

# PEKING REVIEW

36

September 3, 1965

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF VICTORY IN THE  
WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPAN

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報

**Long Live the Victory of  
People's War!**

An article by Lin Piao.

**The People Defeated Japanese  
Fascism and They Can Certainly  
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Too**

Speech by Lo Jui-ching at Peking rally.

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY IN GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST JAPAN

by Mao Tse-tung

September 3, 1965, is the 20th anniversary of China's victory in its War of Resistance Against Japan. On this occasion we specially recommend to readers the noted work written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in May 1938, "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan." The ideas expounded here played a great guiding role in China's revolutionary war. In this connection, the Committee for the Publication of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has given the following explanatory note: "In the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan, many people inside and outside the Party belittled the important strategic role of guerrilla warfare and pinned their hopes on regular warfare alone, and particularly on the operations of the Kuomintang forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung refuted this view and wrote this article to show the correct road of development for anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. As a result, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, which had just over 40,000 men when the War of Resistance began in 1937, grew to a great army of one million by the time Japan surrendered in 1945, established many revolutionary base areas, played a great part in the war and thus, throughout this period, made Chiang Kai-shek afraid to capitulate to Japan or launch a nationwide civil war. In 1946, when Chiang Kai-shek did launch a nationwide civil war, the People's Liberation Army, formed out of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, was strong enough to deal with his attacks." Today, it is very clear that the theory of a people's war found in this work is of vital practical importance for the Chinese people and for the people of the whole world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and, in particular, for the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for liberation.

68 pages	18.5 X 13 cm.	cloth or paper cover
76 pages	14.5 X 9.5 cm.	paper cover (pocket size)

## Democratic Tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

by Ho Lung

This article was written by Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council of the People's Republic of China in celebration of the 38th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on August 1, 1965. It systematically summarizes the rich experience accumulated by the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the practice of democracy and the mass line over the last 38 years.

About 46 pages	18.5 X 13 cm.	paper cover
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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 3, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 36

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# THE WEEK

## First People's Congress of Tibet Meets

The first session of the First People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region opened in Lhasa on September 1. One of its most important acts will be to announce the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region, which, as pointed out in a message of greetings from the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, "marks a new stage in the development of the revolution and construction of the Tibetan people and is another great victory following the abolition of serfdom and the carrying out of democratic reform."

The opening session was addressed by Hsieh Fu-chih, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, who heads the 76-member delegation sent by the Party's Central Committee and the State Council to attend the inaugural ceremony of the autonomous region.

In his opening address, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, executive chairman, described as "an earth-shaking event" the fact that the one million serfs are now exercising their rights as masters in their own house. He hailed the formal establishment of the autonomous region as "a glorious victory of the Chinese Communist Party's policy on nationalities, and also a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thinking."

Present at the congress are 301 deputies, including 226 Tibetans most of whom are former serfs and slaves emancipated in the 1959 democratic reform. There are also deputies of the Han, Monba, Loba and Hui nationalities in Tibet. They will hear a political and other reports and a report on the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. They will elect the Chairman and other leading officials of the

autonomous region and adopt the region's budget.

Vice-Premier Hsieh's speech was greeted with thunderous applause. Calling the conference a meeting of victors of the great revolution of the Tibetan people, he said, "Tibetan society has skipped several centuries and, from having been a feudal serf society, is advancing through democratic revolution towards a socialist society."

Reviewing the revolutionary struggle and the splendid achievements of the Tibetan people in the past 15 years, the Vice-Premier said that the historic road traversed by them has proved an important truth: Only by uniting in the big family of the socialist motherland, working under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao and relying on the poor people, rallying the broad masses and persisting in the revolution, were the Tibetan people able to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the feudal serf-owning class, to achieve national liberation and the emancipation of the serfs, to realize the people's democratic dictatorship, to do away with poverty and backwardness by developing their economy and culture, and to advance towards socialism.

Congratulatory messages from all parts of the country were received by the congress.

The State Council message expressed satisfaction over what has been done in Tibet, and greeted the series of victories won by the people of Tibet in the past 15 years. Among these it listed the putting down of the counter-revolutionary armed rebellion of the traitorous Dalai Lama clique, the exposing and criticizing

of the anti-people, serf-owner clique represented by Panchen Erdeni, the democratic reforms, the mutual aid and co-operation movement, the bumper harvests in six successive years, the steady growth of animal hus-

bandry, and the marked progress in industry, transportation, culture, public health and other fields.

The session is still in progress as we go to press.

## Celebrating D.R.V.'s National Day

On September 2, 1945, the first red flag with its gold-star was hoisted over Ba Dinh Square in the city of Hanoi. On that historic day, President Ho Chi Minh proclaimed to the world the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people had put an end to long years of imperialist and colonial oppression and ushered in a new era.

The Chinese people celebrated the 20th anniversary of that great day in deep-felt unity with their Vietnamese brothers. Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to Vietnamese Party and state leaders Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong, congratulating the heroic Vietnamese people on their victories in the struggle against imperialism and their successes in socialist construction. The message said:

"At the present time, the Vietnamese people are resisting aggression by U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world, and valiantly waging a great struggle against U.S. aggression and to save the nation. This struggle not only defends the independence, sovereignty and national dignity of Viet Nam but is also an important part of the common struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism and for world peace. Standing firmly in the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle, the Vietnamese people are striking hard at, weakening and tying down the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and war, thus giving strong support to the revolutionary struggles of the world's people against U.S. imperialism and in defence of peace.

"Fighting heroically and resourcefully on the Viet Nam battlefields, the Vietnamese people have grown ever stronger while U.S. imperialism is suffering one defeat after another. U.S. imperialism has been further exposed as a paper tiger by the heroic Vietnamese people whose revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle and to win and dauntless heroism have won the wholehearted admiration and praise of the people of the whole world. The people of the world are on the side of the Vietnamese people, sympathizing with and supporting their just struggle and firm in the conviction that the heroic Vietnamese people will defeat U.S. imperialist aggression and win final victory.

"China and Viet Nam are two neighbouring socialist countries which are interdependent like the lips and the teeth. Our two peoples are close comrades-in-arms bound by brotherly ties. The Vietnamese people's struggle is a tremendous support to the Chinese people. We Chinese people resolutely support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and to save their country. Our people have made all necessary preparations and are determined to struggle to the end shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people to defeat U.S. imperialist aggression."

Peking marked the anniversary with a mass rally at the Great Hall of the People. Among the 10,000 people attending were Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Tung Pi-wu and Teng Hsiao-ping as well as envoys from the Vietnamese people.

Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, addressed the rally. He said: "No matter to what level U.S. imperialism escalates the war and no matter how great the cost, the Chinese people will stand unswervingly by the fraternal Vietnamese people and fight determinedly against the U.S. brigands to the very end."

He paid tribute to the Vietnamese people for their heroism in fighting against U.S. aggression. He said: "By their struggle and victories, the Vietnamese people are proving to the whole world that as long as confidence is placed in the great strength of the people and the method of a people's war is used, it is entirely possible to defeat any enemy, however strong he may be."

Tran Huy Lieu, head of the delegation of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association, also addressed the gathering. A standing ovation greeted him when he declared that the Vietnamese people would resolutely fight U.S. imperialism and would go on fighting as long as was necessary to drive it out of Viet Nam. He quoted President Ho Chi Minh's call to the people of the whole country to go on fighting another 5 years, 10 years, 20 years or even longer, if necessary, to win final victory and drive out the U.S. aggressors. "President Ho Chi Minh's call," Tran Huy Lieu said, "expressed the 30 million Vietnamese people's firm determination which no force on earth can shake."

Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Tu Binh gave a reception in Peking to celebrate the anniversary. Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders attended. Both Ambassador Tran Tu Binh and Premier Chou En-lai spoke at the reception. They denounced U.S. imperialism for pressing on with its "peace talks" hoax while madly escalating its war of aggression in Viet Nam. (For Premier Chou's speech see p. 5.)

# Premier Chou Condemns U.S. "Peace Talks" Hoax

*Following is the speech made by Premier Chou En-lai at the Vietnamese National Day reception given by Tran Tu Binh, Vietnamese Ambassador to China, on September 2.—Ed.*

**Dear Comrade Ambassador Tran Tu Binh,**

**Dear Comrade Tran Huy Lieu, Head of the Delegation,**

**Comrades and Friends,**

Today is the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We are very happy to celebrate this glorious festival together with our Vietnamese comrades. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend warm congratulations and pay high tribute to the Vietnamese Government and the Vietnamese people, who are at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was born and has grown up amidst flames of revolution. Under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people have in the past twenty years advanced fearlessly along the road of revolution and scored brilliant achievements. They fought a bitter war of resistance for nine years and smashed the French colonialists' plan for a comeback. The great victory of Dien Bien Phu occupies a place of great honour in the history of all people's struggle for national liberation. In the northern part of Viet Nam, socialist construction has developed swiftly and the socialist system is becoming increasingly strengthened. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is now the staunch southeastern front of the socialist camp. In the face of the frenzied aggression of U.S. imperialism, the entire Vietnamese people are now engaged in a great heroic struggle to liberate the south, defend the north and reunify the fatherland. By their struggle, they have rendered immortal service in defence of the socialist camp and the peace of Asia and the whole world.

In their struggle for national salvation against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people have creatively applied

the weapon of people's war and have developed people's war to a higher level. They are fighting bravely, staunchly and with highly flexible tactics, working one military miracle after another. The United States' "special warfare" has failed, and its "air and naval superiority" has proved of no avail. The dispatch of reinforcements to south Viet Nam, the escalation of the war and the increasingly wanton bombing of north Viet Nam will not save the United States from its doom but only bog it down still deeper in the quagmire and bring on it still more disastrous defeats. The actual struggle of the Vietnamese people demonstrates to all the peoples who are waging armed struggle against imperialist aggression that, so long as they correctly follow the line of the people's war, they can defeat all foreign aggressors and their lackeys, no matter how many modern weapons the latter possess and how far they extend the war of aggression.

While escalating its war of aggression, U.S. imperialism is becoming more and more energetic in playing with the trick of "peace talks." It has proposed "unconditional discussions" and prompted many suggestions for "peace talks." But all these plots have failed one after another, and more and more Afro-Asian countries have seen through the U.S. peace hoax.

But the United States has not yet given up. Recently, while announcing its decision to send massive reinforcements to south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration declared that it was ready to discuss the proposals set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to settle the Viet Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreements.

This is a ludicrous swindle. Just as paper cannot contain fire, empty peace talk cannot hide the facts of increased aggression. Who can believe that the United States is sincere for peace when it is sending reinforcements to south Viet Nam and expanding its aggression against Viet Nam?

The U.S. Government glibly says that it wants to settle the Viet Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva

agreements. This can only hoodwink those who do not know the facts. What is the foundation and essence of the Geneva agreements? It is the undertaking to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. It is stressed in the Geneva agreements that the 17th Parallel is a provisional demarcation line which "should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary"; it is also explicitly provided in the agreements that the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam should be realized in 1956 through general elections. The United States has obstructed the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam and sent large numbers of armed forces for aggression in south Viet Nam and its expansion to the north. This is utterly incompatible with the Geneva agreements.

If the 1954 Geneva agreements are to be acted upon, the most important and essential thing is to withdraw all U.S. armed forces from south Viet Nam, and this is precisely the crucial part of the four-point proposition put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 8. But now the United States, far from withdrawing its troops and stopping its aggression, is still sending over large reinforcements and expanding its aggression. How can people be induced to believe that the United States has any sincerity to accept the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam?

The basic question now is that it is impossible to put the 1954 Geneva agreements into effect if the United States does not first withdraw its troops from south Viet Nam, which means the question of south Viet Nam is still being subjected to outside interference. The very aim of the peace talks plot hatched by the United States is to bring about negotiations by cajolery so as to consolidate its position in south Viet Nam. As long as the United States does not withdraw its troops, it can carry on endless talks with you so that it may hang on there indefinitely.

The Vietnamese people is a people with rich experience in struggle. They have gained experience both in fighting the imperialist aggressors and in holding negotiations with them. President Ho Chi Minh has issued the following call to the Vietnamese people, "In face of the aggression by the U.S. pirates,

our people in the north and in the south have united like one man and are determined to fight. We are determined to fight till final victory even if we have to go on fighting another five years, ten years, twenty years or even longer." This is the powerful reply of the great Vietnamese people to the peace hoax of the United States. Premier Pham Van Dong said a few days ago that what the United States means by "unconditional discussions" is "the demand that we accept their conditions. These conditions are to let the U.S. imperialists cling to south Viet Nam, keep their troops in south Viet Nam and ignore the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. These conditions are continued intensification of the aggressive war in Viet Nam, massive build-up of U.S. armed forces in south Viet Nam and the stepped-up escalation of the war to the north. It is crystal-clear that these conditions are those of the aggressors and are unacceptable to the Vietnamese people and cannot be tolerated by world opinion." The 650 million Chinese people resolutely support this just stand of the brotherly Vietnamese people.

The U.S. imperialists and their followers of various descriptions, now at the end of their tether, are trying to find a crack between China and Viet Nam to drive in a wedge. This is indeed both despicable and absurd. No force on earth can destroy the militant friendship of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese people are firm and consistent in their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We consider this to be the Chinese people's bounden internationalist duty and nothing to boast of. Moreover, we feel that our support for the Vietnamese people falls far short of the support which the Vietnamese people are giving us by their struggle.

The U.S. imperialists and their followers of all hues are trying hard to induce Afro-Asian countries to associate themselves with the U.S. peace talks hoax. Pretending to be impartial, they are probing everywhere, trying to place the U.S. aggressors and their victims, the Vietnamese people, on a par and demanding concessions from both sides. But this plot will not succeed. We Afro-Asian countries have suffered

enough from imperialist aggression and are even now subjected to imperialist threats and aggression. The Vietnamese people's great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a tremendous support to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of other Afro-Asian peoples and all oppressed nations. It is the bounden duty of the other Afro-Asian countries to support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. An increasing number of Afro-Asian countries have come to understand that the question of U.S. aggression against Viet Nam is an issue between justice and injustice and that one must never take a compromising attitude between justice and injustice.

The United States is playing no end of tricks for its peace talks plot. It has openly asked the United Nations to intervene in the Viet Nam question. And officials of the United Nations, including the Secretary-General, feeling much flattered, are working to this end in all directions. As the whole world knows, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has repeatedly pointed out that the United Nations has nothing to do with the Viet Nam question and has no right whatsoever to intervene. The Johnson Administration is lost to shame. Does it really think that the Afro-Asian people have forgotten about the use of the United Nations by the United States in its aggression against Korea and the Congo (Leopoldville)? The Chinese people resolutely support the stand of the Vietnamese people and will never allow the United Nations to poke a hand into the Viet Nam question.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are also trying to peddle the hoax of peace talks through various other international organizations and conferences, particularly those of Asian and African countries. The African-Asian Conference is due to open soon. The U.S. imperialists and their followers of all hues will not let go of this opportunity. Their policy is first to sabotage and prevent the holding of the African-Asian Conference, and then, if this cannot be done, to squeeze in and wreck it from within. This is the wishful thinking of U.S. imperialism and its followers. The Second African-Asian Conference is a conference of the Asian and African states convened for the purpose of voicing the common desire of the Afro-Asian peoples to unite against imperialism. The Vietnamese people's struggle

against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is an event of prime importance in Asia and Africa. On this question, the Afro-Asian peoples can only firmly condemn the United States for its aggression against Viet Nam and demand that it stop this aggression, withdraw all its military forces from south Viet Nam and leave the south Vietnamese people to settle their own problems; they can only resolutely support the four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five-part statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and can never go in for any "mediation" or "peace appeal" without distinguishing between right and wrong. Otherwise, what is the need for calling the Second African-Asian Conference?

Comrades and Friends! President Ho Chi Minh has rightly said, "Viet Nam and China have a profound friendship, being comrades as well as brothers." This is quite true. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have always supported and helped each other in their anti-imperialist struggles. This has been the case in the past, and will remain so in the future. The Vietnamese people's struggle is also the Chinese people's struggle. No matter how frantically the U.S. imperialists may act and what price may have to be paid, the Chinese people will for ever stand by the Vietnamese people in resolutely defeating the U.S. aggressors.

Now I propose a toast

to the victory of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation,

to the great unity and militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples,

to the health of President Ho Chi Minh, the respected and beloved leader of the Vietnamese people,

to the health of the comrade leaders of the Party and Government of Viet Nam,

to the health of Comrade Ambassador Tran Tu Binh,

to the health of Comrade Tran Huy Lieu, Head of the Delegation,

to the health of all the diplomatic envoys and their wives present here, and

to the health of all our comrades and friends present here!

## Hongkong As U.S. Base: China Protests

The U.S. aggressor forces are being allowed by the British Government to use Hongkong as a base for operations in the war of aggression against Viet Nam. The Chinese Government has lodged a strong protest against this in a note handed on September 1 by Hsieh Li, director of the West European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to British Charge d'Affaires ad interim K.M. Wilford.

As the United States escalates its war of aggression in Viet Nam, its warships, aircraft and military personnel have been visiting Hongkong with increasing frequency and using it extensively as a base for preparing their military operations. In between combat operations, U.S. aircraft carriers, submarines, landing craft and other vessels have frequently put in at Hongkong to replenish supplies. They also use it as a rest and recuperation centre for their crews. Large numbers of U.S. military aircraft of all types shuttle between Hongkong and U.S. bases of aggression in south Viet Nam, transporting military personnel and using the airfield in Hongkong for repair and maintenance, refuelling and communications.

Instead of checking these activities which endanger the peaceful life of the inhabitants of Hongkong and pose a grave threat to the security of China and of Southeast Asia, the British Government has tried to shield and justify them in an attempt to evade its responsibility. Pointing out that this support to U.S. aggression was one of deliberate hostility to the people of China and the whole world, the note said that the Chinese Government and people could not tolerate it. It demanded that the British Government immediately take effective measures to put an end to all activities of the U.S. aggressor forces in Hongkong, otherwise it must bear full responsibility for all consequences arising therefrom.

## China-Algeria Joint Communiqué

The joint communiqué signed by China and Algeria in Peking on August 28 noted that during the talks between the two sides satisfactory results were arrived at after an extensive exchange of views, particularly on the Second African-Asian Conference, the current international situation and the development of relations of friendship and co-operation between both countries.

The two sides also noted with satisfaction that the revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world against imperialism and colonialism was developing in depth. They expressed firm support for the national-liberation movements, condemned all acts by the imperialists endangering the freedom of the people and the security of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as all forms of

intervention aimed at maintaining political or economic domination by the imperialists.

Both sides reaffirmed their resolute support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. They held that the Viet Nam question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves and that all solutions to this problem must respect the principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements concerning the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

Reiterating that the Second African-Asian Conference should be held, as scheduled, on November 5 in Algiers, the two sides pledged to work for its complete success so that it would reflect the wishes of the Asian and African peoples for strengthening their solidarity against imperialism and colonialism.

## Chinese Leaders Meet Algerian Delegation

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the Algerian government delegation led by State Minister Rabah Bitat on August 27. Two days earlier, Premier Chou En-lai had met Minister Bitat and held friendly talks with him. A China-Algeria joint communiqué was issued on August 28.

Before leaving Peking for a visit to Hangchow and Shanghai, Minister Bitat gave a banquet for Chinese leaders on August 27. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lo Jui-ching attended.

Both Minister Bitat and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the banquet. They toasted Afro-Asian solidarity and wished the coming Second African-Asian Conference success.

Minister Bitat said that the Second African-Asian Conference was of unique importance, and expressed the conviction that the conference would develop the Bandung spirit.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the Chinese people always treasured solidarity and co-operation among the peoples of Asian and African countries. "The more closely we unite and co-operate, the greater will be

our strength against imperialism." He was convinced, he said, that the forthcoming Second African-Asian Conference in Algiers on November 5 would consolidate and develop the fruits of the Bandung Conference and further promote the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism.

## Nepalese Vice-Chairman Visits China

The signing in Peking on August 29 of a protocol on highway construction in Nepal was the result of fruitful talks by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi with Kirti Nidhi Bista, Vice-Chairman of the Nepalese Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Land Reform, Food and Agriculture.

Vice-Chairman Bista, Mme. Bista and their party arrived in Peking on August 25 on a friendly visit. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi met them on August 28.

After their arrival, the distinguished Nepalese guests were honoured at a banquet given by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife. The developing friendship between China and Nepal was the toast of the evening. The

Vice-Premier condemned the imperialists and their followers for repeatedly trying to sow discord and undermine the unity and friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples. But, he said, "they will never succeed. This is because both our countries have sincerely taken the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference as guiding principles in developing our relations. These relations of friendship have set an example of peaceful coexistence for countries with different social systems."

Vice-Chairman Bista said that relations between Nepal and China had entered a new stage. He listed the Nepal-China Boundary Treaty and the Kathmandu-Kodari Highway as "examples of genuine international co-operation" and expressed the hope that the future would witness further measures of co-operation between both countries.

In an interview with Chinese and foreign correspondents on August 29, Vice-Chairman Bista spoke of his impressions of China, his meeting with Chinese leaders and the success of his talks with them. He also said that the Second African-Asian Conference should be convened at the scheduled time and stressed that the Viet Nam question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

### **Chairman Mao Receives Congolese Guests**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on August 25 received and had a cordial talk with Gaston Soumialot, President of the Congolese (Leopoldville) Supreme Council of Revolution, and members of the Congolese delegation he led.

On August 26, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity Liao Cheng-chih gave a farewell banquet for the Congolese guests who left Peking the next morning after an eight-day visit.

### **Chairman Mao Receives Mexican Guests**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai on September

3 met General Heriberto Jara, noted Mexican public figure, and Colonel Nicolas Delgado Santoval who is accompanying the General on his current visit to China. The Chinese leaders had a cordial and friendly talk with their guests.

### **Chinese and Japanese C.P. Leaders Meet**

Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and his wife Cho Lin on August 28 met Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party; his wife Kikuko Hakamada; Ichiryo Sunama, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P. and Member of the Central Committee's Secretariat; and his wife Akiko Sunama. They had a cordial and friendly talk.

Later, Teng Hsiao-ping and his wife gave a banquet in honour of the visiting Japanese comrades.

### **Protest Against Indian Acts Of Aggression**

China has strongly protested against India's acts of aggression which jeopardize tranquillity on the China-Sikkim border and threaten the security of Chinese inhabitants there.

In a note to the Indian Embassy on August 27, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs drew attention to the fact that verified accounts from the local Chinese authorities concerned reported four serious cases of intrusions by Indian soldiers who crossed the China-Sikkim border in July. The most striking instance took place on the afternoon of July 22 when nine Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory from a point north of Cho La, a pass on the China-Sikkim boundary. They pitched a tent in the Riwujig pasture, probed for information, entered the tents of Chinese herdsmen and seized property at will. On July 23, two of the intruders penetrated as far as 12 kilometres inside China's territory and reached the Khunggalhaka pas-

ture near Hsiasima in Yatung County in Tibet. The nine Indians left Chinese territory at noon on July 24.

The Foreign Ministry's note listed three other cases of intrusion and said that no sovereign state could brook such flagrant acts. The note declared: "The Chinese Government must warn India that if it does not immediately stop such acts of aggression and provocation, it must bear full responsibility for the consequences that may arise therefrom."

### **Warning to British Government**

China issued a serious warning to the British Government in connection with the sending, by the British authorities in Hongkong, of four military personnel of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to Taiwan. The warning was conveyed on August 26 to British Charge d'Affaires K.M. Wilford by Hu Shu-tu, deputy director of the West European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On August 6, two U.S.-made warships of the Chiang Kai-shek gang intruded into the waters off the coast of Kwangtung and Fukien Provinces on sabotage missions and were promptly sunk by the Chinese Navy. Four of the crew of the sunken warships who escaped were picked up and brought to Hongkong by a Norwegian vessel on August 8. The British authorities in Hongkong sent them to Taiwan that evening.

Hu Shu-tu pointed out to the British Charge d'Affaires that the harassment by the Chiang warships was carried out at a time when the U.S. Government was intensifying its military provocations against China and expanding its aggression in Viet Nam. He stressed that the four Chiang men had escaped from a battle with the Chinese Navy, and that the British authorities in Hongkong had the responsibility of detaining them, after they had been brought to Hongkong, and handing them over to the Chinese Government. To send them to Taiwan, therefore, was an obvious act of supporting the U.S.-Chiang clique and one which the Chinese Government absolutely could not tolerate.



# LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

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

by Lin Piao

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**The Principal Contradiction in the Period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Line of the Communist Party of China . . . Correctly Apply the Line and Policy of the United Front . . . Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas . . . Build a People's Army of a New Type . . . Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics of People's War . . . Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance . . . The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Theory of People's War . . . Defeat U.S. Imperialism and Its Lackeys by People's War . . . The Khrushchov Revisionists Are Betrayers of People's War**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The basic reasons were that the War of Resistance Against Japan was a genuine people's war led by the

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

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

Prior to the war against Japan, the Communist Party of China had gone through the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1924-1927 and the Second Revolutionary Civil War of 1927-1936 and summed up the experience and lessons of the successes and failures in those wars, and the leading role of Mao Tse-tung's thought had become established within the Party. This was the fundamental guarantee of the Party's ability to lead the Chinese people to victory in the War of Resistance.

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

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

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

recapitulate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war.

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

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

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

There had long been two basic contradictions in China—the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation, and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses of the people. For ten years before the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the Kuomintang reactionary clique, which represented the interests of imperialism, the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, had waged civil war against the Communist Party of China and the Communist-led Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which represented the interests of the Chinese people. In 1931, Japanese imperialism invaded and occupied northeastern China. Subsequently, and especially after 1935, it stepped up and expanded its aggression against China, penetrating deeper and deeper into our territory. As a result of its invasion, Japanese imperialism sharpened its contradiction with the Chinese nation to an extreme degree and brought about changes in class relations within China. To end the civil war and to unite against Japanese aggression became the pressing nation-wide demand of the people. Changes of varying degrees also occurred in the political attitudes of the national bourgeoisie and the various factions within the Kuomintang. And the Sian Incident<sup>1</sup> of 1936 was the best case in point.

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

For a period prior to the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the "Left" opportunists represented by Wang Ming within the Chinese Communist Party were blind to the important changes in China's political situation caused by Japanese aggression since 1931 and denied the sharpening of the Sino-Japanese national contradiction and the demands of various social strata for a war of resistance; instead, they stressed that all

the counter-revolutionary factions and intermediate forces in China and all the imperialist countries were a monolithic bloc. They persisted in their line of "closed-doorism" and continued to advocate, "Down with the whole lot."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the basis of this analysis Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the strategy for a protracted war. China's War of Resistance would be protracted, and prolonged efforts would be needed gradually to weaken the enemy's forces and expand our own, so that the enemy would change from being strong to being weak and we would change from being weak to being strong and accumulate sufficient strength finally to defeat him. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that with the change in the balance of forces between the enemy and

ourselves the War of Resistance would pass through three stages, namely, the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate and the strategic offensive. The protracted war was also a process of mobilizing, organizing and arming the people. It was only by mobilizing the entire people to fight a people's war that the War of Resistance could be persevered in and the Japanese aggressors defeated.

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

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

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

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

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

### **Correctly Apply the Line and Policy Of the United Front**

In order to win a people's war, it is imperative to build the broadest possible united front and formulate

a series of policies which will ensure the fullest mobilization of the basic masses as well as the unity of all the forces that can be united.

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

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

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

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

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

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

of gravity in our work, and wage the necessary struggles against all activities harmful to resistance, unity and progress.

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

Our Party made a series of adjustments in its policies in order to unite all the anti-Japanese parties and groups, including the Kuomintang, and all the anti-Japanese strata in a joint fight against the foe. We pledged ourselves to fight for the complete realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles. The government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia revolutionary base area was renamed the Government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Special Region of the Republic of China. Our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was redesignated the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Our land policy, the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, was changed to one of reducing rent and interest. In our own base areas we carried out the "three thirds system"<sup>3</sup> in our organs of political power, drawing in those representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry and those members of the Kuomintang who stood for resistance to Japan and did not oppose the Communist Party. In accordance with the principles of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we also made necessary and appropriate changes in our policies relating to the economy, taxation, labour and wages, anti-espionage, people's rights, culture and education, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

Chiang Kai-shek, our teacher by negative example, helped us to correct Wang Ming's mistakes. He repeatedly lectured us with cannons and machine-guns. The gravest lesson was the Southern Anhwei Incident which took place in January 1941. Because some leaders of the New Fourth Army disobeyed the directives of the Central Committee of the Party and followed Wang Ming's revisionist line, its units in southern Anhwei suffered disastrous losses in the surprise attack launched by Chiang Kai-shek and many heroic revolutionary fighters were slaughtered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. The lessons learned at the cost of blood

helped to sober many of our comrades and increase their ability to distinguish the correct from the erroneous line.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the enemy-occupied cities and villages, we combined legal with illegal struggle, united the basic masses and all patriots, and divided and disintegrated the po-

litical power of the enemy and his puppets so as to prepare ourselves to attack the enemy from within in co-ordination with operations from without when conditions were ripe.

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

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

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

The revolutionary base areas established in the War of Resistance later became the spring-boards for the People's War of Liberation, in which the Chinese people defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries. In the War of

Liberation we continued the policy of first encircling the cities from the countryside and then capturing the cities, and thus won nation-wide victory.

### **Build a People's Army of a New Type**

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics Of People's War**

Engels said, "The emancipation of the proletariat, in its turn, will have its specific expression in military

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

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

In the initial period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung enumerated the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as follows: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."<sup>10</sup> Guerrilla war tactics were further developed during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the base areas behind the enemy lines, everybody joined in the fighting — the troops and the civilian population, men and women, old and young; every single village fought. Various ingenious methods of fighting were devised, including "sparrow warfare",<sup>11</sup> land-mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage warfare, and guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers.

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

War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations. This guiding principle should be put into effect regardless of whether mobile or guerrilla warfare is the primary form of fighting. It is true that in guerrilla warfare much should be done to disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary actively to advocate and fight bat-

ties of annihilation whenever conditions are favourable. In mobile warfare superior forces must be concentrated in every battle so that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

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

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

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

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

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

In order to annihilate the enemy, we must adopt the policy of luring him in deep and abandon some cities and districts of our own accord in a planned way, so as to let him in. It is only after letting the enemy in that the people can take part in the war in various ways and that the power of a people's war can be fully exerted. It is only after letting the enemy in that he can be compelled to divide up his forces,

take on heavy burdens and commit mistakes. In other words, we must let the enemy become elated, stretch out all his ten fingers and become hopelessly bogged down. Thus, we can concentrate superior forces to destroy the enemy forces one by one, to eat them up mouthful by mouthful. Only by wiping out the enemy's effective strength can cities and localities be finally held or seized. We are firmly against dividing up our forces to defend all positions and putting up resistance at every place for fear that our territory might be lost and our pots and pans smashed, since this can neither wipe out the enemy forces nor hold cities or localities.

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

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

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

### **Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance**

The Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan was an important part of the Anti-Fascist World War. The victory of the Anti-Fascist War as

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

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

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

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

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

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

# VICTORY IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR

— From the Peking art exhibition marking the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan

The current exhibition at Peking's Museum of Chinese Art contains 200 oil paintings, traditional Chinese paintings, woodcuts, cartoons and sculpture. They trace the course of the epic struggle waged against the Japanese invaders by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and guided by Chairman Mao's theory of people's war. Most of the exhibits were created during the war by revolutionary artists in the anti-Japanese base areas and in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. These played a big part in mobilizing and uniting the people against the enemy. Others are post-liberation works done by veterans or by younger artists after visits to the former anti-Japanese base areas.



Into the Attack!

Woodcut by Wang Ming-yueh



The People's Fighters Thresh the Autumn Harvest  
Woodcut by Ku Yuan

Capturing a Field-Gun  
Woodcut by Niu Wen



Young Guard

Woodcut by Fu Wen-shu



Cutting Enemy Rail Communications

Woodcut by Hsu Kuang

Norman Bethune, Great Internationalist Fighter  
Oil painting by Liu Kuo-shu and Hsia Pei-yao



Victory Celebration in Yenan  
Sketch by Tsai Liang

rialists harboured the sinister design of turning China into a colony of their own.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The people's armed forces led by our Party independently waged people's war on a large scale and

won great victories without any material aid from outside, both during the more than eight years of the anti-Japanese war and during the more than three years of the People's War of Liberation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great merit lies in the fact that he has succeeded in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and has enriched and devel-

oped Marxism-Leninism by his masterly generalization and summation of the experience gained during the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle.

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

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

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

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

He clearly pointed out:

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

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered this question in vivid terms. He said that after long investigation and

study the Chinese people discovered that all the imperialists and their lackeys "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion."<sup>20</sup> This is called doing unto them what they do unto us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant question is extremely important in these regions. The peasants constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution against the imperialists and their lackeys. In committing aggression against these countries, the imperialists usually begin by seizing the big cities and the main lines of communication, but they are unable to bring the vast countryside completely under their control. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of establishing revolutionary base areas

in the rural districts and encircling the cities from the countryside is attracting more and more attention among the people in these regions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thoroughgoing national-democratic revolu-

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

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

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

### **Defeat U.S. Imperialism and Its Lackeys by People's War**

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

Just as the Japanese imperialists' policy of subjugating China made it possible for the Chinese people to form the broadest possible united front against them, so the U.S. imperialists' policy of seeking world domination makes it possible for the people throughout the world to unite all the forces that can be united and form the broadest possible united front for a converging attack on U.S. imperialism.

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



headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

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

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

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

U.S. imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world. U.S. imperialism has further weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, overreaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Wherever it commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world."<sup>22</sup>

When committing aggression in a foreign country, U.S. imperialism can only employ part of its forces, which are sent to fight an unjust war far from their native land and therefore have a low morale, and so U.S. imperialism is beset with great difficulties.

The people subjected to its aggression are having a trial of strength with U.S. imperialism neither in Washington nor New York, neither in Honolulu nor Florida, but are fighting for independence and freedom on their own soil. Once they are mobilized on a broad scale, they will have inexhaustible strength. Thus superiority will belong not to the United States but to the people subjected to its aggression. The latter, though apparently weak and small, are really more powerful than U.S. imperialism.

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

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

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

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly

be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb.

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

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

### **The Khrushchov Revisionists Are Betrayers Of People's War**

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

The fundamental reason why the Khrushchov revisionists are opposed to people's war is that they have no faith in the masses and are afraid of U.S. imperialism, of war and of revolution. Like all other opportunists, they are blind to the power of the masses and do not believe that the revolutionary people are capable of defeating imperialism. They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed peoples and nations rise up to fight people's wars or the people of socialist countries repulse U.S. imperialist aggression, U.S. imperialism will become incensed, they themselves will become involved and their fond dream of Soviet-U.S. co-operation to dominate the world will be spoiled.

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

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

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

The Khrushchov revisionists maintain that a single spark in any part of the globe may touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind. If this were true, our planet would have been destroyed time and time again. There have been wars of national liberation throughout the twenty years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a world war? Isn't it true that the U.S. imperialists' plans for a world war have been upset precisely thanks to the wars of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America? By contrast, those who have done their utmost to stamp out the "sparks" of people's war have in fact encouraged U.S. imperialism in its aggressions and wars.

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

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

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

When discussing World War I, Lenin said,

The war has brought hunger to the most civilized countries, to those most culturally developed. On the other hand, the war, as a tremendous historical pro-

cess, has accelerated social development to an unheard of degree.<sup>23</sup>

He added,

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

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

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

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

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

Today, Khrushchov revisionism has a dwindling audience among the revolutionary people of the world. Wherever there is armed aggression and suppression by imperialism and its lackeys, there are bound to be

people's wars against aggression and oppression. It is certain that such wars will develop vigorously. This is an objective law independent of the will of either the U.S. imperialists or the Khrushchov revisionists. The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchov is finished. And the successors to Khrushchov revisionism will fare no better. The imperialists, the reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists, who have all set themselves against people's war, will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people.

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

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

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

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression. The determination of the Chinese people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is unshakable. No matter what U.S. imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese

people until every single one of the U.S. aggressors is driven out of Viet Nam.

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

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

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

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

U.S. imperialism is preparing a world war. But can this save it from its doom? World War I was followed by the birth of the socialist Soviet Union. World War II was followed by the emergence of a series of socialist countries and many nationally independent countries. If the U.S. imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it can be stated categorically that many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to socialism; the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe; and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse.

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

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

Long live the victory of people's war!

## NOTES

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

<sup>5</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

<sup>6</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

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

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

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

The Eight Points for Attention:

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

<sup>8</sup> Frederick Engels, "Possibilities and Perspectives of the War of the Holy Alliance Against France in 1852", *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1936, Vol. VII, p. 509.

<sup>9</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

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

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

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

<sup>13</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 161.

<sup>14</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the *Sao Tang Pao* and the *Hsin Min Pao*", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

<sup>15</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work", *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

<sup>16</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. I, p. 751.

<sup>17</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. VIII, p. 565.

<sup>20</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 14-15.

<sup>21</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> The Statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in Support of the People of the Congo (Leopoldville) Against U.S. Aggression, November 28, 1964.

<sup>23</sup> V. I. Lenin, "For Bread and Peace", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXVI, p. 386.

<sup>24</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Chief Task of Our Day", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXVII, p. 162.

<sup>25</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 182.

# The People Defeated Japanese Fascism and They Can Certainly Defeat U.S. Imperialism Too

Lo Jui-ching

*Peking celebrated the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan at a rally of more than 10,000 of its citizens held on September 3, in the Great Hall of the People. Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government attended the meeting. Lo Jui-ching, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, gave an address. Following is an English translation. — Ed.*

## Comrades and friends!

Today the people of Peking, the people of the whole country and all the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are enthusiastically celebrating the great occasion of the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

This victory achieved by the Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung was a victory of immense historic importance. During the War of Resistance, the anti-fascist people of the world gave powerful support to the Chinese people, while the War of Resistance waged by the Chinese people in turn extended tremendous support to the World Anti-Fascist War. Our victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan was a major victory in the world war against fascism!

For almost a hundred years after the Opium War of 1840, the Chinese people had waged heroic struggles against imperialist aggression, advancing wave upon wave. But none of these struggles was able to end

in complete victory. In the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, were eventually able to defeat Japanese imperialism after eight years of heroic resistance amid untold difficulties, and won the first great victory in modern Chinese history in their wars against aggression. On the basis of this victory, the Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese people in defeating the Kuomintang reactionaries, who had brazenly launched the counter-revolutionary civil war with the support and guidance of U.S. imperialism, and in founding the great People's Republic of China. The long-suffering Chinese people stood up like a giant, overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, which had weighed them down like three great mountains.

By her victory in the War of Resistance and in the subsequent War of Liberation, China, with nearly one quarter of the world's population, was transformed from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country subject to the bullying and aggression of the imperialist powers into a great socialist country, a mighty stronghold firmly opposing imperialism and supporting the liberation movements of all the oppressed nations and peoples. The triumph of the Chinese revolution drastically changed the world balance of forces as between revolution and counter-revolution. This was another world historic victory in succession to the October Revolution, a historic victory for Marxism-Leninism and for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Our victorious experience in the War of Resistance and in China's revolutionary wars as a whole has taught us that the correct way for an oppressed nation in a colony or semi-colony to achieve emancipation is for the party of the proletariat to hold aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and of national liberation, lead the broad masses of the people, form the broadest united

front against imperialism and its lackeys on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, wage self-reliant revolutionary armed struggle, build a people's army of a new type, and put into operation the whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war; it is of particular importance for the party of the proletariat to go deep into the rural areas, establish revolutionary base areas there, and use the villages to encircle and finally capture the cities until nation-wide victory is achieved.

In his article *Long Live the Victory of People's War!* written in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Lin Piao has given a systematic and penetrating explanation of the rich experience gained by the Chinese people in their more than twenty years of people's war and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war and its profound international significance. In connection with the present struggles against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, he has shown that the Khrushchov revisionists are betrayers of people's war and that people's war waged by the revolutionary peoples is the victorious path for defeating U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. We should all study his article seriously. We relied on people's war to defeat Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. We must likewise rely on people's war to defeat any war of aggression which U.S. imperialism may launch against us and to defend our socialist motherland and world peace.

**In commemorating the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must enhance a hundred-fold our confidence in our ability thoroughly to defeat U.S. imperialism, and must resolutely fight the Khrushchov revisionists' perfidy in playing up the horrors of war to intimidate the people of the world.**

As soon as the German, Japanese and Italian fascists collapsed, U.S. imperialism took over, followed in their footsteps, and actively pursued a counter-revolutionary global strategy in its vain efforts to dominate the world. The U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war have become still more blatant and blood-thirsty under the present Johnson Administration. The Johnson Doctrine is neo-Hitlerism, neo-fascism; it means aggression and war!

Imperialism, though ferocious in appearance, is not all-powerful in reality and can definitely be defeated. The really invincible forces are those of the people. This truth has been borne out by the Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Just as the Japanese and the German and Italian fascists of the 1940s were defeated, so the U.S. imperialists of the 1960s can surely be defeated too.

But is not U.S. imperialism the strongest of all the imperialist powers? Does it not possess atom bombs, which Japanese, German and Italian fascism did not have? Why do we say that the United States,

too, can definitely be defeated? The course of history has provided the answer to this question. Compare the conditions under which Japanese, German and Italian fascism unleashed war with those now confronting U.S. imperialism, and the answer becomes quite clear.

**We say that U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated because, in the first place, the world balance of forces has drastically changed. U.S. imperialism is in a much less favourable position than were German, Japanese and Italian fascism in the past.**

The balance of forces as a whole was temporarily favourable to the fascist aggressors and unfavourable to the people of the various countries when Japanese, German and Italian fascism launched their wars of aggression in the 1930s. The Soviet Union was then the only socialist country. China was still an extremely poor and backward colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, our Party was still very weak, and the army it led was barely more than 40,000 strong. Whether we consider the world as a whole or China by herself, the people's cause was going through a period of acute hardship. Abyssinia's war of resistance against Italy failed, and the Spanish revolution was stamped out. Hitler swept across the continent of Europe in a matter of months. In the East, the Japanese fascists not only occupied half of China's territory, but seized almost the whole of the western Pacific.

But what is the situation today? The socialist countries, whose population has grown from 200 million to more than 1,000 million, form a powerful socialist camp. The national-liberation and people's revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have erupted like volcanoes; country after country and region after region which used to be backyards of imperialist rule have become fronts of anti-imperialist struggle. There have been new developments in the working-class movements in the capitalist countries. The imperialist system is heading for total collapse and the general crisis of capitalism is becoming sharper than ever. In the world arena, the East wind is prevailing over the West wind, the forces of socialism are surpassing those of imperialism, the forces of peace are surpassing those of war, and the revolutionary forces are surpassing the counter-revolutionary forces. The united front against U.S. imperialism today is much broader than the anti-fascist front in the past. The Japanese, German and Italian fascists were utterly defeated in the wars they launched when the balance of forces was temporarily in their favour. How can U.S. imperialism fare better today in provoking and expanding wars under conditions in which the balance of forces is so unfavourable to it?

**We say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated also because the United States is now beset by all the revolutionary peoples waging anti-imperialist struggles; militarily speaking, it has become weaker and more helpless in the face of people's war as compared with the predecessors, fascist Germany, Japan and Italy.**

When the Japanese, German and Italian fascists started their wars, they enjoyed temporary military superiority and could boast of some "impressive military successes". But U.S. imperialism is now suffering one defeat after another and its much vaunted "naval and air superiority" is no longer of any avail. Today, the United States has only one thing which they did not have — the atom bomb. But its nuclear monopoly has long been broken, and its nuclear blackmail is growing less and less effective. The peoples want revolution and liberation, and there is no weapon that can intimidate them. The atom bomb can scare only cowards who have lost their revolutionary will, it cannot scare revolutionary people. Despite the increasing U.S. stock of atom bombs, the flames of anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation have been raging more and more fiercely in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the last twenty years, while U.S. imperialism met with ever more ignominious defeats in its wars of aggression. U.S. imperialism has suffered — and continues to suffer — heavy blows and disastrous defeats in every place where the people have risen to resist its aggression — in China, Korea, Viet Nam, Laos, the Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, the Dominican Republic, etc. So dismal is its defeat in south Viet Nam that its own press officers have had to admit that for all their air and naval superiority, the American forces are being defeated "by a few tens of thousands of barefooted Vietnamese peasant guerrillas armed with rifles, hand grenades and sometimes only home-made knives". They have sorrowfully observed: "We [the United States] could go to the moon, but not to a Vietnamese hamlet without an armed escort."<sup>1</sup> U.S. imperialism has met with ignominious defeats in its war of aggression and it absolutely cannot avoid complete defeat in the future.

The heroic south Vietnamese people are valiantly waging their great war of resistance against U.S. aggression. They are growing stronger and stronger in the course of the fighting; they have reduced the U.S. aggressors to utter helplessness and have thus set a shining example to the people throughout the world in their struggle against U.S. aggression. The defeat of U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam is a foregone conclusion, which cannot be altered no matter how many reinforcements it sends and whatever new tricks it plays. Only the graveyard awaits the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression. The heroic Vietnamese people will certainly achieve the liberation of south Viet Nam and the reunification of all Viet Nam.

We say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated **because further the counter-revolutionary military alliances rigged up by the United States are in the process of disintegrating. The contradiction between the inordinate ambitions of U.S. imperialism and its shortage of troops is even more acute than that experienced by its predecessors. The farther it stretches out its claws, the more numerous the nooses round its neck, and the nearer the day when it will be hanged by the people of the world.**

Although many contradictions existed among the German, Japanese and Italian fascists in the 1930s, they did manage to form an axis for a time and unleash World War II. However, the aggressive military alliances painstakingly organized by U.S. imperialism since World War II are in an unenviable plight. The Baghdad Treaty, now known as the Central Treaty Organization, has long been non-existent except in name, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization has become paralysed, and the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are uneasy bedfellows, trying hard to keep up an appearance of unity. U.S. imperialism organized these military alliances under the banner of anti-communism and anti-socialism, but its real aim is, in the first place, to control and seize the middle zone in the vast areas between the United States and the socialist camp. Bound by these treaties, the participating countries have become the first to taste the bitterness of U.S. military control, economic infiltration and political interference. This U.S. policy not only meets with the resolute opposition of the people of these countries but also gives rise to or sharpens the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the ruling classes of those countries. All this entails the growing disintegration of the aggressive military alliances knocked together by U.S. imperialism.

The present position of the United States in its war of aggression against Viet Nam is a case in point. To quote the U.S. bourgeois press, "We can search the globe and look in vain for the true and active supporters of our policy."<sup>2</sup> When the United States launched its war of aggression in Korea, it managed to assemble a U.N. force composed of troops from sixteen countries. Today, only a little over a decade later, it can no longer pull the same trick in Viet Nam.

The imperialists and reactionaries are always conceited and insatiably greedy; they overestimate their own strength and underestimate that of the people. This is their incurable malady. Both Hitler and Tojo turned round to attack new opponents when their troops were already scattered, their battle lines were already far-flung and the war on the existing front was not yet concluded in their favour. They thus hastened their own defeat. These are historical lessons for the imperialists, but they never learn. Isn't U.S. imperialism today going down the old road and committing the same error as its predecessors? U.S. imperialism has less than three million troops all told, yet it is scattering them all over the world. South Viet Nam alone has already proved too hard a nut for it to crack, yet it has extended the war to north Viet Nam and is even attempting to spread it to China. What will this bring about except a speedier defeat? U.S. imperialism's accelerated application of its strategy of "escalation" in the war of aggression against Viet Nam can only speed up its complete defeat.

We say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated **also because the people of the world today are**



**awakened as never before, and because it is still more difficult for U.S. imperialism to expand a war by exploiting anti-Communist propaganda and playing on racist sentiments.**

In the 1930s the Japanese, German and Italian fascists concocted a host of reactionary theories and shameless lies to fool the people and fan up anti-Communist and racist hysteria, and thus provoked World War II in which tens of millions of people were slaughtered. But as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "War has educated the people; the people will win the war, and win peace and progress."<sup>8</sup> Through the Anti-Fascist War, the people have come to a better understanding of the Communist Party and socialism. More and more people have turned to the Communist Party and to socialism. People of every colour have come to see through the deceptive nature of racist propaganda more and more clearly. Fascist anti-Communist propaganda and the theory of superior races have met with ignominious defeat.

Today U.S. imperialism still plays the hackneyed tune of U.S. superiority and still repeats the old anti-Communist and anti-socialist platitudes, but fewer and fewer people believe these fabrications. People have come to realize from a mass of evidence that by "anti-communism" the U.S. imperialists mean opposition to all who refuse to be their slaves, who defend their country's independence, sovereignty and national dignity, and who resent U.S. imperialist bullying, interference, control and aggression. The crimes of U.S. imperialism under the banner of "anti-communism" are forcing over 90 per cent of the people of the world to rally against it and are isolating it as never before. In the United States itself, the mass movement openly opposing the Johnson Administration's policies of aggression and war and the struggle of the American Negroes against tyranny are both unfolding on a scale unparalleled in American history.

The fundamental reason why imperialism is bound to be defeated in its wars of aggression is that it alienates itself from the people and is hostile to them. In the end, whoever is alienated from the people and hostile to them will invariably be defeated, even though sometimes he may hoodwink the people. A small war will cost him a small defeat, a major war will cost him a major defeat, and an all-out war will cost him thorough defeat. This is the irrevocable outcome of any imperialist war of aggression against the people. In the past Japanese and German fascism, swaggering like conquering heroes for a while, failed precisely for this reason. The U.S. imperialism of today is likewise bound to fail for the same reason.

**Finally and most important of all, we say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated because since World War II Marxism-Leninism has registered tremendous developments and become the mighty ideological weapon of the revolutionary people of our time for achieving liberation.**

Victory in China's War of Resistance Against Japan and in the Chinese revolution as a whole was a triumph for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has developed and become richer in the practice of the Chinese people's revolution and of socialist construction. Not only has it proved itself a science and proved itself the truth in the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, it is daily proving itself a science and proving itself the truth in the contemporary world-wide struggles against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the asset of all the oppressed nations and peoples and of the proletarian world revolution as well as of the Chinese people's revolution. It is a powerful ideological weapon for combating imperialism and reaction and for combating modern revisionism and modern dogmatism.

The history of the Chinese revolution has shown us that once the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is integrated with the concrete practice of the revolution in a given country, it engenders infinite strength, enables the revolution to take on a totally new complexion and assures it of victory. One aspect of the historic significance of the debate of the last few years between the two lines in the international communist movement is that it has enabled Marxism-Leninism to spread on an unprecedented scale and has promoted the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the people's revolution in every country. This is bound to hasten the destruction of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys! It is bound to hasten the total bankruptcy of modern revisionism! It is bound to hasten the victorious development of the people's cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, the victorious development of the cause of proletarian world revolution!

Kowtowing to U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail, the Khrushchov revisionists are everywhere spreading fear of the horrors of war and of nuclear weapons. They claim that no one who lacks nuclear weapons can ever expect to defeat a nuclear power in war; that if a single spark of a national-liberation war is not immediately extinguished, it will inevitably touch off a nuclear world conflagration which will destroy the whole globe; and that if the socialist countries firmly resist imperialist aggression, alack and alas, they will see the gains of years of peaceful construction reduced to ashes. In short, the Khrushchov revisionists are forbidding other people to make revolution by threatening them with war and nuclear weapons. Occasionally, they make a gesture of opposition to U.S. imperialism and put up a pretence of helping the people of other countries in their revolutionary struggles. But they play such tricks simply for the purpose of deceiving the people, so as to gain

control over their revolutions, subordinate these revolutions to their revisionist line and capitalize on them in their political bargaining with U.S. imperialism. They are simply seeking to live in docile peace, they want to dominate the world jointly with the U.S. nuclear overlord, and to this end they do not scruple to sell out their friends and brothers. Their actions have greatly encouraged U.S. imperialism in its war adventures and have swollen its aggressive arrogance. But since U.S. imperialism cannot frighten the people with its war blackmail, how can the Khrushchov revisionists succeed in frightening them by propaganda about the horrors of a nuclear war? Their actions will neither extinguish the raging flames of the people's struggle against imperialism nor ensure their own security. Like all other revisionists in the past, they can only come to an ignominious end.

**In commemorating the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must remember the historical lesson which the Japanese, German and Italian fascists taught us by launching war behind the smokescreen of "peace", and we must redouble our vigilance against the U.S. imperialist plots to launch and expand wars of aggression by means of peace swindles. We must firmly oppose the Khrushchov revisionists' perfidy in trying to deceive the people of the world.**

Imperialism has always used the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and peace swindles to deal with the oppressed nations and peoples. Since U.S. imperialism today finds itself in a still less favourable strategic position than Japanese, German and Italian fascism, it is meeting with more serious difficulties than they in unleashing and expanding wars. Therefore, it has now become more cunning and, along with its military activities, it has more frequently resorted to peace tactics so as to deceive the people.

History has shown that **when unleashing a war of aggression, imperialism invariably invents such pretexts as "defending freedom" or "standing for peace and order", so as to cover up its aggression and hoodwink the people.** Did not the Japanese fascists launch their all-out invasion of China under the signboard of establishing "a new order in East Asia"? Did not the German fascists unleash war under the banner of establishing "a new order in Europe"? Since World War II, every U.S. president has repeatedly resorted to the same trick as his predecessors. Johnson blustered that "the U.S. government is history-bound to assume responsibility for the leadership of the free world".<sup>4</sup> He declared that the U.S. aim in Viet Nam, as in the rest of the world, "is to help restore the peace and re-establish a decent order",<sup>5</sup> and that the U.S. troops in Viet Nam are "also there to strengthen world order".<sup>6</sup> Isn't this the tune formerly sung by the Japanese, German and Italian fascists?

What kind of "freedom" does Johnson want to defend? As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has penetratingly pointed out,

It is the freedom to use aeroplanes, warships and guns to slaughter the people of other countries. It is the freedom to seize the territory of other countries at will, the freedom to trample their sovereignty underfoot at will. It is the freedom of pirates to loot and kill. It is the freedom to tread every country and people under its heel.<sup>7</sup>

What kind of "order" does Johnson want to establish and strengthen? It is the order of gangsters, which would allow them to burn and kill but forbid the people to strike back in self-defence. The Japanese fascists set up their "new order" in China by resorting to the policy of "kill all, burn all and loot all". The German fascists established their "new order" by setting up concentration camps such as Auschwitz. Today, people are witnessing this new order in the plunder, aggression and massacre perpetrated by the United States in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the military bases set up by the United States in various parts of the world. They are witnessing a specimen of the "new order"—the "new order" of U.S. fascism—especially in the "strategic hamlets" the United States has set up in south Viet Nam, in its massacres of the south Vietnamese people, in the atrocity it commits by spraying huge amounts of toxic chemicals in order to destroy the means of subsistence of the south Vietnamese people, and in the wanton bombing raids it is making on the peaceful inhabitants, the dams and dykes, the hospitals and schools of north Viet Nam. Can this kind of "order" be tolerated by any nation which cherishes freedom? Isn't it right for the people to stand up and firmly resist the U.S. imperialists' attempt to impose this kind of "order" on them?

Both the record of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the current facts of the struggle against U.S. imperialism teach us that the people have no freedom wherever the "freedom" of the imperialists and reactionaries prevails, and that if the people are to have freedom they must abolish the "freedom" of the imperialists and reactionaries. When all countries and people subjected to bullying, oppression, control, plunder and aggression by U.S. imperialism stand up and wrest their freedom from it, the day will not be far off when the people of the whole world will gain their freedom.

History has also shown that **as a rule, imperialism lays down a heavy smokescreen of "peace" to dull the people's vigilance and undermine their fighting will whenever it is preparing for or expanding a war, whenever the war is going badly for it, or whenever it wants to divide and soften up the forces of resistance in the country it has invaded.** Did not the Japanese imperialists actively spread propaganda in favour of a so-called "peaceful settlement" of the Sino-Japanese question at the very moment when they launched their all-out war of aggression against China? Then again, after their occupation of Wuhan, when they had attained their first objectives in the war,

wanted to consolidate their position and were anxious to split the anti-Japanese front in China, did they not dangle peace baits before the Kuomintang government in the form of the proposal to withdraw their troops from central and southern China on certain conditions?

For some time now the Johnson Administration has been most energetically waving olive branches and has kept singing its old tunes of "unconditional discussions" and "peaceful settlement" while continuously sending reinforcements to south Viet Nam and extending its bombing of north Viet Nam. Despite the severe rebuffs rightly administered by the Vietnamese Government and people, it has not abandoned hope but is continuing to spread the story that "the window to peace is still open"<sup>8</sup> and is talking of employing "all the resources . . . of the United Nations" to "bring peace".<sup>9</sup> Why is the Johnson Administration so actively seeking "peace"? To put it bluntly, it is because the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam has exposed it to the strong condemnation and opposition of the people of the whole world, including also the American people, and because the people's war in south Viet Nam has battered the U.S. imperialist colossus and reduced him to impotence. It is this that compels the Johnson Administration to resort to the trick of "peace negotiations" in order to deceive the people, allay world opinion, sow discord among the forces opposed to U.S. aggression and weaken their morale, and so gain a breathing space to consolidate its position and gather strength for still bigger ventures.

We have pointed out long ago that every time the U.S. imperialists sanctimoniously talk "peace", they add another faggot to the fire of their war of aggression in Viet Nam and escalate the war another notch, and the more loudly they talk it the bigger the flames of war. While assiduously hatching peace frauds, the Johnson Administration is hastening reinforcements to south Viet Nam and continuously extending its bombing of north Viet Nam. It is threatening the Vietnamese people by saying that it will direct them to the conference table by "death and desolation".<sup>10</sup> It is threatening the Chinese people and the peoples of Southeast Asia by declaring that the United States is ready to fight an Asian war. It is even indulging in open military provocations against the Chinese people and blustering that "the idea of the sanctuary is dead",<sup>11</sup> and has brazenly sent aircraft in harassing flights over Hainan Island and Yunnan Province. In the face of such frenzied war acts and war blackmail, isn't what Johnson really means by "peaceful settlement" clear enough?

In short, like the Japanese, German and Italian fascists, the U.S. imperialists wear white gloves after slaughtering people in order to cover up their blood-stained hands and hide their odious wolf-like features with a Buddha's mask. But their very actions belie them. The more they attempt to hide their blood-stained hands and wolfish teeth, the more they show

themselves up for what they really are under the harsh glare of daylight, and thus they serve as the best teachers of the people by negative example. Thousands of sanguinary lessons have taught a growing number of people not to be duped. They have come to understand that genuine peace can only be won by resolutely carrying the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end and by shattering its plans of aggression and war.

Just as this U.S. imperialist trick was becoming less and less effective, the Khrushchov revisionists, singing in chorus with the U.S. imperialists, came forward with the proclamation that Johnson is "sensible" and "reasonable", that the United States is willing to seek a peaceful solution of the Viet Nam question, that help should be given to the United States to find an honourable way out, and so on and so forth. They spare no efforts to embellish U.S. imperialism and help the Johnson Administration to dupe the people. This is a most shameful betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the fraternal countries and the people of the world. But the U.S. imperialist lies have long been exploded. Of what avail can the help of a handful of Khrushchov revisionists be to the U.S. imperialists? If these revisionists keep on offering such help, they will only further expose themselves as renegades and go on serving as teachers by negative example for the people of the world.

The Khrushchov revisionists are a mere handful of people; they are seriously alienated from the people of their own country and of the world, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of their country or the world. Their emergence is a bad thing which has brought temporary losses to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. But it has educated the people by negative example, sharpened their vigilance, helped to enhance their political consciousness and powerfully promoted the great revolutionary unity of the people of the world. It is therefore also a good thing. However much trouble the Khrushchov revisionists may stir up, this cannot change the situation in which the East wind is prevailing over the West wind or stem the world tide of people's revolution; inevitably, U.S. imperialism will be utterly defeated!

**In commemorating the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must carry on and develop the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army, strengthen our preparations to resist U.S. imperialist aggression and give still more effective support to the Vietnamese and other peoples in their struggles against U.S. imperialism.**

U.S. imperialism is doing nothing but evil and is committing error after error; its days are numbered. But it is the strongest of the imperialist powers; it will not reconcile itself to defeat, still less give up altogether. At present it is accelerating the escalation of its war of aggression in Viet Nam and keeps on shouting about spreading the war to China. This is

simply an expression of desperate recklessness in the face of heavy defeats in Viet Nam and other parts of the world. It is possible that U.S. imperialism may go mad in trying to save itself from its doom; we must take this into full account and make preparations against its expansion of the war of aggression in Viet Nam and against any war it may impose on us.

A thousand and one things need to be done in preparation, but the most important and most fundamental thing of all is to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to make preparations in all fields for a people's war in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war. The people throughout the country are now unfolding a vigorous mass movement to study the works of Chairman Mao, and in reality this is the basic measure by which to arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism and ensure the success of all our work, including the task of preparing for war. Comrade Lin Piao's article published in the press today provides us with a good textbook on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war. There is therefore no need for me to dwell on this.

Now I would like to discuss in greater detail the question of inheriting and carrying forward our revolutionary tradition. Doing this successfully is an important guarantee for the thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism.

What is the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army? **It is what people often call the Ching-kangshan tradition, the old Red Army tradition, the Yen-an tradition, the old Eighth Route Army tradition or the People's Liberation Army tradition. It is the revolutionary tradition which was established by Comrade Mao Tse-tung during the Ching-kangshan struggles when he built the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and which was continuously enriched and developed in the subsequent twenty-two years of people's revolutionary wars. It is also the tradition of the "Three-Eight Working Style" and of "democracy in the three main fields" repeatedly stressed by Comrade Lin Piao in recent years, and the tradition of "giving first place to politics" and of the "Four Firsts" recently formulated by Comrade Lin Piao.** In recent years, the main purpose of the whole people in diligently learning from the Liberation Army has been precisely to further popularize and develop this revolutionary tradition of our Party.

This tradition is the concentrated expression of the fine working style and noble qualities which were gradually developed by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the course of protracted revolutionary wars. It is extremely rich in content and its primary and fundamental point is the revolutionary spirit, which means closely integrating oneself with the people and serving them wholeheartedly, devoting oneself to others without any thought of self, concerning oneself solely with the

supreme interests of the people and the revolution, and regarding it as the greatest happiness to devote oneself to the cause of the people's liberation. Imbued with this spirit, one will show superlative heroism and face death with equanimity; in revolutionary struggle one will not fear hardships but take pride in them; one will give full play to his initiative, creativeness, talents and wisdom; one will overcome any unhealthy tendencies and be able correctly to understand and execute the Party's policies and decisions, surmount one difficulty after another and advance from victory to victory in revolutionary war or other revolutionary work. If a person is imbued with this tradition, he will be most courageous, intelligent and resourceful. If an armed unit has this tradition, it will be a unit which is most militant and staunch, most flexible and invincible.

Thanks to this revolutionary tradition, we defeated the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries in the past. In future, we shall rely on the same tradition thoroughly to defeat the U.S. imperialists and any reactionaries who dare to unleash a war against us. Now that the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their preparations to expand the war, it is more necessary than ever for us to be soberly aware of the warlike character of U.S. imperialism, to be mentally prepared for all emergencies, to remember our old days of hardship, to encourage and develop the spirit of the years of revolutionary war, the dauntless spirit with which our men worked hard and fought bravely and with which they were afraid neither of hardship nor of death. The imperialists and reactionaries invariably try to subdue the revolutionary people by subjecting them to hardship and death. And the reason why the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army can defeat all its enemies instead of being overpowered by them is that, having been taught by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, they possess this thoroughly revolutionary spirit, fearing neither hardship nor death. For the sake of revolution, they are afraid of neither hardship nor death. What else on earth is there to be afraid of? What on earth can overpower us? Is there any miracle beyond our reach?

The imperialists have always conquered other countries and maintained their rule by killing people. They are armed to the teeth and have all the machinery for slaughter. Whoever is afraid of death when confronted by imperialist aircraft, artillery and atom bombs, whoever submits to the threat of death, has no alternative but to surrender to the enemy. In that case, how would it be possible to speak of national liberation or people's emancipation?

At the start of the War of Resistance, the weapons and equipment of Japanese imperialism were many times greater than ours, and the disparity was such as is rare in military history. Relying on their military superiority, the Japanese imperialists launched thousands of inhuman "mopping-up" campaigns against

our anti-Japanese base areas, operated the ultra-barbarous policy of "burn all, loot all and kill all", and created barren "lands with not a living soul". In a word, they tried to cow the Chinese people with the threat of "death". But through their protracted war against aggression, the Chinese people came to realize the truth that liberation involves bloodshed and death. Bloodshed and death can only be curtailed by not being afraid of them. It is only through the sacrifice of the blood and lives of the few that the vast majority can avoid the sacrifice of their blood and lives.

Taught by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and tempered in revolutionary wars, the Chinese people have fostered collective heroism so that, imbued with this spirit, one will go through fire and water and even face death unflinchingly for the liberation of his motherland, the people and all mankind. The Five Heroes of the Langya Mountain in the War of Resistance are fine examples of such revolutionary heroism. This tradition was carried forward in the War of Liberation, the War to Resist America and Aid Korea and, more recently, in the struggle to defend the air space, territorial waters and borders of our motherland and in the counter-attack on the Sino-Indian border made in self-defence. In these struggles there have emerged heroes and heroines such as Liu Hu-lan, Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Yang Ken-szu, An Yeh-min, Tu Feng-jui, Lo Kuang-hsieh and Szumayimaiti, such as Chen Tai-fu whom people call a living Huang Chi-kuang, and such as Wu Yuan-ming who stood his ground at the head of the Che-jao bridge without yielding an inch in the face of provocations and encirclement by scores of Indian troops. In the course of our socialist revolution and construction there have emerged heroic and exemplary figures such as Lei Feng, Hsiang Hsiu-li, Ouyang Hai, Hsieh Chen and Hsu Hsueh-hui. They are among the noblest of our sons and daughters, and their spirit of self-sacrifice for the revolutionary cause will for ever remain worthy of emulation.

The imperialists create difficulties for the people who resist their aggression not only by killing but also by imposing an economic blockade and by destructions through war; in these ways the imperialists try to make survival impossible for the people so as to make them submit in the end. This was what the Japanese imperialists did to the people and the armed forces resisting them. And this is what the U.S. imperialists are trying to do to us today. If we lack backbone, if we cannot stand hardships and the test of privation, we cannot possibly win victory in our wars against aggression.

During the War of Resistance, our difficulties were indeed immense, since we faced pincer attacks and blockades both by the Japanese imperialists and by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and had to keep on fighting without any external material aid. In the most difficult stages we had a great scarcity of food and clothing. But in response to the call made by the Central Committee

of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people and the army in the anti-Japanese base areas resolutely fought the difficulties and showed the same dauntless spirit as did the Red Armymen when they climbed snow-clad mountains and crossed marshlands on the Long March. Responsible comrades and ordinary personnel, cadres and soldiers, the army and the people all ate chaff or wild herbs and co-operated in reclaiming wasteland, and everyone vied to be the first to endure any hardship and the last to enjoy himself. What was the result? The enemy's blockade and the material difficulties did not conquer us; we conquered the difficulties and vanquished the enemy. This tradition of strenuous struggle amidst difficulties is our revolutionary heritage. It has been carried forward and developed since our nation-wide victory. For more than ten years, the "Good Eighth Company on the Nanking Road" firmly resisted contamination by bourgeois ideas of all types and maintained the true quality of the working people and the revolutionary army. Bringing into full play the spirit of self-reliance and of strenuous struggle amidst difficulties, the Taching oilfield and the Tachai brigade achieved great successes and set up model examples in the fields of industrial and agricultural construction. These are all new developments of the same revolutionary tradition. The spirit in which they maintain and develop the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army in new historical conditions is worthy of being vigorously encouraged and spread on all the fronts of our socialist revolution and construction.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 650 million Chinese people are determined to carry the revolution through to the end, fearing neither hardship nor death, daring to fight and to win and showing proficiency in fighting and skill in achieving victory. Thus no difficulty can daunt us and no force can overpower us. It is easier to move a mountain than to move the Chinese people! The imperialist-reactionary dream of enslaving the Chinese people afresh will be shattered.

We are firmly convinced that, taught by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and guided by the Party's correct Marxist-Leninist line, the Chinese people will undoubtedly be able to carry on and develop the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution and the glorious tradition of strenuous struggle amidst difficulties, and adopt all the effective measures needed to ensure that our impregnable state will never degenerate, will successfully carry on the socialist revolution and construction, help the other peoples' revolutionary movements to overthrow imperialism and its lackeys, and guarantee the future transition from socialism to communism.

Comrades and friends! At the present time, U.S. imperialism is pressing forward with its counter-revolutionary global strategy for world hegemony and is intensifying its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. We must once again warn the Johnson

Administration that we the Chinese people are firm and unshakable in our policy of supporting other peoples' struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and aiding the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. We have been so in the past and the present, and will remain so in the future, till the U.S. aggressors withdraw lock, stock and barrel from south Viet Nam and the other foreign territories they have invaded and occupied.

U.S. imperialism has always set itself against the Chinese people. It is now still occupying China's territory of Taiwan by force. We will definitely liberate Taiwan and fulfil the sacred cause of reunifying our motherland.

We Chinese people love peace but we have never been afraid of war. If U.S. imperialism insists on imposing war on us, there is nothing terrifying about that. The more men it throws in, the better — whether by air, by sea or by land, whether in tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands or millions. And if it chooses to dispatch all its troops, that will be better still. We will wipe them out if they come; the more they come, the more we will wipe out; if the whole lot of them come, we will wipe out the whole lot. The U.S. aggressors have already become irretrievably bogged down in south Viet Nam by a war of the entire people. If U.S. imperialism should dare to send its troops to invade China, the fate awaiting it can be none other than complete destruction.

U.S. imperialism is trying to use the handful of Japanese fascist forces to revive Japanese militarism as an instrument for launching new wars in the East. On their part, the fascist forces in Japan are vainly seeking resurrection with the support of U.S. imperialism in order to stage a comeback, set themselves against the Chinese and the other Asian peoples and renew their old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". But all this is wishful thinking. Today, China is already a great socialist country; a number of countries in Asia are victoriously waging revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; the great Japanese people have awakened as never before and launched angry campaigns against the U.S. policy of aggression and the resurgence of militarism. In these circumstances, if the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries persist in forcing the Japanese people to be cannon-fodder for aggression, the only possible result will be the speedy emergence of an independent, free and new Japan that will have completely shaken off U.S. military occupation.

Comrades and friends! Already in the initial period of the War of Resistance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

Our war is sacred and just, it is progressive and its aim is peace. The aim is peace not just in one country but throughout the world, not just temporary but perpetual peace. To achieve this aim we must wage a life-and-death struggle, be prepared for any

sacrifice, persevere to the end and never stop short of the goal. However great the sacrifice and however long the time needed to attain it, a new world of perpetual peace and brightness already lies clearly before us. Our faith in waging this war is based upon the new China and the new world of perpetual peace and brightness for which we are striving.<sup>12</sup>

After eight years of war, the Chinese people, acting on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, defeated the Japanese imperialists who had subjected them to bullying and aggression for so long, and thus made an important contribution to the World Anti-Fascist War. Today, if U.S. imperialism dares to launch a war of aggression against China, the Chinese people will unquestionably be able thoroughly to defeat the U.S. aggressors and make a new contribution to still greater victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism by co-operating with the other peoples of the world in thoroughly defeating U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world, and its lackeys. Victory is certain to go to the Chinese people! Victory is certain to go to all the oppressed peoples and nations!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> John Mecklin, former director of the U.S. Information Service in Saigon, *Mission in Torment*, New York, 1965, pp. 294 and 311.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Lippmann, *New York Herald Tribune*, April 21, 1965.

<sup>3</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson's election speech, October 12, 1964.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson's speech to the U.S. Bar Association, August 12, 1964.

<sup>6</sup> Johnson's speech at Johns Hopkins University, April 7, 1965.

<sup>7</sup> Mao Tse-tung's Statement Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance to U.S. Armed Aggression, *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)*, May 12, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> Johnson's statement on Viet Nam, April 17, 1965.

<sup>9</sup> Johnson's press conference of July 28, 1965.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Dean Rusk's interview with American journalists in "Questions and Answers", American Broadcasting Corporation Programme, July 11, 1965.

<sup>12</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

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00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	6325,11740	47.4,25.6
	19:00-20:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)	9860,12055	30.4,24.9
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	6325,11740	47.4,25.6
	20:00-21:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)	9860,12055	30.4,24.9
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45	(Monrovia)	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	19:30-20:30	(Accra, Freetown)	9880,11650	30.4,25.8
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	(Lagos)		
	21:30-22:30	(Cairo)		
	19:45-20:45	(Monrovia)	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	20:30-21:30	(Accra, Freetown)	9880,11650	30.4,25.8
	21:30-22:30	(Lagos)		

### SOUTHEAST ASIA

Peking Time	Local Standard Time		kc/s	metres
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	1190,1340	252,224
			7035,9340	42.6,32.2
	19:30-20:30	(Singapore)	9650,11600	31.1,25.8
	20:00-21:00	(Saigon, Manila)	11860,15060	25.3,19.9
21:00-22:00	18:30-19:30	(Rangoon)		
	20:00-21:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	1340,7035	224,42.6
			9340,9650	32.2,31.1
	20:30-21:30	(Singapore)	11600,11860	25.8,25.3
	21:00-22:00	(Saigon, Manila)	15060	19.9
	19:30-20:30	(Rangoon)		

### CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL AND PAKISTAN

Peking Time	Local Standard Time		kc/s	metres
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	6025,7350	49.8,40.8
	19:00-20:00	(West Pakistan)	9860,11740	30.4,25.6
	20:00-21:00	(East Pakistan)		
	19:40-20:40	(Kathmandu)		
23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	6025,7350	49.8,40.8
	20:00-21:00	(West Pakistan)	9860,11740	30.4,25.6
	21:00-22:00	(East Pakistan)		
	20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)		

### AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Peking Time	Local Standard Time		kc/s	metres
16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30	(Aust. S.T.)	9340,9457	32.2,31.7
			11600,11650	25.8,25.75
17:30-18:30	20:30-21:30	(N.Z.S.T.)	15060,17835	19.9,16.8
	19:30-20:30	(Aust. S.T.)	9340,9457	32.2,31.7
			11600,11650	25.8,25.75
	21:30-22:30	(N.Z.S.T.)	15060,17835	19.9,16.8

### EUROPE

Peking Time	Local Standard Time		kc/s	metres
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	(G.M.T.)	6210,7080	48.3,42.4
			9457,11630	31.7,25.8
05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30	(Stockholm, Paris)		
	21:30-22:30	(G.M.T.)	6210,7080	48.3,42.4
			9457,11630	31.7,25.8
	22:30-23:30	(Stockholm, Paris)		

### NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)

Peking Time	Local Standard Time		kc/s	metres
08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	17680,15060	17.0,19.9
			7035,9480	42.6,31.7
09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	11945,15080	25.1,19.9
			15095	19.87
10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	7035,9480	42.6,31.7
			11945,15080	25.1,19.9
			15095	19.87

### NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)

Peking Time	Local Standard Time		kc/s	metres
11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	9457,11820	31.7,25.4
			15095,15115	19.87,19.85
			17745	16.9
12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	9457,11820	31.7,25.4
			15095,15115	19.87,19.85
			17745	16.9