the role of the main forces while that of the regional forces were neglected -- it would likewise be impossible to defeat the enemy in the conditions obtaining in China's Liberated Areas. Under the regional forces, numerous armed working teams have been organized, which are well trained and hence better qualified for military, political and mass work; they penetrate into the rearmost areas behind the enemy lines, strike at the enemy and arouse the masses to anti-Japanese struggle, thus giving support to the frontal military operations of the various Liberated Areas. In all this they have achieved great success.

Ibid., pp 265-66.*

The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize contingents of the people's militia on a big scale. This will make it difficult for the imperialists to move a single inch in our country in the event of invasion.

Interview with a Hsinhua News Agency correspondent (September 29, 1958).

The Establishment of Rural Bases and Using
the Villages to Surround the Cities

Armed struggle by the Chinese Communist Party takes the form of peasant war under proletarian leadership.

"Introducing the Communist" (October 4, 1939), Selected Works, Vol II, p 291.

The anti-Japanese war is essentially a peasant war.

"On New Democracy" (January 1940), Selected Works, Vol II, p 366.

Since China's key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting; it is imperative for them to do so if they do not wish to compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid decisive battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength is inadequate.

"The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (December 1939), Selected Works, Vol II, pp 316-17.

What then, are these base areas? They are the strategic bases on which the guerrilla forces rely in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out any of our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the war.

"Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan" (May 1938), Selected Works, Vol II, p 93.

... the protracted revolutionary struggle in the revolutionary base areas consists mainly in peasant guerrilla warfare led by the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, it is wrong to ignore the necessity of using rural districts as revolutionary base areas, to neglect painstaking work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla warfare.

"The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (December 1939), Selected Works, Vol II, p 317.

And stressing the work in the rural base areas does not mean abandoning our work in the cities and in the other vast rural areas which are still under the enemy's rule; on the contrary, without the work in the cities and in these other rural areas, our own rural base areas would be isolated and the revolution would suffer defeat. Moreover, the final objective of the revolution is the capture of the cities, the enemy's main bases, and this objective cannot be achieved without adequate work in the cities.

Ibid., p 317.

From 1927 to the present the center of gravity of our work has been in the villages -- gathering strength in the villages, using the villages in order to surround the cities and then taking the cities.

"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949), Selected Works, Vol IV, p 363.

The People's Liberation Army Is an Armed Body for Carrying Out the Political Tasks of Revolution

Without a people's army the people have nothing.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol III, pp 296-97.

Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.

"Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), Selected Works, Vol II, p 224.

This army is powerful because all its members have a conscious discipline; they have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly.

"On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol III, p 264.*

The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), Selected Works, Vol I, p 106.*

Another highly significant and distinctive feature of the Eighth Route Army is its political work, which is guided by three basic principles. First, the principle of unity between officers and men, which means eradicating feudal practices in the army, prohibiting beating and abuse, building up a conscious discipline, and sharing weal and woe -- as a result of which the entire army is closely united. Second, the principle of unity between the army and the people, which means maintaining a discipline that forbids the slightest violation of the people's interests, conducting propaganda among the masses, organizing and arming them, lightening their economic burdens and suppressing the traitors and collaborators who do harm to the army and the people -- as a result of which the army is closely united with the people and welcomed everywhere. Third, the principle of disintegrating the enemy troops and giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. Our victory depends not only upon our military operations but also upon the disintegration of the enemy troops.

"Interview with the British Journalist James Bertram" (October 25, 1937), Selected Works, Vol II, p 53.*

The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force. Even after country-wide victory, our army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished in our country and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering.

"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949), Selected Works, Vol IV, p 362.

The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school, our army men should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or for exchange with the state at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in factories and villages. After the socialist education movement is over, they can always find mass work to do, so that the army will for ever be at one with the masses. They should also take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution whenever they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly coordinated, and a distinction should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three fields of activity -- agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed.

"Letter to Comrade Lin Piao" quoted from Renmin Ribao editorial August 1, 1966 The Whole Country Should Become a Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Foreign Languages Press, pp 5-6.

The Strategy and Tactics of People's War

You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.

Quoted from Comrade Lin Piao's article Long Live the Victory of People's War (September 1965), Foreign Languages Press, p 36.

Note:

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war: You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.

In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours.

When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out. It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. This strategy and these tactics can be applied only when one relies on the broad masses of the people, and such application brings the superiority of people's war into full play. However superior he may be in technical equipment and whatever tricks he may resort to, the enemy will find himself in the passive position of having to receive blows, and the initiative will always be in our hands.

Lin Piao: Long Live the Victory of People's War (September 1965), Foreign Languages Press, pp 36-37.

Our strategy is "pit one against ten" and our tactics are "pit ten against one" -- this is one of our fundamental principles for gaining mastery over the enemy.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (December 1936), Selected Works, Vol I, p 237.

Ours are guerrilla tactics. They consist mainly of the following points:

"Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy."

"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."

"To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around."

"Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods."

These tactics are just like casting a net; at any moment we should be able to cast it or draw it in. We cast it wide to win over the masses and draw it in to deal with the enemy.

"A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" (January 5, 1930), Selected Works, Vol I, p 124.

Our principles of operation are:

(1) Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.

(2) Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

(3) Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

(4) In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

(5) Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

(6) Give full play to our style of fighting-- courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

(7) Strive to wipe out the enemy when he is on the move. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.

(8) With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. At opportune moments, seize all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for all strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them.

(9) Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and materiel are at the front.

(10) Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should not in general be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

These are the main methods the People's Liberation Army has employed in defeating Chiang Kai-shek. They are the result of the tempering of the People's Liberation Army in long years of fighting against domestic and foreign enemies and are completely suited to our present situation.... Our strategy and tactics are based on a people's war; no army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics.

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks"
(December 25, 1947), Selected Military Writings 2nd ed., pp 349-50.*

Our Chief Method is to Learn Warfare Through Warfare

The laws of war are a problem which anyone directing a war must study and solve.

The laws of revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing a revolutionary war must study and solve.

The laws of China's revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing China's revolutionary war must study and solve.

We are now engaged in a war; our war is a revolutionary war; and our revolutionary war is being waged in this semi-colonial and semi-feudal country of China. Therefore, we must study not only the laws of war in general, but the specific laws of revolutionary war; and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China.

It is well known that when you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well.

"Problems of Strategy in China's
Revolutionary War" (December 1936),
Selected Works, Vol I, p 179.

A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgements, and his correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance. He applies all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, and ponders on the information gathered about the enemy's situation,

discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, he takes the conditions on his own side into account, and makes a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming his judgements, making up his mind and working out his plans. Such is the complete process of knowing a situation which a military man goes through before he formulates a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan.

Ibid., p 188.

Unquestionably, victory or defeat in war is determined mainly by the military, political, economic and natural conditions on both sides. But not by these alone. It is also determined by each side's subjective ability in directing the war. In his endeavour to win a war, a military strategist cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the material conditions; within these limitations, however, he can and must strive for victory. The stage of action for a military strategist is built upon objective material condition, but on that stage he can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and color, power and grandeur.

Ibid., pp 190-91.*

Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. A person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare -- he can learn through fighting in war. A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning.

Ibid., pp 189-90.

(Editor's note: The page number given for the source of a quotation refers to the latest English edition of the book or pamphlet cited as published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking.

In cases where a word or phrase linked to the preceding text has been omitted in the opening sentence of the quotation, (*) is placed after the source. This is also done in a number of places where the English rendering has been reworded to make up for omission of context or to improve the translation.)

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the
Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan

(September 3, 1965)

[Following is a translation of an article by Lin Piao in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp 17-42.]

Full twenty years have elapsed since our victory in the great War of Resistance Against Japan.

After a long period of heroic struggle, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, won final victory two decades ago in their war against the Japanese imperialists who had attempted to subjugate China and swallow up the whole of Asia.

The Chinese people's War of Resistance was an important part of the world war against German, Japanese and Italian fascism. The Chinese people received support from the people and the anti-fascist forces all over the world. And in their turn, the Chinese people made an important contribution to victory in the Anti-Fascist War as a whole.

Of the innumerable anti-imperialist wars waged by the Chinese people in the past hundred years, the War of Resistance Against Japan was the first to end in complete victory. It occupies an extremely important place in the annals of war, in the annals of both the revolutionary wars of the Chinese people and the wars of the oppressed nations of the world against imperialist aggression.

It was a war in which a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country triumphed over a strong imperialist country. For a long period after the invasion of China's northeastern provinces by the Japanese imperialists, the

Kuomintang followed a policy of non-resistance. In the early stage of the War of Resistance, the Japanese imperialists exploited their military superiority to drive deep into China and occupy half her territory. In the face of the massive attacks of the aggressors and the anti-Japanese upsurge of the people throughout the country, the Kuomintang was compelled to take part in the War of Resistance, but soon afterwards it adopted the policy of passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party. The heavy responsibility of combating Japanese imperialism thus fell on the shoulders of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the people of the Liberated Areas, all led by the Communist Party. At the outbreak of the war, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies had only a few tens of thousands of men and suffered from extreme inferiority in both arms and equipment, and for a long time they were under the crossfire of the Japanese imperialists on the one hand and the Kuomintang troops on the other. But they grew stronger and stronger in the course of the war and became the main force in defeating Japanese imperialism.

How was it possible for a weak country finally to defeat a strong country? How was it possible for a seemingly weak army to become the main force in the war?

The basic reasons were that the War of Resistance Against Japan was a genuine people's war led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a war in which the correct Marxist-Leninist political and military lines were put into effect, and that the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies were genuine people's armies which applied the whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war as formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of and policies for people's war have creatively enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese people's victory in the anti-Japanese war was a victory for people's war, for Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Prior to the war against Japan, the Communist Party of China had gone through the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1924-27 and the Second Revolutionary Civil War of 1927-36 and summed up the experience and lessons of the successes and failures in those wars, and the leading role of Mao Tse-tung's thought had become established within the Party. This was the fundamental guarantee of the Party's ability to lead the Chinese people to victory in the War of Resistance.

The Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance paved the way for their seizure of state power throughout the country. When the Kuomintang reactionaries, backed by the US imperialists, launched a nation-wide civil war in 1946, the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung further developed the theory of people's war, led the Chinese people in waging a people's war on a still larger scale, and in the space of a little over three years the great victory of the People's Liberation War was won, the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in our country ended and the People's Republic of China founded.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war breached the imperialist front in the East, wrought a great change in the world balance of forces, and accelerated the revolutionary movement among the people of all countries. From then on, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America entered a new historical period.

Today, the US imperialists are repeating on a world-wide scale the past actions of the Japanese imperialists in China and other parts of Asia. It has become an urgent necessity for the people in many countries to master and use people's war as a weapon against US imperialism and its lackeys. In every conceivable way US imperialism and its lackeys are trying to extinguish the revolutionary flames of people's war. The Khrushchov revisionists, fearing people's war like the plague, are heaping abuse on it. The two are colluding to prevent and sabotage people's war. In these circumstances, it is of vital practical importance to review the historical experience of the great victory of the people's war in China and to recapitulate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war.

The Principal Contradiction in the Period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Line of the Communist Party of China

The Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung were able to lead the Chinese people to victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan primarily because they formulated and applied a Marxist-Leninist line.

Basing himself on the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and applying the method of class analysis, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analyzed, first, the mutual transformation of China's principal and non-principal contradictions following the invasion of China by Japanese imperialism, second, the consequent changes in class relations within China and in international relations, and, third, the balance of forces as between China and Japan. This analysis provided the scientific basis upon which the political and military lines of the War of Resistance were formulated.

There had long been two basic contradictions in China -- the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation, and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses of the people. For ten years before the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the Kuomintang reactionary clique, which represented the interests of imperialism, the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, had waged civil war against the Communist Party of China and the Communist-led Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which represented the interests of the Chinese people. In 1931, Japanese imperialism invaded and occupied northeastern China. Subsequently, and especially after 1935, it stepped up and expanded its aggression against China, penetrating deeper and deeper into our territory. As a result of its invasion, Japanese imperialism sharpened its contradiction with the Chinese nation to an extreme degree and brought about changes in class relations within China. To end the civil war and to unite against Japanese aggression became the pressing

nationwide demand of the people. Changes of varying degrees also occurred in the political attitudes of the national bourgeoisie and the various factions within the Kuomintang. And the Sian Incident¹ of 1936 was the best case in point.

How was one to assess the changes in China's political situation, and what conclusion was to be drawn? This question had a direct bearing on the very survival of the Chinese nation.

For a period prior to the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the "Left" opportunists represented by Wang Ming within the Chinese Communist Party were blind to the important changes in China's political situation caused by Japanese aggression since 1931 and denied the sharpening of the Sino-Japanese national contradiction and the demands of various social strata for a war of resistance; instead, they stressed that all the counter-revolutionary factions and intermediate forces in China and all the imperialist countries were a monolithic bloc. They persisted in their line of "closed-doorism" and continued to advocate, "Down with the whole lot."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung resolutely fought the "Left" opportunist errors and penetratingly analyzed the new situation in the Chinese revolution.

He pointed out that the Japanese imperialist attempt to reduce China to a Japanese colony heightened the contradiction between China and Japan and made it the principal contradiction; that China's internal class contradictions -- such as those between the masses of the people and feudalism, between the peasantry and the landlord class, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other -- still remained, but that they had all been relegated to a secondary or subordinate position as a result of the war of aggression unleashed by Japan; and that throughout China opposition to Japanese imperialism had become the common demand of the people of all classes and strata, except for a handful of pro-Japanese traitors among the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

As the contradiction between China and Japan ascended and became the principal one, the contradiction between China and imperialist countries such as Britain and the United States descended to a secondary or subordinate position. The rift between Japan and the other imperialist countries had widened as a result of Japanese imperialism's attempt to turn China into its own exclusive colony. This rendered it possible for China to make use of these contradictions to isolate and oppose Japanese imperialism.

In the face of Japanese imperialist aggression, was the Party to continue with the civil war and the Agrarian Revolution? Or was it to hold aloft the banner of national liberation, unite with all the forces that could be united to form a broad national united front and concentrate on fighting the Japanese aggressors? This was the problem sharply confronting our Party.

The Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front on the basis of their analysis of the new situation. Holding aloft the banner of national liberation, our Party issued the call for national unity and united resistance to Japanese imperialism, a call which won fervent support from the people of the whole country. Thanks to the common efforts of our Party and of China's patriotic armies and people, the Kuomintang ruling clique was eventually compelled to stop the civil war, and a new situation with Kuomintang-Communist cooperation for joint resistance to Japan was brought about.

In the summer of 1937 Japanese imperialism unleashed its all-out war of aggression against China. The nationwide War of Resistance thus broke out.

Could the War of Resistance be victorious? And how was victory to be won? These were the questions to which all the Chinese people demanded immediate answers.

The defeatists came forward with the assertion that China was no match for Japan and that the nation was bound to be subjugated. The blind optimists came forward with the assertion that China could win very quickly, without much effort.

Basing himself on a concrete analysis of the Chinese nation and of Japanese imperialism -- the two aspects of the principal contradiction -- Comrade Mao Tse-tung showed that while the "theory of national subjugation" was wrong, the "theory of quick victory" was untenable, and he concluded that the War of Resistance would be a protracted one in which China would finally be victorious.

In his celebrated work On Protracted War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the contrasting features of China and Japan, the two sides in the war. Japan was a powerful imperialist country. But Japanese imperialism was in its era of decline and doom. The war it had unleashed was a war of aggression, a war that was retrogressive and barbarous; it was deficient in manpower and material resources and could not stand a protracted war; it was engaged in an unjust cause and therefore had meagre support internationally. China, on the other hand, was a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. But she was in her era of progress. She was fighting a war against aggression, a war that was progressive and just; she had sufficient manpower and material resources to sustain a protracted war; internationally, China enjoyed extensive sympathy and support. These comprised all the basic factors in the Sino-Japanese war.

He went on to show how these factors would influence the course of the war. Japan's advantage was temporary and would gradually diminish as a result of our efforts. Her disadvantages were fundamental; they could not be overcome and would gradually grow in the course of the war. China's disadvantage was temporary and could be gradually overcome. China's advantages were fundamental and would play an increasingly positive role in

the course of the war. Japan's advantage and China's disadvantage determined the impossibility of quick victory for China. China's advantages and Japan's disadvantages determined the inevitability of Japan's defeat and China's ultimate victory.

On the basis of this analysis Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the strategy for a protracted war. China's War of Resistance would be protracted, and prolonged efforts would be needed gradually to weaken the enemy's forces and expand our own, so that the enemy would change from being strong to being weak and we would change from being weak to being strong and accumulate sufficient strength finally to defeat him. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that with the change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves the War of Resistance would pass through three stages, namely, the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate and the strategic offensive. The protracted war was also a process of mobilizing, organizing and arming the people. It was only by mobilizing the entire people to fight a people's war that the War of Resistance could be persevered in and the Japanese aggressors defeated.

In order to turn the anti-Japanese war into a genuine people's war, our Party firmly relied on the broadest masses of the people, united with all the anti-Japanese forces that could be united, and consolidated and expanded the Anti-Japanese National United Front. The basic line of our Party was: boldly to arouse the masses of the people and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of the Party, they could defeat the aggressors and build a new China.

The War of Resistance Against Japan constituted a historical stage in China's new-democratic revolution. The line of our Party during the War of Resistance aimed not only at winning victory in the war, but also at laying the foundations for the nation-wide victory of the new-democratic revolution. Only the accomplishment of the new-democratic revolution makes it possible to carry out a socialist revolution. With respect to the relations between the democratic and the socialist revolutions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

In the writing of an article the second half can be written only after the first half is finished. Resolute leadership of the democratic revolution is the prerequisite for the victory of socialism.²

The concrete analysis of concrete conditions and the concrete resolution of concrete contradictions are the living soul of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has invariably been able to single out the principal contradiction from among a complexity of contradictions, analyse the two aspects of this principal contradiction concretely and, "pressing on irresistibly from this commanding height," successfully solve the problem of understanding and handling the various contradictions.

It was precisely on the basis of such scientific analysis that Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly formulated the political and military lines for the people's war during the War of Resistance Against Japan, developed his thought on the establishment of rural base areas and the use of the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them, and formulated a whole range of principles and policies, strategy and tactics in the political, military, economic and cultural fields for the carrying out of the people's war. It was this that ensured victory in the War of Resistance and created the conditions for the nation-wide victory of the new-democratic revolution.

Correctly Apply the Line and Policy of the United Front

In order to win a people's war, it is imperative to build the broadest possible united front and formulate a series of policies which will ensure the fullest mobilization of the basic masses as well as the unity of all the forces that can be united.

The Anti-Japanese National United Front embraced all the anti-Japanese classes and strata. These classes and strata shared a common interest in fighting Japan, an interest which formed the basis of their unity. But they differed in the degree of their firmness in resisting Japan, and there were class contradictions and conflicts of interest among them. Hence the inevitable class struggle within the united front.

In formulating the Party's line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following class analysis of Chinese society.

The workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie firmly demanded that the War of Resistance should be carried through to the end; they were the main force in the fight against Japanese aggression and constituted the basic masses who demanded unity and progress.

The bourgeoisie was divided into the national and the comprador bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie formed the majority of the bourgeoisie; it was rather flabby, often vacillated and had contradictions with the workers, but it also had a certain degree of readiness to oppose imperialism and was one of our allies in the War of Resistance. The comprador bourgeoisie was the bureaucrat-capitalist class, which was very small in number but occupied the ruling position in China. Its members attached themselves to different imperialist powers, some of them being pro-Japanese and others pro-British and pro-American. The pro-Japanese section of the comprador bourgeoisie were the capitulators, the overt and covert traitors. The pro-British and pro-American section of this class favored resistance to Japan to a certain extent, but they were not firm in their resistance and very much wished to compromise with Japan, and by their nature they were opposed to the Communist Party and the people.

The landlords fell into different categories; there were the big, the middle and the small landlords. Some of the big landlords became traitors, while others favored resistance but vacillated a great deal. Many of the middle and small landlords had the desire to resist, but there were contradictions between them and the peasants.

In the face of these complicated class relationships, our Party's policy regarding work within the united front was one of both alliance and struggle. That is to say, its policy was to unite with all the anti-Japanese classes and strata, try to win over even those who could be only vacillating and temporary allies, and adopt appropriate policies to adjust the relations among these classes and strata so that they all served the general cause of resisting Japan. At the same time, we had to maintain our Party's principle of independence and initiative, make the bold arousing of the masses and expansion of the people's forces the center of gravity in our work, and wage the necessary struggles against all activities harmful to resistance, unity and progress.

Our Party's Anti-Japanese National United Front policy was different both from Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist policy of all alliance and no struggle, and from Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist policy of all struggle and no alliance. Our Party summed up the lessons of the Right and "Left" opportunist errors and formulated the policy of both alliance and struggle.

Our Party made a series of adjustments in its policies in order to unite all the anti-Japanese parties and groups, including the Kuomintang, and all the anti-Japanese strata in a joint fight against the foe. We pledged ourselves to fight for the complete realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles. The government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia revolutionary base area was renamed the Government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Special Region of the Republic of China. Our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was redesignated the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Our land policy, the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, was changed to one of reducing rent and interest. In our own base areas we carried out the "three thirds system" in our organs of political power, drawing in those representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry and those members of the Kuomintang who stood for resistance to Japan and did not oppose the Communist Party. In accordance with the principles of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we also made necessary and appropriate changes in our policies relating to the economy, taxation, labor and wages, anti-espionage, people's rights, culture and education, etc.

While making these policy adjustments, we maintained the independence of the Communist Party, the people's army and the base areas. We also insisted that the Kuomintang should institute a general mobilization, reform the government apparatus, introduce democracy, improve the people's livelihood, arm the people, and carry out a total war of resistance. We waged a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party, against its suppression of the people's resistance movement and its treacherous activities for compromise and capitulation.

Past experience had taught us that "Left" errors were liable to crop up after our Party had corrected Right errors, and that Right errors were liable to crop up after it had corrected "Left" errors. "Left" errors were liable to occur when we broke with the Kuomintang ruling clique, and Right errors were liable to occur when we united with it.

After the overcoming of "Left" opportunism and the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the main danger in our Party was Right opportunism or capitulationism.

Wang Ming, the exponent of "Left" opportunism during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, went to the other extreme in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan and became the exponent of Right opportunism, i.e., capitulationism. He countered Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct line and policies with an out-and-out capitulationist line of his own and a series of ultra-Right policies. He voluntarily abandoned proletarian leadership in the Anti-Japanese National United Front and willingly handed leadership to the Kuomintang. By his advocacy of "everything through the united front" or "everything to be submitted to the united front," he was in effect advocating that everything should go through or be submitted to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. He opposed the bold mobilization of the masses, the carrying out of democratic reforms and the improvement of the livelihood of the workers and peasants, and wanted to undermine the worker-peasant alliance which was the foundation of the united front. He did not want the Communist-led base areas of the people's revolutionary forces but wanted to cut off the people's revolutionary forces from their roots. He rejected a people's army led by the Communist Party and wanted to hand over the people's armed forces to Chiang Kai-shek, which would have meant handing over everything the people had. He did not want the leadership of the Party and advocated an alliance between the youth of the Kuomintang and that of the Communist Party to suit Chiang Kai-shek's design of corroding the Communist Party. He decked himself out and presented himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping to be given some official appointment. All this was revisionism, pure and simple. If we had acted on Wang Ming's revisionist line and his set of policies, the Chinese people would have been unable to win the War of Resistance Against Japan, still less the subsequent nation-wide victory.

For a time during the War of Resistance, Wang Ming's revisionist line caused harm to the Chinese people's revolutionary cause. But the leading role of Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already been established in the Central Committee of our Party. Under his leadership, all the Marxist-Leninists in the Party carried out a resolute struggle against Wang Ming's errors and rectified them in time. It was this struggle that prevented Wang Ming's erroneous line from doing greater and more lasting damage to the cause of the Party.

Chiang Kai-shek, our teacher by negative example, helped us to correct Wang Ming's mistakes. He repeatedly lectured us with cannons and machine-guns. The gravest lesson was the Southern Anhwei Incident which took place in January 1941. Because some leaders of the New Fourth Army disobeyed the

directives of the Central Committee of the Party and followed Wang Ming's revisionist line, its units in southern Anhwei suffered disastrous losses in the surprise attack launched by Chiang Kai-shek and many heroic revolutionary fighters were slaughtered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. The lessons learned at the cost of blood helped to sober many of our comrades and increase their ability to distinguish the correct from the erroneous line.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly summed up the experience gained by the whole Party in implementing the line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and worked out a whole set of policies in good time. They were mainly as follows:

1. All people favoring resistance (that is, all the anti-Japanese workers, peasants, soldiers, students and intellectuals, and businessmen) were to unite and form the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

2. Within the united front, our policy was to be one of independence and initiative, i.e., both unity and independence were necessary.

3. As far as military strategy was concerned, our policy was to be guerrilla warfare waged independently and with the initiative in our own hands, within the framework of a unified strategy; guerrilla warfare was to be basic, but no chance of waging mobile warfare was to be lost when the conditions were favorable.

4. In the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards headed by Chiang Kai-shek, our policy was to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and destroy our enemies one by one, and to wage struggles on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint.

5. In the Japanese-occupied and Kuomintang areas our policy was, on the one hand, to develop the united front to the greatest possible extent and, on the other, to have selected cadres working underground. With regard to the forms of organization and struggle, our policy was to assign selected cadres to work under cover for a long period, so as to accumulate strength and bide our time.

6. As regards the alignment of the various classes within the country, our basic policy was to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the anti-Communist die-hard forces.

7. As for the anti-Communist die-hards, we followed a revolutionary dual policy of uniting with them, in so far as they were still capable of bringing themselves to resist Japan, and of struggling against and isolating them, in so far as they were determined to oppose the Communist Party.

8. With respect to the landlords and the bourgeoisie -- even the big landlords and big bourgeoisie -- it was necessary to analyze each case and draw distinctions. On the basis of these distinctions we were to formulate different policies so as to achieve our aim of uniting with all the forces that could be united.

The line and the various policies of the Anti-Japanese National United Front formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung stood the test of the War of Resistance and proved to be entirely correct.

History shows that when confronted by ruthless imperialist aggression, a Communist Party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the united front, rally around itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people who form more than 90 per cent of a country's population, so as to mobilize all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate to the maximum the common enemy of the whole nation. If we abandon the national banner, adopt a line of "closed-doorism" and thus isolate ourselves, it is out of the question to exercise leadership and develop the people's revolutionary cause, and this in reality amounts to helping the enemy and bringing defeat on ourselves.

History shows that within the united front the Communist Party must maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence, adhere to the principle of independence and initiative, and insist on its leading role. Since there are class differences among the various classes in the united front, the Party must have a correct policy in order to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and oppose the die-hard forces. The Party's work must center on developing the progressive forces and expanding the people's revolutionary forces. This is the only way to maintain and strengthen the united front. "If unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish."⁴ This is the chief experience gained in our struggle against the die-hard forces.

History shows that during the national-democratic revolution there must be two kinds of alliance within this united front, first, the worker-peasant alliance and, second, the alliance of the working people with the bourgeoisie and other non-working people. The worker-peasant alliance is an alliance of the working class with the peasants and all other working people in town and country. It is the foundation of the united front. Whether the working class can gain leadership of the national-democratic revolution depends on whether it can lead the broad masses of the peasants in struggle and rally them around itself. Only when the working class gains leadership of the peasants, and only on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, is it possible to establish the second alliance, form a broad united front and wage a people's war victoriously. Otherwise, everything that is done is unreliable, like castles in the air or so much empty talk.

Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas

The peasantry constituted more than 80 per cent of the entire population of semi-colonial and semi-feudal China. They were subjected to the threefold oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and they were eager for resistance against Japan and for revolution. It was essential to rely mainly on the peasants if the people's war was to be won.

But at the outset many comrades in our Party did not see this point. The history of our Party shows that in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, one of the major errors of the Right opportunists, represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, was their failure to recognize the importance of the peasant question and their opposition to arousing and arming the peasants. In the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, one of the major errors of the "Left" opportunists, represented by Wang Ming, was likewise their failure to recognize the importance of the peasant question. They did not realize that it was essential to undertake long-term and painstaking work among the peasants and establish revolutionary base areas in the countryside; they were under the illusion that they could rapidly seize the big cities and quickly win nation-wide victory in the revolution. The errors of both the Right and the "Left" opportunists brought serious setbacks and defeats to the Chinese revolution.

As far back as the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had pointed out that the peasant question occupied an extremely important position in the Chinese revolution, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism was in essence a peasant revolution and that the basic task of the Chinese proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution was to give leadership to the peasants' struggle.

In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again stressed that the peasants were the most reliable and the most numerous ally of the proletariat and constituted the main force in the War of Resistance. The peasants were the main source of manpower for China's armies. The funds and the supplies needed for a protracted war came chiefly from the peasants. In the anti-Japanese war it was imperative to rely mainly on the peasants and to arouse them to participate in the war on the broadest scale.

The War of Resistance Against Japan was in essence a peasant revolutionary war led by our Party. By arousing and organizing the peasant masses and integrating them with the proletariat, our Party created a powerful force capable of defeating the strongest enemy.

To rely on the peasants, build rural base areas and use the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities -- such was the way to victory in the Chinese revolution.

Basing himself on the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the importance of building rural revolutionary base areas.

Since China's key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions

of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting; it is imperative for them to do so if they do not wish to compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid decisive battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength is inadequate.⁵

Experience in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War showed that, when this strategic concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's was applied, there was an immense growth in the revolutionary forces and one Red base area after another was built. Conversely, when it was violated and the nonsense of the "Left" opportunists was applied, the revolutionary forces suffered severe damage, with losses of nearly 100 per cent in the cities and 90 per cent in the rural areas.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Japanese imperialist forces occupied many of China's big cities and the main lines of communication, but owing to the shortage of troops they were unable to occupy the vast countryside, which remained the vulnerable sector of the enemy's rule. Consequently, the possibility of building rural base areas became even greater. Shortly after the beginning of the War of Resistance, when the Japanese forces surged into China's hinterland and the Kuomintang forces crumbled and fled in one defeat after another, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party followed the wise policy laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and boldly drove into the areas behind the enemy lines in small contingents and established base areas throughout the countryside. During the eight years of the war, we established nineteen anti-Japanese base areas in northern, central and southern China. With the exception of the big cities and the main lines of communication, the vast territory in the enemy's rear was in the hands of the people.

In the anti-Japanese base areas, we carried out democratic reforms, improved the livelihood of the people, and mobilized and organized the peasant masses. Organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power were established on an extensive scale and the masses of the people enjoyed the democratic right to run their own affairs; at the same time we carried out the policies of "a reasonable burden" and "the reduction of rent and interest," which weakened the feudal system of exploitation and improved the people's livelihood. As a result, the enthusiasm of the peasant masses was deeply aroused, while the various anti-Japanese strata were given due consideration and were thus united. In formulating our policies for the base areas, we also took care that these policies should facilitate our work in the enemy-occupied areas.

In the enemy-occupied cities and villages, we combined legal with illegal struggle, united the basic masses and all patriots, and divided and disintegrated the political power of the enemy and his puppets so as to prepare ourselves to attack the enemy from within in coordination with operations from without when conditions were ripe.

The base areas established by our Party became the center of gravity in the Chinese people's struggle to resist Japan and save the country. Relying on these bases, our Party expanded and strengthened the people's revolutionary forces, persevered in the protracted war and eventually won the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Naturally, it was impossible for the development of the revolutionary base areas to be plain sailing all the time. They constituted a tremendous threat to the enemy and were bound to be attacked. Therefore, their development was a tortuous process of expansion, contraction and then renewed expansion. Between 1937 and 1940 the population in the anti-Japanese base areas grew to 100,000,000. But in 1941-42 the Japanese imperialists used the major part of their invading forces to launch frantic attacks on our base areas and wrought havoc. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang, too, encircled these base areas, blockaded them and went so far as to attack them. So by 1942, the anti-Japanese base areas had contracted and their population was down to less than 50,000,000. Placing complete reliance on the masses, our Party resolutely adopted a series of correct policies and measures, with the result that the base areas were able to hold out under extremely difficult circumstances. After this setback, the army and the people in the base areas were tempered and grew stronger. From 1943 onwards, our base areas were gradually restored and expanded, and by 1945 the population had grown to 160,000,000. Taking the entire course of the Chinese revolution into account, our revolutionary base areas went through even more ups and downs, and they weathered a great many tests before the small, separate base areas, expanding in a series of waves, gradually developed into extensive and contiguous base areas.

At the same time, the work of building the revolutionary base areas was a grand rehearsal in preparation for nation-wide victory. In these base areas, we built the Party, ran the organs of state power, built the people's armed forces and set up mass organizations; we engaged in industry and agriculture and operated cultural, educational and all other undertakings necessary for the independent existence of a separate region. Our base areas were in fact a state in miniature. And with the steady expansion of our work in the base areas, our Party established a powerful people's army, trained cadres for various kinds of work, accumulated experience in many fields and built up both the material and the moral strength that provided favorable conditions for nation-wide victory.

The revolutionary base areas established in the War of Resistance later became the springboards for the People's War of Liberation, in which the Chinese people defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries. In the War of Liberation we continued the policy of first encircling the cities from the countryside and then capturing the cities, and thus won nation-wide victory.

Build a People's Army of a New Type

"Without a people's army the people have nothing"⁶ This is the conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Tse-tung from the Chinese people's experience in their long years of revolutionary struggle, experience that was bought in blood. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

The special feature of the Chinese revolution was armed revolution against armed counter-revolution. The main form of struggle was war and the main form of organization was the army which was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, while all the other forms of organization and struggle led by our Party were coordinated, directly or indirectly, with the war.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War, many fine Party comrades took an active part in the armed revolutionary struggle. But our Party was then still in its infancy and did not have a clear understanding of this special feature of the Chinese revolution. It was only after the First Revolutionary Civil War, only after the Kuomintang had betrayed the revolution, massacred large numbers of Communists and destroyed all the revolutionary mass organizations, that our Party reached a clearer understanding of the supreme importance of organizing revolutionary armed forces and of studying the strategy and tactics of revolutionary war, and created the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the first people's army under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army created by Comrade Mao Tse-tung grew considerably and at one time reached a total of 300,000 men. But it later lost nine-tenths of its forces as a result of the wrong political and military lines followed by the "Left" opportunist leadership.

At the start of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party had only a little over 40,000 men. The Kuomintang reactionaries attempted to restrict, weaken and destroy this people's army in every conceivable way. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, in these circumstances, in order to sustain the War of Resistance and defeat the Japanese aggressors, it was imperative greatly to expand and consolidate the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and all the guerrilla units led by our Party. The whole Party should give close attention to war and study military affairs. Every Party member should be ready at all times to take up arms and go to the front.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also incisively stated that Communists do not fight for personal military power but must fight for military power for the Party and for the people.

Guided by the Party's correct line of expanding the revolutionary armed forces, the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and anti-Japanese guerrilla units promptly went to the forefront at the very beginning of the war. We spread the seeds of the people's armed forces in the vast areas behind the enemy lines and kindled the flames of guerrilla warfare everywhere. Our people's army steadily expanded in the struggle, so that by the end of the war it was already a million strong, and there was also a militia of over two million. That was why we were able to engage 64 per cent of the Japanese forces of aggression and 95 per cent of the puppet troops and to become the main force in the War of Resistance Against Japan. While resisting the Japanese invading forces, we repulsed three large-scale anti-Communist onslaughts launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries in 1939, 1941 and 1943, and smashed their countless "friction-mongering" activities.

Why were the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies able to grow big and strong from being small and weak and to score such great victories in the War of Resistance Against Japan?

The fundamental reason was that the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies were founded on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building. They were armies of a new type, a people's army which whole-heartedly serves the interests of the people.

Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on building a people's army, our army was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and most loyally carried out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies. It had a high degree of conscious discipline and was heroically inspired to destroy all enemies and conquer all difficulties. Internally there was full unity between cadres and fighters, between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility, between the different departments and between the various fraternal army units. Externally, there was similarly full unity between the army and the people and between the army and the local government.

During the anti-Japanese war our army staunchly performed the three tasks set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, namely, fighting, mass work, and production, and it was at the same time a fighting force a political work force and a production corps. Everywhere it went, it did propaganda work among the masses, organized and armed them and helped them set up revolutionary political power. Our army men strictly observed the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention,⁷ carried out campaigns to "support the government and cherish the people," and did good deeds for the people everywhere. They also made use of every possibility to engage in production themselves so as to overcome economic difficulties, better their own livelihood and lighten the people's burden. By their exemplary conduct they won the whole-hearted support of the masses, who affectionately called them "our own boys."

Our army consisted of local forces as well as of regular forces; moreover, it energetically built and developed the militia, thus practising the system of combining the three military formations, i.e., the regular forces, the local forces and the militia.

Our army also pursued correct policies in winning over enemy officers and men and in giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. During the anti-Japanese war we not only brought about the revolt and surrender of large numbers of puppet troops, but succeeded in converting not a few Japanese prisoners, who had been badly poisoned by fascist ideology. After they were politically awakened, they organized themselves into anti-war organizations such as the League for the Liberation of the Japanese People, the Anti-War League of the Japanese in China and the League of Awakened Japanese, helped us to disintegrate the Japanese army and cooperated with us in opposing Japanese militarism.

The essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is that in building a people's army prominence must be given to politics, i.e., the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis. Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the lifeline of our army. True, a people's army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and its military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique, it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of the commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses.

Owing to the application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on army building, there has prevailed in our army at all times a high level of proletarian political consciousness, an atmosphere of keenness to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung, an excellent morale, a solid unity and a deep hatred for the enemy, and thus a gigantic moral force has been brought into being. In battle it has feared neither hardships nor death, it has been able to charge or hold its ground as the conditions require. One man can play the role of several, dozens or even hundreds, and miracles can be performed.

All this makes the people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party fundamentally different from any bourgeois army, and from all the armies of the old type which served the exploiting classes and were driven and utilized by a handful of people. The experience of the people's war in China shows that a people's army created in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is incomparably strong and invincible.

Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics of People's War

Engels said, "The emancipation of the proletariat, in its turn, will have its specific expression in military affairs and create its specific, new military method."⁸ Engels' profound prediction has been fulfilled in the revolutionary wars waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In the course of protracted armed struggle, we have created a whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war by which we have been able to utilize our strong points to attack the enemy at his weak points.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, on the basis of his comprehensive analysis of the enemy and ourselves, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the following strategic principle for the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies: "Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favorable conditions."⁹ He raised guerrilla warfare to the level of strategy, because, if they are to defeat a formidable enemy, revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution. Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces in the course of the war, deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerrilla to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy.

In the initial period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung enumerated the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as follows:

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.¹⁰

Guerrilla war tactics were further developed during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the base areas behind the enemy lines, everybody joined in the fighting -- the troops and the civilian population, men and women, old and young; every single village fought. Various ingenious methods of fighting were devised, including "sparrow warfare",¹¹ land-mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage warfare, and guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers.

In the later period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and during the Third Revolutionary Civil War, we switched our strategy from that of guerrilla warfare as the primary form of fighting to that of mobile warfare in the light of the changes in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves. By the middle, and especially the later, period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, our operations had developed into large-scale mobile warfare, including the storming of big cities.

War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations. This guiding principle should be put into effect regardless of whether mobile or guerrilla warfare is the primary form of fighting. It is true that in guerrilla warfare much should be done to disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary actively to advocate and fight battles of annihilation whenever conditions are favorable. In mobile warfare superior forces must be concentrated in every battle so that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them.¹²

Battles of annihilation are the most effective way of hitting the enemy; each time one of his brigades or regiments is wiped out he will have one brigade or one regiment less, and the enemy forces will be demoralized and will disintegrate. By fighting battles of annihilation, our army is able to take prisoners of war or capture weapons from the enemy in every battle, and the morale of our army rises, our army units get bigger, our weapons become better, and our combat effectiveness continually increases.

In his celebrated ten cardinal military principles Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.¹³

At the same time, he said that we should first attack dispersed or isolated enemy forces and only attack concentrated and strong enemy forces later; that we should strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare; that we should fight no battle unprepared and fight no battle we are not sure of winning; and that in any battle we fight we should develop our army's strong points and its excellent style of fighting. These are the major principles of fighting a war of annihilation.

In order to annihilate the enemy, we must adopt the policy of luring him in deep and abandon some cities and districts of our own accord in a planned way, so as to let him in. It is only after letting the enemy in that the people can take part in the war in various ways and that the power of a people's war can be fully exerted. It is only after letting the enemy in that he can be compelled to divide up his forces, take on heavy burdens and commit mistakes. In other words, we must let the enemy become elated, stretch out all his ten fingers and become hopelessly bogged down. Thus, we can concentrate superior forces to destroy the enemy forces one by one, to eat them up mouthful by mouthful. Only by wiping out the enemy's effective strength can cities and localities be finally held or seized. We are firmly against dividing up our forces to defend all positions and putting up resistance at every place for fear that our territory might be lost and our pots and pans smashed, since this can neither wipe out the enemy forces nor hold cities or localities.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war: You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.

In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out. It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. This strategy and these tactics can be applied only when one relies on the broad masses of the people, and such application brings the superiority of people's war into full play. However superior he may be in technical equipment and whatever tricks he may resort to, the enemy will find himself in the passive position of having to receive blows, and the initiative will always be in our hands.

We grew from a small and weak to a large and strong force and finally defeated formidable enemies at home and abroad because we carried out the strategy and tactics of people's war. During the eight years of War of Resistance Against Japan, the people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party fought more than 125,000 engagements with the enemy and put out of action more than 1,700,000 Japanese and puppet troops. In the three years of the War of Liberation, we put eight million of the Kuomintang's reactionary troops out of action and won the great victory of the people's revolution.

Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance

The Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan was an important part of the Anti-Fascist World War. The victory of the Anti-Fascist War as a whole was the result of the common struggle of the people of the world. By its participation in the war against Japan at the final stage, the Soviet army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin played a significant part in bringing about the defeat of Japanese imperialism. Great contributions were made by the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand and certain other Asian countries. The people of the Americas, Oceania, Europe and Africa also made their contribution.

Under the extremely difficult circumstances, the Japanese Communists and the revolutionary forces of the Japanese people kept up their valiant and staunch struggle, and played their part in the defeat of Japanese fascism.

The common victory was won by all the peoples, who gave one another support and encouragement. Yet each country was, above all, liberated as a result of its own people's efforts.

The Chinese people enjoyed the support of other peoples in winning both the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's Liberation War, and yet victory was mainly the result of the Chinese people's own efforts. Certain people assert that China's victory in the War of Resistance was due entirely to foreign assistance. This absurd assertion is in tune with that of the Japanese militarists.

The liberation of the masses is accomplished by the masses themselves -- this is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party maintained that China should rely mainly on her own strength while at the same time trying to get as much foreign assistance as possible. We firmly opposed the Kuomintang ruling clique's policy of exclusive reliance on foreign aid. In the eyes of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, China's industry and agriculture were no good, her weapons and equipment were no good, nothing in China was any good, so that if she wanted to defeat Japan, she had to depend on other countries, and particularly on the US-British imperialists. This was completely slavish thinking. Our policy was diametrically opposed to that of the Kuomintang. Our Party held that it was possible to exploit the contradictions between US-British imperialism and Japanese imperialism, but that no reliance could be placed on the former. In fact, the US-British imperialists repeatedly plotted to bring about a "Far Eastern Munich" in order to arrive at a compromise with Japanese imperialism at China's expense, and for a considerable period of time they provided the Japanese

aggressors with war materiel. In helping China during that period, the US imperialists harboured the sinister design of turning China into a colony of their own.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "China has to rely mainly on her own efforts in the War of Resistance."¹⁴ He added, "We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people."¹⁵

Self-reliance was especially important for the people's armed forces and the Liberated Areas led by our Party.

The Kuomintang government gave the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies some small allowances in the initial stage of the anti-Japanese war, but gave them not a single penny later. The Liberated Areas faced great difficulties as a result of the Japanese imperialists' savage attacks and brutal "mopping-up" campaigns, of the Kuomintang's military encirclement and economic blockade and of natural calamities. The difficulties were particularly great in the years 1941 and 1942, when we were very short of food and clothing.

What were we to do? Comrade Mao Tse-tung asked: How has mankind managed to keep alive from time immemorial? Has it not been by men using their hands to provide for themselves? Why should we, their latter-day descendants, be devoid of this tiny bit of wisdom? Why can't we use our own hands?

The Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the policies of "ample food and clothing through self-reliance" and "develop the economy and ensure supplies," and the army and the people of the Liberated Areas accordingly launched an extensive production campaign, with the main emphasis on agriculture.

Difficulties are not invincible monsters. If everyone cooperates and fights them, they will be overcome. The Kuomintang reactionaries thought that they could starve us to death by cutting off allowances and imposing an economic blockade, but in fact they helped us by stimulating us to rely on our own efforts to surmount our difficulties. While launching the great campaign for production, we applied the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" and economized in the use of manpower and material resources; thus we not only surmounted the severe material difficulties and successfully met the crisis, but lightened the people's burden, improved their livelihood and laid the material foundations for victory in the anti-Japanese war.

The problem of military equipment was solved mainly by relying on the capture of arms from the enemy, though we did turn out some weapons too. Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese imperialists and the US imperialists have all been our "chiefs of transportation corps." The arsenals of the imperialists always provide the oppressed peoples and nations with arms.

The people's armed forces led by our Party independently waged people's war on a large scale and won great victories without any material aid from outside, both during the more than eight years of the anti-Japanese war and during the more than three years of the People's War of Liberation.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that our fundamental policy should rest on the foundation of our own strength. Only by relying on our own efforts can we in all circumstances remain invincible.

The peoples of the world invariably support each other in their struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. Those countries which have won victory are duty bound to support and aid the peoples who have not yet done so. Nevertheless, foreign aid can only play a supplementary role.

In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid -- even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution -- no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won.

The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Theory of People's War

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the great October Revolution. The road of the October Revolution is the common road for all people's revolutions. The Chinese revolution and the October Revolution have in common the following basic characteristics: (1) Both were led by the working class with a Marxist-Leninist party as its nucleus. (2) Both were based on the worker-peasant alliance. (3) In both cases state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. (4) In both cases the socialist system was built after victory in the revolution. (5) Both were component parts of the proletarian world revolution.

Naturally, the Chinese revolution had its own peculiar characteristics. The October Revolution took place in imperialist Russia, but the Chinese revolution broke out in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The former was a proletarian socialist revolution, while the latter developed into a socialist revolution after the complete victory of the new-democratic revolution. The October Revolution began with armed uprisings in the cities and then spread to the countryside, while the Chinese revolution won nationwide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great merit lies in the fact that he has succeeded in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism by his masterly generalization and summation of the experience gained during the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war has been proved by the long practice of the Chinese revolution to be in accord with the objective laws of such wars and to be invincible. It has not only been valid for China, it is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world.

The people's war led by the Chinese Communist Party, comprising the War of Resistance and the Revolutionary Civil Wars, lasted for twenty-two years. It constitutes the most drawn-out and most complex people's war led by the proletariat in modern history, and it has been the richest in experience.

In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it, "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."¹⁶

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."¹⁷

He clearly pointed out:

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.¹⁸

War is the product of imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man. Lenin said that "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes."¹⁹ So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist, the imperialists and reactionaries will invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

In the world today, all the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys, without exception, are strengthening their state machinery, and especially their armed forces. US imperialism, in particular, is carrying out armed aggression and suppression everywhere.

What should the oppressed nations and the oppressed people do in the face of wars of aggression and armed suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys? Should they submit and remain slaves in perpetuity? Or should they rise in resistance and fight for their liberation?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered this question in vivid terms. He said that after long investigation and study the Chinese people discovered that all the imperialists and their lackeys "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion."²⁰ This is called doing unto them what they do unto us.

In the last analysis, whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against armed aggression and suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a people's war against them, means whether one dares to embark on revolution. This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists from fake ones.

In view of the fact that some people were afflicted with the fear of the imperialists and reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his famous thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." He said,

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.²¹

The history of people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the people's revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings into strong and large forces is a universal law of development of class struggle, a universal law of development of people's war. A people's war inevitably meets with many difficulties, with ups and downs and setbacks in the course of its development, but no force can alter its general trend towards inevitable triumph.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically.

To despise the enemy strategically is an elementary requirement for a revolutionary. Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make revolution and wage a people's war, let alone to achieve victory.

It is also very important for revolutionaries to take full account of the enemy tactically. It is likewise impossible to win victory in a people's war without taking full account of the enemy tactically, and without examining the concrete conditions, without being prudent and giving great attention to the study of the art of struggle, and without adopting

appropriate forms of struggle in the concrete practice of the revolution in each country and with regard to each concrete problem of struggle.

Dialectical and historical materialism teaches us that what is important primarily is not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may not appear to be durable, for only that which is arising and developing is invincible.

Why can the apparently weak new-born forces always triumph over the decadent forces which appear so powerful? The reason is that truth is on their side and that the masses are on their side, while the reactionary classes are always divorced from the masses and set themselves against the masses.

This has been borne out by the victory of the Chinese revolution, by the history of all revolutions, the whole history of class struggle and the entire history of mankind.

The imperialists are extremely afraid of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all oppose and attack this thesis and the philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But all this cannot in the least diminish its importance. The light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war solves not only the problem of daring to fight a people's war, but also that of how to wage it.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman and military scientist, proficient at directing war in accordance with its laws. By the line and policies, the strategy and tactics he formulated for the people's war, he led the Chinese people in steering the ship of the people's war past all hidden reefs to the shores of victory in most complicated and difficult conditions.

It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys.

Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant

question is extremely important in these regions. The peasants constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution against the imperialists and their lackeys. In committing aggression against these countries, the imperialists usually begin by seizing the big cities and the main lines of communication, but they are unable to bring the vast countryside completely under their control. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of establishing revolutionary base areas in the rural districts and encircling the cities from the countryside is attracting more and more attention among the people in these regions.

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The socialist countries should regard it as their internationalist duty to support the people's revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The October Revolution opened up a new era in the revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the October Revolution built a bridge between the socialist revolution of the proletariat of the West and the national-democratic revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East. The Chinese revolution has successfully solved the problem of how to link up the national-democratic with the socialist revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, in the epoch since the October Revolution, anti-imperialist revolution in any colonial or semi-colonial country is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a complete theory of the new-democratic revolution. He indicated that this revolution, which is different from all others, can only be, nay must be, a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

This means that the revolution can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and by no other class or party.

This means that the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist democrats.

This means, finally, that the revolution is directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

The new-democratic revolution leads to socialism, and not to capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the new-democratic revolution is the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution by stages as well as the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct distinction between the two revolutionary stages, i.e., the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions; at the same time he correctly and closely linked the two. The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national-democratic revolution. There is no Great Wall between the two revolutionary stages. But the socialist revolution is only possible after the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The more thorough the national-democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

The experience of the Chinese revolution shows that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution can be fulfilled only through long and tortuous struggles. In this stage of revolution, imperialism and its lackeys are the principal enemy. In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, it is necessary to rally all anti-imperialist patriotic forces, including the national bourgeoisie and all patriotic personages. All those patriotic personages from among the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who join the anti-imperialist struggle play a progressive historical role; they are not tolerated by imperialism but welcomed by the proletariat.

It is very harmful to confuse the two stages, that is, the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the wrong idea of "accomplishing both at one stroke," and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the most urgent task at that time. The Kuomintang reactionaries and the Trotskyites they hired during the War of Resistance deliberately confused these two stages of the Chinese revolution, proclaiming the "theory of a single revolution" and preaching so-called "socialism" without any Communist Party. With this preposterous theory they attempted to swallow up the Communist Party, wipe out any revolution and prevent the advance of the national-democratic revolution, and they used it as a pretext for their non-resistance and capitulation to imperialism. This reactionary theory was buried long ago by the history of the Chinese revolution.

The Khrushchov revisionists are now actively preaching that socialism can be built without the proletariat and without a genuinely revolutionary party armed with the advanced proletarian ideology, and they have cast the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the four winds. The revisionists' purpose is solely to divert the oppressed nations from their struggle against imperialism and sabotage their national-democratic revolution, all in the service of imperialism.

The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thoroughgoing national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat; it likewise provides a successful lesson for the timely transition from the national-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has been the guide to the victory of the Chinese revolution. It has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, thus adding new weapons to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

Ours is the epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom and socialism and communism are marching to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war is not only a product of the Chinese revolution, but has also the characteristics of our epoch. The new experience gained in the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries since World War II has provided continuous evidence that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the whole world. This is the great international significance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Defeat US Imperialism and Its Lackeys by People's War

Since World War II, US imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and has been trying to build a great American empire by dominating and enslaving the whole world. It is actively fostering Japanese and West German militarism as its chief accomplices in unleashing a world war. Like a vicious wolf, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples, plundering their wealth, encroaching upon their countries' sovereignty and interfering in their internal affairs. It is the most rabid aggressor in human history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world. Every people or country in the world that wants revolution, independence and peace cannot but direct the spearhead of its struggle against US imperialism.

Just as the Japanese imperialists' policy of subjugating China made it possible for the Chinese people to form the broadest possible united front against them, so the US imperialists' policy of seeking world

domination makes it possible for the people throughout the world to unite all the forces that can be united and form the broadest possible united front for a converging attack on US imperialism.

At present, the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and US imperialism and its lackeys on the other is the vast area of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world as a whole, this is the area where the people suffer worst from imperialist oppression and where imperialist rule is most vulnerable. Since World War II, revolutionary storms have been rising in this area, and today they have become the most important force directly pounding US imperialism. The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against US imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II, people's war has increasingly demonstrated its power in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and other countries have waged people's wars against the imperialists and their lackeys and won great victories. The classes leading these people's wars may vary, and so may the breadth and depth of mass mobilization and the extent of victory, but the victories in these people's wars have very much weakened and pinned down the forces of imperialism, upset the US imperialist plan to launch a world war, and become mighty factors defending world peace.

Today, the conditions are more favorable than ever before for the waging of people's wars by the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against US imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II and the succeeding years of revolutionary upsurge, there has been a great rise in the level of political consciousness and the degree of organization of the people in all countries, and their capacity for mutual support and aid has greatly increased. The whole capitalist-imperialist system has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration. After World War I, the imperialists lacked the power to destroy the new-born socialist Soviet state, but they were still able to suppress the people's revolutionary movements in some countries in the parts of the world under their own rule and so maintain a short period of comparative stability. Since World War II, however, not only have they been unable to stop a number of countries from taking the socialist road, but they are no longer capable of holding back the surging tide of the people's revolutionary movements in the areas under their own rule.

US imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world. US imperialism has further

weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, over-reaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Wherever it commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world."²²

When committing aggression in a foreign country, US imperialism can only employ part of its forces, which are sent to fight an unjust war far from their native land and therefore have a low morale, and so US imperialism is beset with great difficulties. The people subjected to its aggression are having a trial of strength with US imperialism neither in Washington nor New York, neither in Honolulu nor Florida, but are fighting for independence and freedom on their own soil. Once they are mobilized on a broad scale, they will have inexhaustible strength. Thus superiority will belong not to the United States but to the people subjected to its aggression. The latter, though apparently weak and small, are really more powerful than US imperialism.

The struggles waged by the different peoples against US imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to US imperialism. The more successful the development of people's war in a given region, the larger the number of US imperialist forces that can be pinned down and depleted there. When the US aggressors are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others. Therefore, the conditions become more favorable for the people elsewhere to wage struggles against US imperialism and its lackeys.

Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of US imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head and others at its feet. That is why the greatest fear of US imperialism is that people's wars will be launched in different parts of the world, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and why it regards people's war as a mortal danger.

US imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people. But these weapons cannot save US imperialism from its doom. Nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly. US imperialism has been condemned by the people of the whole world for its towering crime of dropping two atom bombs on Japan. If it uses nuclear weapons again, it will become isolated in the extreme. Moreover, the US monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been broken; US imperialism has these weapons, but others have them too. If it threatens other countries with nuclear weapons, US imperialism will expose its own country to the same threat. For this reason, it will meet with strong opposition not only from the people elsewhere but also inevitably from the people in its own country. Even if US imperialism brazenly uses nuclear weapons, it cannot conquer the people, who are indomitable.

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of

the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of US imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of US imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb.

Vietnam is the most convincing current example of a victim of aggression defeating US imperialism by a people's war. The United States has made south Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for many years, and everybody can now see that the US aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with people's war. On the other hand, the Vietnamese people have brought the power of people's war into full play in their struggle against the US aggressors. The US aggressors are in danger of being swamped in the people's war in Vietnam. They are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that US imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too.

History has proved and will go on proving that people's war is the most effective weapon against US imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against US imperialism and its lackeys. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles and become skilled in waging people's war, though they have not done so before. US imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions.

The Khrushchov Revisionists Are Betrayers of People's War

The Khrushchov revisionists have come to the rescue of US imperialism just when it is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with people's war. Working hand in glove with the US imperialists, they are doing their utmost to spread all kinds of arguments against people's war and, wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine it by overt or covert means.

The fundamental reason why the Khrushchov revisionists are opposed to people's war is that they have no faith in the masses and are afraid of US imperialism, of war and of revolution. Like all other opportunists, they

are blind to the power of the masses and do not believe that the revolutionary people are capable of defeating imperialism. They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the US imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed peoples and nations rise up to fight people's wars or the people of socialist countries repulse US imperialist aggression, US imperialism will become incensed, they themselves will become involved and their fond dream of Soviet-US cooperation to dominate the world will be spoiled.

Ever since Lenin led the great October Revolution to victory, the experience of innumerable revolutionary wars has borne out the truth that a revolutionary people who rise up with only their bare hands at the outset finally succeed in defeating the ruling classes who are armed to the teeth. The poorly armed have defeated the better armed. People's armed forces, beginning with only primitive swords, spears, rifles and hand-grenades, have in the end defeated the imperialist forces armed with modern aeroplanes, tanks, heavy artillery and atom bombs. Guerrilla forces have ultimately defeated regular armies. "Amateurs" who were never trained in any military schools have eventually defeated "professionals" graduated from military academies. And so on and so forth. Things stubbornly develop in a way that runs counter to the assertions of the revisionists, and facts are slapping them in the face.

The Khrushchov revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons, whatever methods of fighting it may adopt. This is tantamount to saying that anyone without nuclear weapons is destined to come to grief, destined to be bullied and annihilated, and must either capitulate to the enemy when confronted with his nuclear weapons or come under the "protection" of some other nuclear power and submit to its beck and call. Isn't this the jungle law of survival par excellence? Isn't this helping the imperialists in their nuclear blackmail? Isn't this openly forbidding people to make revolution?

The Khrushchov revisionists assert that nuclear weapons and strategic rocket units are decisive while conventional forces are insignificant, and that a militia is just a heap of human flesh. For ridiculous reasons such as these, they oppose the mobilization of and reliance on the masses in the socialist countries to get prepared to use people's war against imperialist aggression. They have staked the whole future of their country on nuclear weapons and are engaged in a nuclear gamble with US imperialism, with which they are trying to strike a political deal. Their theory of military strategy is the theory that nuclear weapons decide everything. Their line in army building is the bourgeois line which ignores the human factor and sees only the material factor and which regards technique as everything and politics as nothing.

The Khrushchov revisionists maintain that a single spark in any part of the globe may touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind. If this were true, our planet would have been destroyed time and time again. There have been wars of national liberation throughout the

twenty years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a world war? Isn't it true that the US imperialists' plans for a world war have been upset precisely thanks to the wars of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America? By contrast, those who have done their utmost to stamp out the "sparks" of people's war have in fact encouraged US imperialism in its aggressions and wars.

The Khrushchov revisionists claim that if their general line of "peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition" is followed, the oppressed will be liberated and "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" will come into being. But the inexorable fact is that imperialism and reaction headed by the United States are zealously priming their war machine and are daily engaged in sanguinary suppression of the revolutionary peoples and in the threat and use of armed force against independent countries. The kind of rubbish peddled by the Khrushchov revisionists has already taken a great toll of lives in a number of countries. Are these painful lessons, paid for in blood, still insufficient? The essence of the general line of the Khrushchov revisionists is nothing other than the demand that all the oppressed peoples and nations and all the countries which have won independence should lay down their arms and place themselves at the mercy of the US imperialists and their lackeys who are armed to the teeth.

"While magistrates are allowed to burn down houses, the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." Such is the way of the imperialists and reactionaries. Subscribing to this imperialist philosophy, the Khrushchov revisionists shout at the Chinese people standing in the forefront of the fight for world peace: "You are bellicose!" Gentlemen, your abuse adds to our credit. It is this very "bellicosity" of ours that helps to prevent imperialism from unleashing a world war. The people are "bellicose" because they have to defend themselves and because the imperialists and reactionaries force them to be so. It is also the imperialists and reactionaries who have taught the people the arts of war. We are simply using revolutionary "bellicosity" to cope with counter-revolutionary bellicosity. How can it be argued that the imperialists and their lackeys may kill people everywhere, while the people must not strike back in self-defense or help one another? What kind of logic is this? The Khrushchov revisionists regard imperialists like Kennedy and Johnson as "sensible" and describe us together with all those who dare to carry out armed defense against imperialist aggression as "bellicose." This has revealed the Khrushchov revisionists in their true colors as the accomplices of imperialist gangsters.

We know that war brings destruction, sacrifice and suffering on the people. But the destruction, sacrifice and suffering will be much greater if no resistance is offered to imperialist armed aggression and the people become willing slaves. The sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars is repaid by security for whole nations, whole countries and even the whole of mankind; temporary suffering is repaid by lasting or even perpetual peace and happiness. War can temper the people and push history forward. In this sense, war is a great school.

When discussing World War I, Lenin said,

The war has brought hunger to the most civilized countries, to those most culturally developed. On the other hand, the war, as a tremendous historical process, has accelerated social development to an unheard-of degree.²³

He added,

War has shaken up the masses, its untold horrors and suffering have awakened them. War has given history momentum and it is now flying with locomotive speed.²⁴

If the arguments of the Khrushchov revisionists are to be believed, would not that make Lenin the worst of all "bellicose elements"?

In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchov revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people never take a sentimental view of war. Our attitude towards imperialist wars of aggression has always been clear-cut. First, we are against them, and secondly, we are not afraid of them. We will destroy whoever attacks us. As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples, far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid. It has been so in the past, it remains so in the present and, when we grow in strength as time goes on, we will give them still more support and aid in the future. It is sheer day-dreaming for anyone to think that, since our revolution has been victorious, our national construction is forging ahead, our national wealth is increasing and our living conditions are improving, we too will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Of course, every revolution in a country stems from the demands of its own people. Only when the people in a country are awakened, mobilized, organized and armed can they overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys through struggle; their role cannot be replaced or taken over by any people from outside. In this sense, revolution cannot be imported. But this does not exclude mutual sympathy and support on the part of revolutionary peoples in their struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys. Our support and aid to other revolutionary peoples serves precisely to help their self-reliant struggle.

The propaganda of the Khrushchov revisionists against people's war and the publicity they give to defeatism and capitulationism tend to demoralize and spiritually disarm revolutionary people everywhere. These revisionists are doing what the US imperialists are unable to do themselves and are rendering them great service. They have greatly encouraged US imperialism in its war adventures. They have completely betrayed the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory of war and have become betrayers of people's war.

To win the struggle against US imperialism and carry people's wars to victory, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world must resolutely oppose Khrushchov revisionism.

Today, Khrushchov revisionism has a dwindling audience among the revolutionary people of the world. Wherever there is armed aggression and suppression by imperialism and its lackeys, there are bound to be people's wars against aggression and oppression. It is certain that such wars will develop vigorously. This is an objective law independent of the will of either the US imperialists or the Khrushchov revisionists. The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchov is finished. And the successors to Khrushchov revisionism will fare no better. The imperialists, the reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists, who have all set themselves against people's war, will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people.

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Great changes have taken place in China and the world in the twenty years since the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, changes that have made the situation more favorable than ever for the revolutionary people of the world and more unfavorable than ever for imperialism and its lackeys.

When Japanese imperialism launched its war of aggression against China, the Chinese people had only a very small people's army and a very small revolutionary base area, and they were up against the biggest military despot of the East. Yet even then, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the Chinese people's war could be won and that Japanese imperialism could be defeated. Today, the revolutionary base areas of the peoples of the world have grown to unprecedented proportions, their revolutionary movement is surging as never before, imperialism is weaker than ever, and US imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, is suffering one defeat after another. We can say with even greater confidence that the people's wars can be won and US imperialism can be defeated in all countries.

The peoples of the world now have the lessons of the October Revolution, the Anti-Fascist War, the Chinese people's War of Resistance and War of Liberation, the Korean people's War of Resistance to US Aggression, the Vietnamese people's War of Liberation and their War of Resistance to US Aggression, and the people's revolutionary armed struggles in many other countries. Provided each people studies these lessons well and creatively integrates them with the concrete practice of revolution in their own country, there is no doubt that the revolutionary peoples of the world will stage still more powerful and splendid dramas in the theatre of people's war in their countries and that they will wipe off the earth once and for all the common enemy of all the peoples, US imperialism, and its lackeys.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the world against US aggression. The determination of the Chinese people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against US aggression and for national

salvation is unshakable. No matter what US imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people until every single one of the US aggressors is driven out of Vietnam.

The US imperialists are now clamouring for another trial of strength with the Chinese people, for another large-scale ground war on the Asian mainland. If they insist on following in the footsteps of the Japanese fascists, well then, they may do so, if they please. The Chinese people definitely have ways of their own for coping with a US imperialist war of aggression. Our methods are no secret. The most important one is still mobilization of the people, reliance on the people, making every one a soldier and waging a people's war.

We want to tell the US imperialists once again that the vast ocean of several hundred million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge your few million aggressor troops. If you dare to impose war on us, we shall gain freedom of action. It will then not be up to you to decide how the war will be fought. We shall fight in the ways most advantageous to us to destroy the enemy and wherever the enemy can be most easily destroyed. Since the Chinese people were able to destroy the Japanese aggressors twenty years ago, they are certainly still more capable of finishing off the US aggressors today. The naval and air superiority you boast about cannot intimidate the Chinese people, and neither can the atom bomb you brandish at us. If you want to send troops, go ahead, the more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send, and can even give you receipts. The Chinese people are a great, valiant people. We have the courage to shoulder the heavy burden of combating US imperialism and to contribute our share in the struggle for final victory over this most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.

It must be pointed out in all seriousness that after the victory of the War of Resistance Taiwan was returned to China. The occupation of Taiwan by US imperialism is absolutely unjustified. Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The US imperialists must get out of Taiwan. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan.

In commemorating the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must also point out in all solemnity that the Japanese militarists fostered by US imperialism will certainly receive still severer punishment if they ignore the firm opposition of the Japanese people and the people of Asia, again indulge in their pipe-dreams and resume their old road of aggression in Asia.

US imperialism is preparing a world war. But can this save it from its doom? World War I was followed by the birth of the socialist Soviet Union. World War II was followed by the emergence of a series of socialist countries and many nationally independent countries. If the US imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it can be stated categorically

that many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to socialism; the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe; and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse.

We are optimistic about the future of the world. We are confident that the people will bring to an end the epoch of wars in human history. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that war, this monster, "will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it, and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war."²⁵

All peoples suffering from US imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder, unite! Hold aloft the just banner of people's war and fight for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism! Victory will certainly go to the people of the world!

Long live the victory of people's war!

NOTES

1. Under the influence of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the people's anti-Japanese movement, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, who were the generals in command of the Kuomintang Northeastern Army and the Kuomintang 17th Route Army respectively, agreed to the anti-Japanese national united front proposed by the Communist Party of China and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek should stop the civil war and unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan. Chiang Kai-shek refused. On December 12, 1936, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng detained him in Sian. Proceeding from the interest of the entire nation, the Chinese Communist Party offered mediation and Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to accept the terms of unity with the Communist Party and resistance to Japan.

2. Mao Tse-tung, "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front," Selected Works, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol I, p 290.

3. The "three thirds system" refers to the organs of the political power which were established according to the principle of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and in which the members of the Communist Party, non-Party progressives and the middle elements each occupied one-third of the places.

4. Mao Tse-tung, "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol II, p 422.

5. Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol II, pp 316-17.

6. Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol III, pp 296-97.

7. The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention were drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during the Agrarian Revolutionary War and were later adopted as rules of discipline by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and the present People's Liberation Army. As these rules varied slightly in content in the army units of different areas, the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in October 1947 issued a standard version as follows:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

8. Frederick Engels, "Possibilities and Perspectives of the War of the Holy Alliance Against France in 1852," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Russ. ed., Vol VII.

9. Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol II, p 116.

10. Mao Tse-tung, "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol I, p 124.

11. Sparrow warfare is a popular method of fighting created by the Communist-led anti-Japanese guerrilla units and militia behind the enemy lines. It was called sparrow warfare because, first, it was used diffusely, like the flight of sparrows in the sky; and because, second, it was used flexibly by guerrillas or militiamen, operating in threes or fives, appearing and disappearing unexpectedly and wounding, killing, depleting and wearing out the enemy forces.

12. Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol I, p 248.

13. Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, pp 95-96.
14. Mao Tse-tung, "Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the Sao Tang Pao and the Hain Min Pao," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol II, p 270.
15. Mao Tse-tung, "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol III, p 241.
16. Karl Marx, Capital, Vol I.
17. Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol II, p 224.
18. Ibid., p 219.
19. V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government," Collected Works, Vol VIII.
20. Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol IV, pp 14-15.
21. Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol IV, p 100.
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THE PROLETARIAT MUST TAKE A FIRM HOLD
OF THE GUN

In Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding
of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp. 43-47.]

The occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the great Chinese PLA is here. Under the excellent situation of the triumphant progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we commemorate Army Day with a proud feeling, to commemorate the glorious, and victorious history of our great Chinese PLA.

The Chinese PLA is a great army that was built personally by our great leader, Chairman Mao, and is under the direct command of Comrade Lin Piao. It is unique and the strongest revolutionary army that is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and is genuinely controlled by the people.

In the past 40 years, the Chinese PLA, under the leadership of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, has grown from a small army to a big army, has become strong following weakness, has gone through arduous struggles, has made heroic and courageous sacrifices, has crushed five large-scale encirclements by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, has triumphantly completed the world renowned Long March of 25,000 Chinese miles, has defeated the formidable Japanese aggressors, has wiped out 8 million reactionary Kuomintang troops armed by U.S. imperialism, and during the war against the United States in support of Korea and together with the Korean people, has defeated the most ferocious aggressor troops of 14 nations put together by U.S. imperialism, establishing many great merits of war for the Chinese and other peoples of the world.

The great Chinese PLA is a revolutionary flower that came from the blood of numerous revolutionary martyrs who lived before us. It is something

to be proud of and a glory of the Chinese and other peoples of the world. It is not only the base of a pillar of proletarian dictatorship in our country, but also a strong backing for the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

In August 1927, following the complete betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang, and under the condition of the defeat of Chen Tu-hsiu's rightist, opportunist line by the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, and under the direction of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 1 August Nanchang uprising was carried out to mark the first rounds of gunfire against Kuomintang reactionaries. In September, on the basis of the Hunan peasant movement, our great leader Chairman Mao personally led a riot of the peasants, the great historical "Autumn Harvesting Uprising" in which the Ching Kangshan base was established.

The Chinese people began armed struggle under the leadership of the correct line and began to have a people's army which was completely modern -- "The red flag roused the serf, halberd in hand." The Autumn Harvest Uprising and the great march on Ching Kang shan are of epoch making significance in China's revolutionary history and in the history of the founding of our army. From this day forward, it opened the revolutionary way for the penetration of the vanguard of the proletariat into the rural areas to lead the peasants in carrying out armed struggle, the establishment of rural bases, the encirclement of urban areas by rural areas, and the seizure of the political power of the whole nation.

Chairman Mao's brilliant idea concerning the encirclement of urban areas by rural areas and the armed seizure of political power is an ingenious development of Marxism-Leninism. He not only opened up the only correct path for the Chinese people to win a nationwide victory, but also pointed out the broad road to the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world to strive for real liberation.

Chairman Mao said that the army is an important part of state political power. Whoever wishes to seize state political power and keep it should have a powerful and large army. The exploiting class keep it should have a powerful and large army. The exploiting class always relies upon brute force to maintain its rule and to carry out cruel exploitation and the plundering of the people. If the exploited class resists, it would meet with bloody suppression from the reactionary troops. When the reactionaries have knives in their hands, the revolutionary people must also grasp hold of knives. The highest form of class struggle is war. Without using a revolutionary force to counter a counterrevolutionary force, it would have been impossible for the people to change their lot. Without a people's force, there would have been no hope in the resistance of the people, and even if some successes were achieved, an armed suppression applied by the enemy would have turned everything into bubbles.

The biggest of the crimes of the revisionist is their opposition to the practice of the people in carrying out armed struggles and the practice of the proletariat in seizing arms. This crime was committed by such time-honored revisionists as Bernstein and Kautskiy as well as by such modern revisionists as Thorez, Togliatti, Dange, and Namboodiripad.

In the same way as all other counterrevolutionary revisionists, the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road in China has always opposed the practice of armed struggle. He has clamored for following the "parliamentary road" and vociferously promoted capitulationism. During the period of the anti-Japanese war, he shamelessly acclaimed Chiang Kai-shek as a "revolutionary banner," holding that the people's forces should be placed under the leadership of the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek. After the victory of the anti-Japanese war, he openly stood for presenting the people's forces to the Kuomintang reactionaries with his personal compliments.

Chairman Mao has thoroughly repudiated the counterrevolutionary revisionist line that stands against the practice of establishing people's forces to carry out armed struggles. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people and the Chinese PLA persisted in the armed struggle, achieved victory in the democratic revolution, and founded a great country of proletarian dictatorship.

In the course of the prolonged revolutionary war, Chairman Mao advanced a most complete, scientific, and great military doctrine. In the resolutions of the Kutien conference and in many other military works, Chairman Mao formulated a truly proletarian military line which was a summit of Marxist-Leninist military ideology and a most powerful weapon for the revolutionary people in the world to defeat imperialism and all class enemies.

Chairman Mao said: "The whole world can be reformed only by arms." This sums up the experience of the proletariat in China and in the whole world gained through bloodshed. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism which is being mastered more and more universally by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations in the whole world. The revolutionary people of many localities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are rising to discard their opportunist leaders, courageously seize arms, establish their people's armed forces, and launch armed struggle. They have carried out large-scale rebellions against imperialism and all reactionaries, headed by U.S. imperialism, and against modern revisionism headed by the leading clique of the CPSU, in their courageous and unyielding struggle against the old world.

In the entire period of socialism, the class struggle is focused on the struggle between the bourgeoisie, which wants to regain power, and the proletariat, which wants to counter that effort. To regain power, the bourgeoisie must seize control of armed forces and arms. To consolidate proletarian dictatorship and smash the bourgeois scheme for regaining power, the

proletariat must hold fast to its arms and armed forces. After seizing state power, the proletariat still faces the danger of losing that power for a prolonged historical period. Similarly, after establishing an armed force, it still faces the danger of losing that armed force. If this should happen as a result of the usurpation of the military power by bad people, the proletariat and laboring people would stand to lose everything they have won. The counterrevolutionary coup staged by the Soviet Khrushchev revisionist clique by usurping military power should serve as a serious lesson.

The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the general representative of the capitalist force which wants to regain power. Peng Te-huai and Lo Jui-ching were his agents in the Army. Peng Te-Huai was a great conspirator, schemer, and warlord. In the past several decades he always followed the bourgeois reactionary line to oppose Chairman Mao. During the struggles between the two lines he always supported the opportunists in opposing Chairman Mao's correct line.

In 1953, in conjunction with Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, he formed the Peng-Kao-Jao antiparty alliance. In 1959 he was the head of the anti-party clique which was exposed at the Lushan conference. Similarly, Lo Jui-ching was also a bourgeois conspirator and schemer. As early as the period of the anti-Japanese war, in collusion with Peng Te-huai and Peng Chen, he opposed Chairman Mao, supported Wang Ming's capitulationist line, and shamelessly acclaimed Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the Chinese people, as the "supreme commander" in the anti-Japanese war.

After the national victory they continued to collude and made every effort to seize arms to promote a bourgeois military line in a vain attempt to turn the people's army into a tool which the counterrevolutionaries could use to regain power.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul and invincible guide of our army. It is the basic guarantee for our army to retain its color forever. To change the proletarian character of our army and to usurp military power, Peng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ching, and their ilk pointed their spearhead primarily at Mao Tse-tung's thought. Peng Te-huai maliciously remarked: "Chairman Mao's works can be used only as a reference. They cannot be used as a guide for directing the war and military training." Lo Jui-ching even went so far as to nonsensically remark: "Taking Chairman Mao's words as the highest command is not in keeping with the system of our country." He vociferously acclaimed the book "On Self-Cultivation" by the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, regarding it as one which "coordinates Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution," and instructed all army cadres and fighters to study it properly.

One's attitude toward Mao Tse-tung's thought is the dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and counterrevolutionary Revisionism. All the victories of our Party and army are great victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The 40 years of experience of our army have taught us that a departure from

the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought always results in errors, setbacks, and defeats. The army is a tool for class struggle. If it is not guided by proletarian ideology it must be guided by bourgeois ideology. By trying their utmost to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, Peng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ching, and their ilk wanted to guide our army on the basis of bourgeois ideology and with the revisionist book "On Self-Cultivation" and thereby turn our army into a bourgeois one.

Peng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ching, and the other counterrevolutionary revisionists made every effort to oppose the practice of putting proletarian politics first and to peddle some revisionist goods imported from a foreign power in order to change the proletarian character of our army and to usurp military power. They concentrated their efforts on achieving bourgeois regularization and on opposing proletarian revolutionization of our army. They attached primary importance to military technology and denied that political and ideological work was the main factor determining fighting prowess.

Peng Te-huai nonsensically remarked: "The achievement of the armed forces in military training and the mastery of military techniques by cadres at various levels are the basic criteria for judging the fighting power of our army today and in the future." Lo Jui-ching used large-scale military contests to disparage politics and spread eclectic and opportunist fallacies to oppose Comrade Lin Piao's directives on the necessity of putting politics first and on the "four firsts." The theory that military techniques are the basic criteria in determining the fighting power of an armed force is an out-and-out bourgeois military view.

On what do our armed forces rely for their greatest fighting power? On aircraft, artillery, or atomic bombs? No, absolutely not! For their greatest fighting power our armed forces rely on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and on our revolutionary fighters who, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have a high degree of political consciousness. Any opposition to the practice of putting proletarian politics first and any tendency to attach primary importance to military techniques are steps to put bourgeois politics first.

In fact, Peng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ching, and their ilk have always opposed proletarian politics and have practiced putting bourgeois reactionary politics first. During the period of the anti-Japanese war Peng Te-huai vociferously promoted the bourgeois reactionary political theory of liberty, equality, and fraternity. In his book "The Political Work of the Anti-Japanese Army," Lo Jui-ching said nothing about class struggle and the seizure of power by the proletariat, but did something tantamount to worshipping a thief as father by adopting "the greatness and biology of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek" and the "wisdom, kindness, courage, loyalty, filial obedience, charity, and love" advocated by Chiang Kai-shek as the basic essence of political work in the army. What they popularized was nothing but reactionary politics of the Kuomintang.

With the support of the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, Peng Te-huai and Lo Jui-ching engaged in the army in fostering personal forces, establishing their personal authority, winning over defectors and renegades, forming private parties, and making secret contacts with a foreign power in an insidious attempt to usurp the power of the party and army.

Peng Te-huai gathered together a group of class aliens who infiltrated the party and a number of speculators, counterrevolutionaries, unreformed old military officers, and other demons and freaks to form an antiparty clique and a counterrevolutionary military club. Lo Jui-ching colluded with such counterrevolutionary revisionists as Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, and Yang Shang-kun to form an antiparty conspiratorial clique. They awarded high positions and made promises among themselves. They undertook to win over some persons but hit hard at others. They did every evil thing imaginable in a vigorous attempt to establish a reactionary bourgeois independent kingdom in the army.

This handful of persons deliberately opposed our great leader and supreme commander Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao, who has always raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In short, Peng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ching, and their ilk, who were agents of China's Khrushchev in the army, made every effort to reform our army. They resorted to counterrevolutionary revisionism and bourgeois tricks to usurp our military leadership. If they had succeeded in this conspiracy and had been given arms, our country would have changed color and we would have lost our country and party and our lives.

Comrade Lin Piao has made outstanding contributions to the struggle to build our army into a highly proletarian and combat-ready revolutionary force and to oppose the conspiracy of Peng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ching, and other agents of the bourgeoisie to usurp the army leadership. Lin Piao is the closest comrade in arms and best pupil of Chairman Mao. He is noted for his excellent mastery and application of Chairman Mao's works and his deep comprehension of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the past few decades he has always carried out and safeguarded most faithfully, firmly, and thoroughly Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and military ideology. In all the past struggles between the two lines he has always been clearly and firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's correct line.

In his articles "Raise high the red flags of the party's general line and Chairman Mao's military ideology and march forward in tremendous strides," "Long live the victory of the people's war," and in a number of his speeches, Comrade Lin Piao has systematically explained and creatively developed Chairman Mao's military ideology.

Since he took charge of the work of the Military Affairs Committee of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Lin Piao has creatively advanced the "four firsts" view and has proposed movements to popularize vigorously the "three-eight" work style, develop the three big democracies, and launch the movement for winning the title of "four good" company.

In 1960 at an expanded session the Military Affairs Committee of the CCP Central Committee adopted a resolution based on Comrade Lin Piao's views for strengthening the army's political and ideological work. This continued and developed the traditions of the Kutien conference.

Comrade Lin Piao issued a great call to all commanders and fighters of the PLA urging them to study Chairman Mao's works, obey Chairman Mao's words, follow Chairman Mao's instructions, and be Chairman Mao's good soldiers. The principles and methods advanced by him of studying Chairman Mao's works with existing problems in mind, creatively studying and applying these works, coordinating study with application, studying before application, getting results as clearly as the shadow of a stick under the sun, and devoting relentless efforts to the application of Chairman Mao's works have played a great role in promoting the mastery of Chairman Mao's works by the whole army and all people to revolutionize their thoughts. The important measures proposed by Comrade Lin Piao for preserving the proletarian character of the army have advanced army building to a new stage.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "The 'four firsts' are good. They are creative. Since Comrade Lin Piao advanced the 'four firsts' and the three-eight work style the PLA's ideological, political, and military work has greatly developed compared with the past. This work has become more concrete and theoretical."

Comrade Lin Piao has raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, put proletarian politics first, thoroughly exposed and repudiated the bourgeois military views of Peng Te-huai and Lo Jui-ching, and waged resolute struggles against their schemes for usurping the leadership of the party and army.

To prevent the restoration of capitalism, Comrade Lin Piao stressed particularly the great significance of the ideological struggle and control of the army by the proletariat. He pointed out: We must rely on arms and pens for seizing power. To carry out subversive activities the bourgeoisie invariably start with ideological work to first confuse the people. Their next step is to seize arms. Coordination of the two by controlling both public opinion and arms would then make it possible for them to carry out a counterrevolutionary coup. This is a very important viewpoint.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should expose the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and have them brought down and discredited politically and ideologically. Similarly, we should do the same to the handful of military persons in authority taking

the capitalist road. These characters are still making a deathbed struggle. Not long ago, in the Wuhan area, the handful of party and military persons in authority taking the capitalist road colluded with each other to suppress the proletarian revolutionaries.

Facts show that we should carry revolutionary criticism and repudiation to a further extent and sweep the handful of party and military persons in authority taking the capitalist road completely and totally into the junkyard. Only by so doing can we prevent the revival of capitalism.

At present a large-scale movement for criticizing and repudiating the handful of top party and military persons in authority taking the capitalist road is sweeping over the whole country. This is the general orientation of the struggle. In conjunction with the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country, the PLA should participate actively in this great movement to completely wipe out the evil influence left behind by the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. This will further consolidate the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought in our army, strengthen the ideological construction of our army, and promote the ideological revolutionization of the whole army to a further extent.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the great masses of PLA commanders and fighters have shown boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to his proletarian revolutionary line by giving enthusiastic and wholehearted support to the great masses of leftists, to industry, and to agriculture, and by carrying out military control and military training work. In this way, they have made great new contributions to the people.

In some localities, certain leaders of local PLA units have committed mistakes, even mistakes involving the orientation and line, in the work of lending support to the leftists. If these mistakes are realized, studied, and corrected, they constitute only a misunderstanding. A mistake is no longer serious after it is corrected. A corrected mistake will be understood and receive the support of the masses. The person who committed the mistake will be able to learn a lesson from that mistake and improve his immunity to similar mistakes.

But if there are persons who persist in their mistakes and refuse to correct these mistakes, the problem will be more than a misunderstanding, and the nature of such mistakes will be changed also.

The great masses of revolutionaries of the PLA should actively respond to Chairman Mao's great call for supporting the army and loving the people. The PLA should resolutely stand on the side of the revolutionaries and be united with them in struggle and in victory. The PLA should be good at adopting suitable measures to continually improve its work of supporting the leftists according to the views of the masses. The great proletarian

revolutionaries should trust, love, and rely on the PLA and give full support to its revolutionary acts.

With regard to certain leaders of the local PLA units who might have some shortcomings and mistakes in carrying out the work of giving support to the leftists, the proletarian revolutionaries should help them correct such shortcomings and mistakes in a realistic and friendly manner. In this work, the contradictions between the army and the revolutionary masses should be solved strictly according to the principles governing the correct handling of contradictions among the people and in accordance with the unity-criticism-unity formula, and should not be handled without principle to indefinitely increase their seriousness, taking the contradictions among the people as if they were contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. The growing unity between the army and the people under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought is an important guarantee for the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This point should be understood by all.

Long live the great PLA! Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution! Long live the great Chinese Communist Party! Long live the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought! Long live our great leader and supreme commander Chairman Mao!

OPEN FIERCE FIRE ON THE CHIEF ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp. 48-49.)

The Yangtze River is roaring, the Han River is surging, and the three towns of Wuhan are seething.

In the Wuhan area, a small handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the army and a tiny band of wicked leaders persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line in organizations which call themselves "pai-wan-hsiung-shih" [a million powerful troops] and "kung-chien-fa" [public security, procurators and justice] and which are controlled by the former, have overtly resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, directing the spearhead at Chairman Mao's proletarian command headquarters.

This grave political incident has aroused the greatest indignation of the broad revolutionary masses and the vast sections of commanders and fighters in the Wuhan area. It has met with stern condemnation by the people of the whole country and strong opposition from land, sea, and air forces. From the coast of the East Sea to the foot of the T'ien-shan Mountain, from the Hainan Island to the Ch'angpai Mountain, along both banks of the Yangtze, outside and inside of the Great Wall, the broad revolutionary masses and the large sections of commanders and fighters have taken to the street holding demonstrations. Numerous protests are directed at the small group of bad people in the Wuhan area. Large numbers of telegrams of greetings have flown to the proletarian revolutionaries in the Wuhan area. The chief culprits who created this grave incident have sunken into the vast ocean of wrathful denunciations by hundreds of millions of army-men and civilians.

As they are approaching death, the class enemies will all the more make a desperate struggle with ten times the frenzy and a hundred times the hatred. The tiny band of people in power taking the capitalist road within the Party and the army in the Wuhan area are the agents in Wuhan of the

handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The serious political incident that has occurred in the Wuhan area is decidedly not an isolated and accidental phenomenon, but an outstanding expression of their moribund struggle.

All class enemies invariably overestimate their strength and under-rate the strength of the people. It may be recalled how they had acted arrogantly and arbitrarily, held the world in contempt, and vainly attempted to gobble up the proletarian revolutionaries. They might be compared with a mantis trying to stop a chariot with its arms or a flying ant trying to eat up a big tree. They did not take account of their own strength. Today, they have become utterly isolated and are rats running across the street with people shouting "Kill them." All class enemies appear to be very powerful outwardly, but in reality they are merely paper tigers, men with clay feet.

In our era, no matter who you are, how high the position you hold, how senior you are, and how powerful your backstage boss is, as long as you oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung and oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, you will be utterly crushed by the wheels of history and will be a heap of dog's dung spurned by mankind.

The struggle has not come to an end. The class enemies are playing new tricks, sowing dissention creating splits among the proletarian revolutionaries in a vain bid to launch a new counter-attack against the proletarian revolutionaries. We must doubly raise our vigilance, strengthen our unity, and expose and crush all schemes and intrigues of the enemies.

The bad people are only a handful. This grave political incident in the Wuhan area has amply demonstrated this. We must strictly separate a small band of bad people from the broad masses who have been hoodwinked by them. The chief culprits who created this serious incident in the Wuhan area must be thoroughly exposed, resolutely overthrown, and seriously investigated and severely punished according to law. As to the broad masses who have been hoodwinked, we must do well to enlighten them, patiently help, support and encourage them to come forward, turn around and attack those who had originally deceived them. We must warmly welcome them to return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must unite with them, fight shoulder to shoulder with them, deal with the enemies together, and organize a mighty great revolutionary army to open fierce fire on the chief enemies of the people.

Those who have made mistakes should by practical action rectify their mistakes in real earnest and obtain the understanding of the revolutionary masses. Those who do so are good comrades.

Recently, the leadership organ of the Wuhan armed forces made a public criticism of its erroneous orientations and line in its work of supporting the Left. This is a good beginning which is welcomed by the broad revolutionary

masses. We fervently hope, and believe, that they will be able to continue their march in this correct direction.

The vast sections of commanders and fighters of the Wuhan garrison must continue to hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, resolutely support and protect the broad masses of the Leftists, share the same breath and the same destiny with them, as well as unite, fight and win together with them.

A bad thing has been turned into a good thing. The plot cooked up by the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and army in the Wuhan area has been foiled. A handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road hiding in the Party and the army have been dragged out. The proletarian revolutionaries in the Wuhan area have been tempered and grown stronger and more courageous. Their ranks have swollen. The broad revolutionary masses in the Wuhan area have gone through a serious test and greatly raised their consciousness. The present grave political incident in the Wuhan area provides the revolutionary masses of the whole country with a most vivid lesson of class struggle, the most impressive lesson of the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines. It will extensively arouse the activism of the people of the whole country to carry this great proletarian cultural revolution, which has no parallel in history, through to the end.

History is going forward by leaps and bounds. The revolution is progressing.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in the Wuhan area has entered a new stage of victory.

The triumph in the three towns of Wuhan is inspiring the people of the whole country. A new upsurge has begun in the great proletarian cultural revolution all over the country.

Let us stretch our hands to welcome a new and heavy storm of class struggle!

Victory will surely belong to the proletarian revolutionaries who are armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

POLITICALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY, OVERTHROW
COMPLETELY THE HANDFUL OF CAPITALIST
ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY

Following is a translation of an article by the "Red
Vanguards" of the Air Force Headquarters in the Chinese-
language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12,
1 August 1967, pp. 55-57.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counterrevolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power."

The fundamental objective of the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is to mobilize the hundreds of millions of the people to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

This handful are the main and most dangerous enemy. They have sneaked into the apparatus of the proletarian political power and in certain localities and spheres set up a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has resulted in a fierce struggle between two political powers and two headquarters. On the whole, of course, proletarian political power has held the dominant position in our country.

If we should allow this handful to exist and develop, then, as Chairman Mao says, "it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

Therefore, through this great cultural revolution we must crush this handful, of which China's Khrushchev is the general representative, and also

destroy their bourgeois headquarters. This is an extremely complex, profound and fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Chairman Mao says: "Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology."

Our struggle with this handful over the conquest of political power is bound to find strong expression in the political and ideological fields.

The exposure of this handful within the apparatus of the proletarian political power, their removal and dismissal from office, represent only the beginning, and not the end, of the struggle for the seizure of power. It calls for continuous, arduous struggle to expand the organizational victory so as to win a complete political and ideological victory.

Chairman Mao warns: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position."

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has pointed out that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road still exist and will not take their defeat lying down. Though they account for only a small fraction of the total population, they have great political influence and the impact of their resistance is proportionally much greater than their numbers.

Numerous facts have demonstrated that the overthrow of this handful organizationally does not mean their overthrow politically and ideologically. Their dismissal from office does not mean complete seizure of power from them. Since position and power are interrelated, those who hold positions have power, but those who no longer hold positions may also still have power.

Power not only means authority to issue organizational and administrative commands, but also authority to issue political and ideological commands. When one has political influence among the masses, his commands will be heeded by some people and at the opportune moment this influence will turn into organizational and administrative authority to give commands.

The power of the handful of capitalist roaders in the political and ideological spheres has been mainly manifested by their influence among the masses. This is the result of the fraud they practised among the people, by taking advantage of their positions and waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. It also results from their use of their propaganda machine, the pen and the positions they have usurped in the field of ideological education to

create over the years counterrevolutionary public opinion among the people.

Their political-ideological power cannot be seized simply by organizational measures from above to remove and dismiss them from office. It can be seized only by unfolding from below a mass campaign to expose, criticize and repudiate them, with China's Khrushchev as their general representative. It can be done only by completely refuting and discrediting the crimes of this handful against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and by eliminating their pernicious influence among the people. In this way nobody will be fooled by them again.

The overthrow of this handful and the seizure of power from them organizationally as well as politically and ideologically are two inseparable aspects of the struggle to seize power from them. Relatively speaking, the latter is more complicated and important than the former.

Without the guarantee of complete victory politically and ideologically, the organizational victory will not be consolidated. For an organization is formed by people and it is subject to the domination of their thinking and will.

Thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of this handful of capitalist roaders within the Party politically and ideologically is the key to preventing our country from changing its political colour. Only in this way will they be prevented from rising up again. This will also sharpen the vigilance of the revolutionary masses and help them to detect and overthrow new capitalist roaders whenever they appear. We must root out the ideological and social foundation of counterrevolutionary revisionism and win complete victory in the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the representatives of the exploiting classes, when finding themselves at a disadvantage, usually resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defense, to ensure their survival today and facilitate their growth tomorrow.... In short, they are always considering what tactics to use against us and 'spying out the land' in order to achieve their end. Sometimes they 'play possum,' waiting for the chance to 'counter-attack.'"

We must, therefore, always direct the spearhead of our attack at the handful of capitalist roaders both before and after they are fully exposed. Some people say that doing this after the capitalist roaders are fully exposed is tantamount to hitting at "dead tigers" and "wasting ammunition." They argue that only by aiming at "live tigers" is it possible to contribute to the revolution and keep to the main direction of the struggle. This is wrong.

As Chairman Mao teaches: "The serpents infesting most of China, big or small, black or white, baring their poisonous fangs or assuming the guise

of beautiful girls, are not yet frozen by the cold, although they already sense the threat of winter."

Though some of the counterrevolutionary revisionists are "dead" organizationally, they are not "dead" politically and ideologically. They are "wounded tigers" or are "playing possum." Some are not even "dead" organizationally and are still biting people.

Those counterrevolutionary revisionists who have been exposed but not completely overthrown, are filled with an even more intense hatred for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the revolutionary masses. They not only plan to take revenge in the future but are at this very moment seizing every opportunity to counter-attack by using their political and ideological influence. They are using direct or indirect trickery to sabotage the great cultural revolution. Their desperate struggles are even more frenzied and vicious than before they were exposed.

Should we fail to "kill" these "tigers," we may be devoured by them and the fruits so far gained in the great cultural revolution would be lost entirely.

In order to overthrow this handful completely, we must forge and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and wage a vigorous people's war, using varied means of struggle and flexibly employing strategy and tactics to fight and defeat them. We must despise them strategically while taking them seriously tactically.

The fundamental guarantee for our victory in the overthrow of the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party and army, headed by China's Khrushchev, and the crushing of their bourgeois headquarters is the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian political power established under Chairman Mao's leadership.

In the course of struggle, we must constantly stress the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought, steel and temper our revolutionary class forces and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the fundamental guarantee for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

RECOMMENDING ONE GOOD ARTICLE

Following is a translation of an article originally appearing in the Chieh-fang Chun-pao of 22 July 1967 and reprinted in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp. 58-59.

The article by the "Red Trail-Blazer" has brought forward an important viewpoint: the great criticism and repudiation movement which is presently being launched is an important component of the struggle to seize power and is the continuation of the struggle to seize power. This viewpoint is most correct and important.

"To topple organizationally a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is not tantamount to toppling them politically and ideologically, to relieve them of their offices is not tantamount to the complete seizure of power, and to seize power also does not simply mean to relieve them of their offices." "Office means of course power, but even without office they still can exercise power." "To seize power organizationally and to seize power politically and ideologically are two indivisible aspects of the seizure of power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Comparatively speaking, the latter is even more complicated and important than the former." How well presented these remarks are! How profound their understanding of the great criticism and repudiation movement is!

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the principal opponents to our revolution are a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the central task of our struggle is to seize their power. After one year of sharp and complex struggle, we have exposed a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Since the "January Storm" of this year, the proletarian revolutionaries in some areas and departments have seized back the political, financial and cultural powers of the Party from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. But can it be said that the task of our struggle to seize power has been fulfilled? No, we can never make such a claim.

To expose a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to seize their power organizationally is but the first step. Lenin had this to say: "The situation at the time of the eruption of a revolution is unlike the situation at the time of the death of a person when the only thing we need to do is to carry away the corpse." "Our task is not only to overcome the resistance of the capitalists in the military and political spheres, but also to overcome their most profound and intense resistance in the ideological sphere." The basic spirit of this is likewise applicable to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is of course important to seize back organizationally the power which has been usurped by a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, but what is of greater importance is that we must penetratingly and thoroughly criticize, and topple and discredit by criticism politically, ideologically and theoretically the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road generally represented by China's Khrushchev, and to eradicate their pernicious influence. This also means to say we must seize over their command in the political and ideological spheres. Otherwise, their ideological influence will not step down from the stage with the persons in question, and although they have been relieved of their offices, they are still in command in the political and ideological spheres. They are not "dead tigers," but are "wounded ones" or even "tigers feigning death." In this way, although power has been seized from them organizationally, yet once the opportunity arises, they can stage a comeback, or return to life in a borrowed corpse.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The proletariat wants to reform the world according to its own world outlook, and the bourgeoisie also wants to reform the world according to its own outlook. In this regard, the question of whether socialism or capitalism will prevail has not really been settled."

We make revolution against a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road because they obstinately want to reform the world with the bourgeois world outlook and lead China onto the capitalist road. They wave a red banner to oppose the red banner and have disseminated an abundance of extremely pernicious influence on various fronts. It is extremely important that their politico-ideological influence should be wiped out.

The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the politico-ideological sphere is important at any time. This is important at the stage of shaping public opinion prior to the seizure of power; it is important in the process of seizing power; and it is still extremely important after seizing power in order to preserve and consolidate the political power of the proletariat. If we seize the seal of power from the hands of those in authority taking the capitalist road without touching the bourgeois and revisionist thought, if we change the personnel without changing the thought, we cannot truly guarantee the grip of the proletariat on leadership.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is not a revolution to relieve people of office, but a great revolution in the politico-ideological sphere. It ends not with the overthrow of a few persons, but must topple revisionism and eradicate its root. Without launching an extensive and penetrating campaign for revolutionary criticism and repudiation on a large scale, without making every comrade thoroughly understand ideologically what is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, what is the bourgeois reactionary line, what is the socialist road, what is the capitalist road, what is Marxism-Leninism, what is the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and what is revisionism, we cannot heighten their ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and increase and strengthen their immunity. Unless through large-scale criticism and repudiation each comrade is made to understand thoroughly and clearly the content of the revisionist line which a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road promote in various spheres as well as its social origin, historical origin and ideological origin, lessons cannot be truly learned. In this way the power already in the grip of the proletariat also can degenerate.

In order to strengthen the political power of the proletariat, what is most fundamental is to strengthen the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought. There is no construction without destruction. Only by carrying out revolutionary criticism and repudiation on a large scale to sweep clean of the refuse disseminated by a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the political, economic, cultural and military spheres can the absolute leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought be established and the political power of the proletariat be kept from changing political color generation after generation.

Fighters of the proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary comrades, unite, hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought for revolutionary criticism and repudiation, thoroughly and penetratingly criticize politically, ideologically and theoretically a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Army, topple and discredit them by criticism, and carry this large-scale criticism and repudiation campaign and the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

LET US GO FORWARD TRIUMPHANTLY ALONG CHAIRMAN MAO'S
PROLETARIAN LINE OF ARMY BUILDING

[Following is a translation of an article by the PLA "Red Ninth Company" in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'1 (Red Flg), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp. 50-54.]

Forty years ago when our Party was in its infancy, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of the workers and peasants' struggle against the imperialist and feudal forces. He pointed out that the Party should devote its main energy to leading armed struggle, building a peasant armed force, carrying out agrarian revolution and establishing a revolutionary political power.

But the right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu rejected Chairman Mao's correct policy. He abandoned leadership over the armed forces and disbanded the workers and peasants' revolutionary forces, in the fond hope of maintaining a united front with the Kuo-mintang and Chiang Kai-shek by making concessions.

The result was that when Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and launched an unprecedented massacre of communists and other revolutionaries the Party was unable to organize effective resistance. The vigorous first revolutionary civil war thus ended in failure.

Chairman Mao completely repudiated and liquidated Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunist line. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Nanchang Uprising took place on August 1, 1927; the first shots were fired against the Kuomintang reactionaries.

The historic Autumn Harvest Uprising in September of the same year was initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself on the basis of the Hunan peasant movement. The first proletarian revolutionary armed force of a new type was built and the first revolutionary base was established on the Chingiang Mountains. This great turning point in the Chinese revolution opened its road of victorious advance. It was the first step toward victory taken in the

Chinese revolution under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

We, the 9th Company, were a unit which had taken part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising and on the Chingkang Mountains Chairman Mao organized us as a regular company. All through the campaigns against enemy encirclement and suppression, we fought terrific battles to build up the revolutionary base and to establish red political power in the Central Soviet Area. And in the course of all this, our company steeled itself in the flames of revolution and became a crack unit of the famous "Modern Red Fifth Regiment."

Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Red Army and the bases in the Central Soviet Area grew apace through the four successful struggles against enemy encirclement and suppression.

However, the fifth campaign against enemy encirclement and suppression was a failure and the Red Army was placed in jeopardy, the reason being the erroneous leadership of the "left" opportunist line. The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, held in Tsunyi during the Long March, corrected this erroneous leadership and established the correct leadership of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. And from then on, the Red Army, and the Chinese revolution as a whole, went forward on the correct path of development.

At the historic moment, our company stood firmly on Chairman Mao's side, and followed him all through the Long March, till we reached the anti-Japanese front in northern Shensi.

When the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression broke out, our army, commanded by Comrade Lin Piao, crossed the Yellow River and marched eastward in accordance with Chairman Mao's great strategic plans. In our first battle, at the Pinghsingkuan pass in northern Shensi, we wiped out more than 3,000 men of the crack Itagaki Division in one go, greatly strengthening the Chinese people's confidence in victory over the Japanese aggressors.

During this battle, our company led the charge into the enemy's positions and wiped out one of their companies in bayonet fighting; thus we won the honorable title of "Shock Company of the Pinghsingkuan Battle."

After this, our company fought many more brilliant battles in the course of opening up the resistance base in the Hopei-Shantung border area, arming the people and developing guerrilla warfare, all of which was done in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. At the same time, our forces grew to ten times their original strength. For its contribution in this, our company had conferred on it the title of "Double-Victory Company--In Military and Political Work."

Following the victory in the war against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek marshalled his forces in preparation for civil war, while at the same time

playing peace negotiation tricks. Using "peace," "democracy" and "legal status" as bait, he tried to entice us into handing over the people's armed forces, the people's political power in the liberated areas and the people's fruits of victory.

Within the Party a struggle took place between two diametrically opposed lines. The cardinal issue in this struggle was whether to persist in armed struggle, overthrow imperialist, feudalist and bureaucrat-capitalist rule in China and build a new China that would belong to the people, led by the proletariat, or whether to hand over the people's armed forces to Chiang Kai-shek and let China remain in its semi-colonial, semi-feudal state, under the dictatorship of the big landlord and capitalist classes.

Chairman Mao, representing the will of the people, put forward the policy of "give him tit-for-tat and fight for every inch of land." He gave the Party the explicit warning that: "The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over" and "if there is any opportunism during this period, it will lie in failing to struggle hard and in making a voluntary gift to Chiang Kai-shek of the fruits which should go to the people."

However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road actively pursued a capitulationist line to suit the needs of Chiang Kai-shek, thus taking over the mantle of the old-line right opportunists Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming.

When Chairman Mao was away in Chungking on negotiations in 1945, this person was responsible for the work of the Central Committee. To get the revolutionary people to lower their guard, he used the opportunity to publish an editorial in the Party newspaper, begging "peace" from US imperialism and its lackeys and spreading illusion about peace.

Then, after joint resolutions were adopted by the old political consultative conference in January 1946, he said that "from then on China entered the new stage of peace and democracy" and that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary, and the struggle has become legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle." He talked such nonsense as "when the army takes a step back the whole country will make big progress" and "the entire work of the Party should undergo a change." He urged the entire Party to give up armed struggle in order to win a "legal status" and engage in "parliamentary struggle."

The revolutionary fighters, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, were not taken in by these capitulationist fallacies of China's Khrushchev, which would have spelt doom for the Party, the army and the nation. They stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and, gun in hand, plunged into the War of Liberation to defend the people's fruits of victory and overthrow the Kuomintang's reactionary rule.

In September 1945, while the Chungking negotiations were going on and China's Khrushchev was spreading peace illusions, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his troops to invade areas which were then in our hands -- the Shangtang area in Shansi and the Chengchow-Hsinhsiang area along the Peiping-Hankow Railway. With a high level of revolutionary vigilance, our army met the enemy head on and dealt him heavy blows.

Serving as a shock unit in the campaign along the railway line, our company stormed into the Headquarters of the Kuomintang 40th Army and, in coordination with the militia forces, captured Ma Fa-wu, Deputy Commander of the Kuomintang 11th War Zone and concurrently Commander of the Army. For this we won the title of "Main Assault Company of the Peiping-Hankow Line Campaign."

After three years of heroic fighting, we finally dislodged the reactionary Kuomintang regime completely. On New Year's Day 1949, Chiang Kai-shek played a new trick and issued a hypocritical statement suing for peace. Chairman Mao countered this with the great call "carry the revolution through to the end," which helped the entire Party and all the Chinese people to see through the trick.

During the crossing-the-Yangtze campaign, our company took the lead in breaching the enemy's defenses and provided cover for our brother forces crossing the river. This meritorious service won us the honorable title of "Heroic Company in Crossing the Yangtze River."

Victory in the War of Liberation was a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought over capitulationism represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It was a tremendous triumph for the great concept of "the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution" over the revisionist ideas of so-called legal struggle and the parliamentary road.

After more than 20 years of armed struggle, we eventually, by the use of the gun, overthrew the reactionary Kuomintang regime and established proletarian revolutionary political power. With nation-wide victory, our army entered a new historical period and grew from being an army of a single service to being a modernized, multi-service armed force. The struggle between the two lines continued under new conditions, over the issue of whether proletarian politics should still be placed in the forefront and politico-ideological work should be strengthened.

The People's Liberation Army is a bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To subvert our proletarian revolutionary power, the class enemies in China and abroad always try to undermine and corrupt our army.

Chairman Mao told us on the eve of liberation: "There may be some communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of

the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation."

This wise admonition of Chairman Mao's showed the direction -- the strengthening of political work in the army and ideological revolutionization in building up the army.

Yet Peng Te-huai, the anti-Party careerist who usurped an important leading position in the army, did just the opposite and, with the support of China's Khrushchev, stubbornly pushed a bourgeois military line.

Peng Te-huai advocated modernization at the expense of revolutionization, saying that the main problem in building a modern army was to resolve the contradiction between man and material. He said that modern warfare depended on technique, steel and machines and that these overshadowed the role of man, which was secondary.

He went so far as to nullify political work in the army and to foster material incentives, in an attempt to transform the people's army, which was founded and brought up by Chairman Mao, into an instrument for attaining his criminal objectives of restoring capitalism and usurping the leadership of the Party and army.

This bourgeois military line met with vigorous resistance from the masses of commanders and fighters in the army.

Peng Te-huai's plot to usurp the leadership of the Party and army was crushed and he was dismissed from office at the Lushan meeting of the Party Central Committee, which was held in 1959 under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao.

Vice Chairman Lin Piao has consistently held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Since he took charge of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, he has creatively put forward the "four firsts," the "three-eight" working style, the development of democracy in the three main fields and the movement for "four-good" companies, all of which is directed toward the revolutionization of our army.

In accordance with his ideas, the enlarged session of the Military Commission held in 1960 adopted a resolution on the strengthening of politico-ideological work in the army.

Following Vice Chairman Lin Piao's instructions and in line with this resolution, our company has persevered in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works and it has worked hard to remold the world outlook of the cadres and fighters. In 1964, our company had conferred on it the title of "Red Ninth Company -- Model in the Study of Chairman Mao's Works."

All the careerists who tried to usurp the leadership of the Party and army invariably opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics, opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought. This was the case with the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Te-huai, and also with Lo Jui-ch'ing, another such revisionist.

A conspirator and a careerist, Lo Jui-ch'ing was against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought; he colluded with the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and in openly countering Vice Chairman Lin Piao.

He made wild attacks on Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is Marxism-Leninism at its highest at the present day. What he put first was technique and bourgeois ostentatiousness and he spread eclectic, opportunist fallacies for the purpose of weakening and disintegrating our proletarian army.

Guided by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, the proletarian revolutionaries saw through him; they exposed this counter-revolutionary revisionist to the light of day and smashed his scheme for usurping Party and army leadership. This is a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao says: "History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle."

History shows that Chairman Mao's military line is the greatest and most comprehensive and scientific proletarian military line. It is the most powerful weapon for the people of the whole world, with which to conquer imperialism and all their class enemies.

Now, the unprecedented mass struggle to expose, criticize and repudiate the top handful is reaching new heights throughout the country. This is a decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

Vice Chairman Lin Piao tells us: "We cadres and communists working in the army must at all times be vigilant against the enemy's schemes: Both against the onslaught of enemies with guns and against all sorts of 'sugar-coated bullets' and sabotage from within."

The struggle between the two lines shows that this sabotage from within comes principally from the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road who sneaked into the army and from their bourgeois military line.

If conditions ripened, they would seize military and political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship. They are our most dangerous and principal enemies.

We must carry forward the thorough-going proletarian revolutionary spirit, stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and of the revolutionary left and expose the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road who sneaked into the Party, government and army. We must criticize, repudiate, overthrow and discredit them completely and eliminate the pernicious influence they spread in all spheres.

We pledge that in the storms of class struggle we shall build our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and insure that our great socialist motherland will always radiate the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

**RESOLUTELY DEFEND CHAIRMAN MAO'S PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTIONARY LINE**

Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Yung-kuei, Jen Ching-fu, Wang Chen-kuo, and Chang Huai-ying in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp. 60-64.

Under the command of our great leader Chairman Mao, hundreds of millions of revolutionary people of the whole country, swinging their massive cudgels and using their tongues and pens to make denunciations, have launched a dynamic revolutionary movement of criticism and repudiation against a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. The most important and greatest strategic task is to expose and reckon thoroughly their counter-revolutionary revisionist crimes and wipe out the poisonous stuff they have spread in various fields.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In China after a victory is in the main won in the socialist revolution, there is still in society a section of people who dream of restoring the capitalist system, and they will carry out the struggle against the working class in various spheres."

The top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party is the chief representative of capitalist restoration. It was precisely he who took advantage of the three consecutive years of natural calamities in China and worked in coordination with the international counter-current against China to ship up a black wind for capitalist restoration in a vain attempt to lead our great socialist fatherland into the capitalist blind alley.

A handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Shansi Provincial Committee, Central Shansi District Committee and Hsiyang Hsien Committee energetically implemented and peddled his sinister stuff of counter-revolutionary revisionism, carried out activities for the promotion of capitalist restoration in Shansi Province, and committed towering crimes against the Party and the people.

After agrarian reform, there came the question of what direction toward which the countryside should head and how the peasants could be made to take the road to common prosperity. Chairman Mao pointed out: "In order to free themselves from the yoke of poverty, improve their livelihood and resist famine, the great majority of the peasants of the whole country must unite and move forward along the socialist road before they can reach their goal." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road pursued the opposite course, advocated the development of rich peasant economy and opposed the establishment of cooperatives. During the three difficult years, he desperately advocated that agriculture "must make an adequate retreat including fixing of output quotas based on the households and independent operation," that "free markets must be allowed to stay," and that "there must be no fear for the spread of capitalism."

His agents in Shansi Province regarded these sinister remarks as divine and made every effort to implement them.

A handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in Shansi Province energetically promoted fixing output quotas based on the households, whipped up in a big way the wind for independent operation, and enlarged the retention of plots for private use. They personally led their men to the countryside to "stay at selected spots" "to carry out experiments in fixing output quotas based on the households," and talked nonsense saying: "Now is the time for the Eight Immortals crossing the sea to show their abilities." In Chiehhsiu hsien they regarded the "system of public and private ownership of land" for restoring capitalism (i.e., distribution of land based on the households with income from private and public fields going respectively to self and the public) as an "advanced experience" and peddled it everywhere. Because of this there emerged in Central Shansi "fixing of output quotas based on the households" at Chouyang hsien, "fixing of output quotas based on the units" at Hsiyang hsien, independent operation at Fenyang hsien, and "delegating five major things to the lower level" at P'ingyao hsien. On the one hand, they enlarged the retention of plots for private use to loosen the foundation of the socialist collective economy, and on the other hand, they used various means to encourage free reclamation of land by private individuals and wanted the hsien, commune and brigade cadres to return home by rotation to tend to their private plots.

Simultaneously with this, they also extensively set up free markets and energetically encouraged speculation and profiteering activities. What was more intolerable was that in order to reduce the requisitioning and purchasing tasks, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Central Shansi District Committee filed false returns to juggle with statistics for the information of the higher level, suppress the grain yield of various hsien to the level prior to the establishment of cooperative, and underdeclare the quantity of grain actually distributed in various hsien. In this way, there was a big reduction in the grain requisitioned and bought by the state, while plenty of grain found its way into

free markets through private hands. Agitated and shielded by them, speculation and profiteering activities were for a time most outrageous.

This handful of bad elements were opposed to placing politics in command. They promoted material incentive in a big way, and placed division of work in command. At Hsiyang hsien, the method of doubling the amount of reward and punishment in respect of the fulfillment of man-day which they promoted was such kind of stuff.

They outrageously carried out some activities for the restoration of capitalism, and for a time, they made a mess of things in Central Shansi. They seriously undermined the socialist collective economy, the building of socialism in the country and the worker-peasant alliance, and affected the livelihood of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants.

In order to realize their pipe-dream of restoring capitalism, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in Shansi Province frenziedly opposed the advanced red banner of the whole country on the agricultural front -- Tachai.

Taichai is a red banner personally established by our great leader Chairman Mao. Guided by the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Tachai people relied on collective strength, hard struggle and self-reliance to transform a poverty-stricken mountain village into a socialist new Tachai. This was a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Shansi Province mortally feared and bitterly hated the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Because of this, they regarded Tachai as a thorn in the flesh and adopted various means to oppose Tachai which held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In 1960 calamities struck various places and there was reduction in grain yield. But Tachai reaped a bumper harvest in the calamity-stricken year, and each household sold on the average more than 3,000 catties of surplus grain to the state.

Instead of publicizing and popularizing the advanced experience of Tachai, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Central Shansi District Committee and Hsiyang Hsien Committee spread rumors saying that the achievement of Tachai was unrealistic. They said: Since the soil there is so poor, how can so much grain be produced? Therefore they sent men to Tachai to check its acreage under cultivation and grain yield and find out how it managed to fulfill the state requisitioning and purchasing tasks.

Seeing that their conspiracy had been smashed by facts, they smeared that Tachai had increased its acreage through reclamation, and forced Comrade

Ch'en Yung-kuei to lower the actual per-mou yield from 625 catties to 580 catties. By means of this, they wanted to deal blows at the activism of the masses for socialist construction, negate the superiority of the socialist collective economy and blacken the red banner of Tachai.

In 1961, in order to oppose Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, they spread everywhere the note that "labor models must be viewed with suspicion." They also spread rumors saying that "Tachai owes its beginning to Ch'en Yung-kuei's lecture." They vilified Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei who struggled against their act of restoring capitalism as "arrogant and full of conceit," "having not the leadership in his eyes," "promoting and independent kingdom," and "adopting an undesirable attitude toward the higher level."

In October, 1964, taking advantage of launching the socialist education movement in the countryside, they laid their sinister hands on Tachai. The work team they sent to Tachai unreservedly implemented the reactionary line of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party which was "Left" in form but Right in fact. They arbitrarily classified Tachai which insisted on following the socialist road as a team of the third category with serious problems, and nonsensically said that "the more advanced it is, the greater its problems." They said: "The red flagstaff of Tachai is infested with insects, and unless the insects are removed the red flag cannot be held high."

As soon as the movement began, they directed the spearhead of struggle at the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary grassroots cadres. Creating something out of nothing they fabricated some offenses and accused the cadres of being unclean in four respects. They forced the poor and lower-middle peasants to speak evil of the cadres and venomously provoked the relationship between the cadres and the masses. They branded those poor and lower-middle peasants who boycotted or opposed them as "active counter-revolutionaries" and "degenerated elements" and persecuted them politically.

Simultaneously with this, they recruited more than seventy men from the provincial, district, hsien and commune level and from the brigades in the neighborhood to form a "land measuring team." After making measurements again and again over more than 50 days, they were greatly disappointed, because the acreage at Tachai was not greater, but a few mow less, than the figure given in the return to the higher level. The grain of 1964 was weighed again, but the yield was not overdeclared by one catty. The unified purchase figure was checked at the higher and lower level, but no discrepancy could be found. The iron-clad facts once again smashed their conspiracy.

Acting in accordance with instructions of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, the work team seized Party and political power from Tachai, and all cadres were required to stand aside. Those of the work team were in command and in control of everything. They

carried out bourgeois dictatorship in a big way, greatly heightened the arrogance of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and crushed fighting will of the poor and lower-middle peasants. During their more than two months of stay, they performed not a single good deed, but continuously upset things.

Chairman Mao understood us best and showed his utmost concern for us. At the crucial moment, he granted an audience to Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and gave him important instructions in regard to work at Tachai. Chairman Mao issued the great call for "learning from Tachai in agriculture" to the whole country. In this we found the greatest encouragement, the most intimate concern and the most vigorous support. Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of the Twenty-Three Articles which declared the bankruptcy of the reactionary line of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party -- a line "Left" in form but Right in fact. This greatly backed us up and emboldened us. We drove away the anti-Tachai work team. The Central Committee sent men direct to participate in the four clean-ups movement which the Tachai Party Branch carried out together with the broad masses of the commune members. After more than one month of work, it was proved that Tachai carried out work according to the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in the political, ideological, organizational and economic fields, and was worthy to be called a long-tested advance red banner on the national agricultural front.

However, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party were unwilling to take their defeat lying down. When the National People's Congress was in session, they again sent men to Tachai stealthily to collect Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's data. They spread the rumor that Tachai had given false information on acreage and yield. This report was submitted to the Central Committee to ensnare Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei.

For the sake of boycotting the political influence of Tachai, they made every effort to use brigades which built their fortunes by means of capitalism and the revisionist seedlings which were good at falsifying things as specimens for publicity and popularization in order to fish for political capital.

This handful of bad elements were extremely hostile to the advanced experience created by the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses. The advanced deeds of the four levels of cadres who participated in collective production and labor in Hsiyang hsien had been personally affirmed by Chairman Mao. Instead of clinging to and popularizing these advanced deeds, those bad elements spared no effort to reject them, and they flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Shansi Provincial Committee, Central Shansi District Committee and Hsiyang Hsien Committee ruthlessly set a political snare for those revolutionary cadres who boycotted their criminal activities for capitalist

restoration. Having carefully schemed things, they concocted in 1964 the appalling "October counterrevolutionary incident." By fair means or foul play they branded Jen Ching-fu, Wang Chen-kuo, Chang Huai-ying and several hundred people connected with them as "anti-Party clique." Some of them were expelled from the Party, relieved of their public duties and sentenced to reform through labor. Some were arrested and sent to prison. Some were encircled, attacked and struggled against. Even their relatives and correspondents were not spared. Their viciousness made people very angry. Because Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei opposed what they had done, they vilified him as "the stick" of the "anti-Party clique," and vainly attempted to brand him as a member of that clique.

The wind would not stop blowing although the trees wanted a lull. The struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines had never stopped in Shansi Province and Central Shansi. Although we were opposed, persecuted and attacked by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, yet inspired by Chairman Mao and backed by the broad revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres, we had never given up our struggle against them in order to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In regard to what road to follow, what line to carry out, and whether Tachai should be defended or opposed, we adopted the tit-for-tat tactics and disputed every inch of ground.

We resolutely boycotted the counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff, such as "three freedoms and one contract," advocated by the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. While other places were making a fuss about enlarging "minor freedoms" and going to the basic level, Tachai had its mind bent on making a success of collective production and enlarging the socialist collective economy. All commune members were physically and mentally with the collective, and they resolutely advanced along the socialist road indicated by Chairman Mao.

Due to the development of the socialist collective economy, the support given the state also grew bigger and bigger in volume. Tachai sold more grain to the state each year, and the livelihood of the commune members improved year after year. In those hard years, Tachai had not sold any grain at a high price, but had given more than 40 thousand cattles of grain in support of fraternal brigades experiencing difficulties.

In 1963, Tachai was attacked by floods of extraordinary magnitude, and its houses, land and crop suffered heavy losses. But we did not extend our hands to the state for money, grain or relief. According to Chairman Mao's teachings, we relied on our efforts and fought a hard struggle to overcome the calamities and win a bumper harvest in agricultural production. Steeled and tested in the practice of class struggle and struggle for production, the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of commune members in Tachai was greatly raised.

Beginning in 1964, all commune members had new caves to live in, and a prosperous new socialist countryside was brought into being at the foot of the Hut'ou Mountain.

These iron-clad facts thoroughly smashed the shameless slanders spread by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party to disparage socialism and the people's commune.

The practice of class struggle in the past few years has made us deeply understand that their fear and opposition grow with the development of the socialist collective economy. The greater their opposition, the sharper is our struggle, and the better is the socialist collective economy developed.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the knoll of the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They made a desperate struggle on the eve of their downfall, obstinately carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, frenziedly suppressed the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres who had risen to rebel against them, and enforced White Terror. They incited some of the masses who did not know the actual situation, and fabricated materials for purging the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres. Their spearhead of struggle was still directed at the revolutionary leading cadres who were victims of the "October incident," and they nonsensically claimed that these cadres were the "Three-Family Village" of Central Shansi in a vain attempt to put them to death. They did not loosen their grip on Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei in the least, and as soon as the movement began, they organized an "investigation group" to collect materials in all places for use as bullets to attack him.

In February this year, inspired by the stormy "January Revolution" in Shanghai, we worked together with the proletarian revolutionaries of the province, district and hsien to seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. We held a struggle meeting to expose, criticize and repudiate their towering crime for capitalist restoration and against the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Having seized power and held the meeting is not tantamount to the complete downfall of the enemies and that they would not come out to make trouble again in the future. No. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... until their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." This is precisely the case.

The handful of bad elements who have been driven off the stage are not reconciled to their doom. They fan up an evil wind, shoot arrows from the dark, and go on to incite the masses to fight against the masses. They even incite struggle by force to undermine the unity of the revolutionary

ranks, disturb the class struggle front and shift the general orientation of the struggle. They go onto plot against Tachai and direct the spearhead at the revolutionary leading cadres in a vain attempt to bring about our downfall so that they might go up the stage once again. This cannot but arouse our sharp vigilance.

We firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position."

At a time when the whole country is exposing, criticizing and repudiating in a big way the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, the most important political task in front of us is to size the situation of the class struggle in Shansi Province, drag out all his agents in the province and thoroughly take stock of their crimes. In order to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, we must make concerted effort to beat up brutally the dog in the water and go all-out to make revolutionary criticism and repudiation. We must intensify our fire-power of criticism and repudiation against a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, topple and discredit them by criticism politically and ideologically, and see that they will never rise again.

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