

PEKING REVIEW

32

August 4, 1967

北
京
周
報

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG ON PEOPLE'S WAR

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

Lin Piao

(September 3, 1965)

1927-1967: P.L.A.'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY

Long Live Our Great Leader
Chairman Mao!

Long Live the Great Chinese
People's Liberation Army!



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG ON PEOPLE'S WAR

Revolutions and Revolutionary Wars Are Inevitable in Class Society

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Power Grows Out Of the Barrel of a Gun

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

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

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

ibid., p. 224.

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

ibid., p. 225.

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

forget this experience for which we have paid in blood.

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

Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers

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

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

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature — they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites — the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat — grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they devoured people, devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term

point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are — paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ibid., p. 186.

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

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

The Revolutionary War Is A War of the Masses

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

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

What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely

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

ibid., p. 150.*

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

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

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

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

This army is powerful because of its division into two parts, the main forces and the regional forces, with the former available for operations in any region whenever necessary and the latter concentrating on defending their own localities and attacking the enemy there in co-operation with the local militia and the self-defence corps. This division of labour has won the whole-hearted support of the people. Without this correct division of labour — if, for example, attention were paid only to the role of the main forces while that of the regional forces were neglected — it would likewise be impossible



Our great leader Chairman Mao with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao

to defeat the enemy in the conditions obtaining in China's Liberated Areas. Under the regional forces, numerous armed working teams have been organized, which are well trained and hence better qualified for military, political and mass work; they penetrate into the rearmost areas behind the enemy lines, strike at the enemy and arouse the masses to anti-Japanese struggle, thus giving support to the frontal military operations of the various Liberated Areas. In all this they have achieved great success.

ibid., pp. 265-66.*

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

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

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

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

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

The anti-Japanese war is essentially a peasant war.

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

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

Peking Review, No. 32

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

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

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

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

... the protracted revolutionary struggle in the revolutionary base areas consists mainly in peasant

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

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

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

ibid., p. 317.

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

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



Our great leader Chairman Mao with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai

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

Without a people's army the people have nothing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another highly significant and distinctive feature of the Eighth Route Army is its political

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

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

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

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

The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school, our armymen should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or for exchange with the state at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in factories and villages. After the socialist education movement is over, they can always find mass work to do, so that the army will for ever be at one with the masses. They should also take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution whenever they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly co-ordinated, and a distinction should be made between the primary and sec-

ondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three fields of activity — agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed.

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

The Strategy and Tactics of People's War

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

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

Note:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our principles of operation are:

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

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

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

(4) In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping

out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our Chief Method Is to Learn Warfare Through Warfare

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

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

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

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

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

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

A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgements, and his correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance. He applies all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, and ponders on the information gathered about the enemy's situation, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside; then, he takes the conditions on his own side into account, and makes a study of both sides and their interrelations, thereby forming his judgements, making up his mind and working out his plans. Such is the complete process of knowing a situation which a military man goes through before he formulates a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan.

ibid., p. 188.

Unquestionably, victory or defeat in war is determined mainly by the military, political, economic and natural conditions on both sides. But not by these alone. It is also determined by each side's subjective ability in directing the war. In his

endeavour to win a war, a military strategist cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the material conditions; within these limitations, however, he can and must strive for victory. The stage of action for a military strategist is built upon objective material condition, but on that stage he can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and colour, power and grandeur.

ibid., pp. 190-91.*

Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. A person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare—he can learn through fighting in war. A revolutionary war is a

mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning.

ibid., pp. 189-90.

* * *

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

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

This selection of quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung published in "Hongqi," "Renmin Ribao" and "Jiefangjun Bao" was accompanied by the following joint editorial note by the three journals:

To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we are publishing quotations from Chairman Mao on people's war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

— P.R. Ed.

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

(September 3, 1965)

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

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

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

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

It was a war in which a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country triumphed over a strong imperialist country. For a long period after the invasion of China's northeastern provinces by the Japanese imperialists, the Kuomintang followed a policy of non-resistance. In the early stage of the War of Resistance, the Japanese imperialists exploited their military superiority to drive deep into China and occupy half her territory. In the face of the massive attacks of the aggressors and the anti-Japanese upsurge of the people throughout the country, the Kuomintang was compelled to take part in the War of Resistance, but soon afterwards it adopted the policy of passive resistance to Japan

and active opposition to the Communist Party. The heavy responsibility of combating Japanese imperialism thus fell on the shoulders of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the people of the Liberated Areas, all led by the Communist Party. At the outbreak of the war, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies had only a few tens of thousands of men and suffered from extreme inferiority in both arms and equipment, and for a long time they were under the crossfire of the Japanese imperialists on the one hand and the Kuomintang troops on the other. But they grew stronger and stronger in the course of the war and became the main force in defeating Japanese imperialism.

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

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

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

Prior to the war against Japan, the Communist Party of China had gone through the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1924-27 and the Second Revolutionary Civil War of 1927-36 and summed up

the experience and lessons of the successes and failures in those wars, and the leading role of Mao Tse-tung's thought had become established within the Party. This was the fundamental guarantee of the Party's ability to lead the Chinese people to victory in the War of Resistance.

The Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance paved the way for their seizure of state power throughout the country. When the Kuomintang reactionaries, backed by the 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 nationwide demand of the people. Changes of varying degrees also occurred in the political attitudes of the national bourgeoisie and the various factions within the Kuomintang. And the Sian Incident¹ of 1936 was the best case in point.

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung resolutely fought the "Left" opportunist errors and penetratingly 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.²

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

It was precisely on the basis of such scientific analysis that Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly formulated the political and military lines for the people's war during the War of Resistance Against Japan, developed his thought on the establishment of

rural base areas and the use of the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them, and formulated a whole range of principles and policies, strategy and tactics in the political, military, economic and cultural fields for the carrying out of the people's war. It was this that ensured victory in the War of Resistance and created the conditions for the nation-wide victory of the new-democratic revolution.

Correctly Apply the Line and Policy of the United Front

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

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

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

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

The bourgeoisie was divided into the national and the comprador bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie formed the majority of the bourgeoisie; it was rather flabby, often vacillated and had contradictions with the workers, but it also had a certain degree of readiness to oppose imperialism and was one of our allies in the War of Resistance. The comprador bourgeoisie was the bureaucrat-capitalist class, which was very small in number but occupied the ruling position in China. Its members attached themselves to different imperialist powers, some of them being pro-Japanese and others pro-British and pro-American. The pro-Japanese section of the comprador bourgeoisie were the capitulators, the overt and covert traitors. The pro-British and pro-American section of this class 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"³ 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 inde-

pendently 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."**⁴ This is the chief experience gained in our struggle against the die-hard forces.

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

Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas

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

But at the outset many comrades in our Party did not see this point. The history of our Party shows that in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, one of the major errors of the Right opportunists, represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, was their failure to recognize the importance of the peasant question and their opposition to arousing and arming

the peasants. In the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, one of the major errors of the "Left" opportunists, represented by Wang Ming, was likewise their failure to recognize the importance of the peasant question. They did not realize that it was essential to undertake long-term and painstaking work among the peasants and establish revolutionary base areas in the countryside; they were under the illusion that they could rapidly seize the big cities and quickly win nation-wide victory in the revolution. The errors of both the Right and the "Left" opportunists brought serious setbacks and defeats to the Chinese revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the anti-Japanese base areas, we carried out democratic reforms, improved the livelihood of the people, and mobilized and organized the peasant masses. Organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power were established on an extensive scale and the masses of the people enjoyed the democratic right to run their own affairs; at the same time we carried out the policies of "a reasonable burden" and "the reduction of rent and interest", which weakened the feudal system of exploitation and improved the people's livelihood. As a result, the enthusiasm of the peasant masses was deeply

aroused, while the various anti-Japanese strata were given due consideration and were thus united. In formulating our policies for the base areas, we also took care that these policies should facilitate our work in the enemy-occupied areas.

In the enemy-occupied cities and villages, we combined legal with illegal struggle, united the basic masses and all patriots, and divided and disintegrated the political power of the enemy and his puppets so as to prepare ourselves to attack the enemy from within in 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 wrought havoc. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang, too, encircled these base areas, blockaded them and went so far as to attack them. So by 1942, the anti-Japanese base areas had contracted and their population was down to less than 50,000,000. Placing complete reliance on the masses, our Party resolutely adopted a series of correct policies and measures, with the result that the base areas were able to hold out under extremely difficult circumstances. After this setback, the army and the people in the base areas were tempered and grew stronger. From 1943 onwards, our base areas were gradually restored and expanded, and by 1945 the population had grown to 160,000,000. Taking the entire course of the Chinese revolution into account, our revolutionary base areas went through even more ups and downs, and they weathered a great many tests before the small, separate base areas, expanding in a series of waves, gradually developed into extensive and contiguous base areas.

At the same time, the work of building the revolutionary base areas was a grand rehearsal in preparation for nation-wide victory. In these base areas, we built the Party, ran the organs of state power, built the people's armed forces and set up mass organizations; we engaged in industry and

agriculture and operated cultural, educational and all other undertakings necessary for the independent existence of a separate region. Our base areas were in fact a state in miniature. And with the steady expansion of our work in the base areas, our Party established a powerful people's army, trained cadres for various kinds of work, accumulated experience in many fields and built up both the material and the moral strength that provided favourable conditions for nation-wide victory.

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

Build a People's Army of a New Type

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

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

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

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

political and military lines followed by the "Left" opportunist leadership.

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

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

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

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

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

Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on building a people's army, our army was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist

Party and most loyally carried out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies. It had a high degree of conscious discipline and was heroically inspired to destroy all enemies and conquer all difficulties. Internally there was full unity between cadres and fighters, between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility, between the different departments and between the various fraternal army units. Externally, there was similarly full unity between the army and the people and between the army and the local government.

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

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

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

The essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is that in building a people's army prominence must be given to politics, *i.e.*, the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis.

Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the lifeline of our army. True, a people's army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and its military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique, it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of the commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses.

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

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

Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics of People's War

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

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, on the basis of his comprehensive analysis of the enemy and ourselves, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the following strategic principle for the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies: "**Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions.**"⁹ He raised guerrilla warfare to the level of strategy, because, if they are to defeat a formidable enemy, revolutionary

armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution. Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces in the course of the war, deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerrilla to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy.

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

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

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

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

War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations. This guiding principle should be put into effect regardless of whether mobile or guerrilla warfare is the primary form of fighting. It is true that in guerrilla warfare much should be done to disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary actively to advocate and fight battles of annihilation whenever conditions are 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.¹²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kuomintang's reactionary troops out of action and won the great victory of the people's revolution.

Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance

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

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

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

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

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

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party maintained that China should rely mainly on her own strength while at the same time trying to get as much foreign assistance as possible. We firmly opposed the Kuomintang ruling clique's policy of exclusive reliance on foreign aid. In the eyes of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, China's industry and agriculture were no good, her weapons and equipment were no good, nothing in China was any good, so that if she wanted to defeat Japan, she had to depend on other countries, and particularly on

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

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

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

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

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

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

Difficulties are not invincible monsters. If everyone co-operates and fights them, they will be overcome. The Kuomintang reactionaries thought that they could starve us to death by cutting off allowances and imposing an economic blockade, but in fact they helped us by stimulating us to rely on

our own efforts to surmount our difficulties. While launching the great campaign for production, we applied the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" and economized in the use of manpower and material resources; thus we not only surmounted the severe material difficulties and successfully met the crisis, but lightened the people's burden, improved their livelihood and laid the material foundations for victory in the anti-Japanese war.

The problem of military equipment was solved mainly by relying on the capture of arms from the enemy, though we did turn out some weapons too. Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese imperialists and the 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 developed Marxism-Leninism by his masterly generalization and summation of the experience gained during the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle.

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

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

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

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

He clearly pointed out:

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

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

In the world today, all the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys, without exception, are strengthening their state machinery, and especially their armed forces. 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**".²⁰ This is called doing unto them what they do unto us.

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

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

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

The history of people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The socialist countries should regard it as their internationalist duty to support the people's revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the socialist revolution is only possible after the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The more thorough the national-democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

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

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

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

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

Mao Tse-tung's thought has been the guide to the victory of the Chinese revolution. It has inte-

grated 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 peo-

ples 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, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and other countries have waged people's wars against the imperialists and their lackeys and won great victories. The classes leading these people's wars may vary, and so may the breadth and depth of mass mobilization and the extent of victory, but the victories in these people's wars have very much weakened and pinned down the forces of imperialism, upset the 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 their capacity for mutual support and aid has greatly increased. The whole capitalist-imperialist system has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration. After World War I, the imperialists lacked the power to destroy the new-born socialist Soviet state, but they were still able to suppress the people's revolutionary movements in some countries in the parts of the world under their own rule and so maintain a short period of comparative stability. Since World War II, however, not only have they been unable to stop a number of countries from taking the socialist road, but they are no longer capable of holding back the surging tide of the people's revolutionary movements in the areas under their own rule.

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, over-reaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, **"Wherever it commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck."**

It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world."²²

When committing aggression in a foreign country, 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.

Vietnam 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 Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for many years, and everybody can now see that the 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 Vietnam. They are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that 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 process, has accelerated social development to an unheard-of degree.²³

He added,

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

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

In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchov revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people never take a sentimental view of war. Our attitude towards imperialist wars of aggression has always been clear-cut. First, we are against them, and secondly, we are not afraid of them. We will destroy whoever attacks us. As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples,

far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid. It has been so in the past, it remains so in the present and, when we grow in strength as time goes on, we will give them still more support and aid in the future. It is sheer day-dreaming for anyone to think that, since our revolution has been victorious, our national construction is forging ahead, our national wealth is increasing and our living conditions are improving, we too will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Of course, every revolution in a country stems from the demands of its own people. Only when the people in a country are awakened, mobilized, organized and armed can they overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys through struggle; their role cannot be replaced or taken over by any people from outside. In this sense, revolution cannot be imported. But this does not exclude mutual sympathy and support on the part of revolutionary peoples in their struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys. Our support and aid to other revolutionary peoples serves precisely to help their self-reliant struggle.

The propaganda of the Khrushchov revisionists against people's war and the publicity they give to defeatism and capitulationism tend to demoralize and spiritually disarm revolutionary people everywhere. These revisionists are doing what the 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.

* * *

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 Vietnam.

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 every one 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 in-

dependent 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".²⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention were drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during the Agrarian Revolutionary War and were later adopted as rules of discipline by the Eighth Route Army

and the New Fourth Army and the present People's Liberation Army. As these rules varied slightly in content in the army units of different areas, the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in October 1947 issued a standard version as follows:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

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

The Eight Points for Attention:

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³ Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, pp. 95-96.

¹⁴ Mao Tse-tung, "Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the *Sao Tang Pao* and the *Hsin Min Pao*", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 270.

¹⁵ Mao Tse-tung, "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 241.

¹⁶ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I.

¹⁷ Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 224.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII.

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

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

²² Mao Tse-tung, Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (Leopoldville) Against U.S. Aggression, November 28, 1964.

²³ V. I. Lenin, "For Bread and Peace", *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI.

²⁴ V. I. Lenin, "The Chief Task of Our Day", *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII.

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

The Proletariat Must Take a Firm Hold Of the Gun

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

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army is a great army personally founded by our great leader Chairman Mao and under the direct command of Comrade Lin Piao. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and truly in the hands of the people, it is a most powerful revolutionary army, without match in the world.

For the past 40 years, under the leadership of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has grown from small to big and from weak to strong. Through hard fighting and heroic sacrifice, it smashed the five large-scale "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, triumphantly carried out the 25,000-li Long March known to all the world, defeated the overbearing Japanese aggressors, and knocked out of action the 8 million reactionary troops of the Kuomintang equipped by U.S. imperialism; in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, together with the Korean people, it defeated the aggressor troops of 16 countries knocked together by U.S. imperialism which is most ferocious; thus it has fought with great distinction in the service of the Chinese people and the people of the world. The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary flower watered with the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs; it is the pride and glory of the people of China and the whole world. It is not only the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, but also a powerful force backing the people of the world in their revolutionary struggle.

In August 1927, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the August 1 Nanchang Uprising fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. This took place after the Kuomintang had completely betrayed the revolution and in the circumstances in which the correct line represented by Chairman Mao had defeated the Right opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu. In September, on the basis of the peasant movement in Hunan, our great

leader Chairman Mao personally led the peasants in revolt, launching the Autumn Harvest Uprising of great historic significance, and then creating the Ching kang Mountain base. The Chinese people started their armed struggle under the guidance of the correct line and began to have a people's army of a completely new type.

The Autumn Harvest Uprising and the great march to the Ching kang Mountains are of epoch-making significance in the history of the Chinese revolution and in the history of the building of our army. It opened up the revolutionary road for the vanguard of the proletariat to go into the countryside, lead the peasants in carrying out armed struggle, establish rural base areas and use the countryside to encircle the cities and seize state power throughout the country.

Chairman Mao's brilliant theory of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing state power with arms is a development of genius of Marxism-Leninism. It has not only opened up the only correct road for the Chinese people to win nationwide victory, but also pointed out the broad road for the proletariat and the oppressed people throughout the world to win genuine liberation.

Chairman Mao says: **"The army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."** The exploiting classes invariably rely on violence to maintain their rule and carry out ruthless exploitation and plunder of the people. The slightest resistance on the part of the exploited class is met with bloody suppression by the reactionary troops. The reactionaries have swords in their hands. The revolutionary people too must take up swords. War is the highest form of class struggle. The people cannot liberate themselves, if they do not take hold of the gun and do not use revolutionary arms to oppose counter-revolutionary arms. Without a people's army, the people have no hope of victory in any of their resistance struggles. Even if

they achieve something temporarily, the moment the enemy carries out armed suppression they will lose everything.

The worst crime of the revisionists is precisely that they are opposed to the people waging armed struggle and to the proletariat taking hold of the gun. So it was with the old-line revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky, and so it is with the modern revisionists Khrushchov, Thorez, Togliatti, Dange and E.M.S. Namboodiripad and their like.

China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, like all counter-revolutionary revisionists, has all along opposed armed struggle, called for the parliamentary road and carried out capitulationism with all his might. In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he shamelessly lauded Chiang Kai-shek as "the revolutionary banner" and stood for turning over the people's army to the "national government" of Chiang Kai-shek to "lead." After victory in the war of resistance, he was openly for handing over the people's army to the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Chairman Mao thoroughly repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of giving up the people's army and the armed struggle. Under his brilliant leadership, the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army kept to the road of armed struggle, won victory in the democratic revolution and established a great state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In protracted revolutionary war, Chairman Mao created the most comprehensive, most scientific and greatest military theory. In the resolution of the Kutien Congress and in a series of other military writings, Chairman Mao worked out a genuine proletarian military line. This is the peak of Marxist-Leninist military theory. This is the most powerful weapon for the revolutionary people of the world to defeat imperialism and all other class enemies.

Chairman Mao says: **"Only with guns can the whole world be transformed."** This is the summing up of the experience gained by the proletariat of China and of the world at the cost of their blood. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. This truth is being daily grasped by the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations throughout the world. The revolutionary people in many areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America are rising and driving out their opportunist leaders. They are courageously taking up guns, establishing people's armies, waging armed struggles, rebelling in a big way against U.S.-led imperialism and all reactionaries and against modern revisionism with the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, and carrying on a great heroic and stubborn battle against the old world.

During the whole period of socialism, class struggle finds concentrated expression in the struggle between

the bourgeoisie for restoration and the proletariat against restoration. In striving for restoration the bourgeoisie certainly seeks to control the army and grasp the gun. In order to consolidate their proletarian dictatorship and smash the bourgeoisie's conspiracy for a come-back, it is imperative for the proletariat too to take a firm hold of the gun and keep firm hold of the army. For a fairly long historical period after seizing state power, the proletariat is faced with the danger of losing state power; similarly, after establishing the army, it still faces the danger of losing it. Should the army be lost and its power usurped by bad elements, then everything achieved by the proletariat and the working people will come to nought. The usurping of power in the army and the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat by the Khrushchov revisionist clique in the Soviet Union has provided a serious lesson.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief representative of the forces seeking capitalist restoration. Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching were his agents in the army. Peng Teh-huai is a big conspirator, big careerist, and big warlord. For decades he persistently took the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie and opposed Chairman Mao. In the past struggles between the two lines, he invariably stood on the opportunist side and opposed the correct line of Chairman Mao. In 1953 he, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih formed a Peng-Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance. In 1959 he was the ringleader of the anti-Party clique exposed at the Party's Lushan conference. Lo Jui-ching, too, is a bourgeois conspirator and careerist. As far back as the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he colluded with Peng Teh-huai and Peng Chen in opposing Chairman Mao, stubbornly implemented the Wang Ming capitulationist line and shamelessly lauded the people's common enemy Chiang Kai-shek as the "supreme commander" in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Following the nationwide victory, they stepped up their collusion in a desperate attempt to seize hold of the gun and pressed for a bourgeois military line in a vain attempt to turn the people's army into a tool for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the very soul of our army, its invincible compass and its fundamental guarantee against degeneration. With a view to transforming the proletarian nature of our army and usurping military power, Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and the like in the first place directed their spearheads against Mao Tse-tung's thought. Peng Teh-huai viciously attacked it by saying that "Chairman Mao's works can serve only as reference but not as a guide in war operations and in training of army units." Lo Jui-ching raved that to regard Chairman Mao's teachings as our supreme directive does not "conform to the system of our state." He went so far as to energetically peddle the book on "self-cultivation" by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and laud it as "the integration of Marxism-Leninism

with the practice of the Chinese revolution" and urge cadres and fighters of the whole army to "study it well."

One's attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought is a touchstone determining whether one is for Marxism-Leninism or for counter-revolutionary revisionism. All the victories won by our Party and army are great victories for Mao Tse-tung's thought. The 40 years' experience of our army has taught us that whenever people deviate from the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are bound to make mistakes, and suffer setbacks and failure. The army is a tool of class struggle, and it is guided either by the ideas of the proletariat or the ideas of the bourgeoisie. The reason why Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and their like desperately opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought was that they wanted to use bourgeois ideas and the revisionist book on "self-cultivation" to guide our army and to turn it into a bourgeois army.

In order to change the proletarian nature of our army and to usurp military power, Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and other counter-revolutionary revisionists made desperate efforts to oppose giving prominence to proletarian politics and to peddle revisionist trash imported from abroad; they worked solely to put the army on a regular basis along bourgeois lines and opposed proletarian revolutionization. They gave pride of place to military technique and denied that political and ideological work was the factor of first importance in determining fighting capability.

The idea that military technique is the basic criterion determining the fighting capability of an army is an out-and-out bourgeois military concept. What gives our army its greatest fighting capability? Is it aircraft, artillery, or atomic bombs? No, absolutely not. What gives our army its greatest fighting capability is the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung; it is our revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and having a high level of political consciousness. To oppose giving prominence to proletarian politics while giving pride of place to military technique means giving prominence to bourgeois politics. In fact Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and their like have all along opposed proletarian politics and given prominence to reactionary bourgeois politics. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Peng Teh-huai did his utmost to advertise "liberty, equality and fraternity," a reactionary bourgeois political concept. In his book *Political Work in the Anti-Japanese Armies*, Lo Jui-ching made no mention of class struggle or the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and taking a filial attitude towards that enemy of the people, he even used "the greatness of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his life" and the "wisdom, love, bravery," and "loyalty and benevolence" proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek as the basic content for political work in the army. What they were publicizing was nothing but the reactionary politics of the Kuomintang.

Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road,

cultivated their own private influence within the army, built up their personal prestige, recruited deserters and traitors, formed factions in pursuit of their own selfish interests, maintained illicit relations with foreign countries and conspired to usurp the leadership of the Party and army. Peng Teh-huai mustered a handful of ghosts and monsters, who had wormed their way into the Party—alien class elements, speculators, counter-revolutionaries, and old-type army officers who had not yet remoulded themselves—and formed an anti-Party clique and a counter-revolutionary "military club." Lo Jui-ching formed a conspiratorial anti-Party clique in collusion with other counter-revolutionary revisionists including Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-kun. They did all they could to set up a reactionary bourgeois independent kingdom within the army. This handful of people were intent on opposing our great leader and supreme commander Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao, who has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In a word, using counter-revolutionary revisionist, bourgeois junk, Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and their like, agents of China's Khrushchov within the army, tried their utmost to subvert our army and usurp its leadership. Had they achieved the aim of their intrigues and got the guns into their hands, our state would have changed its political colour, our Party and state would have been destroyed and we would have been slaughtered.

In the struggle to build our army into a highly proletarianized and militant revolutionary army and in the struggle against the conspiracy of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, including Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching, to usurp the leadership of the army, a most outstanding contribution has been made by Comrade Lin Piao.

Comrade Lin Piao is Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms and his best pupil. He has studied and applied Chairman Mao's works most successfully and his comprehension of Mao Tse-tung's thought is most profound. Over the past decades, he has most faithfully, firmly and thoroughly carried out and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and ideas on military affairs. In every struggle between the two lines, he has stood unequivocally and steadfastly on the side of Chairman Mao's correct line. In his writings, such as *Hold High the Red Banner of the Party's General Line and Mao Tse-tung's Thought on Military Affairs and Advance With Big Strides and Long Live the Victory of People's War*, and in a series of speeches, Comrade Lin Piao has systematically expounded and creatively elaborated Chairman Mao's ideas on military affairs.

Since he took charge of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, Comrade Lin Piao has creatively put forward the idea of the "four firsts"¹ and called for vigorous development of the "three-eight" working style², democracy in the three main

fields³ and the unfolding of campaigns for "four good" companies⁴. The "Decision on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" drawn up in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's ideas at the 1960 Enlarged Conference of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee has inherited and carried forward the traditions of the Kutien Congress. Comrade Lin Piao's great call to all commanders and fighters to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters," and the principle and method set forth by Comrade Lin Piao of studying the works of Chairman Mao with specific problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study and application, first studying what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and striving hard to apply what one is studying, have given tremendous impetus to the grasping of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the whole army and the people throughout the country and to the revolutionization of their thinking. The series of important measures proposed by Comrade Lin Piao to maintain the proletarian character of our army has brought us to a new stage in army building.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **The "four firsts" is good; it is an invention. Since Comrade Lin Piao put forward the "four firsts" and the "three-eight" working style, the ideological-political work of the People's Liberation Army, as well as its military work, has developed remarkably, has become more concrete and at the same time has been raised to a higher theoretical plane than in the past.**

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and keeping proletarian politics to the fore, Comrade Lin Piao has thoroughly exposed, criticized and repudiated the bourgeois military ideas of Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching and has carried out a resolute struggle against their plot to usurp Party and army leadership. In order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, Comrade Lin Piao has laid particular emphasis on the grave importance of ideological struggle and the proletariat's control of the armed forces. He has pointed out: "The pen and the gun: these are the two props on which one relies in the seizure of political power." And, "in carrying out subversive activities, the bourgeoisie also gives first place to ideology, first of all, to confuse people ideologically. Another measure is to get armed forces, to get hold of the gun. By co-ordinating the cultural and military fronts they hope to control both public opinion and the gun, thus making it possible for them to stage a counter-revolutionary coup." This is a very important thesis. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must expose the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the Party and overthrow and discredit them politically and ideologically. The same must be done with regard to the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the army.

A movement of mass criticism and repudiation is now unfolding throughout the country against the hand-

ful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Party and the army. This represents the general orientation of the struggle. This will further consolidate the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the army, strengthen the political and ideological building of our army and push forward the ideological revolutionization of the whole army.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, who are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, have enthusiastically and wholeheartedly supported the masses of the Left as well as industry and agriculture, and have engaged in the work of military control and military-political training. They have made new great contributions to the people.

The People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary masses must enthusiastically respond to their great leader Chairman Mao's battle call to **support the army and cherish the people**. The further strengthening of army-civilian unity under the brilliant guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought is an important guarantee for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Long live the great Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader and great supreme commander Chairman Mao!

(*"Hongqi" editorial, No. 12, 1967, Slightly abridged.*)

¹"Four firsts": this means giving first place to man in the correct handling of the relationship between man and weapons; giving first place to political work in the correct handling of the relationship between political and other work; giving first place to ideological work in the correct handling of the relationship between ideological and routine tasks in political work; and giving first place to living ideas in the correct handling of the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas in ideological work.

²"Three-eight" working style: "three" refers to three mottoes: keep firmly to the correct political orientation; maintain an industrious and simple style of work, and be flexible in strategy and tactics; and "eight" refers to the eight characters which mean unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

³Democracy in the three main fields: this refers to political democracy, military democracy and economic democracy.

⁴A "four good" company is a company good in political and ideological work, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in military training and good in making arrangements for daily life.

The Strongest Pillar of the Proletarian Dictatorship

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

IT was 40 years ago, following the Kuomintang's complete betrayal of the revolution, and when Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line had been defeated by the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, that, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the August 1 Nanchang Uprising fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries.

The great historic Autumn Harvest Uprising and the march to the Chingkang Mountains, led personally by Chairman Mao, initiated the founding of a people's army of an entirely new type, and the establishment of the first revolutionary base area. This opened up the revolutionary road of the vanguard of the proletariat going deep into the countryside to lead the peasants in waging armed struggle, and establish base areas in the countryside from which to encircle the cities and seize state power throughout the country. This was not only the sole correct course for the Chinese people in carrying their revolution to victory, it is also the brilliant path of the world's proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations in achieving liberation.

Over the last 40 years, led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has traversed an extremely difficult and tortuous, yet, at the same time, extremely great and glorious course. It is the strongest pillar of the proletarian dictatorship in our country; it provides the most powerful backing for the world's oppressed nations and peoples.

The great, world-shaking achievements and deeds of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the last 40 years are great victories for Chairman Mao's military theory, tremendous victories for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."**

As proved by the history of the Chinese revolution, the proletariat, in order to seize and consolidate state power, must have a people's army of a new type

— highly proletarianized and militant. Without a people's army built in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought, all else is just empty talk.

In the protracted struggle against the class enemies both at home and abroad, Comrade Mao Tse-tung created, with genius, the most comprehensive, the most systematic and the greatest proletarian military theory. Chairman Mao's well-known theses that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,"** that **"without a people's army the people have nothing,"** his brilliant ideas on giving primary importance to building the army politically and on strengthening political and ideological work in the army, his important principle that **"the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party,"** his great theory of a people's army and people's war, have advanced Marxist-Leninist military teachings to a completely new stage. This provides the world's proletariat and revolutionary peoples with the most powerful and sharpest of weapons for defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

On the questions of armed struggle and army building, there has always been an acute struggle between two lines within our Party. One is the proletarian military line represented by Chairman Mao; the other is the bourgeois military line pursued by both "Left" and Right opportunists. And it is in the struggle against the bourgeois military line and in the course of criticizing and repudiating those bourgeois representatives inside the Party, Chen Tu-hsiu, Li Lisan, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao and China's Khrushchov and others that Chairman Mao's proletarian military line has steadily developed and been perfected.

The Khrushchov of China has consistently opposed Chairman Mao's correct line, and practised class capitulationism. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he openly advocated handing the people's army over to the "leadership" of the "national government"; he lauded Chiang Kai-shek, the enemy of the people, as "the revolutionary banner." After the victory over Japan, he again feverishly advertised the parliamentary road; his idea was to lay down arms and capitulate to the Kuomintang; his shameless cry was: "If the army

gives way one step, the whole nation will make great progress."

Chairman Mao thoroughly criticized, repudiated and smashed the capitulationist line advanced by China's Khrushchov to liquidate the people's army and armed struggle, and thereby enabled our army to grow steadily in strength and win the great victory of the people's revolutionary war.

Following the founding of the great People's Republic of China, the Khrushchov of China continued to work against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, rabidly opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and tried his utmost to stage a capitalist restoration. He gathered together a handful of bourgeois representatives who had sneaked into the Party and the army, to engage frenziedly in underhand activities designed to usurp the leadership of the Party, the government and the army. His agents within the army are those counter-revolutionary revisionists who opposed the Party and usurped leadership in the army — Peng Teh-huai, unearthed at the 1959 Party Conference at Lushan, and Lo Jui-ching, exposed shortly before the great cultural revolution. They were time-bombs hidden in the Party and the army, most dangerous enemies of the proletarian dictatorship. For a long time, with the support of the Khrushchov of China, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they stubbornly carried out the bourgeois military line in a vain attempt to turn the great People's Liberation Army into a tool of careerists, a tool for the restoration of capitalism.

The counter-revolutionary revisionists Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching are most afraid of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and its fusion with the mass of cadres and fighters. They viciously attacked and slandered Chairman Mao, and furiously boycotted and opposed his proletarian political line and military line. In regard to the important directives on army work given by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, they either did their utmost to suppress them and refused to pass them on, or, on other occasions, used the double-faced tactics of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, ostensibly carrying out the directives but clandestinely going against them. They laid one-sided stress on putting the army on a regular basis and on its modernization while negating revolutionization of the army and the army's glorious tradition in political work. In a vain attempt to lead the army astray, they made great efforts against giving prominence to proletarian politics. They opposed Chairman Mao's concept of people's war, and the universal militia system, and sabotaged the traditional system of co-ordination of the regular forces, the local forces, the militia and the guerrilla forces. They had pushed this bourgeois military line in order to change the nature of our army at its very roots, and vainly tried to convert it into an old-fashioned bourgeois army divorced from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and from the masses and opposed to the masses.

The bourgeois military line advanced by the anti-Party careerists Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and others served the reactionary political line of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in opposing the proletarian dictatorship and attempting a capitalist restoration. This bourgeois military line was the manifestation of the reactionary political line in military affairs.

The exposure of Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and other anti-Party careerists is a tremendous victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a tremendous victory in smashing the schemes for a capitalist restoration.

In the struggle between the two lines within the Party and the army, Comrade Lin Piao has always carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his military thinking most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly. Over the past 40 years, at every important historical juncture, he has invariably stood firmly by Chairman Mao's side and uncompromisingly fought the erroneous line, bravely defending Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Ever since Comrade Lin Piao has been in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, he has called on the army's commanders and fighters to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way. It was he who creatively advanced the idea of the "four firsts" and proposed the vigorous development of the "three-eight" style of work, the bringing into full play of democracy in the three main fields, and the unfolding of the campaign for "four-good" companies. [For the meaning of these terms, see p. 39]. The cause of army building has been raised to a new stage by this series of policies, principles and important measures; they are of great and far-reaching significance in making the whole army and the whole country a big school for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Comrade Lin Piao is Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms, his best pupil and a long-tested, outstanding leader of our Party. His work *Long Live the Victory of People's War* and other books have systematically expounded and elucidated Chairman Mao's military thinking; they are brilliant examples of the creative application of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The People's Liberation Army shoulders the glorious task of consolidating the national defence and safeguarding the proletarian dictatorship. In fulfilling this great historic task, the most important thing is to strengthen the leadership of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, and to establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought so that all commanders and fighters of the army will, in the face of any storm of class struggle, be able to loyally defend Chairman Mao, the Party's Central Committee and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution which has no precedent in history, the People's Liberation Army, in response to Chairman Mao's great call, has thrown itself enthusiastically into the torrent of the revolutionary mass movement, achieved great successes and gained new merit in the work of supporting the Left, industry and agriculture and in exercising military control and giving military and political training.

At the present time, an excellent situation exists in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country. The class struggle, however, is very acute and complicated. The mass of commanders and fighters must fully realize the great role which the People's Liberation Army plays in this struggle; they must resolutely support the proletarian revolutionaries, breathe the same air as they breathe and share their destiny. The proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses must have confidence in the People's Liberation Army, rely on it and support it. The army and people of the whole country must resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's call to "support the army and cherish the people", unite closely and, in all circumstances, be loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, to Chairman Mao and his closest comrade-in-arms Com-

rade Lin Piao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The combat strength of the People's Liberation Army has been greatly enhanced by its tempering in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and it will surely hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and, in the service of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world, make new and even greater contributions in the defence of the socialist motherland, in supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people in all countries, in fighting imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism centred on the C.P.S.U. ruling clique, and all their accomplices.

Long live the great Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader and great supreme commander Chairman Mao!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 31, slightly abridged translation.)

解放軍報

JIEFANGJUN BAO

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Thoroughly Criticize And Repudiate the Bourgeois Military Line

— Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the
Chinese People's Liberation Army

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army founded and led personally by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao has traversed a brilliant fighting road over the past 40 years.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army of a new type, nurtured on Mao Tse-tung's thought and built up in accordance with the military line of Chairman Mao. The great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul of our army, the fundamental principle of the building of our army.

Forty years ago today, an armed uprising led by the Chinese Communist Party took place in Nanchang.

This uprising under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao had defeated the Right opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu, following the complete selling out of the revolution by the Kuomintang.

Through the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the great march to the Ching Kang Mountains, personally led by Chairman Mao, the first armed force of the workers and peasants was built and the first revolutionary base was established and thus a brand-new road for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution was

opened. It is the revolutionary road by which the vanguard of the proletariat penetrates deeply into the countryside, leads the peasants in armed struggle, builds rural bases, encircles the cities from the countryside and seizes state power throughout the country. This is the only correct, bright road along which the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations can advance to victory in revolution. This is a great pioneering undertaking in the history of the international communist movement.

The Resolution of the Kutien Congress (the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army), drafted by Chairman Mao, summed up the rich experience gained during the struggle against the bourgeois military line in the early period of the building of the army. It creatively advanced the proletarian military line, and formulated a comprehensive proletarian army-building programme for our army. This resolution drew a clear distinction between the proletarian army and the bourgeois army, building our army entirely on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and turning it into a genuine people's army.

Chairman Mao pointed out in the resolution for the Kutien Congress: **"Military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks."** **"The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution."** **"The Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence."**

This series of scientific theses by Chairman Mao solved the relations between military affairs and politics with genius and in a creative way, developed the theories of Marxism-Leninism tremendously and laid the foundation of the military theory of Mao Tse-tung. The core of Chairman Mao's military theory is to give prominence to proletarian politics and lay stress on building the army politically, to attach full importance to the decisive role of man and the political-ideological factor, and to display to the full the initiative of the masses of soldiers and people in war. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, our army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution and military affairs must be subordinate to politics. Our army is not only a fighting force. It is at the same time a working force and a production force. Our army must be placed under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party which is guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, and

implement the principle of the Party commanding the gun, and of never allowing the gun to command the Party. In fighting our army must not solely rely on weapons and technique but must rely mainly on politics, on the consciousness and revolutionary spirit of man and the unity between officers and men, between the higher and lower ranks, between the army and government, and between the army and the people. Political-ideological work is the lifeblood of our army. This is the diametric opposite to the bourgeois military line, to the bourgeoisie's purely military viewpoint and theory that weapons decide everything and to the bourgeois military theory and system of management.

Chairman Mao's military theory is the greatest and most comprehensive, thoroughgoing and systematic in the history of the development of Marxism. It represents contemporary Marxist-Leninist military theory at its highest peak. It is the fundamental guarantee for the winning of victory in the revolution by the Chinese people and also a powerful weapon for the revolutionary peoples of the world in their struggle for national liberation and class emancipation.

For forty years, our army has been continuously under the brilliant leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, advancing triumphantly in accordance with his military line.

However, **"History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle."** The 40 years of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have been years of consistent victory for Chairman Mao's military line over the bourgeois military line.

In the history of our army the struggle between the two military lines has always been around the key issue of whether to place politics or military affairs first, whether to put politics or military affairs in the forefront. The representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party, who persist in the bourgeois military line, invariably interfere with, resist and oppose Chairman Mao's correct line. They invariably oppose Chairman Mao's idea of building the army by putting politics in the forefront, while trying to put military affairs in the forefront and advocating the purely military viewpoint. In opposing the putting of proletarian politics in the forefront, they, in fact, seek to put bourgeois politics to the fore and to transform our army in accordance with the bourgeois outlook, in a vain attempt to turn our army into a tool which they can use to oppose the Party, Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line and to advance the bourgeois reactionary line. This was what Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao did. So did the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and also his agents within the army Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching.

Peng Teh-huai, head of the anti-Party clique unearthed at the Party's Lushan meeting, is a represen-

tative of those who stubbornly pursue the bourgeois military line. This big careerist and conspirator has all along opposed Chairman Mao and the correct line represented by him. As soon as the socialist transformation began in 1953, he engaged in anti-Party conspiratorial activities with Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. The Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance was in fact an anti-Party alliance of Peng, Kao and Jao. At the time when phenomenal successes had been scored in carrying out the Party's general line for the building of socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement, he came out into the open, mustered a handful of people and knocked together an anti-Party clique. They maintained illicit relations abroad. They launched a wild attack on the Party, joining the anti-China chorus of imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. In so doing, they attempted to overthrow the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, to realize their ambition of usurping the leadership of the army, the Party and the state and to restore capitalism in China.

For several decades, Peng Teh-huai consistently adhered to warlordism and the bourgeois military viewpoint. After the founding of New China, his erroneous tendencies became worse, developing into a full-fledged bourgeois, revisionist military line. He opposed Chairman Mao's military theory and the study of Chairman Mao's works. Using so-called "putting the army on a regular basis" and "modernization" as a pretext, he negated the historical experiences and fine traditions of our army and copied everything to the last detail from foreign countries. He tried to negate the Party's absolute leadership over the army, to eliminate the system of collective leadership by Party committees and to enforce the system of one-man leadership. He tried to eliminate political work in the army, to abrogate the democratic system and mass line and to undermine our army's principle of unity between officers and men and between the higher and lower ranks. He tried to eliminate the army's participation in socialist construction and their work among the masses and to weaken the close relations between the army and the people. In short, he was opposed to taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding principle in military work. He refused to carry out a series of Chairman Mao's directives and negated the very fundamentals of Chairman Mao's theory of people's war. He thus tried to lead our army on to the road of becoming a bourgeois army and to turn the proletarian revolutionary army into their tool for restoring capitalism. His bourgeois military line went totally bankrupt in 1959 when his anti-Party intrigue was fully exposed.

Lo Jui-ching, a counter-revolutionary revisionist exposed on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution, is another representative of those who pursue the bourgeois military line. He, too, is a big bourgeois careerist and conspirator. As far back as the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan he was actively supporting and following the Right opportunist

line of Wang Ming and Peng Teh-huai. As the socialist revolution went deeper, this big warlord, along with the big Party tyrant Peng Chen and the big scholar-tyrant Lu Ting-yi, formed a counter-revolutionary revisionist gang. With the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they frantically opposed Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao. They opposed the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and conspired to usurp the leadership of the army, the Party and the state.

Taking advantage of the important position he had usurped in the army, Lo Jui-ching tried his utmost to replace Chairman Mao's proletarian military line with the bourgeois military line, and attacked the "four firsts" (see p. 39) put forward by Comrade Lin Piao. On his own authority he decided to make a big show throughout the army of military skills. He made great efforts to ensure top priority to military affairs and technique, in a futile attempt to push aside proletarian politics and the study of Chairman Mao's works, and to reduce and weaken the political and ideological work in our army. Waving a "red flag" to oppose the red flag, he made a pretence of agreement while acting in opposition to Comrade Lin Piao's directive on giving prominence to politics. He did his utmost to spread eclectic, opportunist fallacies such as "military affairs are politics" and "equal emphasis should be laid on military affairs and politics."

With the smashing of Lo Jui-ching's conspiracy to usurp army leadership and oppose the Party, a big "time-bomb" laid within our army by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was removed. This created an important condition for the successful development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The experience of history teaches us that the struggle between the two military lines is an extremely important issue that has a bearing on the success or failure of the revolution. Before the proletariat wins state power, it affects the issue of whether state power can be seized. After the seizure of state power, it affects the issue of whether the power can be retained.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army." And "Without a people's army the people have nothing."**

The proletarian revolution cannot be accomplished by relying on an old style army. A people's army of a new type, thoroughly different from all old style armies, must be established. Only when there is a people's army led by the proletariat is it possible to carry out a people's revolutionary war victoriously, to seize political power from the exploiting classes and to keep that power firmly in the hands of the people.

The life-and-death struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is very sharp and

complicated during the period of socialism. This struggle is bound to be reflected in the army, the main instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the final analysis, the struggle between two military lines is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure of power over the army. This is an important component of the struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat between the bourgeoisie which is trying to make a come-back and the proletariat which is fighting to prevent it. **"Whoever has an army has power."** The army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road seek to usurp political power, they will inevitably collaborate with the handful of top army persons in authority taking the capitalist road to usurp leadership of the army. If their plot were to succeed, millions of lives would be forfeited, and our Party and army would change their nature and our country would change its political colour.

In the course of the protracted struggle between the two lines in the Party and in the army, Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms and our deputy supreme commander, has always most faithfully and thoroughly carried out Chairman Mao's correct line and has most resolutely and heroically safeguarded it. At every important historical moment in China's revolution, he has consistently and firmly stood on the side of Chairman Mao, and carried out uncompromising struggle against all kinds of "Left" and Right opportunist lines and against anti-Party cliques. Ever since he took charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Lin Piao, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and creatively applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, has put forward and laid stress on a series of guiding policies, principles and important measures aimed at strengthening the revolutionization of the army. These include the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, the putting of proletarian politics to the fore, persistence in carrying out the "four-firsts," the advocating of the "three-eight" working style, the fostering of democracy in the three main fields and the creating of "four-good" companies. (See p. 39.) The resolution on strengthening political and ideological work in the armed forces adopted at the enlarged session of the Military Commission and drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Lin Piao inherited and carried forward the spirit of the Kutien Congress. It became a new milestone on the path of our army's advance.

Chairman Mao says: **The "four firsts" is good; it is an invention. Since Comrade Lin Piao put forward the "four firsts" and the "three-eight" working style, the ideological-political work of the People's Liberation Army, as well as its military work, has developed remarkably, has become more concrete and at the same time has been raised to a higher theoretical plane than in the past.** The series of pioneering undertakings of Comrade Lin Piao in regard to putting politics to the

fore in army building are an example of how to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Piao has made great contributions to our army's persistence in Chairman Mao's military line, to its overcoming of the bourgeois military line, strengthening of proletarian revolutionization and maintaining of the qualities of the people's army in the new historical period.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, has now entered the crucial stage of a great decisive battle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. A new upsurge in the mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation is emerging throughout the country. For a long time, China's Khrushchov, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, has obstinately pushed ahead with his bourgeois reactionary line, attempting to practise and restore capitalism in China. The bourgeois military line pursued by Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching was an important component of this bourgeois reactionary line. Chairman Mao always says: **"There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction."** Only by completely clearing away, through mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation, the poisonous effects spread in the political, economic, cultural and military fields by the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Party and the army, of whom China's Khrushchov is the general representative, can Mao Tse-tung's thought occupy all positions, can it be ensured that our Party, our country and our army never change political colour.

In the present mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation and in the carrying out of the glorious strategic tasks of supporting the Left, aiding industry and agriculture, exercising military control and helping with military and political training, entrusted to us by Chairman Mao, and in answering his great call to **"support the army and cherish the people,"** the commanders and fighters of our army should, with the revolutionary people all over the country, hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the great red banner of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We should thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of top army persons taking the capitalist road, including Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching. We should thoroughly destroy the bourgeois reactionary line and the bourgeois military line, and completely clear away their poisonous effects. We should achieve the complete supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought, turn our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought and fight to the finish for the implementation, propagation and defence of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

*("Jiefangjun Bao" editorial,
July 31, slightly abridged.)*

Chairman Mao Tse-tung says:

Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano.

Afro-Americans Pit Revolutionary Violence Against Reactionary Violence

THE Afro-American people's struggle against the reactionary U.S. power structure has again broken out, this time with the force of a volcanic eruption.

Beginning early July 23, several thousand Afro-Americans in Detroit, the fifth largest city in the United States, mounted a stirring armed struggle against fascist police violence. The flames kindled by the Black Americans gutted blocks of buildings and shops owned by white exploiters. A number of police stations were burnt down. Afro-American snipers punished the attacking police and troops with heavy gunfire, and for the first time machine-guns were used by Negro youths against the enemy. In no time, the Afro-American struggle against violence spread from the western part of Detroit to the whole city.

The U.S. ruling class was thrown into a panic by this mammoth armed rebellion. President Johnson proclaimed late July 24 that he had authorized the Defence Department to "take all appropriate steps" to "restore law and order" in Detroit. He also ordered 5,000 federal paratroopers to move into the city to strengthen suppression measures.

Supported by tanks and armoured cars and helped by 5,000 armed policemen, 8,000 National Guardsmen went into action after nightfall to besiege the rebelling Afro-Americans. They shot at the rebels from patrol cars mounted with heavy machine-guns. Helicopters were also used.

Detroit Paralysed

Afro-Americans were not intimidated. Defying the city authorities' curfew, they poured into the streets and carried on the fighting. Sniping spread. Three police stations were attacked. Usually cocky and blustering, the cops now found it safer to remain indoors. Some Black youths equipped their trucks with machine-guns and sped down the streets in search of the enemy. Fires blazed and snipers' shots were heard

in more and more places. Gunfire and explosions rocked Detroit's night sky.

In this massive anti-violence class struggle a large number of impoverished white men fought shoulder to shoulder with their Black brothers and sisters.

As fighting spread from street to street, the assembly lines of the three biggest automobile plants in the United States came to a standstill. All shops, banks and restaurants were closed. So were the schools. Detroit was completely paralysed.

By midnight of July 24, the 13,000 armed police and troops had been outfought by the heroic and indomitable Afro-Americans. Governor George Romney cried out in alarm that the situation was more serious than the previous night. Lyndon Johnson announced over television that new measures against the Negroes would be taken in Detroit. He said the situation in that city was "worsening" fast. There was "clear, indisputable evidence that local officials have been unable to bring the situation under control," he said. Two airborne brigades, totalling 5,000 men who had been rushed in from other states to the airport outside Detroit earlier, entered the city on Johnson's order to take part in the suppression.

Suppression is invariably met with resistance. Inspired by the militant heroism of Detroit's Afro-Americans who defied tyranny and persisted in their struggle, Black Americans in other cities and states also rose in armed rebellion. The flames spread far and wide. On July 26, armed self-defence struggles broke out in a dozen major cities. In South Bend, Indiana, groups of Afro-American youth countered police suppression with rocks and incendiary bottles for two consecutive nights. The reactionary authorities clamped down a curfew that night and called out 1,000 National Guardsmen to put down the freedom fighters. In Phoenix, Arizona, Black people took to the streets in complete disregard of the curfew, and struck back hard

at the police with rocks, bottles and incendiary bottles; sniping also went on for two nights at a stretch. Angry Afro-Americans in San Francisco in the west and in New York City in the east, and in Ohio, New Jersey, Maryland, Texas and other cities and states took up weapons to join the struggle.

"Gravest Domestic Crisis"

Face to face with this situation, the U.S. rulers were seized with fright and thrown into confusion. They wailed that they were faced with "the gravest domestic crisis" for more than a century. To suppress the Afro-American struggle in one city alone, the Johnson Administration, in addition to calling out a total of nearly 20,000 troops and police, had to put Detroit under military control; still the guns fighting violence and tyranny were not to be silenced. Fresh Afro-American struggles erupted in New York and in other cities, while tension mounted in Washington and a dozen cities where the situation was highly explosive.

The outbreak of the present Afro-American armed struggle against racial oppression indicates that the class struggle in the United States is sharper than ever. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, **"In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle."** For centuries, Afro-Americans have been at the bottom of the social ladder and subjected to the most ruthless oppression and exploitation. In them, therefore, lies the greatest potential revolutionary force in the United States. Confronted by Black Americans rising in rebellion, the reactionary power structure insidiously resorted, as it always does, to counter-revolutionary dual tactics to maintain its reactionary rule. Savage measures to suppress the Afro-American struggle against racial discrimination go hand in hand with political deception in the form, for instance, of a "civil rights program" designed for no other purpose than to sap the Negroes' fighting will. But all such efforts have proved futile, for the contradiction between the Afro-Americans and the reactionary ruling class is irreconcilable. As the political awakening of their masses grows in scale, their spirit of resistance and revolutionary fervour heighten, too, as is evidenced by recent events in the United States.

The People Are Really Powerful

As our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, **"It will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength. In the United States there are others who are really strong — the American people."**

The Afro-American people's struggle against racial oppression which has hit out with such force is another living proof of this truth.

The roaring flames in Detroit, says *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator, have scared the U.S. rulers. The alarmed Johnson Administration sent nearly 20,000 troops and police in an attempt to put down the struggle, but at the same time called on the nation in a proclamation

to "pray for peace," using soft tactics to dupe the people.

All reactionaries, Commentator adds, invariably resort to the two tactics of subterfuge and violence to maintain their rule. Therefore, once the broad masses have awakened and have refused to be taken in by their subterfuges or intimidated by their violence, these ruling reactionaries will face great difficulty in maintaining their rule. This is what is happening to the domestic rule of U.S. imperialism.

The masses of Afro-Americans, particularly wage-earners dependent on selling their labour, from the practice of their struggle, have come to see through the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the U.S. ruling clique. From the mass struggle in Little Rock in 1957, the "freedom march" on Washington in 1963 to the armed struggles against racial oppression in Watts in 1965, and in Detroit this year — all this is a manifestation of the increasing awareness of the Black people of the United States. More and more of them have embarked on the road of combating counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.

The more ferocious and ruthless its methods in suppressing the Afro-American movement, the more profound the lesson the Johnson Administration has given the Afro-Americans, and in the process has greatly hastened their awakening. H. Rap Brown, a young Black leader who has come to the fore in the current struggle, countered Johnson's threat of brute force with a rejoinder couched in strong language when he recently spoke to a mass meeting: "The Black man has the immutable will to be free and has no recourse but to rebel." He stressed that "violence is necessary" and that the Black people must get their guns because the white rulers "don't respect nothing but guns. . . ." His militant speech reflects the determination of the awakening Afro-American masses to rebel.

The powerful, surging Afro-American armed struggle against racial oppression is of great significance not only to the American people fighting the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly groups but also to the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism. The raging flames of the Afro-American struggle were ignited at a time when U.S. imperialism faces an impasse in its war of aggression against Vietnam and when the struggle of the people the world over against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs is pressing ahead powerfully. Fighting Afro-Americans are dealing telling blows at U.S. imperialism from within the United States, smashing down the reactionary power structure's so-called "law and order" and paralysing and causing confusion in more than a dozen cities. Because this rising armed struggle against oppression is battering fiercely at U.S. imperialism's rule at home, it will inevitably weaken U.S. imperialist aggression abroad and aggravate its already insurmountable difficulties. The struggle of the Afro-American masses will not only give tremendous impetus to the revolutionary struggle

(Continued on p. 51.)

Reactionary Burmese Government's Monstrous Crime: Persecution of Chinese Nationals

MORE of the truth about the large-scale slaughter of Chinese nationals by the reactionary Ne Win government of Burma has come to light. The anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign whipped up by it has spread all over Burma. In Rangoon alone, tens of thousands of ruffians were organized by the reactionary government in the three days of June 25-28 to kill several hundred patriotic Chinese nationals, arrest thousands more and burn down countless Chinese dwelling houses and shops. The fascist ruffians carried out an appalling massacre.

Fascist Atrocities

On June 26 at eight p.m., many ruffians, including soldiers, members of Ne Win's Socialist Programme Party, elements of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, flunkies of the Indian reactionaries and other thugs, rushed into the Chinese nationals' residential quarters in Rangoon. Organized in teams of 200 and carrying long knives, axes, clubs and other weapons, they burnt cars and beat up Chinese nationals in their path, all the while wildly shouting anti-China slogans. Many Chinese were killed or wounded. One Chinese national rebuked them: "You are beating, looting, burning and killing! What crimes have the Chinese nationals committed?" Unable to answer, the hooligans beat him to death on the spot.

On June 27 tens of thousands of hooligans continued to attack Chinese nationals' quarters. Everywhere, they burnt, killed and looted. Shops and houses of many Chinese were ransacked. Many entire families were killed.

The Overseas Chinese Teachers' Federation in Burma bore the brunt of the attack. On the afternoon of June 27, about 1,000 hooligans, with armed police at their head, set fire to the federation building. They used all kinds of weapons in assaulting overseas Chinese teachers and students rushing out of the raging fire. Fighting their way heroically through the flames, these teachers and students who had enormous love for their great motherland and their great leader shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" More than 20 teachers and students died a heroic death. Many others were seriously injured.

One woman teacher had all her teeth knocked out, one eye gouged out and her whole body covered with blood. She died refusing to give in.

The same afternoon, another group of hooligans, directed by police, assaulted the Yi Kang Chorus of

the overseas Chinese. Outnumbered, three members of the chorus loudly sang quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung set to music and jumped down from the fourth floor of the building to die for their country. Two died instantly while the third was seriously injured. The blood-thirsty hooligans rushed up to them and chopped the dead and wounded to pieces and threw them into a fire.

The reactionary Ne Win military clique is a bunch of brutal Nazis. When the ruffians found any Chinese national wearing a Chairman Mao badge, they forced the wearer to take it off. When their unreasonable demand was rejected, they cut off the badge together with the flesh on the chest of the wearer.

On June 28, the hooligans continued to attack Chinese nationals in downtown Rangoon. Others attacked Chinese houses and shops on the outskirts, setting fire to their property.

Chinese Government Forbidden to Send Relief Supplies

Because the Burmese Government is continuing its persecution of the Chinese nationals on a nationwide scale, they are suffering greatly. A responsible official of the First Asian Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on July 22 summoned Burmese Ambassador to China Sama Duwa Sinwa Nawng, informing him that the Chinese Government had decided to send a succession of relief supplies to Rangoon to aid the wide sections of victimized overseas Chinese and that the Chinese Embassy is entrusted to distribute the supplies. The Chinese Government's decision is entirely just and reasonable. No government has any justification whatsoever to refuse such arrangement if it respects the right of a foreign government to protect its nationals and pays the slightest attention to the elementary norms of international relations.

When U Maung Maung Gye, Counsellor of the Burmese Embassy in China, met a responsible official of the First Asian Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry by appointment on July 25, he delivered a note in reply to the Chinese Government's decision. It said that the Burmese Government "in principle forbids foreign governments and their organizations to send in any material for use of their nationals" and therefore cannot agree to China's relief shipments.

The responsible official of the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged the strongest protest against the unreasonable obstructions set up by the Burmese Government. He stressed that the Chinese Government

Protest Against Burmese Government for Infringing on Diplomatic Immunity of Chinese Embassy

SINCE the reactionary Burmese Government whipped up an anti-China campaign, it has imposed all kinds of restrictions and obstructions on the normal diplomatic and routine duties of the Chinese Embassy, which is thus placed in a very difficult position. To meet the urgent daily needs of the embassy personnel, the Chinese Government sent 13 cases of fresh vegetables, fruit and first-aid supplies to the Chinese Embassy on July 24 via the Civil Aviation Administration of China. Instead of facilitating quick delivery, the Burmese authorities insisted that the cargo be handled according to the normal import procedure. When the diplomatic personnel of the Embassy went to the Rangoon airport on the afternoon of July 25 to fetch the cargo after completing all necessary formalities, the customs officers arrogantly started to open the cases in an attempt to examine the cargo despite strong protests from the Chinese diplomatic personnel.

The Chinese Embassy, in a note to the Burmese Foreign Ministry on July 26, lodged a strong protest with the reactionary Burmese Government for flag-

rantly violating international practice and brazenly infringing on the diplomatic immunity of the Chinese Embassy. The note pointed out that for years the Chinese authorities concerned, in the spirit of the principle of reciprocity, have always exempted the Burmese Embassy's official and private cargoes from customs duty and examination. But the reactionary Burmese Government has now unilaterally violated this principle. The note sternly warned the Burmese Government that it must put an immediate stop to this wrong practice and that it must not in the future again make trouble or insist on examining official cargo shipped in by the Chinese Embassy. If it should stick to its error, it would certainly meet with due punishment and reap the fruits of its actions.

On July 29 the reactionary Ne Win government took a further step in violating the norms of international relations by preventing Chinese embassy personnel from delivering a diplomatic note to the Burmese Foreign Ministry. The Chinese Embassy issued a strong protest to the Burmese Foreign Ministry against this serious incident.

will send relief supplies to Burma as scheduled and that if the Burmese Government continues to raise obstructions, it will only be committing a new crime on top of old ones and will be strongly condemned by the Chinese and other people the world over.

As a result of the anti-China and anti-Chinese fascist outrages committed by the reactionary Burmese Government, tens of thousands of patriotic overseas Chinese families have been ruined and made destitute and homeless. Large numbers of overseas Chinese, desiring to return to their motherland, apply to the Chinese Embassy for passports and visas. Yet they have been hindered in every conceivable way by Burmese soldiers, policemen and plain-clothes-men from getting to the Embassy. More than once, some were turned back by special agents on their way to the Embassy, while others were summoned by armymen and policemen for "interrogation" or for what is called "scrutiny." Some were even arrested and imprisoned. These patriotic overseas Chinese have thus been subjected once again to fascist torture and ill-treatment, and their very survival is in danger.

The Chinese Embassy on July 20 lodged the strongest protest with the Burmese Government against this. Its note said that if the reactionary Burmese Government dares to persist in this way and continues its criminal acts, it must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences.

Directed by the Ne Win Government

The unprecedented fascist outrage against China and the overseas Chinese had long been plotted, care-

fully planned and organized and directed entirely by Ne Win, chieftain of the Burmese fascists, and his reactionary government.

It is noteworthy that since the Ne Win military regime took power, the Burmese people have been subjected to fascist rule and deprived of their right to demonstrate. The reactionary authorities even arrested a Burmese simply because he sent a protest to the U.S. Embassy against U.S. imperialism's massacres in south Vietnam. Now, when thousands of hooligans attacked the Chinese Embassy, the Hsinhua office and other Chinese agencies in Burma, and injured Chinese diplomatic personnel, killed a Chinese expert and carried out unprecedented, shocking atrocities against patriotic overseas Chinese, the reactionary ruling clique of Burma did not even arrest a single criminal. Doesn't this make it clear that all this was masterminded by no one but the reactionary Ne Win government?

In the anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign which has spread to all Burma, hooligans wildly shouted the same anti-China slogans and committed the same outrageous cursing and smearing of our great leader. Doesn't this make it clear that all this was organized and directed under the unified leadership of the reactionary Ne Win government?

In the past few years, the Burmese reactionaries have repeatedly forbidden their mouthpieces to call the United States "imperialist" or "aggressor." Yet during the current anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign, official papers and the Radio of Burma have been thrown into high gear day after day to fan up an anti-China hysteria. Doesn't this make it clear that all this

is organized and supported by the reactionary Ne Win government?

As a matter of fact, the reactionary Ne Win government has step by step intensified its anti-China, anti-Chinese activities since the time it came to power. In March and April 1964, by issuing a "nationalization" order, this reactionary clique took possession of the shops run by Chinese nationals or Chinese descendants in Rangoon and elsewhere in the country. Then, on May 1 of that year, it dismissed all foreign employees in the "nationalized" shops so that many Chinese nationals were driven into dire economic straits while many of them were deprived of their means of livelihood. Between 1965 and April 1966 the Ne Win government, in the name of "nationalization of education," took over 136 schools run by patriotic Chinese nationals; in January 1966, it ordered the closing down of four patriotic Chinese newspapers. It had thus made a clean sweep of all overseas Chinese cultural and educational undertakings.

Since last year the far-reaching impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution among the Burmese people and Chinese nationals as well as the wide spreading of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in Burma have greatly alarmed the reactionary Ne Win clique. It tried by every means to fan up chauvinistic sentiments in an attempt to divert the people's discontent with it. At the second annual meeting of the Socialist Programme Party of Burma held last November, Ne Win himself sounded the call for all-

out opposition to China and persecution of Chinese nationals, heaping calumnies on the great People's Republic of China. Since then, papers in his pay have constantly published editorials and articles vilifying Chinese nationals so as to prepare public opinion for large-scale persecution of them.

The reactionary Ne Win clique harbours bitter hatred towards the masses of Chinese nationals who have a great love for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and who assiduously study Chairman Mao's works. The reactionary authorities have often sent secret agents to many parts of Burma to keep Chinese nationals studying Chairman Mao's works under surveillance and to sabotage such studies by confiscating their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We can defeat the Chinese and foreign reactionaries, no matter how rampant they are (this rampancy is historically inevitable and not at all strange)." The rabid persecution by the reactionary Ne Win clique of the Chinese nationals who have made positive contributions to the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples, runs counter to the interests and aspirations of the Burmese people. Nothing can undermine this friendship. These perverse measures taken by the Ne Win clique serve only to arouse stronger and more widespread resistance of the Burmese people to its reactionary rule and thus hasten its own doom.

The Laotian People Are Bound to Win Their War Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

FIGHTING bravely and tenaciously, the patriotic armed forces and people of Laos, led by the Neo Lao Haksat, have won one brilliant victory after another in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Time and again they have smashed the "search and destroy" operations of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and they have successfully consolidated the liberated areas by defeating the enemy's attempts to "nibble" them away piecemeal. Closer co-ordination has been achieved between the main forces, local troops and guerrillas of the Laotian people. People's guerrilla warfare is developing extensively throughout the country and now forms a far-flung network that envelops, ties down and whittles away the enemy effectives. In the first five months of this year alone, nearly 5,000 enemy troops were put out of action.

The myth of the much-vaunted "air superiority" of U.S. imperialism has been exploded. In the past few years over 600 U.S. planes have been shot out of the skies with light and heavy weapons of all kinds. A succession of surprise raids have been made on airfields of the U.S. and puppet forces. In a recent raid on the air base at Luang Prabang Laotian guerrillas destroyed 12 U.S.-made bombers in 20 minutes.

The patriotic armed forces of Laos have grown swiftly and become stronger in the course of the fighting. Tempered and tested in the flames of war, the Laotian People's Liberation Army has become a powerful people's force.

The success of the Laotian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a success for people's war. It proves that, provided they are

good at using the effective weapon of people's war, the oppressed nations and peoples are quite capable of defeating U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

It is through reliance on arms that the Laotian people have achieved the present excellent situation in their revolutionary struggle. They have been fighting a protracted struggle for independence and liberation. They have not only defended their revolutionary gains in this tortuous and complex struggle; they have also steadily enhanced their own strength.

The U.S. imperialists have racked their brains trying to turn Laos into their colony and military base. For years now they have been carrying on ever more frantic armed intervention and aggression against Laos in an attempt to eliminate the Laotian patriotic armed forces. From instigating the Laotian Right-wingers to attack the liberated areas they have passed to direct participation in "special warfare" in Laos. The aggressive activities of the U.S. imperialists in Laos show that they are the most barbarous aggressors and the sworn enemies of the Laotian people.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: **"No one will assert that a treaty can make U.S. imperialism lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha, or for that matter behave itself even a little better."** This indestructible truth has been fully borne out by the U.S. imperialists' crimes of aggression in Laos. Two Geneva agreements have been signed on the Laotian question. But both have been scrapped by U.S. imperialism. This tells the people clearly that for the imperialists, treaties, accords or agreements are just so many scraps of paper. What was signed yesterday may be torn to pieces today. What was agreed to in the morning may be thrown into the wastepaper basket in the afternoon. The revolutionary people, therefore, must not pin their hopes on imperialism keeping faith or honouring international agreements. They must persist in waging a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its lackeys and be ready at any moment to deal with the enemy's armed attack.

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has played the despicable role of an accomplice in the U.S. imperialists' criminal intervention and aggression against Laos. Playing the trick of sham support and real betrayal against the Laotian people, it has worked in close co-ordination with U.S. imperialism to spread illusions about the Geneva agreements in an attempt to paralyse the Laotian people's fighting spirit. Under the guise of "eliminating hotbeds of war," this clique has tried its best to stamp out the armed struggle of the patriotic Laotian army and people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Soviet revisionist clique is in fact encouraging U.S. imperialism to expand its war of aggression against Laos step by step.

At the present moment, in an attempt to save itself from defeat in its war of aggression against Vietnam U.S. imperialism is feverishly preparing a new and bigger military venture in Laos. The Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat recently issued a communique calling on the Laotian people to strengthen their unity and resolutely oppose the plans of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to expand their war of aggression. Confronted by the heroic people of Laos, U.S. imperialism, no matter how desperately it may struggle, can never escape final defeat. The Laotian people have both the determination and strength to persist in a protracted war, carry their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, utterly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and achieve Laotian reunification, democracy and independence.

The Chinese people will always be the staunch and reliable supporter of the Laotian people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. They will unwaveringly and unreservedly support the Laotian people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism till the U.S. aggressors are completely defeated and final victory is won.

The Laotian people are sure to win. U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will certainly be defeated.

(*"Renmin Ribao," July 28.*)

(Continued from p. 47.)

of the entire American people; it will provide powerful support for the struggles of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, especially for the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Hastening Their Doom

Johnson and his gang of reactionaries are just a handful in the United States. They account for only a small percentage of the population, and oppress more than 90 per cent of the American people, the 20 million Afro-Americans included. Broad sections of the American people represent the progressive and new-born

forces, while the U.S. ruling group represents the forces of reaction and decay. The fact that one Detroit was able to disrupt and leave the Johnson Administration impotent shows that this seeming colossus, U.S. imperialism, is nothing but a paper tiger, flabby and weak in its rule at home.

In the final analysis, says *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator, the people are invincible. If the American people unite and the revolutionary people of the world unite and wage a common struggle, the handful of reactionaries in the United States will be completely isolated and besieged ring upon ring by the masses of the people. This will hasten the doom of U.S. imperialism.



Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World

Always Determined to Take the Road of Mao Tse-tung

The Voice of Indonesian Youth, in an editorial on July 17, enthusiastically hailed the article in the 11th issue of the Chinese journal *Hongqi* entitled "People of Indonesia, Unite and Fight to Overthrow the Fascist Regime" (see *Peking Review*, No. 29, 1967). The editorial emphasized: "In the light of the great and all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung and, in particular, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,' it is imperative for Indonesian revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists to embark on the road of armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution."

"We the revolutionary Indonesian people and youth express our deepest thanks to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era and the great leader of the revolutionary people the world over, to the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China and to the Chinese people for their gigantic support to the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime."

It said: "The experience of the Chinese people and of the revolutionary people throughout the world shows that once the revolutionary masses are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they will derive infinitely great strength from it to defeat the enemy." The editorial continued: "The experience of the armed struggle waged by the people in Burma, India, Thailand, Malaya and other countries has borne out the brilliance of the great and all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung."

At present, the main task facing the Communist Party of Indonesia is to regroup its forces, the scattered people's armed forces in particular, to set up revolutionary bases in the rural areas and to develop the agrarian revolution of the armed peasants led by the proletariat.

The editorial also noted that in Indonesia, though the strength of the people's armed forces is still small, their future is bright. Chairman Mao Tse-tung said in 1930: "All China is littered with dry faggots which will soon be aflame. The saying, 'a single spark can start a prairie fire', is an apt description of how the current situation will develop." The present situation in Indonesia is similar. The masses of revolutionary people there demand revolution; the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime's economy will inevitably go

bankrupt, and the regime is weak and corrupt. "Now," said the editorial, "is the time for the revolutionaries to place the emphasis of their work on the rural areas, organize their strength in the countryside, and encircle the cities from the countryside in order to go forward and seize the cities."

The editorial stressed: "Mao Tse-tung's thought has pointed out the path of liberation to the Indonesian people. We are determined to take the road of Mao Tse-tung always and act according to his teachings."

To Rebel Is Justified

An Indian dock worker in Calcutta, after studying Chairman Mao's brilliant writings, told a Chinese friend: "Chairman Mao has taught you that 'to rebel is justified.' This has not only enlightened you Chinese, but also us Indians. We'll also rise in rebellion against imperialism and against reactionary rule."

The Indian Government's reactionary rule is the source of the people's long suffering, he said. It always follows a policy of oppressing and robbing the people at home and begging for alms from U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism abroad. This is bound to plunge the Indian people into misery, he stressed.

This dock worker paid glowing tribute to Chairman Mao for his wise leadership in the Chinese revolution which brought about the liberation of the Chinese people. When he received a copy of the treasured book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, he was highly pleased, shouting: "Mao Tse-tung, bravo! Mao Tse-tung, great!"

After seeing the film *Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts*, a young girl realized that one must follow Chairman Mao's teachings in making revolution. "Mao Tse-tung's thought and socialist China serve as a huge beacon illuminating all corners of the earth. We Indian people must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, act according to his teachings unswervingly and make revolution in our country," she said.

Taking the road of China is becoming the orientation of struggle and a fighting slogan for more and more revolutionaries in India today. During a recent demonstration in Calcutta, Indian students shouted: "We welcome the road of China!" and "Red salute to China!"

Under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Communist Party of India, who hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, masses of peasants rose in arms and began establishing a rural red

area for revolutionary armed struggle in Naxalbari in Darjeeling District in West Bengal. They declared that they launched the armed struggle in accordance with "the line of Mao Tse-tung's thought." By revolutionary practice they smashed the counter-revolutionary fallacies spread by the revisionists in the Communist Party of India, such as "the situation in India is different from that in China" and "armed struggle is not applicable to India." In this red area, quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung in Bengali and posters with portraits of Chairman Mao have gained widespread popularity.

Establishing the Leadership of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

No Transar, organ of the Argentine Communist Vanguard, in a recent article warmly praised the vigorous development of the patriotic armed struggle of the Latin American people.

The article said: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung, leader of the world revolutionary people, says: **'without a people's army the people have nothing.'** The Latin American people have begun to understand this truth, and they are defying their powerful enemies and daring to fight."

The article pointed out that the enemies of the Latin American people are the assassins of the people of all countries, and among them the U.S. imperialists play the role of international gendarme. Whenever the people rise in rebellion, they murder them en masse. "The exploited masses in Latin America have recognized the truth from their own experience, and therefore it is easy for them to understand that since the counter-revolutionaries are armed, it is necessary to arm themselves for a revolution, to take up arms firmly to terminate exploitation and misery."

Continuing, the article stated that the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are each day learning better that, tactically, they should take all their enemies seriously. "The path we should take is to strengthen our own forces in the countryside, the mountainous regions, the jungles, and from there launch a protracted war and surround the cities in order to finally seize them, build up the people's power politically, economically and militarily in the liberated area, let the masses of the people liberate themselves, and consolidate victory after it is won."

The article stressed: "Experience has shown that Mao Tse-tung's thought guides the revolutionaries to victory when they apply it and once they depart from it they fail." Nevertheless, the struggle to establish the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought has been and is still difficult and arduous. Even in the ranks of the revolutionaries, ideas which run counter to the Marxism-Leninism of our epoch have often appeared — "for instance, to advocate that the revolution in a dependent country has no stages, to organize premature assaults on cities, to develop a purely military line and underestimate the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Lenin-

ism, to have no confidence in the power of the broad masses of armed peasants and place all hopes on arming just a few fighting groups."

Using Three Wonderful Weapons To Defeat the Enemy

A recent article in *L'Eclair*, organ of the Union of Congolese (Kinshasa) Revolutionary Youth, pointed out that for the purpose of further arousing and organizing the broad masses of the people to carry through to the end the armed struggle against the rule of U.S. imperialism and its stooges and to win victory for the national-democratic revolution, the urgent task of the Congolese (K) revolutionaries is to genuinely master Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and in line with Mao Tse-tung's thought build a Marxist-Leninist Party and a broad anti-imperialist united front.

It stressed that "Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era in which imperialism is heading for collapse and socialism is advancing to victory." It quoted Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "**A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.**" These three wonderful weapons described by Chairman Mao are decisive weapons for the Congolese (K) people in winning victory for the revolution, it said.

Through their struggle in the last few years, "many Congolese (K) revolutionaries have now become aware of the necessity for building a truly revolutionary Party capable of applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the revolution in our country." It pointed out: "Only a new-type Marxist-Leninist Party can provide the leadership in the great historic mission of liquidating the power of imperialism and leading people's war to victory."

It also said: "While we are struggling to build a really revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party, we should work for the formation of a broad, genuinely anti-imperialist united front which includes all truly nationalist and progressive social strata, all patriotic organizations and all those who are determined to fight resolutely against imperialism, so as to regain our national independence."

It pointed out that the Congolese (K) patriotic armed forces, with the people's support and assistance, have been fighting courageously in many regions, hitting hard at U.S. imperialism and its puppet, the Mobutu regime, and continually enlarging the guerrilla base areas. The main problem now is to arouse and organize the masses still more with a view to bringing about a complete change throughout the country in the balance of forces between the enemy and themselves.

Protest Against Czechoslovak Revisionist Clique's Breach Of Cultural Co-operation Agreement

A responsible member of the Department of Soviet Union and East European Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on July 27 summoned the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Czechoslovak Embassy in China and handed him a note strongly protesting against the Czechoslovak Government's serious breach of the Sino-Czechoslovak cultural co-operation agreement, its further aggravation of relations between the two countries and its declaration that "it will no longer accept Chinese students to study in Czechoslovakia." The note also lodged the strongest protest with the Czechoslovak Government in connection with the Czechoslovak revisionist leading clique's many open attacks by name on Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the red sun in the hearts of the people of the world.

Ten Chinese students were sent to Czechoslovakia in accordance with the Sino-Czechoslovak cultural co-operation agreement. To give them an opportunity to take part in the great cultural revolution at home, the Chinese Embassy informed the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education last January that the students would suspend their studies for half a year. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Education agreed to the request and they left Czechoslovakia for home early in February. On February 11, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education requested that the Chinese Embassy inform it in April of the date when the ten Chinese students would return to Czechoslovakia so that it might make arrangements for their studies. This clearly shows that there should be no problem at all for the Chinese students returning to Czechoslovakia to continue their studies. But on February 28 the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education suddenly notified the Chinese Embassy, alleging

that these students had distributed statements to Czechoslovak students "attacking" the Soviet Union before they left for home, and saying that this could not but affect Czechoslovakia's accepting the Chinese students again and the terms set forth in the executive plan of the cultural co-operation agreement between the two countries on the exchange of college students and post-graduates. This flagrant provocation received a stern rebuff from the Chinese side right then and there. In spite of this the Chinese side, respecting the request of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education, informed it on April 26 of the date when the Chinese students would return to Czechoslovakia to resume their studies. The Czechoslovak side promised to reply one month later. However, the matter was delayed for two months and the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education did not answer the Chinese Embassy till July 6. In his reply, the Czechoslovak representative failed to keep the promises that had been made. He did not say anything about making arrangements for the Chinese students' studies but repeated the unreasonable charges against them. Moreover, he brought up the absurd demand that Czechoslovakia "will in principle reconsider the question of accepting the ten Chinese students to study in Czechoslovakia" on condition that the Chinese Embassy "formally expresses its disapproval of the provocations by the Chinese students" and "assures the Czechoslovak side that the Chinese students will not again carry out similar activities and will observe the existing laws of Czechoslovakia." Before receiving a formal reply from the Chinese side, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education hurriedly declared on July 13 that the students could not return to study in Czechoslovakia again. The entire course of events fully shows that the incident was carefully planned and deliberately created by the Czechoslovak revisionist leading clique which tails after the Soviet revisionists in opposing China.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's note listed the series of steps taken by the Czechoslovak revisionist leading clique in the past few years in seriously undermining relations between China and Czechoslovakia. In conclusion, the note served serious notice on the Czechoslovak revisionist leading clique that it had already gone too far down the road of opposition to China. If it stuck to its hostility towards the Chinese people armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, then it would certainly eat the bitter fruit of its own making.

Protest Against Intrusions by Indian Military Aircraft

In a note to the Indian Embassy in China on July 19, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged the strongest protest with the Indian Government against intrusions into China's air space by Indian military aircraft in 16 sorties between July 12 and 17. The note sternly warned the Indian Government: China's territory and air space brook no violation. In carrying out serious provocations in compliance with the will of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the Indian Government will meet with crushing blows from the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army defending China's frontier.

The note listed in detail the intrusions by Indian military aircraft into China's air space over the Sinkiang and Tibet regions for wanton provocations. It said that the Indian troops had never stopped their intrusion and provocation on the Sino-Indian and China-Sikkim borders since the beginning of this year. Now the Indian Government has become more rampant in sending planes to intrude into China's air space 16 times in succession within a few days and carried out military provocations on the entire middle and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border, deliberately creating tension on the borders. This is by no means accidental. It is another

ROUND THE WORLD

THE NE WIN REGIME

Fascist Military Dictatorship

After seizing power in Burma through a military coup in March 1962, Ne Win set up a fascist military dictatorship which has brutally repressed the Burmese people.

At the beginning of 1962, the amount of capital controlled by the Ne Win military group was second only to state capital. After assuming power, a "revolutionary council" of 17 officers, with Ne Win as chairman, began to monopolize administrative, legislative and judicial powers. The exercise of local state power by landlords and rich peasants has been preserved intact. This is a downright reactionary regime representing the interests of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalists in Burma.

To strengthen its fascist dictatorship, the Ne Win military group adopted a series of reactionary measures, depriving the people of basic democratic rights. "Security and administrative committees" were established at all levels from the central government down for the specific purpose of instituting Gestapo-rule over the whole country. In addition, "special criminal tribunals" were set up to impose a reign of terror on the people. Martial law was often invoked.

Taking a leaf out of Hitler's and Chiang Kai-shek's book, the military group has carried out a reactionary programme of "one party (the Socialist Programme Party), one doctrine (the socialist programme) and one leader (Ne Win)." In July 1962, the "Socialist Programme Party" with militarymen as its core was

formed and it became a tool for the domination and suppression of the people. In March 1964, the Ne Win group ordered the dissolution of all political parties and organizations other than the "Socialist Programme Party" and religious bodies, and imposed a strict ban on all political activities and the formation of new parties. The Ne Win government promulgated fascist regulations concerning publication, formed the government run "News Agency of Burma" and "nationalized" many newspapers to establish monopoly management and control.

Barely four months after it came to power, the Ne Win junta drenched Rangoon University in a bloodbath, killing large numbers of patriotic and progressive Burmese students. This was followed by mass arrests throughout the country, and thousands of patriots and progressives were thrown into prison. Since then, fascist persecution of students has taken place almost every year.

Brutal armed suppression has been directed against the national minorities, too. Troops were dispatched to exert direct control over the border regions where these minorities live.

The Ne Win clique also stands indicted as the arch-criminal which launched counter-revolutionary civil war in Burma. Even before it grasped the reins of government, the clique had long played its part in the civil war to suppress and massacre the Burmese people. After it came to power, it relied on the assistance of the imperialists and trained a reactionary army for total suppression of the revolutionary armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma.

Hundreds of villages were razed to the ground, many converted into concentration camps and thousands of the revolutionary people and Communists massacred.

In 1963, after failing to achieve the elimination of the people's armed forces through "talks," the Ne Win government carried out mass arrests on a nationwide scale. In six days ending November 21, it threw more than 730 progressives into prison.

Despite all this, in the last two years the people's armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma has grown rapidly. The Ne Win government took fright. At a meeting of military officers and a forum of the "Socialist Programme Party" held in November last year, Ne Win declared he would fight the civil war to the bitter end. His government brought out the big guns of its propaganda machine to slander and vilify the people's forces under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma to create public opinion against communism, and threw 40 per cent of its armed forces into a civil war against the Communist Party and the people. Since last winter, "concentrated offensives" against the people's armed forces in the Irrawaddy delta have been launched by Ne Win's troops and "mopping-up" operations conducted in Pegu, Mergui and other areas.

Economy on Brink of Ruin

Since 1962, the Ne Win military clique has been mercilessly fleecing the working people in an attempt to build up state monopoly capitalism under its own direct control.

In the past two years, this reactionary policy has produced increasingly serious consequences. Burma, which is one of the world's biggest

anti-Chinese incident engineered by the Indian Government in serving as an anti-Chinese pawn of U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism following its fascist atrocities of assaulting the Chinese Embassy in India and beating and wounding Chi-

nese diplomatic personnel. This is another grave provocation against the Chinese people and Government.

The note said in conclusion that the more frenziedly the Indian Government opposed China, the sooner

it would meet its doom. The Indian Government must immediately stop such military provocations. If the Indian Government should persist in its perverse course, it must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

rice exporters, is now faced with a critical shortage. The Burmese Ministry of Trade on June 17 said that owing to the "unparalleled crop failure last year," rice output dropped by one-third and only 710,000 tons were available in 1967 for the home market, of which 400,000 tons had already been sold. The people may have to do without rice, it said, until the new harvest comes on the market in November and December. And yet, ignoring the threat of starvation, the Ne Win government has again and again called on the people to tighten their belts to maintain exports.

At present, rice shortages have been reported not only in the cities but in the countryside. Rationing has been introduced in Rangoon. In some places, people have begun eating roots and bark.

On June 9, more than 100 citizens from a street in Rangoon, their children with them, demonstrated in front of a trading company, because they had no rice. A deputation of peasants from a dozen or so villages in Paan and its neighbourhood complained to the local authorities that the villagers had no rice and could not go on living on bamboo and straw.

The drop in farm output and the rice shortage has led to a critical shortage of edible oil, piece goods,

medicines and other necessities, and to soaring prices and black markets. Prices on the latter are generally 5 to 10 times the official prices.

The economic crisis now tormenting Burma is the outcome of the rapacious economic policy pursued by the Ne Win clique. After it seized power, it joined the landlords and rich peasants in squeezing the peasants relentlessly. In September 1964, it announced a government monopoly of 34 items of farm produce and purchased them by compulsion at very low prices. It promulgated in October 1963 a "nationalization law" which empowered it to take over all privately-run industrial and commercial enterprises. On March 19, 1964, it issued another decree for the nationalization of all wholesalers, sales agents, department stores and co-operatives in Rangoon. On April 9, the decree was extended to all other places and by late April, the clique had taken over more than 10,000 stores and shops.

On May 17, 1964, the Ne Win government abruptly ordered the withdrawal from circulation of 100-kyat and 50-kyat banknotes. Holders received in return about one-tenth of the money they handed in; the rest had to be deposited in banks. In other words, the money was virtually confiscated. In this way, the Ne Win

government grabbed 970 million *kyat*, or 42 per cent of the 2,300 million in circulation.

Through these and other reactionary measures plundering the medium and small businessmen and exploiting the working people, the Ne Win military clique has gained complete control over Burma's finance, foreign trade, industry, commerce, transport and other sectors of the economy. The entire country has suffered from the grave consequences. The "nationalization" of commerce has brought chaos to all channels of commerce interrupting exchange between town and countryside. Small and medium-sized factories have ceased or curtailed operation for lack of raw materials, and unemployment has risen sharply in the cities. In the countryside, the peasants who have long been victims of feudal rents and usury have suffered still further as a result of enforced sales at low prices.

All sections of the Burmese people are bitterly dissatisfied with the reactionary government. They have now risen in revolution. The armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma is growing constantly. Today the Ne Win government is trying to prop up its shaky rule by rabid suppression, but these efforts can only hasten its own doom.

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10, No. 32
August 4, 1967

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

**Chairman Mao Tse-tung on
People's War** 5

**Long Live the Victory of
People's War!**
— Lin Piao 14

The Proletariat Must Take a Firm Hold of the Gun
— *Hongqi* editorial 36

The Strongest Pillar of the Proletarian Dictatorship
— *Renmin Ribao* editorial 40

**Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's
Thought, Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate the
Bourgeois Military Line** — *Jiefangjun Bao* editorial 42

**Afro-Americans Pit Revolutionary Violence Against
Reactionary Violence** 46

**Reactionary Burmese Government's Monstrous Crime:
Persecution of Chinese Nationals** 48

**Protest Against Burmese Government for Infringing
on Diplomatic Immunity of Chinese Embassy** 49

**The Laotian People Are Bound to Win Their War
Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salva-
tion** — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 50

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World 52

THE WEEK 54

ROUND THE WORLD 55