

PEOPLE'S WAR PATH - LESSONS OF CHINA

(FROM THE MILITARY WRITINGS OF COM. MAO)

Foreword :-

Today the world is in a new revolutionary era. The People of the world are waging struggles against American imperialism, Socialist Social imperialism and other imperialist Powers. We are in the era when the world capitalism heading towards its dooms day. We are living in an era, where the forces of Socialism are destined to achieve world wide final victory.

75 Crores of Chinese People, under the leadership of communist party of china, had conducted protracted armed struggle against imperialist powers and the nature reactionary forces. They had achieved final victory, and are advancing in the path of Socialism.

The Protracted Peoples War path followed by the Chinese People has shown the way to liberation for the exploited People of the world. Today the exploited People of Asia, Africa, middle east and South American countries are conducting protracted struggles in the Peoples War Path. China has become a centre for the revolutionary forces fighting against the imperialists of the world.

Since last three years, under the leadership of Communist revolutionaries, the People of India are conducting armed struggle. At present they are conducting armed struggle to liberate themselves from the exploitation of big bourgeois - big landlords. The armed struggles being conducted in various areas of our country are marching ahead over conducting many difficulties.

Today, in India good revolutionary situation exists and is gradually developing .

Today, the main weakness is lack of a strong broad mass based Communist Party with basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao-ze-dung thought, to utilise these revolutionary conditions to successfully accomplish the new democratic revolution in India.

The main weakness being faced by us today is lack of unity among

communist revolutionaries in various parts of our country, who have accepted Mao-zedong thought and fighting for Peoples War Path. Dis unity among the Indian Communist revolutionary groups has come into existence as a result of the adventurist policies and groupism resorted to by Charu Mazumdar group. Today's primary task is to achieve unity on the basis of Mao-ze-dong thought among different groups of Communist revolutionaries.

We have to draw Proper lessons from the protracted peoples War path followed by the Chinese People. We have to apply those lessons to the Indian conditions. We can achieve unity among different groups of Communist revolutionaries on the basis of Mao-ze-dong thought and Peoples War path.

The main aim of these lessons is to provide to our people the lessons of Chinese Peoples War path. All these formulations are directly taken from the military writings and other lessons of Com Mao-ze-dong.

We are hopeful that this book will help to under stand the People's War to be conducted in our country and to help achieve unity among Communist revolutionary groups in different states of our country.

I. Various stages of Chinese revolution - Main enemies - Main friends - united front.

The revolutionary struggle of Chinese People mainly passed through four stages.

Upto 1924-27 this struggle was conducted on the basis of united front of Kuomintang Party and the Communist Party. During this period, the foreign imperialists, the Warlords having connections with these imperialists bureaucratic officers, comprador bourgeoisie, big landlords and the intellectuals who had lined up with the reactionary forces were isolated as main enemies and the struggle against them was conducted. Working class, agricultural workers, plasantry petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie were taken as friendly classes. In the middle class, while one section stood against the revolutionary forces another section had swrung towards leftism and joined hands with the revolutionary forces. Efforts were made to bring into the united front all the friendly class on the basis of unity between Kuomintang party, a bourgeois party and the Communist party of China.

At this stage the international working class, Chinese working class and its leader the Communist Party were having political influence over Chinese bourgeoisie. That's why it was possible to achieve united front of national bourgeoisie and the working class. But yet in the struggle Communist Party could not play decisive leadership role. It had underestimated the role of armed struggle in the revolutionary struggle. That was why Chiang Kai-Shek the representative of big bourgeoisie in Kuomintang Party could betray national revolutionary struggle in 1927. He was able to drench the revolutionary struggle of 1924-27 in blood. The big-bourgeois-big landlord classes under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shaik were able to capture power. As a result of this, the Chinese revolutionary forces, working class and the Communist party had suffered severe losses.

The first civil war 1927-36 armed agrarian revolution under the leadership of Communist Party.

During this period Chiang Kai - Shaik govt. and the big-bourgeois and big landlord classes were identified as main enemies. During this period national bourgeoisie had acted as a tail to the big bourgeoisie. During this period the working class, agricultural labour, peasants, small landlords, rich peasants and some sections of national bourgeoisie were identified as friendly classes. Efforts were made to rope in these friendly classes into united front. Efforts were made to wipe out foreign imperialist exploitation through armed agrarian revolution. Under the leadership of the working class and Communist Party. Armed agrarian revolution was conducted.

1936-45 Struggle against Japanese imperialism

During this period, the Japanese imperialists had conducted war of aggression on China to occupy it. Against this war of aggression the Chinese Communist Party united all the Chinese People and conducted national liberation struggle.

During this period, the Japanese imperialism, the war lords who had joined with it, the big-bourgeoisie and big-landlords were identified as main enemies. Efforts were made to bring into the united front the sections of big-bourgeois and big-landlord classes also, who stood against Japanese imperialism. In this period the national bourgeois was considered as a vacillatingly. During this liberation struggle in order to defeat Japanese imperialism efforts were made to unify all the Chinese people. The Chinese working class and the Communist Party led this liberation struggle.

1945-49 civil war - success of New Democratic revolution under the leadership of Communist Party.

During this period, foreign imperialism, mainly American imperialism and big-bourgeois-big landlord classes were identified as main enemies. The main aim of New Democratic revolution was defined as ending the exploitation of the foreign imperialism and of the big bourgeois-big landlord classes. Efforts were made to bring into New Democratic revolution the middle bourgeoisie, small landlords and rich peasants. Efforts were made to bring in the workers, peasants, military personnel, intellectuals, businessmen and all other exploited classes into the New Democratic revolution. In this united front, the unity of workers and peasants was taken as the basis. The Chinese working class and the Communist Party led this united front.

Since the Chinese revolution had successfully rallied all the friendly classes, that were opposed to imperialism and big-bourgeois and big-landlord classes into the united front, the New Democratic revolution in China succeeded. The New Democratic revolution succeeded because worker-peasant unity was taken as the main basis for united front. The New Democratic revolution in China was successful since the working class and the Communist Party had provided unswerving leadership to the united front. Because the Communist Party of China had built a strong red Army, and conducted Protracted Peoples War, the Chinese New Democratic revolution was successful.

II. Main form of struggle - Protracted armed struggle

When the contradictions among different classes, different nations, different govts. and different Political groups reach severe antagonistic forms the form of struggle that is to be launched to resolve those contradictions is called armed struggle. Even since the classes and individual property had come into existence, the antagonistic contradictions among different classes have been resolved through war only.

The key task of revolution is to capture Political Power through armed struggle. This is the highest form of revolution.

This is a general formulation applicable to all times and to all countries. But the working class will implement this formulation depending on the specific conditions of their countries.

In the Capitalist countries in internally bourgeois democracy reins.

Moreover these are independent countries and will not stay under the domination of foreign imperialism. Moreover, these countries will be suppressing and exploiting the backward countries. On account of these qualities of the capitalist countries, the Communist parties of these countries have to continue legal activities for a longer period. Through these activities the working class should be made conscious. Finally in order to overthrow the capitalist govts. some strength has to be gathered. That is why in these countries legal struggles have to be conducted for a long time. The Parliamentary system has to be utilised and political and economical struggles have to be conducted. Trade unions have to be formed. In this stage, for a long time the organisation of communist party will remain open and the struggles will be conducted legally. In the conditions, when the Capitalist system is weakened and when the rural masses are ready to support the armed struggles in towns by the workers, Communist Parties will launch and conduct armed revolution. When such situation arises, the Communist Parties will strive to launch armed revolution throughout the country at the same time. At that time the Communist Parties will first liberate the towns towards and later liberate the rural areas.

China's condition was entirely different to this. China was not an independent country. It was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Internally, the country there was not even an iota of democracy. It was a country kept oppressed under the exploitation of big-bourgeois, big-landlord classes. China was a country oppressed and looted by foreign imperialists. China had no Parliamentary system. There was no Possibility for legal activities. In such conditions there was no other option for the Chinese Communist Party except following the Peoples War path and liberate at first the rural areas and then finally towards by conducting protracted armed struggle.

In conducting the armed struggle it is important to correctly assess the subjective fighting forces. Over estimation of the fighting forces leads to adventurism. That is why the fighting forces suffer set-backs. Under estimation of the fighting forces leads to rightism and consequently the fighting forces will be weakened. That is why at every stage correct assessment of the fighting force will be an important aspect.

The revolutionary forces can decide the correct Political and military strategy by assessing the political situation in this country.

Com. Mao explained Political situation of China in 1930 as follows :

(1) In China the revolutionary forces are weak. At the same time the exploiting classes in power, their govt., armed strength and their political parties also are weak. The ruling classes of China are continuing their exploiting rule depending on a weak and backward social and economic system. That is why in china chances exist for the revolutionary forces to develop very fast.

(2) On account of the betrayal of revolution by Chiang Kai-Shaik in 1927, the revolutionary forces are very much weakened. Though they are weak at present they will definitely and very quickly develop. The sporadic armed struggles going on in the country are the proof of this. China is in a situation where a small spark ignites a prairie fire.

(3) The counter revolutionary forces should neither be under estimated or over estimated. By such mistakes the revolutionary forces will degenerate either into taking to adventurist or rightist methods and suffer losses.

(4) The objective conditions are to be correctly assessed. The form of the struggle has to be decided keeping in view the total situation conditions and as such, the tactics of armed struggle should not be decided based on an incomplete assessment. First of all the question to be carefully considered is whether the revolutionary conditions do exist and are developing in the entire country or not ? This is the key factor. The future of the armed struggle being conducted in an area depends on the development of revolutionary conditions in the entire country. Mao has made clear that the struggle against big-bourgeois-big-landlord classes in China will be a protracted armed struggle. He has explained the following reasons for this.

(1) The first characteristic of the Chinese revolutionary struggle is that it will take place in a vast, semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. The political, economic development in China is uneven. A revolutionary struggle for national democracy already took place.

(2) The second characteristic of China revolutionary struggle is that the Chinese ruling class have a vast army. The Kuoming Tang became the ruling class captured power and sustained to some extent in the power. It is supported by main imperialist forces. With the assistance of imperialist powers, KuomingTang reorganised and modernised the army. Therefore compared to Red army, KuomingTang forces are stronger and powerful.

(3) The third characteristic is that Chinese Red army is smaller and

weaker. Chinese Red army came into being and grew up at a time, there was to some extent economic and political stability in the world capitalist countries. It grew up at a time when the reaction forces within China were strong. The Chinese Red army had no support from any foreign country. It was small and weak.

(4) The fourth characteristic of Chinese revolutionary struggle is that the Communist Party of China was leading it. The revolution could continue in form of Armed agrarian revolution.

The above mentioned characteristics determine the political line, military strategy and the tactics of armed struggle. Also due to same characteristics Chinese revolutionary struggle will assume the form of protracted armed struggle.

The protracted armed struggle is a struggle between exploiting classes and exploited classes. This struggle is bound to assume the form of guerilla struggle.

It is impossible for the revolution in a backward country like China to take the form of universal insurrection. Here the People's War path of forming revolutionary bases in country side through armed agrarian struggle, liberating the country side and finally liberating the urban areas should be adopted.

Com. Mao made it clear that the struggle against Japanese imperialism would be a protracted armed struggle. The reasons are :

(1) Japan is a powerful imperialist country. Japan's War with China is counter revolutionary war. Though Japan is waging war based on its military, economic and political might, it has neither economic base nor peoples base required to wage a protracted war. They get very little help from foreign countries.

(2) China is weaker country in terms of economic, political and military strength when compared to Japan. But Chinese people are fighting for their national liberation. As such their war is a just war. This war is led by Chinese Communist Party and Red army. China is in a developing stage with vast territory large population. It has the economic resources and peoples base to wage a protracted struggle. The just war of Chinese people shall be supported by the people all over the world.

Due to the above reasons the anti Japan struggle will continue as a protracted armed struggle and Chinese people are borned to win.

We have to clearly distinguish between the revolutionary guerilla war on nationality issue and class issue. Both are revolutionary in content. National (liberation) revolutionary guerilla war encompasses the whole people. All classes, political parties join hands under the aegis of a nationalist govt and fight against foreign aggressor. Compared to revolutionary class war, this has broader mass base. The guerilla war during civil war is different case. The guerilla squads will develop faster during revolutionary civil war. But when the country is under foreign occupation the importance of guerilla squads is less. In a civil war guerilla squads play a prominent role. Since all of them have same ideological footong ,unifying the forces is easier. As they speak same language as the enemy soldiers do, they stand a better chance of winning over enemy forces. Whereas in a national war these chances are less. This is the difference between the two types of guerilla wars. Gaining the peoples trust politically and militarily ; we ourselves striking the first blow these aspects are shared by both the wars. Learning from one, the other should improve.

It is necessary to know the strategy of the whole war to continue guerilla warfare same on a long term basis. Only by knowing the war situation and strategy in totality can the war in a part of it be properly counducted. Victory is possible only when the war situation, different phase of war are fully known and a comprehensive military strategy is formulated. The total war cannot be won through victories in different tactical conflicts.

At the same time the whole war cannot be viewed in separation of different local combats. The final outcome of the whole war depends on the sum of victories in local combats.

In other words, only by achieving victories in the local combats which are an integral part of an overall military strategy of the war can we achieve final victory.

Therefore the political and military leadership should focus its attention primarily on the crucial aspects of the total war.

The art of waging war should be learnt assiduously by making indepth study. Learning by merestud is difficult ; even more difficult in putting into practice what we have learnt. Our military leaders should adopt proper methods of study. They should collect full details of our conditions, the

enemy's conditions and the relation between us and him, study them in detail and formulate appropriate military tactics.

Victory is possible only when the military leadership makes subjective decisions which correspond to the objective situation and implements them. When the subjective decisions have no relation to the prevailing objective situation, we will suffer losses.

Protracted Peoples War path is not a smooth road. It is fraught with many hardships and goes through many ups and downs.

How revolutionary bases were established in China

When the representative of the reactionary ruling classes Chiang Kai-Shaik was in power the Communist Party of China established revolutionary bases. Banking on these new bases, the Communist Party of China was able to lead the protracted armed agrarian revolutionary struggle and make it a success. How was it possible to establish new bases under the leadership of CPC when the whole country was under the rule of reactionary govt.? Mao says it was done to the following factors :

1. China was a backward semi-feudal, semi-colonial country with a self-reliant economy. Strong contradictions existed among various imperialists on the question of exploitation and domination of China. These resulted in strong contradictions among Chinese big-bourgeois, big-landlord classes. These contradictions have been continuing from a long time and some times they even took the form of armed conflict.

2. In the pre 1927 period, Chinese people have participated in national revolutionary movement in a big way. Peasants, workers, soldiers participated in these struggles. It was possible to build revolutionary bases in places where such struggles took place. In other words establishment of revolutionary bases was possible only where people had a tradition of democratic struggles.

The crux of establishment of revolutionary base is the cooperation of conscious people. The struggle for establishment of revolutionary bases will be successful only when politically conscious people participate in it.

3. Establishment, or defence or expansion of revolutionary bases is feasible only when revolutionary conditions exist and are developing throughout the country. If the revolutionary condition throughout the coun-

try are not developing then establishment of revolutionary bases is not possible.

4. A strong, regular Red army is a pre-requisite for establishment of revolutionary bases. If only local guerilla squads exist, they can fight the armies of local war lords but not regular army of the enemy. Only a regular Red army can fight with enemies regular army and defeat it. Only then can revolutionary bases be established and defended.

5. Revolutionary bases need extensive territory with natural protection. Only when extensive territory exists can the guerilla army shift its operational base, carry out sudden attacks on enemy forces and defeat it. This is how a small guerilla force fight and defeat a numerically superior enemy force.

To establish & defend revolutionary bases, a Communist party organistaion with extensive, strong mass base and capable of waging protracted armed struggle is required. Such a Communist Party should have corrcet political and military line.

Where the situation is not fully ripe to establish revolutionary bases, we cannot establish revolutionary bases. Even if we did we cannot defend them.

For establishment of defence and revolutionary bases along with all the above conditions, the existence of deep contradictions and conflicts among ruling classes is an important condition. Taking advantage of the deep conflict and contradictions among the ruling classes, the revolutionary forces may build up militant struggles; expand revolutionary bases. Some times the ruling classes may achieve stability temporarily. On such ocaasion the ruling classes will unite to crush out the revolutionary bases. At this juncture the revolutionary forces instead of advancing will have to concerntrate on defending the revolutionary bases. But the peace of ruling classes is transitory and the conflict will escalate and again the ruling classes will become unstable. Revolutionary forces will intensify their struggle against ruling classes and will advance.

We have to note that the tactics of struggle adopted by us while the contradictions and conflicts among the ruling classes are escalating should not be utilised when there is a temporary compromise among the ruling classes as this will cause losses to revolutionary movement.

Only working classes, its political party the Communist party can decisively lead, carry the struggle to its end and make success people's Democratic revolution.

In different phases of Peoples Democratic revolution petty bourgeoisie may join the movement. But they are a very vacillating ally who do not want to continue revolution to its end.

Rural and Urban middle class will fight strongly to make success the revolution. But these sections have small producer mentality and therefore cannot give correct political leadership to make Peoples Democratic revolution a success. Therefore only political working class and its political party the Communist Party can provide decisive leadership for Peoples Democratic revolution.

Three phases of protracted People's War forms of struggle

The War waged by the oppressed against the reactionary ruling classes, takes the form of protracted war. It will continue in 3 phases as the Chinese experience shows.

First Phase

The armed forces of ruling classes are superior to revolutionary forces in terms of arms and numbers. That is the military advantage lies with the enemy forces. Revolutionary forces have fewer military squads.

In this phase armed forces of exploiting ruling classes continuously attack revolutionary forces. The numerically inferior Red army is compelled to fight and save itself. That is in this phase the Red army wages a self-defence stage to save itself from a superior enemy force.

In the first phase enemy will be superior and will be strategically on the offensive. Revolutionary forces are strategically on the defensive.

Though they are strategically on the defence the revolutionary forces wage severe struggle to defend itself from enemy attacks.

In this phase Red army adopts basically mobile warfare technique. (That is, changing places and making lightning raids on the enemy). It also uses the guerilla warfare and positional warfare techniques.

In this place the enemy's strength slowly dissipates. Through resistance struggle and correct political line the Red army and Communist party increase their strength.

Phase Two

In the first phase the resistance struggle weaken enemy forces. Gradually and Red Army gains strength gradually. At one stage the Red Army and enemy forces will achieve parity. The enemy forces do not have the capacity to destroy Red Army. So also Red Army does not have capacity to destroy enemy force. The stage when the Red Army and enemy forces are militarily equal is called Second phase.

In this Second phase, the enemy forces on one hand try to consolidate their occupied territories and on the other carry out attacks to crush revolutionary bases. The enemy wages a ruthless war on the revolutionary movement.

The Red Army is compelled to wage bitter struggle to defend itself. This struggle will continue for a long time.

In this struggle in the phase two, the people in the revolutionary bases of the Red Army have to put up with severe hardships. There is a danger of some people who are unable to put up with the hardship advocating compromise with the enemy. The Communist Party should fiercely resist such defeatist ideas and defeat them politically.

In this phase the Red Army adopts basically guerilla warfare tactics. It will in addition employ tactics of mobile warfare.

Due to the correct political line and line of struggle the Red Army will gather more forces than the enemy forces. That is through the military line adopted, the Red Army will gain military superiority over enemy forces.

Third phase

The revolution enters the third phase when Red Army attains superiority over enemy forces. Now the Red Army takes strategic offensive against armies of reactionary ruling classes. The task of this strategic offensive is to liberate all areas under the enemy occupation. In this phase Red Army is on the strategic offence and enemy force is on the strategic defence.

In this phase the Red Army primary pursues mobile warfare line. At the same time the prominence of positional warfare tends to grow. The guerilla warfare plays a supportive role to both these lines.

It is clear from the above mentioned issues that the peoples war consists of three distinct strategic phases.

In the first phase enemy will be in the strategic offensive stage and the Red Army will be on the strategic defence. Primarily mobile warfare method will be utilised and positional as well as guerilla warfare tactics will be subsidiary.

In the second phase, both sides are militarily balanced Red Army mainly utilises guerilla warfare tactics. Mobile and Positional warfare will be subsidiary.

In the third phase Red Army will be on the strategic offence and the enemy on strategic defence. Red Army mainly uses mobile warfare. But at the same time the importance of positional warfare increases.

Throughout the Peoples War, mobile warfare will be of primary importance and guerilla warfare secondary importance.

Here we have to bear in mind another aspect. Guerilla warfare has to accomplish two tasks. One : It has to play a supportive role to mobile warfare as well as positional guerilla warfare. Two : It has to at the same time develop into a full fledged mobile warfare.

V. "Encirclement and suppression campaigns offence- self defence, centralisation - decentralisation"

In the outset of Peoples War, enemy forces will be numerically weapon-wise superior to new army. So it tries to crush Red Army in the beginning itself through its 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns.

Red Army has to strongly resist and defeat these 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns of the enemy. To defeat these enemy campaigns the Red Army also uses 'encircle and suppression' schemes.

Enemy's 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns, Red Army's 'encircle and suppress' campaigns - the whole People's war continue in the form of 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns.

Encirclement and suppression campaigns against Red Army takes two forms. One : Taking the whole country into consideration being numerically superior, it attacks Red Army. That is a vastly superior if enemy force always encircles a small Red Army. Two : At revolutionary base level also, every revolutionary base is encircled by enemy forces.

Similarly Red Army encircles enemy force in two forms. One : When a superior enemy force attacks Red Army from all sides simultaneously, the Red Army disipates.

In over whelming numbers encircles and destroys a weak part of the attacking enemy forces. Two : Though individual revolutionary bases are surrounded by enemies, taking all the revolutionary bases into consideration, revolutionary bases together, have encircled enemy forces.

When the Red Army's fight against 'encirclement and suppression' fails, Red Army loses partially and for the time being. Red Army really loses only when it is fully annihilated.

When the enemies "encirclement and suppression" campaign meets with failure and he is forced into a self defence state then we can say enemy is defeated.

The state of conducting frequently "encirclement and suppression" campaign will come to an end when Red Army gains strong upper hand over enemy and is capable of launching strategic offensive.

OFFENCE - DEFENCE

The fight against "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the enemy has two struggle forms offence, defence

Phase one : In this phase enemy attacks Red Army. Red Army will be in defensive state and will fight to save itself. This is the first phase of struggle against enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

Phase two : In this phase enemy will be in defensive stage and will fight to save himself. Red Army will be on the offensive. This is the second phase of the fight against enemy's encirclement & suppression' campaign.

Thus every resistance struggle against enemy's "encirclement and

suppression" campaign is conducted in these two forms - Defence & Offence. Through out the People War period these two forms Defence-Offence frequently oscillate between the two sides.

Though the two forms defence-offence are oscillating between two sides, for each phase the intensity of war escalates.

Every revolutionary war is a strategic offensive against enemy classes. Though the force of the oppressed is militarily small in the beginning, it will wage a revolutionary war to overthrow enemy classes from power. so the revolutionary war is by nature a strategic offensive. But self defence and retreat are integral part of this struggle.

As the revolutionary forces are smaller at the beginning they are compelled to be on the defensive politically and militarily. By using self defence tactics the Red Army was able to defeat enemy forces during Russian Civil war.

When the imperialists attacked Soviets, it waged war in the name of defending the Soviets. Even the great October Revolution was found in the name of defending the principal city. In all just wars the tactic of self defence will confuse the enemy and helps in educating the people and mobilising the backward classes into the just war.

At the time the revolutionary struggle is launched the exploiting classes will be in power through out the country. The Red Army will be a minor force. Therefore the enemy will be vigorously pursuing the "encircle and suppress" campaigns. From this level, the Red Army must increase its strength to a level where it can launch the offensive against the enemy forces. Till the time it attains the strategic offensive capacity, it must continue self defence struggle.

There is a possibility of committing two types of mistakes in strategic defensive struggle. One is under estimating enemy capabilities and resorting to adventurist actions and the other, over-estimating enemy forces and running away in the face of enemy attack. Both the trends cause losses to Red Army. Self defence struggle is of two types. One : Defending one self by evading enemy and not engaging him in any type of confrontation. Second : Fighting with enemy at each and every step and defending oneself. The latter is called active self defense :

The type of self defence in which one avoids confrontation with en-

emy is not suited for Red Army as this self defence without struggle will lead to inertness and loss of initiative on part of Red Army and leads to its elimination.

The active self defence which fights enemy will be the real self defence struggle of the Red Army. A crease self defence helps Red Army in its strength and dissipate that of the enemy. Thereby the Red Army attains strength for the strategic offensive on the enemy.

Both the forms, Offence - Defence go together in Peoples War. Of these strategic self defence is fraught with many difficulties.

Preparatory streps for resistance of "Encirclement and suppression" campaigns

The enemy implements this "encirclement - suppression" campaigns according to a plan. So without taking necessary, preparatory steps Red Army should not hastily make attempts ro resist the enemy. While the enemy is making preparations for "encirclement and suppression" campaign the Red Army should make its preparations to resist it.

It is important that the time to start preparations for resistance to enemys "encirclement and suppression" campaign should be concretely fixed.

Usually when the Red Army is on the offensive and the enemy is on the defensive, he would plan another "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. The preparation would done secretly, and if the Red Army makes its preparation to resist it too early or too late, Red Army would suffer losses.

If the preparations are made too early, Red Army would be lying marking time for the appearance for enemy. As the enemy forces are not coming as per Red Army's timing, Red Army is compelled to close its plan attack the enemy forces. If the enemy plans another "encirclement and suppression" campaign, then Red Armyis forced to confront enemy forces unprepared. This would be disastrous for Red Army. If the preparations were made later, Red Army loses inisiative and suffer losses.

Therefore the timing to resist the "encirclement and suppression" campaign and the preparations for it are the key. It should be noted that preparations made well in advance rather than at the eleventh hour would be more effective.

The preparatory steps should be taken keeping in view the enemy's condition, our army's condition and the relations existing between them.

Information should be gathered on People's mood economic, military and political situation etc. of the enemy in the occupied enemy territories. Enemy's full might should be assessed. Enemy's defeats should never be over estimated and enemy should never be taken lightly. At the same time, the impact of the defeats suffered by the enemy on his morale, internal contradictions in enemy occupied territories, economic hardships etc should be fully considered.

With regards to assesment of our forces, our victories should not be over estimated. yet while assessing our strength they should be taken into consideration.

Preparatory steps to smash the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the enemy ; (1) Withdrawal of Red Army, (2) Mobilising Red Army and the people politically, (3) Recruitment of new soldiers, (4) Mobilising war materials and finances and (5) Keeping a tight grip on political opponents.

The key task in smashing enemy campaigns is to politically mobilise the soldiers in Red Army and the people in revolutionary base. Red soldiers and the people should be clearly informed that the enemy is going to attack on a large scale within a short time. People should be told of the consequences of the enemy attack and hardships and losses they have to face. At the same time the weaknesses of the enemy, the chances of defeating the enemy should be made clear to the people in no uncertain terms. People and Red soldiers should be given confidence that the enemy attack can be smashed. As far as possible, all informations except military secrets should be fully disclosed to public.

To carryout preparatory steps to resist the "encirclement & suppression" campaign, the Red army should be withdrawn. But it should not be withdrawn to such a long distance that it is physically tired but to a place convenient for counter attack on enemy. The ground work to attack enemy in the areas from where the Red army has withdrawn should be done fore hand.

While recruiting soldiers two aspects should be kept in mind. One is that the population in the revolutionary base and the level of peoples consciousness should be considered. The second is that number of new recruits

should be fixed keeping in view the losses suffered by the Red army in the earlier confrontations and the estimated losses in the future confrontations. The food supplies financial resources, armaments etc should be arranged in sufficient quantities to last till we can resist and crush the enemy forces with extra allowance for a longer "encirclement & suppression" campaign by the enemy. While collecting the food & other resources not only the needs of the Red army but also of the people in the revolutionary base should be borne in mind. A continuous vigil should be kept on political opponents. But with mere suspicion that they would resort to betrayal draconian actions should not be taken. We should differentiate between landlords, rich peasants and traders. More important is to convince them politically and make them neutral. People should be mobilised to keep watch on them. Drastic steps like arrest should be taken only against die hard enemies.

To what extent can we smash the "encirclement & suppression" campaign and how great victory we can achieve will depend on the preparatory steps.

Strategic retreat :

When a strong enemy attacks a weak Red army, the Red army to preserve itself and gain strength to defeat the enemy has to make a strategic retreat.

During strategic retreat the Red army should not wage decisive battles. It should continue its retreat till situation becomes favourable to launch counter offensive.

It is historic fact that in the preliminary stages of war, a weak army fighting a stronger enemy has to make strategic retreat.

To conserve its strength and enhance it to launch a counter offensive - this is sole aim of a strategic retreat.

In the process of making strategic retreat, the Red army should fulfil atleast two of the following preconditions to qualify for counter offensive against enemy forces.

- (1) Active people's support to the Red army.
- (2) Terrain geographically suited for a counter on the enemy.
- (3) Concentration of the main force of Red army (in that attack).

(4) Knowledge of enemy's weak point.

(5) A tired & demoralised enemy force.

(6) Deceiving the enemy & force him to make mistakes.

Only when it is able to satisfy atleast two of the above conditions should the Red army in strategic retreat launch a counter offensive.

Active People's cooperation is the key issue here. Red army retreat to hinterlands of revolutionary bases only to gain active people's participation. Moreover Red army gains active people's cooperation in the hinterland more than in the borders of revolutionary base.

It would be convenient to decide upon the convenient place to counter attack the enemy. The enemy would be tired in the interior revolutionary base by his travel into revolutionary base and so would be target. Enemy can be tricked and made to commit some mistakes and create complications for him. He would then be an easy target for counter attack.

While retreating into revolutionary base it would be easier to identify the weak flank of the enemy forces, attack and destroy it. When the situation is not favourable to Red army though the enemy forces have come into the target area, the Red army should continue its retreat.

When a strong enemy force attacks a weak Red army only by retreating into revolutionary base can a parity be achieved between both forces. During the retreat the Red army in resting recoups its forces. In contrast the enemy force is tired. So a sort of parity can be achieved. Or the absolute strength of the enemy can be changed into relative strength. Utilising other favourable factors counter offensive can be launched on the enemy.

During the strategic retreat, we should create favourable conditions to counter attack the enemy. But this does not mean we should continue strategic retreat till all favourable conditions exist. It is neither necessary or possible to create all the above mentioned favourable conditions. Retreat should be continued till favourable conditions compared to the actual situation of the enemy exist.

There are three tricky questions regarding commencement of strategic retreat. When to begin (date), where to begin (place), and preparing people and cadres.

Preparing for retreat at the right time as per plan facilitates creation of right conditions for counter offensive. Retreating before or after the opportune movements causes losses. But starting retreat earlier is better than starting later.

It is very difficult to convince people and cadres of the need to retreat when they had no previous experience. It is possible only when the committees which decide on retreat have sufficient influence among people and cadre.

Retreat Areas

Retreat areas should be selected bearing in mind the war situation in totality. It would be wrong to decide an area to be favourable for counter offensive by taking a partial view.

As a general principle, we should permit the enemy to enter our revolutionary base when he attacks the people's army in large numbers. The Red army should retreat deeper into revolutionary base and then launch counter attack on the enemy.

There are three types of retreat areas in revolutionary base. The advance area, central area, rear area of the rev. base.

Similarly there are three types of retreat areas in enemy occupied areas.

Area adjoining a revolutionary base, Areas facing a revolutionary base, areas at the rear of revolutionary base.

Due to our retreat deeper into the revolutionary base a part of the revolutionary base will come under enemy's occupation temporarily. As the battle takes place in our territory, the enemy will wreck havoc on the land. Our people will be compelled to face hardships.

Taking note of these losses, some 'leftists' argue that the retreat and the consequent loss of territory, hardships to our people, levastation of our territory are not necessary and reject the principles of retreat.

They argue that instead of retreating into the revolutionary base, we should engage the enemy outside the revolutionary base and if necessary use positional war fare tactics.

Though these arguments sound very leftist they are nothing but adventurism.

We'll lose a part of our revolutionary base while retreating into a rev. base. This is a temporary loss and as soon as we counter attack and defeat the enemy, we'll win back not only our territory but also some enemy occupied territory.

As far as devastation wrecked by the enemy and the hardships people would suffer at his hands, they have to put up with temporary hardships to gain permanent relief from the enemy.

Those who argue that we should not lose our territory and there we should not retreat do not see the connection between today's gains with tomorrow's gains and one area's interest with the collective interest. They dogmatically cling to temporary, partial interests.

Correct decision on the place and time of retreat comes only through experience. Cadres should gain experience in this regard to be able to take correct decision. Meanwhile some losses are inevitable. But failure is the stepping stone to success and cadres should be willing to learn not only from their own experience but also from that of others. Refusing to learn from the experience of others is nothing but stupidity.

The question whether or not we can convince the people for retreat mainly depends on whether or not we can convince the cadres. So it is important to convince cadres for retreat.

Strategic retreat is undertaken, ultimately for counter offensive against the enemy. Strategic retreat is the first phase of strategic defence. The crux of the overall strategy is to achieve victory in the strategic offensive.

Strategic offensive

In the strategic retreat, to defeat a superior enemy army, we bank on creating conditions which are favourable to us and hostile to the enemy. But the favourable conditions by themselves do not help us defeat the enemy. It is the decisive battles with the enemy that decide the result. The central task of strategic offensive is to wage decisive battles with the enemy. So the offensive on the enemy continues for a considerable period of time. The counter offensive is the ultimate stage in strategic defence. When we say active defence, we mean this counter offensive.

The period of decisive battles is very turbulent and fraught with thorny issues. The situation continues to be in flux. Of the whole war this phase puts both sides to severe test.

In the stage of counter offensive also the condition favourable to us will increase. By utilising them properly we can expedite our victory.

Launching of counter offensive :

In the period of counter offensive we have to resolve many issues. The most important of these concentration of man power, waging mobile warfare, waging wars of quick victory, wars to annihilate the enemy.

The same principles hold good for offensive or counter - offensive.

The following aspects should be borne in mind to achieve success in the counter - offensive.

1) The first battle should always be won. Therefore it should be fought only when the conditions are favourable and victory guaranteed.

2) The first battle should be a part of the overall battle plan.

3) We should be prepared for the post counter offensive phase.

4) Concentration of forces, adoption of principles of mobile warfare and of battles of quick victory and waging war to annihilate enemy - These are the main key points for victory:

CONCENTRATION OF FORCES

The most important task of these is concentration of forces. By concentration of soldiers we can change the relationship between us and the enemy forces.

One :

It brings change in advance and retreat conditions. Initially enemy advanced and we retreated. By concentrating our soldiers we won the first war against enemy. This influences the whole war situation. The enemy retreats.

Two :

If effects changes in offence - defence situation. Initially enemy attacks us and we defend ourselves. By concentrating our forces we will be able to counter attack the enemy and the enemy goes into defensive position. We will be in the offensive.

We have to note here that though we are on the offensive here, taking the war picture in totality, the nature of war still continues to be defensive. His offensive is not launched with the purpose of annihilating the enemy and clinching final victory.

After some time the enemy will mobilise his forces and attack us. We'll again be on the defensive. Therefore through this phase over offensive against the enemy will be the last step in smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

Three :

The relationship between the cadres inner circle and outer circle of the party Red army and enemy forces can be changed only through concentration of forces.

At the outset the enemy implements the "encirclement and suppression" vigorously with his superior forces. The enemy fights from outer circle and we from the inner circle. But fighting from inner ranks is a very difficult task and our Army has to function in a very inimicable conditions.

The enemy's strategy is to mobilise his forces from all sides simultaneously. We will select the weaker flank of the enemy, mobilise our forces overwhelmingly on that segment, encircle it and destroy it. That is, as the enemy encircles us as a strategy, we will in local battles encircle the enemy forces and destroy them. This can be done only in some specific situations. We should have absolute superiority over the enemy forces. Then the enemy will be fighting from inside and we shall have surrounded him and will fight from outer circle. This is called inside circle waging war with outside circle. This is our waging "encirclement and suppression" campaign within the confines of enemy's "encirclement & suppression" campaign. When the enemy is attacking simultaneously from all flanks, it is wrong to fight battles with the enemy on all flanks.

To advocate fighting with enemy on all fronts at the same time would

be useless not only to strategic defence but also to strategic offence.

All forces except the minimum required to keep enemy at bay should be deployed to combat the weaker enemy flank.

The attitude of fighting the enemy on all fronts stems from the urge to demonstrate numerical parity with to the enemy that we are as strong as he is. This attitude stems from the fear of losing part of our territory to the enemy.

When the Red army is unable to the enemy forces which are in the revolutionary base, it should enter enemy occupied territory and fight. This will compell the enemy to evacuate revolutionary base and run to protect its territory.

But some people oppose such tactics of struggle as they are afraid to venture far away from revolutionary base. This fear stems from lack of complete trust in the people of revolutionary base.

If we formulate that we should concentrate our forces and counter attack the enemy, it does not mean we are for seeking people's guerilla warfare. While the main section of Red army fights the enemy forces at one place, the guerilla squads mobilised from the people will wage guerilla war on the enemy in other places. Red Army and peoples guerillas are complementary. We take into consideration the existence of armed people in the revolutionary base when we say we can defeat enemy forces in a revolutionary base. That is why enemy forces are afraid of entering the revolutionary base.

Our army should be mobilised to maintain absolute superiority over enemy forces. Sometimes we have to concentrate ten soldiers for every one enemy soldier.

It is a fact that concentration of man power is hampered by the conditions of the battle field, transport, resting places etc. At the same time it should be remembered that the Red Army can put up with more hardships than enemy forces.

Our strategy is to defeat a strong enemy force with weak force. Our tactic is to overwhelm a weak enemy force with a strong Red Army and defeat it.

6. GUERRILLA WARFARE - MOBILE WARFARE & POSITIONAL WARFARE

In all the three phases of protracted people's war the guerilla, mobile and positional warfare tactics play a crucial role. Let us study in depth, the salient features of these tactics.

Geurilla warfare

The general principles of geurilla warfare are :

— Our forces should be decentralised for political work among the people. Our forces should be centralised for attack on enemy forces.

— We'll retreat when enemy advances; harass when enemy is resting; attack when the enemy is tired; pursue when enemy flees.

— Stable revolutionary bases should be developed step by step. When a stronger enemy force attacks us, we should evade them and tire the enemy.

— In mass work our aim should be optimum utilisation of the available time to politically educate the maximum number of people using sophisticated techniques.

The same guerilla principles were used to smash the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns.

Mobile warfare

In the begining the enemy forces are superior in term of numbers and weapons and likewise. Red Army would be weaker. Red Army has no reserve to supply weapons continuously. In every revolutionary base, Red Army will wage battles against enemy forces. As long as such situation exists, positional warfare will not be suitable and therefore tactics of mobile warfare should be adopted.

So when the enemy forces are strong and Red Army is weak, we wage mobile war. This means that we have no fixed battle field. It is continuously changing. This is one of the characteristics of the war waged by the Red Army.

In which ever direction Red Army advances to fulfil its task, it will

be useless not only to strategic defence but also to strategic offence.

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In the above four situations, we should not engage enemy forces and avoid confrontation by going away. This is the main principle of guerilla warfare. The other important issues in conducting successful mobile warfare are : Establishment of machinery to monitor enemy movements; proper decision making, proper deployment of army for battle, shielding the military leadership from the enemy, concentration of armies, advancing, division of armies, attack, pursuing, surprise attacks, positional self defence, developing ability to fight sudden encounters with the enemy, retreat, fighting night battles, fighting special battles, evading a strong flank of the enemy and fighting with a weak enemy flank, encircling the enemy and cutting off his supplies, attacking under cover, fighting a series of battles with in a short time, protecting ourselves from enemy planes, fighting with several enemy forces simultaneously fighting with backs to the wall, taking rest, regrouping our forces. By successfully tackling these issues the mobile warfare can be successfully waged.

Key principles of guerilla and mobile warfare

Between 1928-36, Red Army used guerilla and mobile warfare techniques against the armies of Chaing Kai-shaik. Mao fully developed the guerilla and mobile warfare principles which were gained through experience and utilised in Anti-Japanese war. Let us study these principles in detail.

A small, yet powerful imperialism Japan invaded a big but weaker country China. At that time Japan imperialism is on the decline and China is in ascent. Therefore Com. Mao made clear that the war between these two countries would be a protracted ruckless war and the China should use guerilla and mobile warfare tactics to fight the enemy.

The aim of all varieties of military actions is same while protecting our forces destroying enemy forces. In a revolutionary war this aim is linked up with the fundamental political tasks.

By utilising tactics of guerilla and mobile warfare China will conserve and develop its forces, gradually destroy enemy forces and ultimately achieve victory.

Red Army comes into existence from zero and then grows into strong force. It defeats the enemy. The principle of guerilla and mobile warfare help achieve this end.

These are the six cardinal principles of guerilla and mobile warfare

1) Taking offensive while on the defensive, fighting wars of quick victories in the protracted war, taking initiative to fight war from outside circle (i.e., encircle and smashing enemy) while fighting war from inside circle (i.e., fighting an enemy when encircled from all sides) changing tactics and plans according to the exigencies of the battle.

2) Coordination in a regular war

3) Establishing revolutionary bases

4) Strategic defence, strategic offence

5) Developing guerilla warfare into mobile warfare

6) Maintaining proper relations between military leadership of different levels.

In China the Communist Party of China fought against the reactionary forces and made success the New Democratic revolution. The exploiters who were in league with the imperialists UK, US were represented the Kuomintang (National People's Party). The Kuomintang was led by Chiang Kai-Shek. In 1925 he was commander-in-chief of Kuomintang armies and in 1928 he became President of government. He was finally arrested in 1949 and fled to Taiwan when he established government. In 1950-40 he conducted seven major battles to crush out the Communist forces. These famous battles are called "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. At the height of fight some involved 2-3 lakh soldiers. The Red Army using different tactics smashed these attacks by the reactionary forces. The enemy forces referred to in this article are Kuomintang forces.

The words self defence and defence are used interchangeably excepting a few specific cases.

To convey the chain of thought of comrade CP, the article has been translated the same way it was written in Telugu. Only a few minor technical changes were made in the text.

-- Editors.

Military lesson (brief) in 1969-1970 China. Two whole of military printed. This is published. The various stages were enemies of allies in the each

stage. In all stages how to concentrate our forces and attack enemy. What is guerilla warfare, mobile. What are revolutionary bases feature their feath descussed here a weak force can fight military a strong force to defend revolutionary bases and *Taking offensive while on the defensive wars of quick victory in the protracted war Taking initiative to wage battles from outside circle within the confines of battle from inside circle. change of tactics according to the occassion and planning.*

A strong country Japan is invading a weak country China and China is waging a just war to defend its independence. Anti Japanese imperialist struggle will continue as a protracted war. The Chinese will wage strategic defensive war still they are in a position to launch strategic offensive on the enemy.

In this situation Japan wages war against China from outside circle and China from inside the circle.

Here we have to keep in view another aspect. Though enemy forces are powerful interms of weaponry chinese army is numerically superior. Moreover Japan wages war of aggression. Chinese army is defending this aggression on its own soil.

Keeping in view the above scenario, we have to adopt the following strategy. While being on the strategic defence, for tactical considerations counter offensive should be launched. With the confines of strategic protracted war, local battles which give quick victories should be fought. With the confines of fighting from inner circle strategically, local battles should be fought from outer circle.

This is the battle strategy to be adopted throughout the anti Japanese war. This strategy applies to regular as well as guerilla war.

In the gue:illa war the attacks are always surprise attacks. Surprise attacks are made more frequently in guerilla war than in regular war. Compared to regular war, in guerilla war, the local battles waged for quick victories should be clinched quicker. Compared to regular war, in guerilla war, we will be surrounding the enemy forces in a very small areas. These are the differences between regular and geurilla war. But the principles for both are same.

So, keeping in view the above principles, the maximum number of soldiers should be mobilised for guerilla war. A surprise attack should be launched. A victory should be achieved in the shortest possible time. In guerilla war, attacking the enemy is the key task and mere self defence, prolonging the conflict, dispersing our forces before the conflict would be wrong.

As a tactical measure we would resort to self defence even in guerilla war. In a battle when the enemy forces attempt to block our path near narrow passages or strategic places, or when resisting enemy forces near villages or river crossings, instead of offensive we will resort to self defence.

In guerilla war, offensive (attack) is primary. The intensity of attack in a guerilla war will be more than in regular war. This intense attack also should be made suddenly and swiftly.

Guerilla war continues in a extensive area. Guerilla army adopts the principle of decentralisation to harass and slowdown the enemy forces, and to scatter them, and to make political propoganda among the people. To annihilate the enemy it adopts the principle of centralisation (of forces).

Taking anti Japan struggle as a whole ours is a strategic defensive struggle. But within the confines of this, strategic defensive struggle, many guerilla and regular wars, counter offensives against the enemy will be launched, quick victories achieved. Only such victories achieved such raids through will change the war into a protracted war. We will develop capacity to continue the protracted war till favourable conditions develop inter relationally as well as in Japan. And ultimately annihilate the enemy.

In the strategic defence or strategic offence condition by centralising soldiers, many local battles should be fought from outside circle. In those local battles the weaker enemy flanks should be encircled and maximum number of soldiers annihilated.

But initiative of the Red Army is the three key tasks launching offensive in the strategic defensive stage, wars of quick victories in the protracted war, fighting battles from outside circle within the confines of waging a war from inside the circle, making changes in the army deployment as per the requirement of the situation, proper planning are crucial.

Initiative

In any war or battle field, every army tries to take initiative into its hands. The side which loses initiative will be forced into inactivity. It cannot take appropriate stages and faces defeat.

Gaining initiative depends on proper assessment of both sides. It depends on political and military decisions based on this assessment. Wrong assessment of objective situation will lead to loss of initiation and immobility and inevitable defeat.

Gaining initiative depends on conduction war of your capacity to wage war and on how well you utilise the enemy's weaknesses. i.e. subjective conductance of war.

When you are on the offensive or waging war from outside circle, it is relatively easier to gain initiative than when on the defensive or waging war from inside the circle.

If the objective positions of Japan and China is assessed it would be clear that Japan had initiative in its hand in the beginning and China gradually captured it.

Japan has three fundamental weaknesses.

- 1) It had shortage of manpower**
- 2) It is waging war on a lein land**

3) It under estimated Chinese capacity. It was being weakned by its internal contradictions and committed blunders in conducting war.

On the other hand, China and vast army. It is waging a just war to defend sovereignty of the country. It used correct military tactics through mobile warfare. Due to the above reasons it was inevitable that the initiative changed hands.

The Red Army had to fight strong enemy forces in a very difficult situation. It had no hinterland (to retreat if necessary). It had little experience in fighting wars. Yet by taking advantage of the enemy's weaknes, Red Army gains initiative.

Taking advantage of shortage of manpower of enemy forces, it will intensify its attacks in a vast area.

By mobilising the majority of Chinese into a just war against a war of aggression by Japan, it can mobilise people in vast areas into attacks on enemy soldiers.

Taking advantage of the mistakes committed by the Japanese military leadership, it can goad them into making mistakes and launch sudden attacks on him.

It can concentrate large number of soldiers on a weak flank of enemy and achieve quick victories. Sometimes when faced with a superior enemy force Red Army avoids a battle, moves to a place favourable to it and there gains initiative. All this depends on redeployment of Red Armies as per the need of the situation and proper plan.

It can overcome the weakness of the guerilla army in the process of struggle.

Deployment of the army according to the need of the hour

To be specific, whether or not we can keep initiative depends in our hands depends on the deployment of the armies according to the need of the situation. Redeployment of the army according to the need of the situation is crucial in gaining initiative.

Depending upon the target set up, army should be carefully utilised. Keeping in view the enemy's condition, topography, local people, changes should be made in deployment of armies, the crucial task in conducting war in making changes in the deployment of soldiers. This is a very difficult task. Especially so when a lesser force is fighting a stronger enemy. To overcome the confusion that exists in the war, lack of information about enemy, uncertainty, to achieve clarity and proper form of battle, the subjective capacity of higher order to conduct war is pre requisite. Having such capabilities alone will enable the military leadership to make timely change in the deployment of armies.

Changes in deployment of armies according to the needs of the situation depend upon centralisation and decentralisation of army and change of combat zone

Decentralisation

Decentralisation of forces should be done in the following situations.

1) The enemy is on the defensive and we are, for the time being, unable to concentrate more forces on him ; We have decided to attack the enemy head on, in an extensive area.

2) To harass and scatter the enemy forces where he is already weak.

3) We are encircled by the enemy and do not have capacity to smash the encirclement and hence want to escape from the encirclement.

4) Our route is blocked due to non-receipt of our supplies or topography.

5) We have decided to conduct mass activities in a vast area.

While decentralising the armies two points shall be borne in mind.

1) The forces being decentralised need not be divided equally. They should be decentralised in such way that they can face up to any hostile situation and if necessary can be regrouped into a strong army.

2) The decentralised forces should be assigned specific tasks. They should be clearly instructed about the mission to be accomplished, the time schedule fixed for that mission and where to regroup.

Concentration

Soldiers (armies) should be concentrated to annihilate the enemy who is on the offensive, and to destroy the enemy forces, who on the defensive are camped at one place.

Concentration of army doesnot mean full mobilisation of soldiers. It is concentration of soldiers to be sent in one direction, keeping sufficient number of soldiers to stop enemy in other places, harass and disrupt them and to work among masses.

Changing battle field

When the enemy perceives threat to his soldiers from guerilla forces, he will send reinforcement to fight guerilla army. The guerilla army should quickly take stock of the situation. If possible it should fight the reinforcement from the same place. Or if necessary it should shift to another place to fight. As soon as it finishes destroying a flank of the enemy it should attack

another flank. If the guerilla force feels that the situation in that area has become adverse, it should disengage, shift to another place and continue fighting. As the guerilla army perceives danger to its forces, it should immediately change the battle field.

The change of battle field should be done secretly and swiftly. It should make attempts to feed mis information to the enemy about the guerillas where outs and the places of attack. It should pretend to attack from east and attack from west.

Initiative can be gained in guerilla war by effective implementation of centralisation and decentralisation of armies, changing battle field. Inactivity will lead to immobility and static situation and causes losses. Therefore the guerilla military commander should gain experience in concentration, decentralisation and change of battle field. These three aspects should be used in right time by taking stock of the situation. To acquire such capacity commanders should make deep study. They should try to know all facts and study in detail what they have come to know.

Plan

It is impossible to win in guerilla wars without preconceived plan.

It is most important to plan out in advance the battle activities of a guerilla unit or unity in a specific area or throughout the guerilla zone. Proper assessment of the situation, formulating targets, distribution of soldiers between different units, giving military and political training, proper maintenance of the weapons, mobilising supplies, proper utilisation of peoples cooperation all such tasks should be conducted by the guerilla commanders carefully.

But the guerilla war doesnt permit planning to the extent possible in regular war. But plans should be made to extent possible. Planning is necessary for successfull attacks on enemy.

War has high level of uncertainty and so it is very difficult to fight according to the plan. Neverthelss without preconceived plans, it is impossible to win wars.

In any war total uncertainty is impossible but relative uncertainty exists. We know our position but uncertainty exists vis-a-vis enemy's situ-

ation. Yet we shall have some indicators to gauge his situation. Based on these plans can be drawn up. Modernisation and development in information technology is affording a chance to make war plans. Yet non-flexible or comprehensive plans are not feasible as they should be revised as per developments in the battle field.

The plans for offence or defence may have to be changed several times a day. The plans for war in the whole area will hold good till that war is clinched. But before that war ends, some times, they have to be modified partially or fully. The strategic plan based on the overall war situation will be more stable. When the stage of war changes they too have to be changed.

Comparatively, the battle plan for a war in an area will remain unchanged for a shorter period compared to strategic plan. The battle plan for a local war will remain unchanged for an even shorter period.

Some people argue erroneously that as the battle situation changes continuously, making plans is useless. This is completely wrong. Without a relatively stable plan for a specific period, it would be impossible to win in guerilla war.

Wars of quick victory

The strategic protracted war and the wars which give quick victories in battles in one area or in a specific war are two sides of a coin. In civil wars or revolutionary wars both types of wars have equal importance.

As the reactionary forces are stronger than revolutionary forces and as the revolutionary forces develop gradually and slowly, the rev. war continues as a protracted war.

The reactionaries get assistance from foreign imperialists. Till the revolutionary forces are strong enough to defeat the local and international reactionaries, till the international revolutionary forces are strong enough to check the international reactionary classes, the revolutionary forces have to continue protracted war. So, as a strategic requirement, revolutionary forces have to continue protracted war. At the same time, in the battles in a limited area, or in a battle, wars of quick victory should be fought. This is necessary due to two reasons : (1) Red Army does not have resources to replenish immediately its exhausted armoury. (2) Enemy forces consist of several divisions of forces. Red Army has only one and the same soldiers have to fight with different divisions of enemy soldiers. (3) Though the enemy forces

attack Red Army from several directions they are available to one another. Therefore Red Army has to fight battles of quick victory. They may last 1-2 hours, or in some case 1-2 days.

When the enemy has set up a base and is staying we have to encircle and fight for a longer time to cut off the relief suppliers to the camp. Even here our task is to achieve quick victory over the reinforcements coming to the enemy camp.

In spite of being on the defensive strategically, while doggedly fighting to defend a particular area, we have to fight for a longer time.

Smashing the "encirclement and suppression" plan of the enemy will be a major war. Here also the principle of waging wars of quick victory should be adhered to. Taking into consideration the population, financial resources, military strength of a revolutionary base individual battles (or local skirmishes) can not be sustained for long.

Our general principle is to wage wars of quick victory in individual battles and local battles. But it should be noted that impetuosity or impatience would be dangerous.

The political and military leadership of the Red Army should consider the actual condition of both the sides. It should not lose heart at the enemy's strength. It should not get disheartened by defeats should display exemplary courage.

The enemy utilises his superiority and tries to implement the principle of wars of quick victory. But we, as a strategy have to wage protracted war, How ?

In the first two phases of protracted war, being in the strategic defensive, offensives against the enemy should be carried out as a tactic. Within the frame work of protracted war, wars of quick victory should be continued. Within the frame work of waging war from inside circle, battles should be fought from outside circle. In the third phase strategic counter offensive should be launched.

Waging wars of quick victory cannot be done as per our wishes. It can be done only in specific situations. The main pre-requisites are : concentrating a long number of soldiers, completion of preparatory work, deciding opportune moment for the attack battle field with topographical ad-

advantage to us, enemy is on the move or enemy has set up a base and is yet to consolidate it. All these conditions should be satisfied to wage a war of quick victory.

In general, to clinch quick victory, sudden and swift attack should be made on the enemy on move. A convenient place of ambush should be selected on the confirmed route of the enemy and large number of soldiers should be stealthily deployed. As the enemy approached, he should be surrounded and before the enemy realises what's happening, attack should be launched and battle clinched. In this attack, a considerable section or the whole of enemy force should be destroyed.

Such victories boost the morale of our soldiers and dishearten enemy forces.

After fighting several wars of quick victory the enemy forces lose their upper hand and gradually Red Army gains upperhand. That is, major change in the parity of forces occurs. Apart from this, other changes in both sides, international cooperation etc. contribute to Red Army gaining parity with enemy forces and then gain superiority with this, the Red Army launches its strategic offensive and annihilate the enemy.

2. Coordination with regular war

Coordination of guerilla war with regular war is the second strategic issue in the guerilla warfare. A clear war perspective on this issue plays an important role in defeating the enemy. Coordination between guerilla war and regular war be it overall strategic war, or local war or individual war is vital. Guerilla warfare in enemy occupied areas weakens him. It ties up a part of enemy forces there. It sabotages enemy supply lines. This enthuses the soldiers in regular army as well as the people throughout the country. This is how the regular war and guerilla war are strategically linked.

When the regular army is fighting the enemy forces the guerilla forces in the nearby area will make guerilla attacks on the enemy forces and disrupt their supply lines. Thus the guerilla army will supplement regular army.

When the regular army is fighting a battle with the enemy from the inner circle, guerilla army will take specific actions which will compliment the actions of regular army. Acting on the instructions of the commander of the regular army, the guerilla army will tie down a section of enemy forces,

disrupt enemy, act as rout guides to regular army.

Even in absence of specific instructions, the guirella army shall perform above duties and under no circumstances shall sit idle.

3. Establishing Revolutionary bases

Revolutionary war continues for a long time. It is a ruthless war. Establishment of revolutionary base is primordial importance. Without revolutionary bases protracted war cannot be waged. Establishment of revolutionary bases is the third strategic issue in guirella warfare. Guirella actions should be conducted throughout the enemy occupied territory and the battle field extended. Till the enemy occupied territory is liberated, the guirella war should be continued with perseverance. The enemy wages a ruthless war to wipe out guirella armies. Considering the protracted nature of the war and its ruthless nature, it will be seen that without establishing revolutionary bases it will be impossible to continue protracted guirella war in enemy occupied territory.

What is a Revolutionary base ?

Revolutionary bases are the foundations for achieving the strategic tasks of the guirella armies. Revolutionary bases play a crucial role in sustaining and nurturing the revolutionary forces, and ultimately annihilating the enemy. In an enemy occupied area, revolutionary base serves as a rear area (reserve area) for the guirella armies.

Without defeating the theory of building revolution through roving rebel band without building revolutionary bases, it is impossible to establish revolutionary bases.

Revolutionary bases are of three types :

(1) Revolutionary bases in mountains (2) Revolutionary bases in plain areas (3) Revolutionary bases in river valleys, lake side areas.

The revolutionary bases in mountaineous regions are the best. These revolutionary bases with natural topographical protection can be sustained for a long time. Comparatively revolutionary bases in plain areas are less useful than these. They have no natural protection. But with active people's cooperation, a comparatively stable revolutionary base can be built up in plain areas. As the enemy launches ruthless raids to wipe these out and

things come to a stage where the enemy attacks cannot be repulsed, the guerilla armies have to seek protection temporarily in mountaineous areas.

The chances of establishing revolutionary bases in river valleys and lake sides are better than in plain areas, but lesser than in mountaineous areas.

Guerilla zone - revolutionary base

Revolutionary base is established in enemy occupied territory where the enemy armies are wiped out. In enemy occupied territory some areas are controlled by guerilla armies for some time and by enemy forces for some time. They cannot be called revolutionary bases. They can be called guerilla zones. A severe guerilla war has to be waged, enemy forces should be wiped out or defeated on a large scale, puppet govt. over thrown. People should be inspired and activated. Mass organisations should be set up. Local armed peoples armies should be mobilised. Peoples power should be established. Only then can the guerilla zone be changed into revolutionary base.

Converting guerilla zone into revolutionary base is a very strenuous yet creative work. This depends on to what extent have we wiped out enemy forces and how far have we politically educated the public. Many areas will remain as guerilla zones for a long time. The enemy cannot establish a stable puppet govt (administrative setup) in these areas. At the same time, how ever bitter guerilla war we may wage, we cannot establish peoples power here.

The guerilla war can extend to only periphery of areas such as big cities, railway stations, strong enemy bases, in plains. It can never extend deeper into these areas. So in such areas, the enemy has relatively stable puppet administrations.

Some times, due to the mistakes committed by our leadership, or due to pressure of the enemy a revolutionary base may change into guerilla zone or a guerilla zone into a enemy occupied territory. Guerilla commanders should carefully monitor such situations.

After bitter struggle between enemy forces and guerilla forces, enemy occupied areas can be classified into three types. (1) rev. bases (2) enemy occupied area (3) guerilla zones with severe tussle between enemy forces, and guerilla forces.

Red Army continuously strives to extend area of 1st and 3rd type and to shrink areas of type 3.

The following conditions should be satisfied to build a revolutionary base (1) Building up of armed forces - By making public politically conscious and building up guerilla squads, guerilla army, regular army in that order. Establishing of revolutionary bases is possible only when strong regular armies exist.

(2) Armed forces and the people jointly should defeat the enemy.

(3) Doing one's best, people should be mobilised into practical work

(4) An extensive area, an area with topography suitable for defence

(5) Economically, revolutionary base should be self sufficient.

Extension and consolidation of revolutionary base :

The guerilla struggle should be conducted continuously, limiting the enemy to certain areas only.

The revolutionary base should always be extended. Then only the army of the enemy will lose its mental balance. The requisite conditions for the strategic counter attack of the Red Army will be created.

At the same time it is also an important thing to consolidate the revolutionary base. Here, inspiring the people politically, consolidating the people in various mass organisations and training the guerilla squads and the local armed squads are important things.

Only when the revolutionary base is consolidated like this, it will be possible either to conduct the protracted struggle or to extend the revolutionary base. If we go on simply extending the revolutionary base area without consolidating it we cannot resist the enemy's attack. Then there will be a danger even for the existence of these revolutionary base, leave apart its extension.

Our principle must be to extend the revolutionary base, while consolidating it. Then only we will be able to conduct offensive and defensive struggles. Sometimes, we have to concentrate on the extension of the revolutionary base. And on some other occasions, we have to concentrate on the

consolidation of the revolutionary base. As to when and on what we have to concentrate, will depend on the specific conditions.

4. Strategic defence - strategic offence

Among the strategic problems of guerilla struggle, the fourth one is strategic defence and strategic offence. Both in the conditions of strategic defence and strategic offence, the Red Army will conduct many small attacks on enemy's armies. All these will take place inside and around every revolutionary base.

Strategic defence :

After the Red Army has conducted the guerilla struggle to certain level with enemy's armies, the enemy will utilise all his energies to terminate the people's army and the revolutionary bases. To exterminate the revolutionary base, the enemy will attack on the revolutionary base from many sides at a time. When the guerilla struggle attained serious proportions when the revolutionary base area is formed in a key area, when a danger has arisen to the key areas and transport routes of the enemy, the enemy will attack very carefully. It is proved that how much serious the attack of the enemy will be, that much powerful the guerilla struggle will be conducted there.

The enemy will be in offence position, when he conducts attacks on the revolutionary base from many sides at a time. From outside ranks, he will be attacking. We will be in defence position and will be fighting from the inside ranks.

Then, we have to use our second prominent armies to halt the remaining enemy forces, concentrating the main section of our armies and launch a sudden attack on a section of the enemy's army, encircle it and exterminate it either completely or a major portion of it. This attack has to be launched when the enemy's army is in mobility.

By conducting many such sudden attacks, the enemy will get weekend. A situation will be created for the enemy to retreat from the middle of the way. We can further weaken the enemy by chasing his army, when the enemy is retreating.

At the time of attack, the enemy could occupy some towns in the revolutionary base. We have to encircle such towns and ensure that they do

not get additional help and food grains supplies from the enemy. At the time of the retreat of enemy's armies we have to resort to their abolition.

After our army has smashed a section of the enemy's army, our army has to quickly move to smash another section of the enemy's army.

Generally, we have to keep our main army in the inner circle, when the enemy is attacking the revolutionary base from many sides at a time. Armies of second prominence (ie., local, district guerilla squads, some sections of regular Red army) are to be deployed to the outer circle and ensure that the enemy does not get additional help. We have to disrupt the transport routes of the enemy.

When the enemy's army has entered the revolutionary base and our army could not defeat it and consequently when the danger of the enemy's army with standing there, our main army has to enter the area occupied by the enemy's army and start a war front there. Then in order to face our main army; the enemy's army has no other way except going back to its area leaving our revolutionary base.

When the enemy is attacking the revolutionary base from many sides at a time, all the self-defence squads and the mass organisations have to be brought into the field completely. All the self defence squads and the mass organisations are to be pressed into the field to strengthen our defence positions and to gather the agricultural produce from the crop fields. To suppress the traitors and to stop our information from reaching the enemy military rule has to be enforced locally.

The enemy will resort to burning of our villages and towns and cause serious destruction at the time of his retreat. It should not be forgotten that by doing so, the enemy with his own hands will destroy the sources of food grains and defence supplies necessary for his second attack.

At the time of the enemy's attack on our revolutionary base from many sides at a time, our leadership should not vacate easily the revolutionary base and resort to change to some other one. Even after serious struggles are conducted, change of revolutionary base has to be thought of only when it is proved that it is impossible to safeguard the revolutionary base. If we adopt correct principles, generally we can foil the attacks of the enemy on our revolutionary bases situated in mountain areas. A necessity may arise to think about the change of the revolutionary base when faced with a strong enemy attack only in plain areas. In such situations some guerilla squads

are to be left behind to conduct military actions in the revolutionary base of plain area and the main guerilla army has to be shifted to mountain areas temporarily. After the main sections of the enemy's army has left the revolutionary base, our guerilla armies have to reenter there and continue their activities.

Strategic offence :-

After smashing the attack of the enemy once, the enemy will be in strategic defence position before he resorts to another attack. We will be in strategic offence position.

Under such circumstances, our army should not resort to attack the fortified enemy bases. To defeat such enemy bases is still beyond the capacity of our armies. During that period, Red Army has to fight systematically to exterminate the small armies of enemies and touts in some areas. The revolutionary base has to be extended. The people are to be politically inspired against the enemy. The lost sections of the Red Army are to be replenished. New guerilla squads are to be formed. They have to be trained. If the enemy is still in the position of strategic defence, our revolutionary base has to be further extended. The towns and transport routes, having enemy's weak protection, are to be taken into our control. As long as possible, they should be kept in our control.

These are our tasks, during the period of strategic offence. The aim of these tasks is to increase our strength utilising the situation arising out of the strategic defence position of the enemy. By fulfilling these tasks only, we will be in a position of potentially resisting another attack of the enemy.

To give military training to our army is a most important thing. We will be having a good opportunity for this when the enemy is in a strategic defence position. This does not mean that we should sit giving only this training, leaving aside all other works. While fulfilling the three tasks extending the revolutionary base, exterminating the small armies of the enemies and inspiring the people politically, our army has to be given necessary training and rest.

The most convenient time to gather food grains, clothes for the soldiers and other articles is the period when the enemy is in a strategic defence position.

When the enemy is in a position of strategic defence, the guerilla

comanders should not feel giddy with success. The strength of the enemy should not be underestimated. We should not neglect the programme of achieving unity among our soldiers, consolidating our revolutionary base and consolidating the people. We should be very vigilantly observing all the arrangements being made by the enemy for another attack. When we do like that, then only we can effectively defeat when the enemy resorts to another attack.

(5) To change guerilla war into mobile war

The fifth one among the strategic problems of guerilla war is to change the guerilla war into mobile war.

Since the revolutionary war continues for a protracted time and since it continues very cruelly guerilla squads get necessary training, steeled and develop into regular army definitely. Guerilla war definitely takes the form of mobile war gradually. Guerilla commanders should clearly see the necessity of changing guerilla war into mobile war and the possibilities for it. Two things are to be done to form a regular army, which conducts mobile war, out of guerilla squads, which conduct guerilla war. They are (1) to increase the number of soldiers and (2) to develop them qualitatively.

By merging the small guerilla squads regular army can be formed. As the soldiers become steeled in the struggle, by gathering good weapons the guerilla soldiers can be developed qualitatively.

We face two kinds of difficulties, when we merge the small squads in the regular army. Firstly, local interests come in the way of the principle of centralisation. Secondly mere military outlook gives complete prominence only to centralisation and neglects the local interests.

Local mentality will be deeply rooted in local guerilla squads and in local governments. These people will be giving more prominence to the local interests and will be neglecting the total interests. Keeping this aspect in view, we have to deal with more vigilantly at the time merging the local squads with the regular army. The local squads are to be merged with the regular army in a systematic way but not in a dictatorial way. It should be seen that the regular army and the local guerilla squads participate in joint military actions. Like that, through practice the necessity of the local squads to merge with the big army is to be made recognised.

With only military point of view, some commanders will neglect com-

pletely the local interests and aim at taking steps to centralise all the local guerilla squads and weapons in the regular army. These people will try only to improve their strength, but will not make any effort for the development of the local guerilla squads. These people will be thinking that changing guerilla war into mobile war is stopping the guerilla war completely. It is not at all correct. On the basis of conducting guerilla war with full intensity and in a wider area, guerilla war has to be changed gradually into mobile war. A regular Red Army, which can conduct mobile war has to be built up. Even after the formation of regular Red Army, the guerilla squads will remain and the guerilla war will be continued in a wider area. Such guerilla squads and the guerilla war being conducted by them will be able to give powerful help to the regular Red Army and the mobile war. Guerilla squads will be acting as a basis for a continuous growth of the regular Red Army.

That is why the military commanders should not neglect even to the smallest extent the local interests of the local people and the local governments. We should be continuously striving to build up local guerilla squads and to develop them.

To develop the guerilla squads qualitatively, their political and organisational level has to be raised. Weapons, military efficiency, tactics and discipline have to be developed. Politically, the consciousness that guerilla squads are to be developed into regular army has to be raised. The military and political network, method of work, regular supply of goods and medical aid necessary for the formation of the regular Red Army have to be arranged. Various kinds of good weapons are to be collected. Modern news service systems has to be created. The military efficiency and tactics necessary for a regular army have to be learnt. All these cannot be acquired in a day. Through efforts over a long period only, we can achieve them. But towards achieving this goal, we have to develop gradually.

(6) Relations among different kinds of military leaderships

The sixth one among the strategic problems of guerilla war is the relations among different kinds of military leaderships.

Guerilla squads will be operating in a wider area. The extent of centralisation possible in the method of regular war is not possible in guerilla war. That is why if the principle of centralisation, which will be implemented in regular war is also applied in guerilla war, the initiative and the capacity to change according to the needs of the time of the guerilla squads will be destroyed.

But at the same time, without a sort of centralised leadership guerilla war cannot develop.

In the wider area when regular war and guerilla war are going on, coordination between these two military leaderships is essential. That means, strategically united leadership is essential. In a guerilla zone or in a revolutionary base, there will be many guerilla squads. The regular Red Army will be there. Under a united command when the enemy's army is attacking us, united leadership and centralised leadership becomes necessary for our different military wings operating in that area. That is why in guerilla war either the principle of complete centralised leadership or the principle of complete decentralised leadership is not suitable. Strategically, the principle of united leadership will be followed and for the wars conducted in an area or for the wars conducted separately the principle of decentralised leadership will have to be followed. Strategic centralised leadership means to lay down the strategy and plan pertaining to the whole guerilla war and the tasks for a war to be conducted at a particular time. In each combat zone it achieves coordination between regular and guerilla battles. For all the military wings of a guerilla zone or a revolutionary base it provides centralised leadership. In general matters ie., regarding problems pertaining to strategy, the lower units should be taking advices from the higher units. Centralisation has to stop here. In implementing the advices of the higher committees the higher units should not intervene in the details as to when, where and in what manner the lower units have to deploy their armies and conduct the battles. In such battles, the lower units must have the freedom to decide as to how the advices of the higher units are to be implemented. Here the principle of decentralised leadership has to be implemented. The lower unity will be in a better position to decide how to conduct war in the specific conditions and the principle of decentralised leadership has to be implemented. If the higher committees wish to convey any information to lower committees, it should be in the form of advice and not instruction.

As the battle field becomes extensive, as the war becomes intense, as the lower and higher committees become in-accessible greater freedom should be given to lower committees to take certain war actions.

When a large army is attacking enemy force, the principle of centralised leadership has to be adhered to, as the top leadership will be aware of the battle field conditions. When this large army is made into small groups it should again implement the principle of decentralised leadership.

If the principle of centralised leadership is not implemented when it

is required, it reflects the inability of the upper committees. Or that the lower committees themselves are exercising the authority of higher committees. Conversely if the principle of decentralisation is not adhered to, it means that the higher committee have usurped the powers of the lower committees or that the lower committee are not taking initiative. These two are unpardonable mistakes in guerilla war.

Positional warfare

Considering the level of military skills of the soldiers and of weapons in a guerilla war, it can be said that positioned warfare is unsuitable, be it in the stage of self defence or offence. So in guerilla warfare, positional war can not be considered either as a cardinal principle of war or as an important principle of war.

In the third stage also the revolutionary army is weaker than the enemy army. Therefore throughout the peoples war period it is the guerilla and mobile war fares that play the prominent role.

The following principles of struggle should be implemented in the third phase.

1) Enemy should be attacked in many several places. Those sections of enemy forces which are isolated from main army should be attacked first.

2) Small & medium towns and vast rural areas should be occupied first. Subsequently the big towns and cities.

3) Our main task is to annihilate the major military force of the enemy. Defending a town or an area is not the important thing.

4) In all battles the enemy forces should be surrounded by overwhelming number of our soldiers. In some instances as high as six times the number of enemy soldiers. Cutting of all escape routes they should be completely wiped out. As far as possible, the task of battle should not be confined to weakening the enemy only.

5) Without doing the ground work (preparatory arrangements) a battle should not be fought. Battles where victory is not possible should not be fought.

6) All our fighting skills should be fully used. Exemplary courage, preparedness for any sort of sacrifice should be shown.

7) Enemy forces should be annihilated when the enemy is on the move. At the same time tactics of positional warfare should be mastered and utilised to capture enemy's fortifications and the towns.

8) In capturing towns those towns and fortification which are weak should be first captured. At the opportune moment some what stronger enemy fortifications and towns should be captured. We have to wait till the situation becomes favourable.

9) Our soldiers should be reequipped from the soldiers and weapons of the enemy forces. The soldiers and weapons for our army should be procured from the battle field.

10) The full period between two major battles should be utilised to rest the soldiers and to retrain and consolidate the army.

Wars to annihilate enemy forces

The key task of the war is to preserve our forces while annihilating the enemy's. At the outset enemy has the strategic superiority as well as strategic initiative. Therefore only by waging wars be it local battles or separate skirmishes to annihilate the enemy forces can the superiority of the enemy forces be smashed and initiative seized from him. Through such wars Red Army over comes its weaknesses and improve its position nationally and internationally.

We can fight wars of quick victory only by implementing principles of mobile warfare such as centralisation of soldiers, fighting battles from outside circle, encircling or attacking from sides of the enemy forces. Only thus can the enemy forces be wiped out.

While annihilating the enemy forces a vigorous political propaganda should be conducted among the enemy soldiers. Winning over the enemy soldiers politically to our side expedites annihilation of enemy forces

Gaining from enemy's mistakes

The enemy usually under-estimates the strength of the revolutionary force. Yet, when guerilla war is going on in a vast area at the same time the

Army does not have sufficient manpower to launch offensives on us in all fronts. Due to people's opposition, he cannot get as many soldiers as he would like. Also with the intensification of guerilla war, the army of the reactionaries faces shortage of men.

The reactionary army does not have any protection in their attacks on guerilla armies and the attacks in different areas lack coordination.

Internal contradictions weaken the enemy. He lacks the skill to utilise strategic opportunities. Though it surrounds our armies many times, it can capture only a few soldiers. By proper utilisation of the weakness of the enemy, Red Army can defeat him. In addition to these, the Red Army should take steps to mislead the enemy and force him to make mistakes. These also will contribute to Red Army success.

Those are the general principles of combat to be adopted by the Red Army in protracted people's war. Some people may misrepresent them to be principles to avoid fighting with the enemy. This is a fallacious argument.

Our fight with the enemy is a uncompromising struggle which continues for a long time. In this struggle the above principles prevent us from falling into a trap and be wiped out with the first blow of the enemy. They help in waging a protracted people's war. There is no other way to final victory in people's war.

People's War and People

Victory is possible in protracted people's war only when all the oppressed people participate directly. Revolutionary war is a war with people's participation. Though weapons play an important role in achieving victory, they do not play a decisive role in war. People and people alone will play a decisive role.

Guerilla war is basically a war organised by the people. If it is distanced from people, it can neither survive or develop. If the extensive guerilla war fails to attract people it will not develop.

Rousing the people who, since thousands of years, have been exploited, deceived and oppressed and make them recognise the need to wage armed struggle is a very difficult task.

By waging economic and political struggles for democracy and bring-

ing the urban, middle class peoples into such struggle alone can the revolutionary typhoon engulf the whole country.

In the people's war, army is the main form of organisation and struggle the main form of struggle. At the same time, other mass organisations and forms of mass struggles should continue. These mass organisations and mass struggles should play supportive role in war activities.

In the peoples war the armed struggle and the mass struggle of youth, women, workers, peasants should be openly and correctly coordinated. The armed struggle for power should be coordinated with economic and ideological struggles.

Protracted peoples war can be continued only when the people's revolutionary base and enemy occupied territory are politically motivated and they are inspired to participate directly in armed struggle.

Our political aim should be extensively propagated among the people. We should explain the political programme to be implemented to achieve this political aim. Through meetings, pamphlets, magazines, books, dramas, cinemas, political schools, in mass organisation. This political campaign should be conducted. This campaign has to be conducted among the people repeatedly.

To integrate with the masses, programmes should be chalked out taking into consideration their needs and aspirations. Programmes should be drawn up to satisfy whims and fancies of a few but should be based on the demands of the people. In some instances people desire material changes but do not come forward to fight for those changes. In such instances we should persevere till people consciously recognise the necessity for such change and are prepared to fight to achieve it. We should not try to talk about the changes for the people, till they are willing to act on their own.

Only by implementing a political programme for conforming to the people's wishes in that area, at that time can the people's support be won for the armed struggle.

The people in any area can be classified into three types. Relatively bright, mediocre and the backward. While basing on the bright efforts should be made to raise the level of the mediocre and win over the backward to the cause.

Accurate information on the peoples lives should be collected by going into masses. Studying the data collected, demands on which peoples struggles can be conducted should be formulated. The demands should be extensively propogated and struggles built up. Learning from the experience gained from these struggles new people's programme has to be formulated and implemented among the masses. This is called mass line. This mass line has to be implemented again and again.

Case should be taken to ensure direct participation of the people in revolutionary base in all aspects of peoples war. People should participate directly in village committees, village govts, guerilla squads, regular armies, peoples defence squads.

All the people in military area should be given arms. They fall into two categories. (1) Those who leave civil profession and become full time guerilla squads. (2) Those who while continuining civil professions would join civil defence squads.

In the peoples war civil defence squads are good instruments to impart military training to people. The recruitment shall be voluntary and by no means forced. All men and women in age group 16 - 45 should be organised into peoples defence squads. All those who join peoples defence squads shall continue in their civil professions, work in their native areas earn their living. In special cases, when they have to go to far off places to discharge their duties, the govt. will bear their expenses. So while imparting (military) training and while mobilising people through extensive propaganda, peoples individual intiative should be developed. Imposed decisions and programmes do not succeed. The weapons for these peoples defence squads consists of swords, spears, country made guns and field guns etc.

Whenever the enemy enters or a chance of enemy's entry exist, guerillas should be organised from the peoples defence squads of that area. Each guerilla squads consists of 3-10 members. They should be local people and excepting when they are in guerilla activities, they should be in civil professions.

Doing local sentry duties, implementing scorched earth policy when necessary, gathering information about the enemy ferretting out people enemies and punish them, providing supplies to regular army and guerilla, clearing up the battle field these are the areas where the peoples defence squads would assist.

8. Peoples government in revolutionary base its tasks

During the first civil war (1928-36) in China, in revolutionary bases, peoples power was established in country, district and town level. This people's power was called workers peasant govts.

- A general body of all people elected these govts.
- The people elected workers, peasants and military council and the executive committee.
- The Executive committee consisted of four members - Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Red guards committee, the squad commander.
- The task of the govt. is to implement the agrarian revolution programme in the revolutionary base.

But the workers, peasants and military, council lacked active functioning. After elections they rarely met. In practice the govt. power was exercised by the executive committee.

Vigorous propagation of the necessity of democratic methods should be done among the people. We have to inculcate among people that by pursuing democratic methods alone we have succeeded in mobilising people into revolutionary struggle. By running the mass organisation on principles of democratic centralisation alone can the people be mobilised into revolutionary movement.

During the anti Japanese struggle, in the revolutionary base united front govts of all revolutionary forces opposing the traitors, reactionaries and imperialist aggression. The aim of the govts was resistance to foreign aggressor and fulfilling democratic tasks. They functioned as united front govts of revolutionary forces implementing democratic dictatorship on the traitors and reactionaries.

The united front govts comprised of 1/3 rd Communists, 1/3rd non-party left progressives, 1/3 centrist groups.

But this principle should not be implemented mechanically. Depending on the specific situation existing in each area, the proportion may be changed. The proportion can be changed to prevent infiltration of feudals & opportunists into lower ranks of administrative machinery.

Peoples power should be elected by people. There govt. at all levels should function on the basis of principle of democratic centralism.

Every adult irrespective of sex, caste religion and educational qualifications has right to participate in election and to be elected as a representative.

The programme of these govts. was resistance to imperialist aggressions, protection of people participat in the resistance struggle, coordination between various social forces opposing imperialism, ameliorate condition of workers and peasants, controlling traitors and reactionaries, mobilising peoples support to armed struggle etc.

Economic issues in Revolutionary bases

During the first civil war the main programme of the peasant worker govt in revolutionary bases was to divide the land-lords land to poor peasantry, implementation of land agrarian revolutionary programme was the main task.

As a general rule in many parts of china land concentrate was high. Landlords controlled 70% land and of peasants 30%. In such a situation, majority people and can be mobilised to distribute landlord's land.

The rural population consisted of three groups (1) Big and middle landlords (2) middle-minor landlords and rich peasants (3) middle peasants and small peasants.

During the first civil war period the lands of big and middle landlords were distributed. The lands of middle group, that is, minor landlord & middle peasant lands were also distributed to a certain extent.

The interests of rich peasants are linked with those of minor landlords. If the lands of the rich peasant and minor land lords are including considerable amount of land would be available for distribution. So the lands of middle and minor landlords of the rich peasants were distributed. Utilising their influence and power in the society, the rich peasants and minor landlords threaten the poor peasants and try to have the land distribution programme postponed as long as possible. When land distribution becomes un avoidable they misrepresent their holdings are try to get away with big holdings.

We should not forget the reality that the poor peasants will come forward to distribute the lands of the minor landlords and rich peasants only when the revolutionary movement is continuing vigorously and only after the military capabilities of the Red army have been proved and many successes were achieved over the army of the reactionaries.

In the forest area, each village consists of a clan. These people have group mentality and not class consciousness. So developing class consciousness in them is an arduous time consuming task.

As long as the red army has upper hand, minor landlord and rich peasants will be low. As the revolutionary army approaches the revolutionary base they will prepare to join enemy camp.

The war between rev. base and enemy occupied territory is very bitter. It would be as intense as a war between two nations. Enemy imposes economic blockade on liberated areas. Trade between two areas comes to a stand still. Essential commodities become scarce. Goods that are usually exported from liberated areas cannot be exported. This situation cannot be borne by the common people and the Red Army for a long time.

In times of such blockades there is a possibility of rich peasants and minor landlords join hands with the enemy.

Distribution of land

A town or village was taken as basic unit for land distribution. In the mountainous regions with little agriculture land 3-4 villages formed a basic unit. Initially both man and women were given equal shares of land. Later drawing from this experience this method was discarded and land was given keeping in view the person's capacity to work. Those who can put in more labor was given more land. The rich peasants oppose the principle of more land to hard worker or of equal land to every one. They argue that as they can invest more capital and harvest more, they should be given more land.

In the liberated areas 20% of the produce was taken as tax. But where the poor have hand to mouth existence no taxes were imposed.

In the anti-Japan war period all the peasants was mobilised to side the economic issue in a revolutionary base.

The direction of economic construction was to provide food and cloth-

to Red Army, amelioration of living condition of the people and thereby inspiring them to take part in revolutionary programme, consolidating worker-peasant unity, strengthening worker-peasant democratic dictatorship.

The economic programme consisted of selling bonds for economic construction in liberated areas, developing cooperative movement, collection of godown for food, transports of food grains from surplus area to deficit areas, Exporting goods from liberated areas to enemy occupied areas, importing essential supplies from enemy occupied areas, abolishing to the extent possible, private trade in food grains and essential supplies export and import, production of agricultural implements and provide of other important commodities. The main issue would be production of food grains.

We have to remember that the constructive work taken up in peace time should not be of long term economic construction. It should be of use to armed struggle directly.

In the economic construction people should be mobilised into mass organisations. But it should not be a forced affair. Making people consciously educated and encouraging their participate in economic construction programme voluntarily is important. Large number of cadre be entrusted to the task should of programme of economic construction. Economic construction, land distribution, labour of laws, peoples cultural programmes, political education of people, expansion of Red Army -all such issues should be coordinated and implemented.

The economic front in liberated areas consisted of 3 sectors. Govt sector, Private sector and cooperative sector.

Govt. sector shall be encouraged wherever possible. All facilities shall be provided for the development of private sector. Maximum support will be given to develop cooperative sector. Govt. leadership on private sector shall be gradually developed. This facilitates the advance to socialism.

The cardinal points in developmental activities are boosting industrial and agricultural products, increasing trade with outside world and promoting cooperative movement. The principle for resource mobilisation for liberated area govt is through economic construction.

No wasteful govt expenditure should be permitted. The workers issues should be carefully resolved and their standard of living boosted. But

no adventurist(left) steps should be permitted. Increasing wages to und high level or reducing number of working hours too much is wrong. A general principle well adopt 8 hr working day. In some divisions 10 hr working days also exist. Where a settlement is reached between the workers and the management, the workers should abide by it and have discipline. The profit earned by the capitalists give scope to such occurances this is not curbed factories will be closed down. Especially in the rural areas, the living condition of peasants should not be boosted too highly should very high should be given.

land issues

The full distribution of land to be carried out in Agrarian revolutionary phase is not implemented in this phase. In this phase reduction of interest rate and share cropping share on landlords lands were taken as the main issues. The share cropping share should not be reduced to rock bottom. The basic rate is 25% share in the produce. If the peasants demand more it can be raised to 30%. This rate should not be reduced. The interest rate also should be fixed at such level so as to not stop the money lending altogether. The control of the land will be in landlord's hands and peasantry benefited from reduced share cropping rate. This is our policy.

Taxation policy

Taxes should be in proportion to the income. Every one with income should pay tax to govt. The poorest shall be exempted. The burden of taxes should not be on only landlords and capitalists. Peasants also shall contribute to the kitty. Arresting individuals, imposing fines on them is wrong.

Civil rights

All the capitalists and landlords who are opposing Japanese imperialism shall have same and equal rights as all other people have.

9. Our attitude towards enemy soldiers

The counter revolutionary forces can be curbed only by ruthless suppression of hardcore traitors and anti Communists.

At the same time, killing of large number of people should be avoided and no innocent be punished. Those who were forced to join enemy camp against their will and the vacillating sections in enemy camp should be treated

liberally. Hanging should not be a punishment for routine crimes. For prosecution of any person strong evidence must be produced. If necessary those who are extremely hated by all people should hung. But this tyrants requires permission from higher official bodies.

In the life and death battle enemy may resorts to some vile tactics. He may train some traitors to work as fifth column nists among our guerilla squads. By developing the political consciousness of the people, people should be roused to keep an eape on such fifth columunists. Those who infiltrated our ranks should be erradicated. While removing them, all squad members should gather expose their heinouş role and see that all people hate and condemn their activities. Some traitors may have come into responsible position and in such cases their activities should be tracked with utmost caution and skill and they should be weeded out.

Those thieves and enemy soldiers who rebel against their govt and join us should be invited into our fold. But while reforming them adequate attention should be paid to find out who are genuinely opposed to the reactionaries and who are joining us in that garb to carry out conspiracies among us.

We should ceaselesly work to politically win to our side the lower rank soldiers in enemy army. Even the captured enemy soldiers should be won over to our side. Insulting or killing the captured enemy soldiers is prohibited. After we have explained our political tasks, those who wish to join our army should be permitted to do so and those wish to return home should be given journey fare and sent off.

10. Red army and discipline

Without Red Army people do not gain anything

Characteristics of Red Army :

--- Discipline based on political consciousness.

--- Consciousness to fight for the interests of the whole people and not for their own. The motto of peoples army is public service.

--- Red army is invincible. It will continue to fight till the enemy is filly wiped out. How adverse the situation may be it never surrenders to the enemy. It will keep fighting till the last soldier.

--- In the Red Army good rapport exist between officers and soldiers, and between soldiers and people. Good rapport exists between Red soldiers and peoples govt organisation.

--- Red Army adopts correct attitude towards enemy soldiers who have surrendered or have been captured. If politically wins over the enemy soldiers to its side.

--- It adopts correct strategy, tactics and principles of guerilla and mobile warfare.

--- In the intermission between two wars it undergoes military training.

--- Whenever necessary, it assists the people in economic activities. To reduce the strain on the people, Red Army harvest crops for its own consumption.

Every guerilla squad has to fight with enemy, continue protracted war. So its cadre should consist of cadre who are brave, active and are willing to participate in national liberation struggle without any reservations. Apart from the general characteristics they should have the following qualities. (1) They should be hard working and exemplary to their followers (2) They should have close contacts with people and integrate with them (3) They should develop ability to develop and maintain rapport between leaders and cadres (4) They should fully comprehend the details policy of national united front. This is necessary to avoid mistakes in guerilla programme (5) They should fully grasp our strategy and tactics of struggles and be familiar with latest developments.

A guerilla force comprising of such cadre is invincible. One cannot expect a guerilla having all these qualities from the minute he became a guerilla. The first and foremost quality desirable is the preparedness to sacrifice everything in the national liberation struggle. This is a prerequisite for all other qualities. The gurrella cadre should comprise of locals. They should have close contacts with the people and will be familiar with the terrain. Without mobilising more cadre from the locals, it would be difficult to wage protracted war. By holding training camps, cadres should be mobilised.

Voluntary recruitments is the main principle in guerilla squads. Any forced activity should be discouraged. Social inequalities should not hinder

the guerillas. The stellar qualities of a guerilla are perseverance and courage. Equipped with these qualities guerillas can face any hardship and fight for any length of time. Those who cannot maintain discipline, anarchists, and rift raft who cannot be reformed should not be taken into guerilla squads.

Red Army consists of two divisions. They are regular army and local army. Apart from these people defence squads, local armed squads also will be functioning. While the regular Red Army fights major battles with the enemy forces, local armies, peoples defence squads and local armed squads fight to defend their areas.

Democratic in Red Army

A peoples army fully adopts democratic methods of functionary. Ordinary soldiers, commanders carry out democratic campaigning in the army. This campaign should help in achieving political unity, betterment of living condition of soldiers and to develop military skills and tactics. This campaign should be conducted in a democratic centralised manner.

Ordinary soldiers should have to right to criticize the weakness, and mistakes of the military cadres. Ordinary soldiers certainly respect good cadres. In specific instances, ordinary soldiers should be afforded a chance to elect leaders of lower wings. When there is a severe shortage of cadres, such electoral process comes in handy. But this method should be used only when necessary.

Democracy should be established in peoples army through three methods.

(1) Discipline should not be implemented dictatorially. It has to be a voluntary (self imposed) discipline based on political consciousness.

(2) Equality between officers and soldiers should be established.

(3) Various sections of army should have equal right to participate in military actions.

In critical situation the political and military leadership should accompany the army and lead it. Thus the morale of the army will be boosted and unity between officers and soldiers and the leaders will be achieved.

Some wrong trends in Red Army

There is a possibility of wrong trends raising head in Red Army, some soldiers develop pure military outlook. These comrades refuse to see that military actions are only vehicles to achieve political aims and counter pose military affairs and political affairs. They feel that expertise in military affairs is expertise in all affairs. They do not bear in view that Red Army is military organisation formed to achieve political tasks of the revolution and consider Red Army to be a military organisation only. Apart from military struggle Red Army has to fulfil political tasks like conducting political campaign among the people, organising people, arming them and establishing revolutionary political power.

So these comrades look down on the wings of Red Army which carry out political tasks and argue that military wing should have the authority to take final decisions on all matters. They neglect not only the military squads which conduct political propaganda among people but also formation of military committees in the army and mobilising peasants and workers into mass organisation.

Comrades with pure military outlook are elated with a victory and are depressed by a defeat.

Comrades with such outlook will never care for military unity except their own. They feel as if they alone are fighting. They feel that they can crush the enemy provided their strength is intact. Therefore they evade confrontation with the enemy and preserve themselves. There is a chance of such comrades resorting to adventurist action due to revolutionary impetuosity, without proper assessment of subjective and objective situations. They hate strenuous work among the people. They yearn for big actions only.

Comrades with pure military outlook have low level political consciousness. They do not recognise the importance of political leadership. They exhibit employee mentality. They do not have necessary trust on people.

Some people in Red Army talk about democracy. These who advocate ultra democracy try to implement democratic centralism in reverse. They argue that higher bodies should take decision only after lower bodies have discussed all issues.

Some people in Red Army keep disobeying party decisions and discipline.

They do not recognise the point that though the minority though they do not argue with, the majority, it has to implement majority decision. The minority can try to have the decision on which they are not agreeable changed at subsequent meeting but meanwhile they should implement the majority decisions.

In the name of internal criticism they leave out important issues and hit out at individuals. Self criticism also is not done in party organisation but outside. Thus they violate discipline of party organisation and party unity.

--- Some Red soldiers argue for full equality. They claim that in all matters in allowances, carrying loads, etc., all should be equal.

As for as possible distribution of materials, should be equal. At the same time full equality is impractical and will hamper battle preparations.

while criticism mistakes of individuals, political and organisational aspects should be stressed and not individual weaknesses. If the individuals weaknesses are criticised. The spirit of the criticism should be to help the comrade overcome his weakness and correct his mistakes. It should not make the comrade despirited. Some people do not consider this while making their criticism.

Some comrades exhibit subjective attitude in their work. They bear grudge against those who criticised them. They serve the interests of the group alone in which they work. They have clerical mentality and behave as if they have mere clerks obeying orders of higherups. They yearn for easy life. When the decisions are against their desires, they will keep still. They will be anxious to leave work in Red Army and go to work in local area.

Some people in Red Army do not recognise the necessity of establishing a revolutionary base through bitter struggles and advocate the theory of roving rebel bonds.

Some people in Red Army propose adventurist actions. Without taking into consideration subject and objective situations they resort to adventuristic actions. They do not implement strongly the party programme in cities and towns. In some situations especially during defeats, they violate military discipline. In some cases they even burn down houses. They demand that the cowards who desert the army should be shot dead.

All the above stated wrongtrends blunt the fighting spirit of the Red Army. They should be organisationally, politically and ideologically com-

bated. We should recognise that these wrong trends raise their heads as the majority peasants in Red Army are from the middle class. It should be noted that they raise their ugly heads as efforts were not made to give deeper understanding of the party programme to Red soldiers and not waging correct ideological and political struggle against such wrong opinions.

Each branch of Red Army should and must have political organisers. They will come out the tasks of political education of red soldiers and guiding the mass programmes along the correct track etc.

How to select the members of guerilla squads

Guerilla squads can be formed in the following ways

- (1) Squads formed directly from the people
- (2) Guerilla temporarily deputed from the army
- (3) Special military force which will be exclusively used for guerilla actions
- (4) Joint squad comprises of guerilla from army and guerilla from the people
- (5) Guerillas formed from local militia, police etc.
- (6) Guerilla squads formed by guerillas who were in enemy army but revolted and joined us
- (7) Guerilla squads formed with dacoit gangs etc.

First : Guerilla squad formed directly from people is the most important type. The brutal acts of enemy soldiers whip up anti Japanese feeling among population and some of the advanced will come into anti Japanese resistance struggle. Of these the bright and brave are selected and formed into squads. At the outset the weapons for them are damaged rifles, country guns, swords and spears. Some people may say "he is just an ordinary guy". They are just a bunch of academic students. We should tell these people that they are wrong. The separation between a soldier and commoner is not unsummontable. If one wills, be he a academic student or a common man, can become soldiers in a flash. If you have a weapon in your hand you are a soldier. If you are organised, you are a part of army. Guerilla struggle is

like a military college. If you have with stood certain tests in the battle field, you will become an efficient general and will be many times a better soldier than a person called ordinary soldier. So the most important component of guerilla struggle are guerilla squads formed directly from people.

Two : Temporary guerilla squads formed by soldiers from Red Army for exclusively for guerilla actions. Depending on the situation, for some special missions, even a large company be deployed to engage enemy in skirmishes. The military leaders leading these squads should strive to change their old habits and develop initiative, discipline and skill and utilising tactics of guerilla war in the subordinate officers and soldiers. Since this programme is of temporary nature, they should train local peoples guerilla squads to carry on struggle after their departure.

Three : The guerilla squads formed by soldiers from regular army permanently for guerilla action cannot be clubbed with other squads. In some areas they are sent to operate behind enemy times. In an sudden advance by the enemy, those Red armies which are cut off from the retreating Red Army and are stuck up in enemy territory may also function similarly.

Four : The joint squads of small armed squads and local guerilla squads. This unison helps develop fighting capabilities of guerillas.

Five : Squads formed for local staff, police, village defence squads etc. They exist in northen China. As the squads formed they lack discipline, it should be developed. These squads can sustain capabilities by taking some their fighting courageous people with initiative into squads. By forming squads with patriotic youth guerilla war can be continued without a break and desertion from squads will come down. The Red spear society and such small organisations which became guerilla squads belong to this category.

Six : Squads formed with soldiers who rebelled in enemy armies and joined us. We should have regular contacts with such armies and by continuous campaigning organise rebellions. We should be prepared to accomodate those who rebel and join us. With the permission from the rebel leaders and with support from the active members, political and organisational changes should be made in these soldiers. Once this is successful, these rebel soldiers will become good guerilla squads. It is very much necessary to conduct political campaigning among them.

Seven : Guerilla squads made from bandit gangs. This is a very difficult task which should be done assiduously. We should ensure that the en-

emy does not utilise bandit gangs for his advantage. In the garb of anti Japanese guerilla many bandit gangs are playing their trade. Whenever possible we should develop contacts and politically educate them. It is easier to reform those who resort to high way robberies and who also survive as peasants.

All the above mentioned categories & guerillas together form the vast guerilla army. As the saying goes 'As the sea absorbs all rivers from smallest brooks to biggest river, it becomes an ocean', the guerilla army also should be similar to ocean, to fulfill its key task. All patriots should note this.

Equipment for guerillas

Lets study the issue of what equipment do the guerillas need ? How is it supplied ? (1) Guerilla squads are lightly armed teams which make lightning raids. So their equipment also should be light and under no circumstances become burden for them. (2) It should be appropriate for the specific situation and task to be carried out. (3) The equipment depends not only on necessity should be developed slowly and there is no point in demanding all at the same time. Bearing these three points in mind, the issue should be solved.

Guerillas equipment is - weapons, ammunition, clothing, bed rolls, communication equipment, medical equipment, supply aids, propaganda aids.

Though it is difficult to procure weapons & ammunition for guerillas in the beginning, it is not possible. Squads organised from people in the nascent stage should fight with country made riffles, shot guns, country field guns, swords, spears. Modern weapons will be given in meagre quantities. Slowly they have to acquire better arms, in larger numbers. In battles with enemy, they have to be acquired from people and mainly from the enemy. The best way is to conduct lightning raids on enemy supplies. Every guerilla zone should have a weapon repairing centre. It should be developed into a bayonet, bullet, grenade & riffle manufacturing unit. Yet we should not depend to greater extent on our products. We should depend mainly on the enemy for all the equipment of guerilla squads. To destroy bridges, railway stations, trains & roads and to collect requisite material different methods should be employed. For this teams of experts should be formed and attached to all guerilla squads. They constitute special sabotage teams.

Clothing : Every guerilla needs two pairs of summer clothing, a pair of winter clothing, two caps, a blanket, a pair of slippers and a bag for food. We should not depend on the enemy for these and should be procured by us.

Forcing the captured enemy soldiers and officers to take off their clothes should be launched.

Guerillas in primary stages need not wear uniform. Small squads do not require radios, telephones etc. Large sections like regiments etc require those equipments. As far as possible each guerilla base should have a medical team. It is important to procure medicines along with men. When modern medicines are not available, country medicines(herbs) can be used.

Methods of material supply :

In Eastern China men do not carry materials. Mules and Horses are used. Small guerilla squads do not require animals but large squads should fix quotas for animals for specific jobs.

Propaganda Equipment : Bigger squads require cyclostyling machine & stencils and paper etc. for pamphletering. Also colors & brushes are required for posters. A stable area may have a printing machine & litho machine. These are used to educate not only the people but also our guerilla cadre.

Recognise the importance of anti-Japanese struggle, the regular army commander should take the responsibility of supply to the guerillas those items which the guerillas are unable to procure. Yet guerillas should not forget the cardinal principle that they should equip themselves. Depending on outsides undermines the guerilla fighting spirit and morale.

Disciplinary rules in Red Army : Red army must obey the following 3 cardinal principles (1) On all matters, instruction from above should be obeyed. (2) Even a needle or a string of thread should not be taken from the people (3) All seized materials should be surrendered to the committee.

The Red Army should be vigilant about the following eight points.

1) Be polite

2) Pay reasonable price for everything you buy.

- 3) Return everything you borrowed from people.
- 4) Pay reasonable compensation for all damaged articles.
- 5) Do not intimidate or man handle people.
- 6) Do not damage people's crops.
- 7) Do not insult women.
- 8) Do not torture captured enemy soldiers.(ie., prisoners)

10. People's war & the communist party

To win the revolution a revolutionary party is required. Without a communist party based on the revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism, it would be difficult to lead the struggles of the working class & oppressed masses aimed to defeat imperialists and their puppets.

Without a revolutionary theory, knowledge of history, grip over the practice & movement, a political party, revolutionary movement cannot succeed. The communist party should assimilate both patriotism & proletarian internationalism.

The main task of the communist party is to make success New Democratic Revolution & Socialist revolution. No bourgeois or petty bourgeois party other than communist party can lead till last. Only the communist party imbued with bolshevik spirit can successfully lead the two revolutions. Only a communist party with mass base throughout the country can carry out the two tasks. It is the duty of each and every communist to build such a communist party.

The communist party should mobilise all the anti imperialist, anti-bourgeoisie, anti-big landlords revolutionary forces into a broad national united front under its leadership. United front with other revolutionary forces ideological and political struggle with united front forces where necessary-are the two tasks of the communist party.

The Communist party should lead broad national united front i.e. in all fronts, the communists should do exemplary work for all the revolutionary forces in national united front. To successfully lead the revolutionary struggles of crores of oppressed people, the key issue is to train required

number of party cadres. Once the correct political line is laid down, its fortune is decided in the hands of the cadres. So large number of cadres capable of carrying out party programme in all fronts should be trained in a planned manner.

Cadre should be assessed carefully and assesment based on an incident or topical programme would be wrong. Each cadres party life, his party activities should be assessed and thus the cadres be assessed.

Cadres should be selected for differents fronts based on the following points can they firmly implement party programme or not ? Will he aside by the party discipline or not? Whether or not he has close contacts with public? Whether or not he can show initiative? Whether or not he works actively? Whether or not he is a hard self less worker?

Any partiality on part of leadership committees in selecting cadres will disrupt party organisation.

Cadres should be nurtured carefully and carefully trained. The following points should be noted.

-- Cadres should have freedom of action in day to day functioning. They should be trained to talk such responsibility. At the same time they should be adviced on the implementation of party policy. Thus their initiative should be encouraged.

-- Efforts should be made to boost the political, ideological and organisational level of cadres, They should have time to study. They should be afforded chance to develop ideologically and politically.

-- Cadres programme should be frequently checked. They should be assisted in reviewing their experience and knowing their mistakes. Gains should be consolidated. Without checking frequently taking into consideration only when they made serious mistakes is wrong method. This method does not help to develop cadres.

--In case of cadre who made mistakes, efforts should be made to make the cadre recognise their mistakes. Only those who made mistakes and refuse to head the guidelines from higher committees should be dealt strictly.

-- Share the cadres difficulties. When they are ill, have personal or economic problems, domestic problems, give advice on those matters and

lend helping hand.

Democratic centralism

All party organisations should be based on democratic centralism. All party members shall have full rights in formulating party programme, formulating day to day programme and criticising the wrong. At the same time, all party organs should implement principles of democratic centralism from top to bottom.

- The individual should obey the party organisation
- Minority will obey majority decisions.
- Lower committees must implement decision of higher committees
- All party members shall obey the central committee.

Here we have to remember some aspects. When upper Committee make correct decision they can correct lower committees to implement them. If the higher committees make erroneous decision, they are bound to face resistance from lower committees. So how far and how well can the principle and democratic centralism can be implemented depends upon the extent to which higher committees take correct decisions.

Criticism - self criticism

Utilisation of criticism - self criticism in proper manner is vital in making the communist party a truly revolutionary party.

A communist party based on Marxism-Leninism, a communist party which has the cooperation of peasant and workers need not be afraid of criticism. By proper utilisation of criticism or self criticism communist party can remove its short comings and eradicate wrong trends in it. This is one of the major difference between a Communist party and other political parties.

Mistakes committed in the past should be severely criticised. But this should help us in avoiding such mistakes in the future. Criticism should help the comrades who committed mistakes in correcting them and not humiliate them. Strict measures should be taken against only those who refuse to correct their mistakes.

Criticism should be aimed at major political and organisations mistakes and not at trivial individual mistakes.

Criticism should be made within party organisations in organised fashion and never without organisation.

Every political party or individual commits mistakes. Through the method of criticism and self criticism they should be corrected as quickly and as fully as possible.

Unity between locals and non locals

While developing armed struggle in an area, new cadres from outside have to be sent. The unity between outside (non-local cadres) and local cadres is crucial in developing the armed struggle.

The locals will be of low level politically, organisationally and ideologically. They have little initiative. Cadres from outside are politically, organisationally and ideologically of higher level and have more initiative. But as the local cadres come from local people, know local condition well, they play an important role, in penetrating into masses. Deserving local cadres should not be denied promotions to leadership positions under the pretext of low political consciousness. Non-local cadres should change the attitude of looking down on local cadres and insulting them and try to integrate with them. Similarly local cadres should strive to learn ideological, political and organisational issues from the non locals. Thus unity between these two sections forged.

Ideological struggle against left and right trends

Throughout the period of protracted armed struggle, the communist party of China based on Mao Thought waged a relentless ideological struggle against left and right deviation. The peoples war won in China only due to the continuous struggle to eradicate under the leadership of Com. Mao, by adopting mass line the left and right trends which raised their heads in the communist party. It is able to make success peoples democratic revolution and advance in the path of socialism.

History has proved that correct political and military does not come up, by itself peacefully. Only through relentless struggle can the correct military and political line be forged.

211212The various contradictions between classes in the society and the contradiction between old and new are bound to reflect in the party also. The right and left trends are only reflections of the contradictions in the society. By basing on Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought and eradicating the left and right deviation only can the armed struggle succeed.

By CP. Reddy

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