

Wason

DS 701

H931+

JPRS: 32,105

TT: 65-32598

22 September 1965

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 10, 1965

- Communist China -

No. 13

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

Building Tempo E

Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.

Washington, D.C. 20443

Price: \$3.00

## F O R E W O R D

This publication was prepared under contract for the Joint Publications Research Service as a translation or foreign-language research service to the various federal government departments.

The contents of this material in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U. S. Government or of the parties to any distribution arrangement.

### PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

All JPRS reports may be ordered from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information. Reports published prior to 1 February 1963 can be provided, for the most part, only in photocopy (xerox). Those published after 1 February 1963 will be provided in printed form.

Details on special subscription arrangements for any JPRS report will be provided upon request.

All current JPRS reports are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U. S. Government Publications which is available on subscription at \$4.50 per year (\$6.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Both prices include an annual index.

All current JPRS scientific and technical reports are cataloged and subject-indexed in Technical Translations. This publication is issued semimonthly by the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information and is available on subscription (\$12.00 per year domestic, \$16.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents. Semi-annual indexes to Technical Translations are available at additional cost.

JPRS: 32,105

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 10, 1965

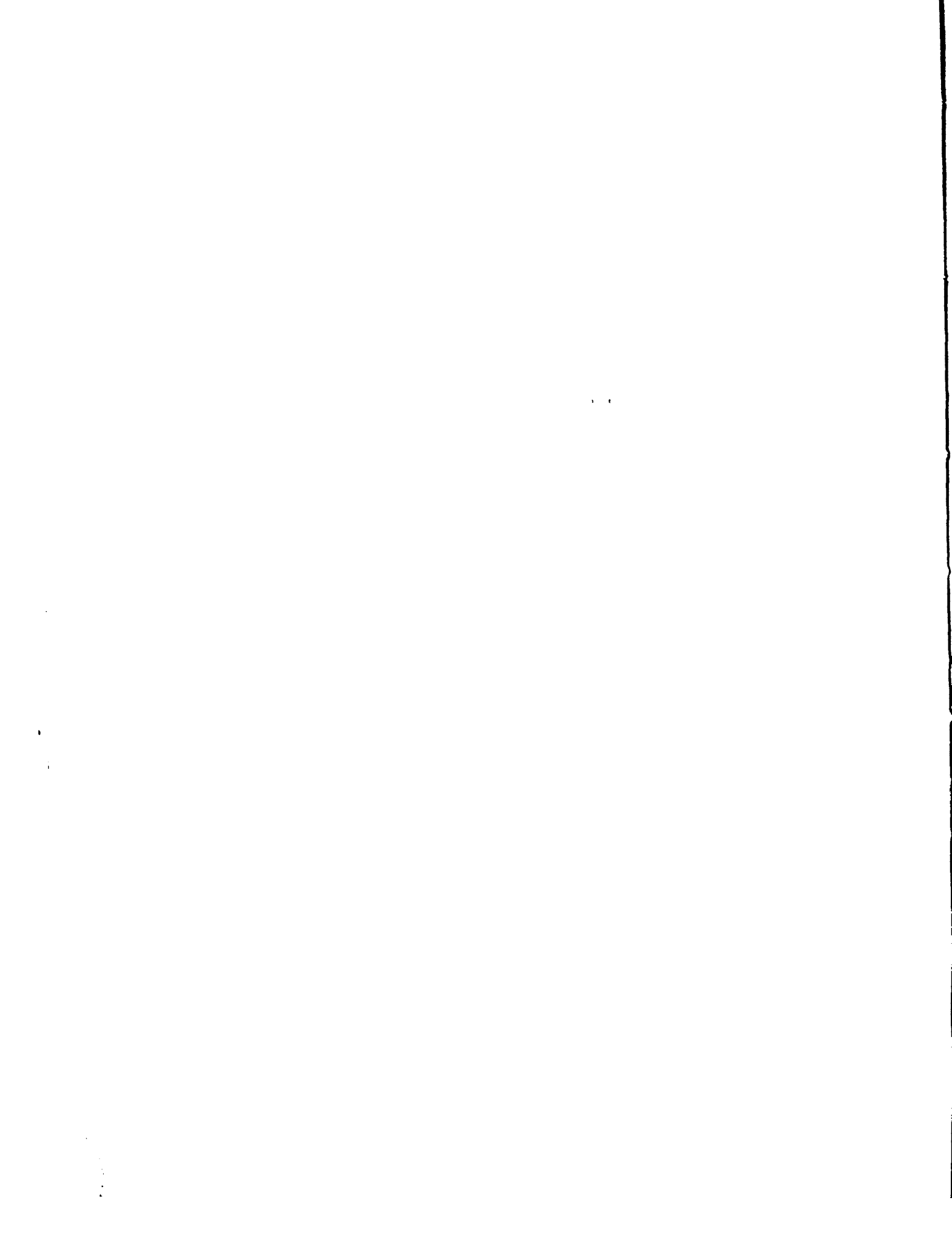
- Communist China -

No. 13

This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 10, 1965. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Long Live the Victory of the People's War.....	1
Dialectical Materialism Applied to Technical Reform.....	44
Celestial Bodies Are Always Developing.....	52
Recalling a Performance by the Armed Propaganda Team.....	63



## LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

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

[Following is a translation of an article by Lin Piao, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and Vice Premier and Minister of National Defense of the Chinese People's Government, as published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 10, 3 September 1965, pages 1-28.]

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.

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

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

Republic of China founded.

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

Today, the U.S. imperialists are repeating on a world-wide scale the past actions of the Japanese imperialists in China and other parts of Asia. It has become an urgent necessity for the people in many countries to master and use people's war as a weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In every conceivable way U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are trying to extinguish the revolutionary flames of people's war. The Krushchov 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 north-eastern China. Subsequently, and especially after 1935, it stepped up and expanded its aggression against China, penetrating deeper and deeper into our territory. As a result of its invasion, Japanese imperialism sharpened its contradiction with the Chinese nation to an extreme degree and brought about changes in class relations within China. To end the civil war and to unite against Japanese aggression became the pressing nation-wide demand of the people. Changes of varying degrees also occurred in the political attitudes of the national bourgeoisie and the various factions within the Kuomintang. And the Sian Incident<sup>1</sup> of 1936 was the best case in point.

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

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

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

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

As the contradiction between China and Japan ascended and became the principal one, the contradiction between China and imperialist countries such as Britain and the United States descended to a secondary or subordinate position. The rift between Japan and the other



imperialist countries had widened as a result of Japanese imperialism's attempt to turn China into its own exclusive colony. This rendered it possible for China to make use of these contradictions to isolate and oppose Japanese imperialism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In his celebrated work On Protracted War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the contrasting features of China and Japan, the two sides in the war. Japan was a powerful imperialist country. But Japanese imperialism was in its era of decline and doom. The war it had unleashed was a war of aggression, a war that was retrogressive and barbarous; it was deficient in manpower and material resources and

could not stand a protracted war; it was engaged in an unjust cause and therefore had meagre support internationally. China, on the other hand, was a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. But she was in her era of progress. She was fighting a war against aggression, a war that was progressive and just; she had sufficient manpower and material resources to sustain a protracted war; internationally, China enjoyed extensive sympathy and support. These comprised all the basic factors in the Sino-Japanese War.

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

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

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

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

revolution. With respect to the relations between the democratic and the socialist revolutions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

In the writing of an article the second half can be written only after the first half is finished. Resolute leadership of the democratic revolution is the prerequisite for the victory of socialism.<sup>3</sup>

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

It was precisely on the basis of such scientific analysis that Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly formulated the political and military lines for the people's war during the War of Resistance Against Japan, developed his thought on the establishment of rural base areas and the use of the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them, and formulated a whole range of principles and policies, strategy and tactics in the political, military, economic and cultural fields for the carrying out of the people's war. It was this that ensured victory in the War of Resistance and created the conditions for the nationwide 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 sections of the comprador bourgeoisie were the capitalists, 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 re-named the Government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Special Region of the Republic of China. Our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was re-designated the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Our land policy, the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, was changed to one of reducing rent and interest. In our own base areas we carried out the "three thirds system"<sup>3</sup> in our organs of political power, drawing in those representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry and those members of the Kuomintang who stood for resistance to Japan and did not oppose the Communist Party. In accordance with the principles of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we also made necessary and appropriate changes in our policies relating to the economy, taxation, labour and wages, anti-espionage, people's rights, culture and education, etc.

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

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

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

Wang Ming, the exponent of "Left" opportunism during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, went to the other extreme in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan and became the exponent of Right opportunism, i.e., capitulationism. He countered Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct line and policies with an out-and-out capitulationist line of his own and a series of ultra-Right policies. He voluntarily abandoned proletarian leadership in the Anti-Japanese National United Front and willingly handed leadership to the Kuomintang. By his advocacy of "everything through the united front" or "everything to be submitted to the united front", he was in effect advocating that everything should go through or be submitted to Chiang Kai-shek

and the Kuomintang. He opposed the bold mobilization of the masses, the carrying out of democratic reforms and the improvement of the livelihood of the workers and peasants, and wanted to undermine the worker-peasant alliance which was the foundation of the united front. He did not want the Communist-led base areas of the people's revolutionary forces but wanted to cut off the people's revolutionary forces from their roots. He rejected a people's army led by the Communist Party and wanted to hand over the people's armed forces to Chiang Kai-shek, which would have meant handing over everything the people had. He did not want the leadership of the Party and advocated an alliance between the youth of the Kuomintang and that of the Communist Party to suit Chiang Kai-shek's design of corroding the Communist Party. He decked himself out and presented himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping to be given some official appointment. All this was revisionism, pure and simple. If we had acted on Wang Ming's revisionist line and his set of policies, the Chinese people would have been unable to win the War of Resistance Against Japan, still less the subsequent nation-wide victory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

History shows that when confronted by ruthless imperialist aggression, a Communist Party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the united front, rally around itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people who form more than 90 per cent of a country's population, so as to mobilize all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate to the maximum the common enemy of the whole nation. If we abandon the

national banner, adopt a line of "closed-doorism" and thus isolate ourselves, it is out of the question to exercise leadership and develop the people's revolutionary cause, and this in reality amounts to helping the enemy and bringing defeat on ourselves.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid decisive battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength is inadequate.<sup>5</sup>

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

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Japanese imperialist forces occupied many of China's big cities and the main lines of communication, but owing to the shortage of troops they were unable to occupy the vast countryside, which remained the vulnerable sector of the enemy's rule. Consequently, the possibility of building rural base areas became even greater. Shortly after the beginning of the War of Resistance, when the Japanese forces surged into China's hinterland and the Kuomintang forces crumbled and fled in one defeat after another, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party followed the wise policy laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and boldly drove into the areas behind the enemy lines in small contingents and established 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 to wreak havoc. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang, too, encircled these base areas, blockaded them and went so far as to attack them. So by 1942, the anti-Japanese base areas had contracted and their population was down to less than 50,000,000. Placing complete reliance on the masses, our Party resolutely adopted a series of correct policies and measures, with the result that the base areas were able to hold out under extremely difficult circumstances. After this setback, the army and the people in the base areas were tempered, and grew stronger. From 1943 onwards, our base areas were gradually restored and expanded, and by 1945 the population had grown to 160,000,000. Taking the entire course of the Chinese revolution into account, our revolutionary base areas went through even more ups and downs, and they weathered a great many tests before the small, separate base areas, expanding in a series of waves, gradually developed into extensive and contiguous base areas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ately 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 Japanese People, the Anti-War League of the Japanese in China and the League of Awakened Japanese, helped us to disintegrate the Japanese army and co-operated with us in opposing Japanese militarism. Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, the leader of the Japanese Communist Party, who was then in Yen-an, gave us great help in this work.

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

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

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

Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics  
Of People's War

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the same time, he said that we should first attack dispersed or isolated enemy forces and only attack concentrated and strong enemy



forces later; that we should strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare; that we should fight no battle unprepared and fight no battle we are not sure of winning; and that in any battle we fight we should develop our army's strong points and its excellent style of fighting. These are the major principles of fighting a war of annihilation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party maintained that China should rely mainly on her own strength while at the same

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."<sup>14</sup> He added, "We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people."<sup>15</sup>

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

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

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

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

Difficulties are not invincible monsters. If everyone co-operates and fights them, they will be overcome. The Kuomintang reaction-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the Great October Revolution. The road of the October Revolution is the common road

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great merit lies in the fact that he has succeeded in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and has enriched and 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."<sup>16</sup>

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

He clearly pointed out:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so

powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful. <sup>21</sup>

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

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

To despise the enemy strategically is an elementary requirement for a revolutionary. Without the courage to despise the enemy and without the 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, Af-



rica 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 soc-

ialist 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 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 Krushchov 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.

index  
rep-  
ion:  
vere.  
cial.  
-da  
vol:

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

ours  
ugh  
ia:  
t u  
er:  
not  
re:  
it:

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

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

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

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

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

temporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

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

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

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

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

When committing aggression in a foreign country, U.S. imperialism can only employ part of its forces, which are sent to fight an un-

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

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

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

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

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their

courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb.

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

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

#### The Krushchov Revisionists Are Betrayers Of People's War

The Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 imper-

ialism. 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 through 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 Krushchov 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 unheardof degree.<sup>23</sup>

He added,

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

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

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

The propaganda of the Krushchov 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 Krushchov revisionism.

Today, Krushchov 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 aggressions 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 Krushchov revisionists. The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Krushchov is finished. And the successors to Krushchov revisionism will fare no better. The imperialists, the reactionaries and the Krushchov 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 Viet Nam.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Long live the victory of people's war!!

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Under the influence of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the people's anti-Japanese movement, the Kuomintang North-eastern Army under Chang Hsueh-liang and the Kuomintang 17th Route Army under Yang Hu-cheng agreed to the anti-Japanese national united front proposed by the Communist Party of China and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek should stop the civil war and unite with the Communist

Party to resist Japan. Chiang Kai-shek refused. On December 12, 1936, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng arrested him in Sian. Proceeding from the interest of the entire nation, the Chinese Communist Party offered mediation and Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to accept the terms of unity with the Communist Party and resistance to Japan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

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

The Eight Points for Attention:

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

<sup>8</sup>Frederick Engels, "Possibilities and Perspectives of the War

of the Holy Alliance Against France in 1852", Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1956, Vol. VII, p. 509.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

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

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

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

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

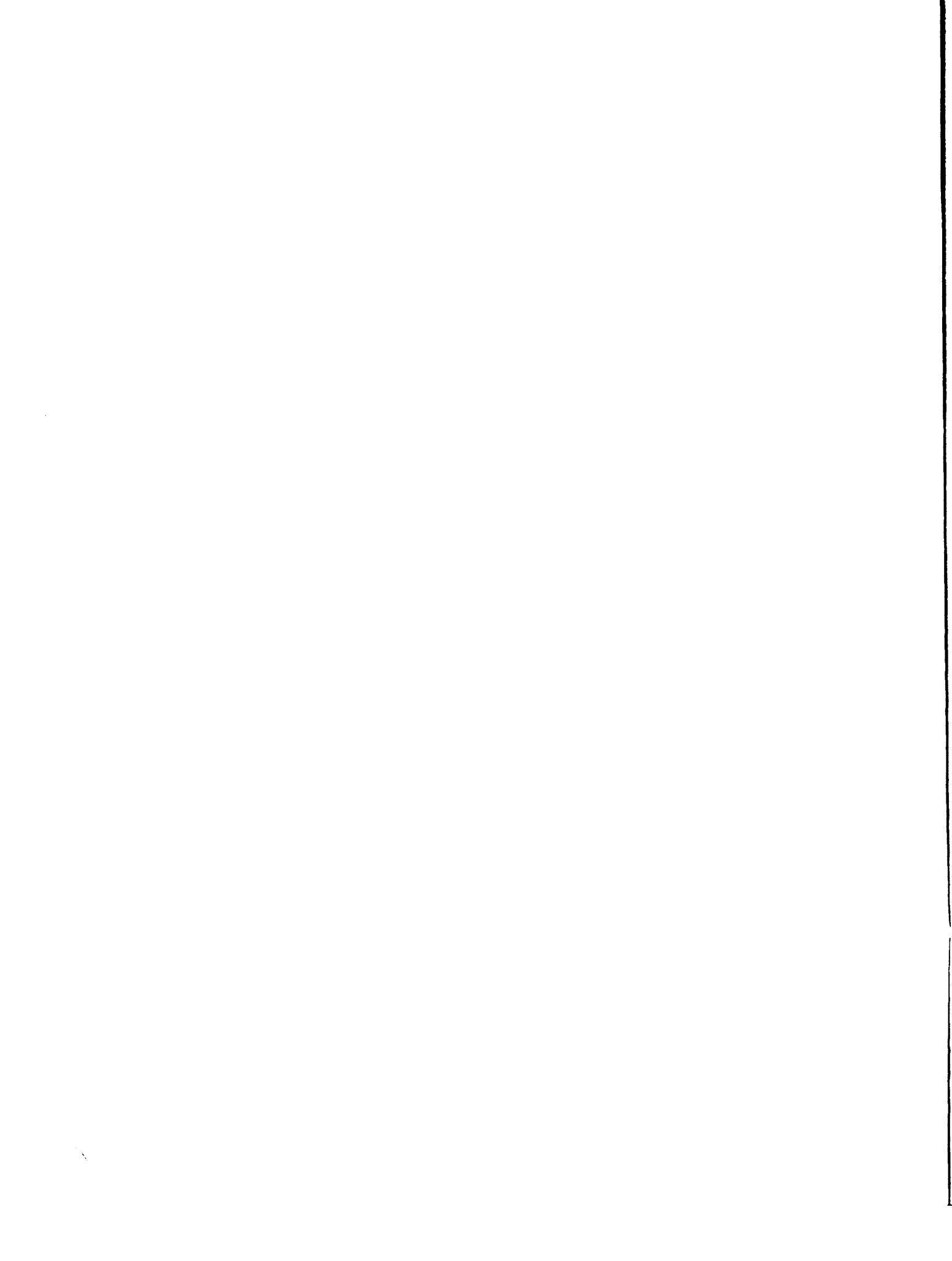
<sup>23</sup>V. I. Lenin, "For Bread and Peace", Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXVI, p. 386.

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

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

6974

CSO: 3530-D





## DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM APPLIED TO TECHNICAL REFORM

Following is a translation of an article by Ch'eng Ch'ao-yu (4453 2600 0645) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 10, 3 September 1965, pages 29-34.

I am a fitter in the Harbin Chi-lien Machinery Plant, and I started to study the works of Chairman Mao in 1959. For several years, I have both studied and applied the results; my comrades and I have undertaken reform of technology and we have achieved a certain amount. Looking back at the path of the past few years, I deeply feel that for technical reform, there must first of all be an ideological revolution among people; bearing questions of technical reform in mind, there should be a living study and use of the works of Chairman Mao. In the course of technical reform, we should both transform the objective world and our subjective world as well; we must constantly overcome metaphysical ways of thinking.

Below I will discuss how I learned to apply dialectical materialism in technical reform.

### The Small and The Big

Before, I had always scorned "small innovations"; I always wanted to do something big in this aspect, not anything small. I thought that doing something big would satisfy my craving in this area, that several small innovations were not as good as one big one. In this manner, there was a period when the big ideas didn't work and when I was not active about the small ones; thus nothing was accomplished. It was only after studying "On Contradictions" and after using the viewpoint of dialectical materialism to look at problems that I came to understand that big and small were not absolutes, that the small could become big and the big could become small. If one looked at the big and the small in an isolated, static way, believing that they were absolutes, then one was using a metaphysical viewpoint.

Our factory's reform of the hole-punching process illustrates this principle. Before joint public-private management, holes were punched by using manual pressure. After carrying out joint public-private management, we undertook a small innovation, changing the manual system to a

mechanized one. In 1959, we again changed the hole-punching machine, so that it could punch multiple holes where it had only punched one before; it was also altered so that it could different shapes of holes where before it had only been able to punch round ones. In 1960, based on the principle of the multiple-headed punching and on the experience in the few small innovations, we successfully built a machine which could punch 30 holes, and this increased work efficiency tremendously. It can be seen that a small innovation at times may play a large role. The small and the big are the unity of opposites, and under certain conditions, the small can change into the big, and the big into the small. The piling up of several small innovations may produce big results, turn out large machines. What appears big today may result in even bigger, even more complex things in the future; and the present big may turn into the small. Therefore, we should conscientiously carry through with innovations, whether big or small.

In the last part of 1961, I and 11 other workers took on the task of solving a hole-punching problem with a piece of large-scale equipment. At that time, the majority of the parts for this piece of equipment had gone into production, and it was only the hole-punching problem which had not been solved. If we couldn't get over this hurdle, the product couldn't be turned out. If we only used our plant's two rocker arm drilling machines, it would take years of effort. It seemed that this hurdle could not be surmounted unless there was a revolution in technology. The plant leadership and technicians did much research along with us, and it was decided that we ourselves would design and build a large-scale multiple-headed special purpose punching machine.

As for us, we had never seen nor even heard of such a machine. Our engineers could not provide us with any technical data for reference. We were sort of afraid of tackling this "big fellow" with our bare hands alone, and we did not dare to undertake it. Some said: "Let's try a few small innovations, wouldn't that be all right? To try this "big fellow" will just cause us trouble for nothing." Others said: "There isn't any question about our putting out our energy, but we just can't design such a big machine." On hearing this talk, my heart also sank. Afterwards I calmly and carefully thought this over: Big equipment is without doubt constructed of many small parts. If we split a big machine up into many small parts, it's not so big anymore. As for a big machine, you can't "swallow" it in one mouthful, but if research is done part by part and piece by piece, and the smaller units are "swallowed" this, then the larger can be done.

In accordance with this principle, I, along with everybody else, made a concrete analysis of this big piece of equipment. Its function would be to punch multiple holes in a part. Its structure would consist of no more than three components, and these three components would be made up of many small parts. For example, the transmission would be built out of gear wheels, chain linkage, and so forth. These were things often used in our ordinary innovations. Looked at this way, everybody felt better, their confidence increased, and we were no longer afraid of this "big fellow". We became determined to build it. Thereupon, we 12 persons split into three teams in accordance with the three main components and started our designing. In order to facilitate the research, we moved our things into

the shop office. We did research, experimented, and designed. In our experiments, we used the experience from our small innovation work. For example, from our work on punching machines we absorbed experience on protruding-tooth wheel transmissions, from the building block-type machine tools we took the features of being able to dismantle and reassemble, and from the small hole punching machines we used our experience in punching holes. We struggled on in this way for more than three months, undertook more than 70 experiments, we finally designed and built a plane multiple-headed, semi-automated punching machine. When this started operations, work efficiency was greatly increased, so that the job which formerly might have taken several years was now completed in several days.

After having built this machine, some persons said: "It surely wasn't simple for you yourselves to design and build such a complicated piece of equipment." In fact, if we claim that it was good, it was only so in comparison with machines we had built in the past. After 1963, there were many improvements made on this machine, and it was much more advanced than the original one.

The process involved in this innovation made us further realize: We must not use a stagnant metaphysical approach to view the small and the big; we must not be afraid of big innovations, and must have the confidence and courage to conscientiously handle them. We must not ignore small innovations, and we must treat them with the attitude of big innovations. In this way, whether the matter is big or small, we will be able to carry it through.

#### Not Understanding and Understanding

In October 1963, we took an assignment for an electroplate. For this sort of task, the quality of the product had to be high, but our plant didn't have the suitable equipment. In order to overcome this hurdle, the leadership let us undertake experiments. Among us, some were fitters, some were foundry workers, and some were technicians from workers' families. The electroplate process was outside their experience and they didn't understand this technique at all. Therefore, we thought that as long as we diligently learned from fraternal factories, we could change our ignorance into understanding. Thereupon, I and the others went to work in the electroplate shops of fraternal plants; and we diligently learned from them. In the evenings we returned to diligently acquire book knowledge. At the same time, in order to really master the technique and to acquire practical experience, we undertook experiments in the plant. If the experiments didn't succeed, we continued studying with the problems in mind, and then went back to the experimenting. During three months, we went to fraternal plants 50-odd times, and at times we went three times in one day. Because we diligently studied, they enthusiastically helped us, and we basically mastered the principles in the electroplating process. Our former ignorance had turned into some knowledge.

Next, in accordance with the technical demands of the work, we carried out experiments. However, due to the difference between the condition of the work object and the quality of the material, along with the demand for high quality, we exhausted the experience we had acquired from other

plants and the techniques and formulas out of our books. We still hadn't found the way out, nor reached the technological demands. In this fashion, our previous slight knowledge, under new circumstances, turned back into ignorance about new things.

Under these conditions, some comrades lost heart, believing that we had modestly studied with others, had mastered others' techniques, and had just used up the available methods; we had in fact drawn a blank. I thought, do you mean we really haven't anywhere to go? Have we exhausted the techniques we had learned? No! No technique could be exhausted; it was just that we didn't understand it, didn't understand its laws. We had a discussion and some comrades said: "Why are we stuck in here? Why don't we open the door and get out, and set out on a new path?" This idea enlightened everyone: We were correct in studying from others the things which we did not understand, but we should not study in an ossified way, following in the footsteps of the others. We should dare to create and dare to follow a new path. The fraternal plants were our teachers, and they understood that we wanted to understand, but what they didn't understand, we should go to probe and test.

Thereupon, on the basis of summing up the failures in the past 50 experiments, we started new experiments and research. In these, we broke out of our old shackles, leaped over the old net, concocted all sorts of new solutions made of different components, and undertook repeated testing. Some persons saw us working like this and said that we were "working in the dark." In actuality, we were not "working in the dark at all", for we were carrying out experiments in a strict, conscientious, planned way. For each experiment, we had a collective discussion and formulated a concrete plan for the experiment. We kept careful notes on the formulas for the solutions, on the method of operating, on how to proceed, on how often the object should be shaken, and even on the smallest details. After each experiment, we made a careful analysis and summed up our experience and lessons. Thus we passed three months and five days in ceaseless experiments, research, and testing; we carried out 73 experiments and finally succeeded. We developed a new method. The objects which were electroplated reached the required technical standards.

This success made us understand: It was only natural that we should not understand a new technique placed before us. But as long as we followed the teachings of Chairman Mao, undertook repeated practice, and constantly summed up our experience and lessons, we could change ignorance into understanding. In our success in electroplating, we proceeded from an ignorance of the laws of solutions to a mastery of them by means of practice. The process of changing ignorance to understanding was the process of a constant deepening of understanding.

#### Difficult and Easy

In technological reform one often meets this sort of situation: Certain problems which appear very difficult to solve turn out to be quite easy; and problems considered easy may turn into difficult ones.

Last year in August, the leadership gave us three high precision sample pieces which were to be electroplated on rather complicated inner walls, and which had high requirements for the levels of plating. Also,

the inner walls were to be polished.

After receiving this task, we undertook collective research and all agreed that of these three samples one would be the most difficult and that we had better concentrate on it and not be slack. We spent much time and effort on this piece, first making up two test samples for experimenting. If it was not plated right, we polished it smooth and plated it again; if it still wasn't, we did the whole process over again paying strict attention. In this way we quickly got over the electroplating hurdle. Next we tried the polishing. This was a difficult problem, for if we buffed it too hard, we would buff through the plating, and if we did it too lightly, the shine would not reach the required standard. Later, we appropriately thickened the plating, restrained some of the buffing quantity, and solved this problem.

However, new problems appeared. The objects which were polished appeared on the surface to have a very good shine, like a mirror. But, when inspecting it with an optical instrument, it was found to be unsatisfactory. This was because, according to the usual polishing method, the piece was buffed horizontally following the inner roundness; thus there were inside some fine streaks which the naked eye couldn't see. What was to be done? I thought that if we could directly polish on the inside, these streaks could be removed. At that time, some persons said that my idea was not realistic. They said that one end of this sample was large and the other small, so that it couldn't be directly buffed. I thought, do you mean we really can't polish it directly? I couldn't get this idea out of my head; I thought of it at work and off, and while I was eating. I saw a steamed roll which was a semi-circle; two semi-circle steamed rolls put together made up a complete circle. This enlightened me: For repeated polishings, if two steamed roll-like things were placed inside to roll about, wouldn't this be direct buffing? I immediately made a rough sketch of this, and with the comrades' help, built a direct polishing device. We used this device for polishing horizontally straight and across, and we finally attained the required standard of shine.

At this time, we relaxed a bit, thinking: We've got the most difficult sample over the hurdle, and the remaining two will be easy without any problems. Thereupon, we made direct tests on the samples themselves, with the result that after a few trials we still had not reached the required standard. After repeated work, the discrepancies still had not disappeared. The thing which had appeared easy had turned into a difficult hurdle. Later, it took us more than ten attempts to get over this hurdle.

In this manner, I came to understand that we should regard the "difficult" and the "easy" with the one divides into two method. The "difficult" of course is not easy to handle, so everybody gives heed to it just because of that; everybody makes out plans and strictly treats it, so that it may be easy to solve: the "difficult" has turned into the "easy". As for "easy" things, people don't pay much attention and handle these rather indifferently, so that they are not easy to resolve: the "easy" becomes the "difficult".

#### Failure and Success

In January of this year, the state assigned our plant the task for

trial production of a new product. In this product, there was an operation sequence which required pouring paint inside the object, and the standard of quality for this was very high. This operation sequence turned out to be the most difficult hurdle in this assignment. At that time, we heard that another plant has been successful in this experiment, so the leadership sent me and four other workers to learn from their experience. We thought the task was very heavy, but we also thought that no matter how heavy or difficult, we could overcome anything as long as we followed the teachings of Chairman Mao. Just before we were ready to leave, we all brought along The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, so that we could plunge into his works at any time for help.

We carried great hopes with us when we went to the plant. When we told our intention to the plant, the comrades there told us: "We have been working on this for more than one year, but our techniques still have not made it, so there isn't much experience to learn from. We all lost heart when we heard this. Some comrades said: "Well, that's it. We came for nothing." Despairingly, we left this factory.

In the car on the way back to the hotel, I kept thinking to myself: what's to be done? Should we go back just like this? I thought again and decided it would be best to look for instruction in the works of Chairman Mao. Back at the hotel, I looked through "On Practice" with this problem in mind. Chairman Mao had said: "After experiencing failure, people get instruction out of the failure and change their way of thinking so that it is in accord with the laws of the outside world. People can change defeat into victory. This is the principle illustrated by the so-called 'defeat is the mother of success'." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 1, People's Publishing House, 1952, 2nd edition, page 273.) When I read this, it was as though the scales had fallen away from my eyes, and I was suddenly enlightened. I thought: The reason why their test had failed was because their thinking was not in accord with the laws of the outside world. If we could find the cause for their failures in their tests over the past year, and absorb lessons from this, and bring our thinking into align with the laws of the outside world, wouldn't we be able to change defeat into success? Looked at in this light, the lessons of failure and the experience of success were equally important. Thus, there wasn't "nothing to be learned," but rather a lot to be learned.

When I had thought this out, I said to everybody: "Let's not go out today; let's all study 'On Practice'." When we all reached the above passage, everyone excitedly connected this with our situation in innovations. A discussion was started and all said: In undertaking technical innovations, we certainly must pass through defeats. Of the technical innovations which we had done in the past, we were always successful only after we had summed up the lessons of defeat and corrected our false understanding. We must certainly study their experiences of defeat and we must start with the first-hand material from their first defeat. In order to get an overall, concrete understanding of their experience and lessons, we divided the five men into three teams: One was to be responsible for understanding their testing methods; one was to study the rotating of the objects worked on; and the third was to study moved materials.

The next day we returned to their plant early. They thought it was a little peculiar when they saw us coming, and decided that we had other business. When they heard that we had again come to study their paint-pouring experience, they said very politely: "We really don't have much experience from which you can learn; the tested products have been discarded." I said: "Your experience in failure and experience in success are equally important. We definitely want to learn from you, and we ask you to vigorously aid us." They saw that we were sincere and that our determination to learn was great, so they immediately hunted up the technicians and carefully recounted the testing process to us. They also went to the work areas to find workers' actual items for us to look at. We made careful notes of all of this, and also copied down original notes from the tests. We had heard that a technician in a research area had helped them with this testing. When we heard this, we felt that we couldn't just simply pass by indifferently, that we must go there seeking instruction. Otherwise, we wouldn't get the whole picture. Thereupon, we went to this research area for a careful analysis.

In this fashion, we studied for five days and came to understand basically the circumstances in the course of the testing. At this time, it seemed that we could return, but I again thought: How will we go about the testing when we go back? What lessons ought we to get out of their failures? We still don't know. We won't be able to turn defeat into success in this fashion. We ought to sum up the experiences and lessons in their failures right here, do research with them, and listen to their opinions. After repeated research, we discovered that the primary reason for their failure was that before they poured the paint, the objects had not been handled in a clean manner. With regard to this problem, we suggested a method of improvement, and prepared to take the operational method by which they handled the object before pouring the paint and change it into a method of using a pump with pressure to force it in. In this way we could completely wash the object and insure that the poured paint was even and firm. We took this idea and went again to the plant and research area and asked for their opinions. After they listened to us, they helped us make revisions in a few places and said that there was merit in this method. This enlightened them, and they prepared to undertake testing once more according to this approach.

We happily returned to Harbin. After returning to the plant, with the help of all the workers, we quickly started in to test. When we had turned out the second small sample, we had the unit which was going to use it come to take a look. We turned the sample over to them and after an inspection, they decided that it was up to the technical standard and could go into production. This product was successful in pouring paint. But I thought: Everything is one divides into two, so is this product really all that perfect? We undertook further research and discovered that there were running defects on the surface, that various places were still accumulating paint. The unit utilizing this said: "These shortcomings don't affect its use, so if you can fix this, it will be all the better." Since it would be better if we fixed it, we should always seek improvement. With regard to this, we made some improvements and took care of these two defects.

At this time, we received two letters. One was from the factory where

we had studied, which told us that they had been successful in their test. The other was a letter of encouragement from the First Ministry of Machine Building which commented on our success with this new product. The leadership read these two letters to us, and my comrades and I were so moved that we almost wept. For the success with this test, we should thank the ardent help of that fraternal plant. They ran a long distance with the ball, whereas we ran only a short stretch. Moreover, there were still many insufficient aspects about this: the efficiency was low, the degree of mechanization was low. From out of our success, we were continuing to look for shortcomings, so as to make good preparations for having this go into large-scale production shortly.

During the course of technical innovations over the years, if I were to say that I achieved something and turned out some work, the main credit should go to the party, to the teachings of Chairman Mao, to collective endeavor. Hereafter, I will continue to learn from the masses modestly, will read well the works of Chairman Mao, will listen to Chairman Mao, will work according to Chairman Mao's instructions. I will constantly reform my thinking, overcome idealism and metaphysics, establish the world view of dialectical materialism, and contribute my strength to technical reform.

6722

CSO: 3530-D



## CELESTIAL BODIES ARE ALWAYS DEVELOPING

[Following is a translation of the article by Tai Wen-sai (2071 2429 6357) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 10, 3 September 1965, pp. 35-42]

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "In the spheres of production struggle and scientific experimentation, the human race is always developing, as nature is also always developing, without ever stopping at a given level. Accordingly, the human race must constantly sum up experience, discover, invent, create, and progress. The viewpoints of standing still, pessimism, doing nothing, or arrogance and self-satisfaction are invariably wrong. They are wrong because they are incompatible with the nearly one million years of facts developed in the human society; as they are also incompatible with the historic facts (such as the history of celestial bodies, history of the Earth, history of biology, and the natural world as reflected by various histories of the natural sciences) of the natural world as we know it now."

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung described it, it is a fact that nature is always developing. Research achievements in astronomy show that celestial bodies and the various systems which constitute the celestial bodies are constantly developing.

### 1.

In ancient times, when people looked up to the beautiful heavens at night they would sometimes question: How did heaven and earth come about? Since there was then very little knowledge regarding nature, and the reasons regarding many natural phenomena were unknown, it was possible only to rely solely upon subjective conjecture or imagination to provide some answers to such questions as the origin of heaven and earth. Some of these views evolved into prevailing myths.

In our country in ancient times, there was the myth of P'an-ku separating the heaven and the earth, the most prevalent and long lasting

myth among the people. In the San-wu-li-chi by Hsu Cheng (1776 2419) of the Three-kingdom era, there was the following passage: "The earth and the heaven were one like an egg, with P'an-ku living in between for 18,000 years, before he separated the heaven from the earth. The bright and clear became the heaven, while the dark and dusky became the earth." Huai-nan-tzu and other ancient books also mentioned certain conjectures by the people then regarding the origin of the heaven and the earth. It was said that the originally existing "Yuan-ch'i" gradually divided itself, with the bright, clear, and light ascending to become the heaven, while the dark, dusky, and heavy settled to become the earth.

The most extensively prevalent myth in the West was that God created the heaven, the earth, and all things, including the sun, the moon, and the stars, within six days. This myth was included in the doctrine of Christianity. In 1658 A.D., a professor in England even reached the conclusion, based on "research," that: God completed the creation of the heaven and earth on the Sunday morning of 23 October, 4004 B.C.

The aforementioned views remained in force until the middle of the 18th century. In both the East and the West, there was never any theory on the origin of the heaven and the earth which was virtually different from that previously held. The reason was that mankind had not clearly understood such questions as the relationship between the heaven and the earth, and the position of the earth in the universe.

At first, by intuition man came to think that heaven resembled a large bowl covering the flat ground. In our country, the ancient "theory of covering heaven" asserted: "the round sky is like an umbrella, while the earth is square like a chess board." The ancient people living on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea watched the rolling sea and thought that ocean was a border around the earth, that the heaven covered the earth, and that the sun rose from the water every morning and set below the water again at night. There was the even more absurd view held by the people in some areas that the entire earth, and the sky over it, were borne by four large elephants. In some places, it was thought that an enormous turtle was carrying the earth on its back. There was, however, never any explanation regarding on what the large elephants or the turtle were standing.

A comparatively more advanced view was: the earth was a round ball, while heaven was a large ball shaped-shell covering the earth. In our country, the ancient theory of "Hun-t'ien-shuo" asserted: "The heaven resembles an egg, with the earth the yolk of the egg existing within the heaven, as the heaven is large while the earth small." People of the West thought that heaven resembled a hollow crystal ball with many layers. The moon was inlaid on the first layer of heaven, while Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and many other fixed stars were inlaid individually in from the second to the eighth layers. All the layers of heaven were constantly revolving. In the second century, Ptolemy summed up the previous views and offered the "earth-centered theory" of the universe. He thought that the so-called crystal ball was nonexistent, that all celestial bodies moved according to a certain orbit, and that the Earth was the center of the universe.

In the 16th century, Copernicus overthrew the "earth-centered theory" and presented the "sun-centered theory," claiming that the Earth was merely a planet in the solar system. This was a leap forward in the knowledge of mankind regarding the universe. "Since then, the development of natural science has moved forward in large strides."<sup>1</sup>

The invention of the telescope, the discovery of the law of universal gravitation, and the invention of the method of mathematical analysis (calculus) in the 17th century enabled mankind to leap forward by another large step in the knowledge regarding celestial bodies.

In the 18th century, the German philosopher Kant offered a theory concerning the origin of the solar system and asserted that the sun and the planets revolving around it were formed gradually from a cluster of materials. On the basis of scientific experimentation, this theory was the first to point out the concept of the natural world developing in the course of time. In the late 18th century, the French mathematician Laplace advanced a more comprehensive theory, known as the "Nebular hypothesis."

Although there existed the concept which pointed out that celestial bodies were formed in the course of time, many scholars of the 19th century, nevertheless, continued to preserve the old outlook regarding nature, and refused to accept the fact that nature was always developing. While evaluating the Kant theory, Engels referred to a passage by a contemporary astronomer (Mouton?) who wrote: "As we can understand it, the entire arrangement of our solar system aims at preserving the existing things and their continued existence. ...the simultaneously existing varieties of celestial bodies do not permit us to assume that these forms are merely the different stages of development. We may say that all things created were complete."<sup>2</sup>

In the late 19th century, photography, spectroscopy, and photometry were gradually applied to the observation of the celestial bodies. In particular, the development in the techniques of making large telescopes enabled a fast accumulation of the data necessary for the study of the celestial bodies.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, rapid progress in physics, especially the developments in atomic physics, the theory of relativity, the quantum theory of mechanics, and nuclear physics, has made it possible to corroborate theoretical analysis and on-the-ground experiments to study data gathered from observation of celestial bodies. In modern times, many new techniques have been applied to the observation of celestial bodies. Besides the large optical telescopes, there are also radio telescopes of various descriptions. Rockets and artificial satellites have also often been used in observation of celestial bodies. By doing so, it has been possible to speed up progress in the study of the historical development of celestial bodies. The view that celestial bodies are always developing, and have their history of origin and evolution, thus has gained greater scientific proof.

---

1 Engels: Natural Dialectics, People's Publishing House, 1955 edition, p. 159.

2 Engels: Natural Dialectics, p. 9, footnote 1.

The observation and study during the past century have further clarified the position of the Earth in the universe. The sun is merely one of nearly 100 billion fixed stars in the Galactic system, the huge celestial system (known as "galaxy"). As the Earth is situated near the sun, to the people on earth it appears much larger than the other fixed stars. Moreover, the sun is not situated in the center of the Galactic system, but is closer to the brim, about 30,000 light years from the center and about 20,000 light years from the brim. Besides the Galactic system, millions of other galaxies are visible through large telescopes and are known as "extragalactic nebula." The Galactic system, meanwhile, does not occupy an extraordinary position among the thousands and millions of galaxies now being observed. The sky and the earth are relative. When the inter-planetary rockets take people to the moon, Mars, or Venus, as observed from other planets the Earth will appear in the sky as a celestial body. In discussing the structure, formation, and development of the solar system, the Earth, in fact, has been regarded as a celestial body.

In retrospect, the evolutionary changes of the last 3,000 years in the views regarding the formation of heaven and earth, and the development of the celestial bodies--from absurd and ridiculous superstition and legends to conjecture based on intuition, and then the evolutionary theory of celestial bodies based on facts observed--constitute an enormous transition which attests to the human knowledge of nature as a process of constant development. This is the process of incessant discovery and progress.

## 2.

All celestial bodies are always developing. This is precisely the case of fixed stars which are important celestial bodies in the vast stellar space.

The method for studying the historical development of fixed stars is somewhat similar to that for studying the evolutionary history of biology. This is the method of attempting first a classification and then selecting some typical cases for study in the greatest possible detail. Eventually, the task is to seek the relationships among various types in their development. While it is possible, in biology, to study the structure of living things by way of dissection and microscopic observation, and to determine their development process by viewing fossils; fixed stars are visible only through telescopic observation from afar. Living things are classified in terms of morphology, physiology, and life history. Fixed stars are classified in terms of spectral types and certain physical parameters.

As revealed by physical theories, the differences in the spectral types primarily reflect the differences in surface temperature. Those of high temperature (exceeding 10,000 degrees) show a blue color, while those of a lower temperature appear in the order of white, yellow, and red in color. The surface temperature of a red star is between two to three thousand degrees. Another important criteria for classification is the "photometric unit." (The energy emitted per second by the whole

star.) Fixed stars of lesser photometric units are called "dwarf stars," while those of greater photometric units are known as "giant stars," and those of still greater photometric units are called "super-giant stars." Fixed stars having unstable photometric units are called "variable stars." Some fixed stars are very unsteady, with irregularly variable photometric units, unusual spectrum, and more obvious changes. Some of them intermittently or continuously eject a large quantity of materials. A considerable number of fixed stars do not exist as individual units, but form groups of all sizes and are known as binary stars, multiple stars (from three to more than 10 fixed stars), and star clusters (scores or tens of thousands of fixed stars).

The question of the energy sources of the sun and other fixed stars was answered only some 20 years ago. Their primary energy source is the nuclear reaction which proceeds incessantly under the conditions of their inner high temperature, high density, and high pressure. Upon this discovery, the study of the development history of fixed stars began a more rapid progress.

Besides such celestial bodies as fixed stars and planets, there are also many star clouds, with considerably less density than fixed stars, in the Galactic system. The inter-stellar space is also replete with inter-stellar matter of even lower density. The gaseous part (other than the dusty part formed by tiny solid material points) of star clouds and inter-stellar matter is of somewhat similar chemical composition as that of many fixed stars (including the sun). The most abundant element is hydrogen, with helium being next, followed by oxygen, neon, nitrogen, and carbon. Blue giant stars, giant stars, and red giant stars are frequently seen with star clouds; as they are likewise observed in anagalactic nebula. The energy source of a fixed star originates primarily from the thermo-nuclear reaction in the fusion from hydrogen nucleus to helium nucleus. Enormous energy is released during the fusion from the mass. In the case of a fixed star of greater photometric units, the mass is decreasing at a faster rate. When it maintains a constant number of photometric units, the star will not last long. For this reason, blue giant stars and super-giant stars are comparatively young in age, ranging only between tens of thousands to several million years old. They also often appear together with star clouds. Accordingly, many people think that the star clouds and inter-stellar matter (known collectively as "diffuse materials") are the forerunners of fixed stars. There is one group of variable stars known as "T-type Tau variables" (in which T Tau is representative). Being very unsteady, they are generally recognized as young fixed stars. They, too, often appear with star clouds. There are also some celestial bodies which it is discovered resemble both stars and clouds, and are regarded as fixed stars undergoing the formative stage.

As shown by the research findings during the last 20 years, the possible course of the formation and development of fixed stars is: a star cloud contracts due to the action of universal gravitation (reciprocal attraction by all parts). This contraction leads to a breaking up into many parts because of the different densities previously existent in

various portions of the star cloud, or the emergence of a vortex, or for other reasons. When the parts so broken are too large, they may again break up. Finally, each part contracts to become a fixed star. During the contraction, the potential energy transforms into heat energy and radiative energy. When the photometric units reach a certain level, they become visible and a new fixed star thus appears. In the process of contraction, the body becomes increasingly smaller, and the internal temperature and density gradually increase to a certain extent when quantitative change transforms into qualitative change and thermonuclear reaction appears within. The gaseous pressure and radiative pressure balance the gravity; and the stellar body ceases to contract. The fusion of the hydrogen nucleus into a helium nucleus replaces the contraction by gravitation and becomes the primary source of energy for the fixed star. At the stage of contraction by gravitation, the surface temperature of the fixed star gradually rises, while the photometric degree changes little. After the internal thermonuclear reaction starts, the surface temperature and photometric degree remain generally unchanged for a rather long period, until the hydrogen inside has nearly all become helium through fusion. This is the stage known as the "main sequence." This is precisely the current stage of the sun.

Regarding the development of fixed stars, the most important physical parameter is the mass (quantity of matter). The greater the mass, the faster will be the development; that is, the faster will be the contraction and the shorter the period of the main sequence. A blue super-giant star remains in the main sequence for only about three million years. A fixed star of much smaller mass, such as the sun, may remain in the stage of the main sequence for 10 billion years.

When the hydrogen within a fixed star is nearly exhausted, and mostly transformed into helium, the release of energy will be considerably reduced. As the nuclear part is unable to resist the outer gravity, contraction will resume. The energy so released in the contraction will lead to outer expansion. The fixed star will thus change its appearance, rapidly increase its body, gradually raise its photometric degree, and lower its surface temperature. A fixed star will thus change its color from yellow, white, or blue and become a red giant star or super-giant star. Later, the temperature and density of the nuclear part will continue to increase, and the helium nucleus will turn into heavier atomic nucleus. Many other thermonuclear reactions will also emerge to form such elements as carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, neon, calcium, sodium, magnesium, and iron.

At present, it is not quite clear just how a fixed star gains further development after the red giant star stage.

Many people hold that a fixed star will sooner or later reach the stage of a very great average density (the inner density is always greater than the outer density) for the entire star. This is the stage of the several hundred "white dwarf stars" (rather high surface temperature, but very low photometric degree) now visible. Their density ranges from tens of thousands times that of water to more than 100 million times. In the process of transformation from a red giant star to a white dwarf star,

there is the inevitable stage of explosion, with a large quantity of matter ejected and the photometric degree considerably increased. Some people are of the opinion that by way of such an explosion the heavy elements formed within a fixed star will disperse in the inter-stellar space to become the materials for forming the second or third generation of fixed stars. Unlike those of the first generation, which have only hydrogen at the beginning, these fixed stars will have hydrogen, helium, and many other chemical elements. Today the sun contains more than 60 elements; and is, therefore, not a first-generation fixed star.

A few persons engaged in the study of fixed stars do not agree with the theory that fixed stars are formed by star clouds. In their opinion, both the fixed stars and the star clouds are formed by "supra-dense matter" of extremely high density. It is very possible that this matter is composed of a group of elementary particles of extremely great density, including neutrons and various super-neutrons. The basis for this view includes the following three facts: (1) T-type Taurus and other types of unstable variable stars show a strange continuous radiation when they shine in the spectrum. In their opinion, this is caused by the release of energy on the surface of the fixed stars when the remnant supra-dense matter within these variable stars escapes to the surface. "Solar activity" may also appear for the same reason, only on a much smaller scale. (2) Some groups of fixed stars, known as "star associations," are discovered to be expanding. The fixed stars which formed star associations tens of thousands or millions of years ago were all very small bodies. For this reason, it is thought that they were formed through the explosion of a large supra-dense matter. (3) Enormous explosions have been discovered in the nucleus of some stellar systems. The nucleus of a stellar system is, therefore, thought of as being formed by supra-dense matter.

Which of these two different views regarding the formation of fixed stars is correct, or do they each have their correct and incorrect parts? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to attempt further study. It is, nevertheless, undoubtedly true that every fixed star is continuously developing.

### 3.

Several billions or hundreds of billions of fixed stars form stellar systems. These stellar systems are continually developing.

Like fixed stars, there are also great varieties of stellar systems. They, too, may be divided into types, with a few representatives selected from each type for detailed study to learn their structure. One rather simple classification divides stellar systems into three major types: the spherical, the spheroidal, or the flat disk shaped known as the "spheroidal galaxy." The spherical or spheroidal nucleus parts, together with two or more spiral shaped tails of various length (known as "spiral arms") are called "spiral galaxy." Those having very irregular shapes are called "irregular galaxy." The first two major types are again divided into several minor types, according to their shapes and structure.

In recent years, other more detailed methods of classification appear. The galaxies, like fixed stars, also form groups of various sizes, such as double galaxies, multiple galaxies (consisting of from three to more than 10 galaxies), galaxy groups (from scores to over 10,000 galaxies).

What is the relationship among galaxies of various types in the evolution of celestial bodies? Some people think that the development of galaxies graduates from spheroidal galaxy to spiral galaxy and then to irregular galaxy. Others hold diametrically different views, and believe that the irregular galaxy graduates into the spiral galaxy and then the spheroidal galaxy. Regarding the study of the historical development of galaxies, a key question is the origin of the spiral arm. Some people think that the spiral arm is formed by matter ejected from the galaxy nucleus. Others think that the matter in the spiral arm exists formerly in the perimeter of the galaxy and becomes the spiral arm through magnetic field action or other mechanics.

The Galactic system is a spiral galaxy, with three or possibly more spiral arms, and the sun situated between two of the spiral arms. The entire Galactic system revolves, and it also spins in a relationship to the more than 30 anagalactic nebula. While each galaxy may possibly be spinning by itself, nevertheless, they differ from each other in their speed. In the same galaxy, each part likewise has a different rotation angle speed, according to its distance from the center.

Some people think that a galaxy is also formed by coagulation of the diffuse matter. In the process of coagulation, a rather large cloud breaks up into smaller clouds, while each small cloud likewise breaks up into even smaller clouds. This process of coagulation and disintegration eventually leads to fixed stars, binary stars, multiple stars, star clusters, and star clouds which form galaxies. Some matter concentrates in the central part to become the galaxy nucleus, which is of great density.

Regarding the origin of fixed stars, those who think that the supra-dense matter plays an important role also have their own view on the formation and development of galaxies. In their opinion, the galaxy nucleus is an enormous mass of supra-density, while all else in the other parts of the galaxy are formed by the supra-dense mass ejected in the galaxy explosion. It has been discovered in recent years that explosions of very large scale have occurred in the nucleus of several galaxies. In some cases, large quantities of mass have been ejected in all directions; while in others, large masses have been ejected along one or two directions. Each mass is as large as a small galaxy. Moreover, it has also been discovered that members of multiple galaxies are dispersing outward, like fixed stars which form star clusters.

Recently, a new type of celestial body, known as "stellar radio source," has been discovered to be of important significance to the study of galaxy history. This has been recognized as one of the most important discoveries in the natural sciences from 1963-1964. More than 20 stellar radio sources have now been discovered. They all emit light rays and radio radiation, and are very distant from us, varying from between several billion to some ten billion light years. Their mass is



considerably larger than that of a fixed star, and equals tens of thousands or hundreds of millions times that of the sun. They are, however, not galaxies and are not formed by many fixed stars. Instead, they are very large single entities. The stellar radio source is smaller than a galaxy but its photometric degree is many times greater than that of an ordinary galaxy. Some people hold that the enormous energy of the stellar radio source is due to a "collapse of gravitation," that is, a rapid collapse of mass to the center, thus releasing enormous kinetic energy through transformation of gravitational energy to material points, with large-scale explosions appearing. Whether they are the fore-runners of ordinary galaxies would call for further study.

#### 4.

Let us now discuss the question pertaining to the formation and development of the solar system with the sun as the center. Many people concern themselves most with this question, because it is closely related to the history of the early development of the Earth. Progress made in this field can provide clues to a series of pending questions in the Earth sciences. As the sun is a fixed star, the history of the solar system is inevitably related to the history of fixed stars and the history of galaxies. Accordingly, we discuss this question after we mentioned fixed stars and galaxies.

Today, we know well the structure of the solar system and the movement of various celestial bodies in it. However, our knowledge is inadequate regarding the internal structure and chemical composition of various celestial bodies (including the Earth), and the physical conditions of the moon and other planets. On the question of the formation of the solar system, although there was the theory with some basis offered by Kant 200 years ago, another theory by Laplace came later, and again scores of theories have been offered since the beginning of the current century. Nevertheless, there is not yet one commonly accepted answer as of today.

The age of the Earth has been proved to be about five billion years, as it is also certain that the solar system was formed several billion years ago. While it is not an easy thing to write a page on natural history which occurred several billion years ago, nevertheless, it is not impossible. In fact, man has considerably improved his knowledge in recent years regarding the history of the solar system.

The nine large planets, in general, revolve around the sun in the same direction and on the same plane. Most planets also rotate in the same direction, as the sun likewise rotates in the same manner. These facts lead the overwhelming majority of those engaged in the study of the solar system to believe that the planets and satellites are formed by a group of diffused materials which surround the sun. This group of matter is known as "primary planet cloud."

Regarding the origin of the primary planet cloud, there are different views. Some people think that it is the same mass which formed the sun and planets, and their satellites. The central part of this mass became the sun, while the perimeter became the planets and satellites. In other

words, the primary planet cloud is the remnant matter after the formation of the sun. Kant and Laplace held the same theory. In another view, the sun, while moving in the Galactic system, encountered an inter-stellar matter and passed through or close by this matter at a slow speed, thus capturing part of the matter from that cloud to become this primary planet cloud. In a third view, the entire matter which formed the planets and satellites was ejected from the sun, as the mass, light intensity, and speed of rotation of the sun were invariably much greater than those of today. They think that part of the primary planet cloud was ejected from the sun to form the principle materials for Mercury, Venus, the Earth, and Mars. Other parts were remnant matter from the formation of the sun. These became Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto, and Georgium Sidus. In the early 20th century, there was also the view which held that a fixed star once passed near the sun. As it approached the sun, the tidal action drew a large quantity of mass from the fixed star to become the planets. Subsequent theoretical analysis showed such a view was incompatible with actual observation. It could not be established, and should be discarded. At present, on the question of the origin of the primary planet cloud, most researchers tend to agree with the view that the planets and the sun originated from the same mass.

Another question is: how did the primary planet cloud change to become plants and satellites? What is the law governing the struction and movement of the solar system? A considerable amount of work has been done during the last twenty to thirty years to study this question. One view holds that the primary planet cloud started mainly as gaseous material points, with some dust particles. Most of the gaseous material points carried electricity, that is, mainly ions and electrons. Magnetic fields existed since the formation of the sun. As the sun rotated, it was followed by magnetic lines existing around it. The electricity-charged material points could not pass the magnetic lines, but merely followed them in a spiral orbit. Accordingly, the matter which formed the planets was forced to rotate forward and to accelerate in speed of rotation, while the sun was reducing in speed of rotation. This served to answer the unexplained question of "distribution of angular momentum"<sup>(1)</sup> in Laplace's theory. Gaseous material points gradually coagulated to become small solid material points and immediately began to rotate around the sun along the spheroidal orbit. - Since the shape, space, and position of the orbits varied, the material points, therefore, often collided, even though not in full force, for their general direction of movement was the same. The small material points gradually coagulated to become larger material points and solid mass, and eventually planets. In the process of coagulation, the orbits were equalized. This serves to explain the reason that the orbits of planets today are nearly round and almost on the same plane. It also somewhat explains the differences in the mass, size, density, and chemical composition of planets; as well as the shape and movement of satellites.

---

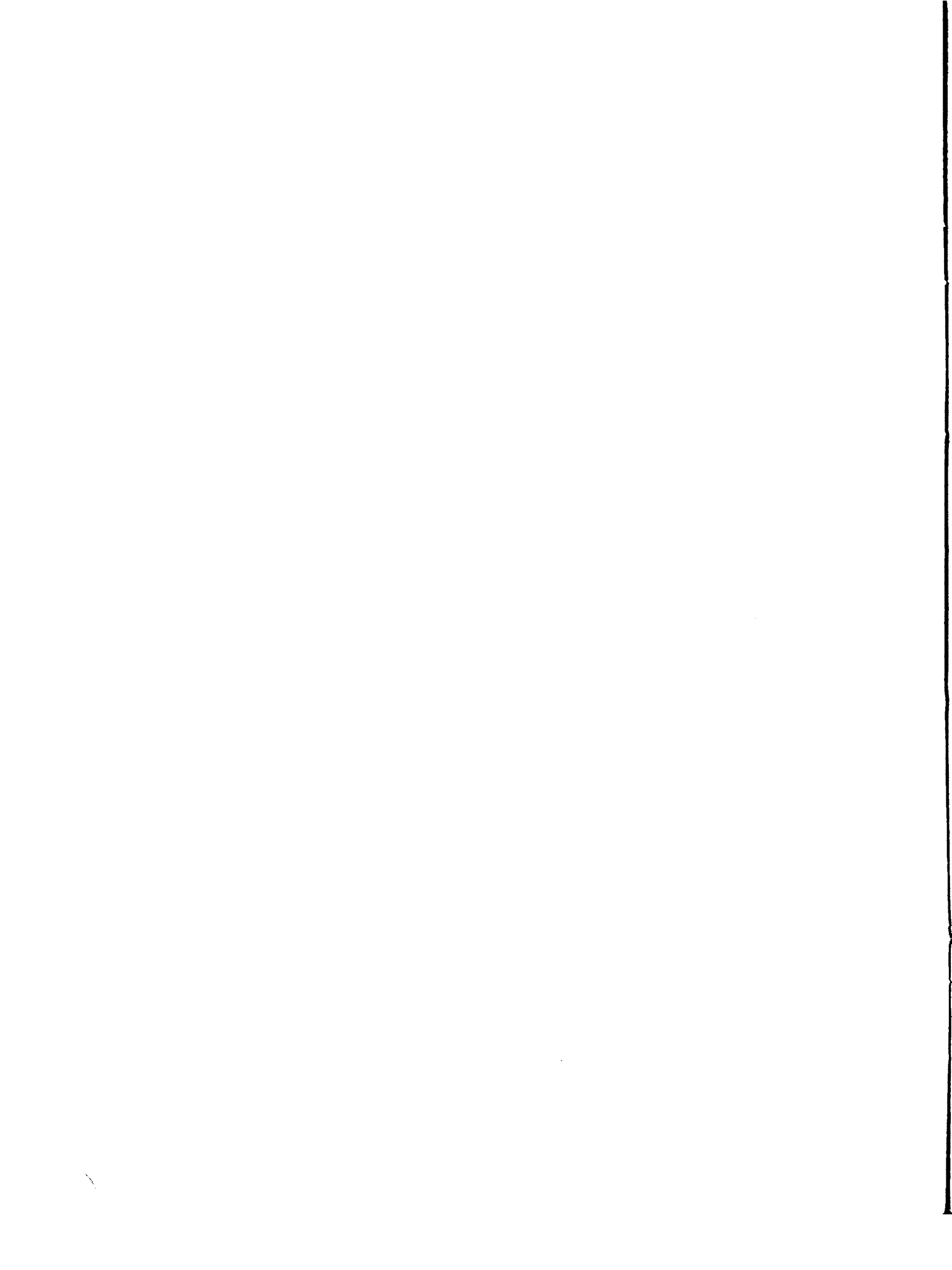
(1) The question mainly of explaining the following phenomena: while the mass of the sun accounts for more than 99.8 per cent of the entire solar system, its angular momentum, however, amounts to less than one per cent

The research during the last few tens of years has further illustrated that the solar system has been formed gradually. Every celestial body which forms part of the solar system is always developing, as the entire system is also continuously, even though slowly, developing.

\* \* \*

As we are far removed from celestial bodies, it is impossible to bring them into the laboratories for research and study. We can only observe them from afar, and learn about them through analysis of the various radiations from them. The development stages, age, and life of celestial bodies are mostly computed in terms of millions, tens of millions, and billions of years; while man has utilized telescopes for more accurate study of the movement of celestial bodies for only over 300 years, and learned of the physical characteristics of celestial bodies for only 100 years. However, by way of classification and comparison to employ various methods to determine their age, and the study of micro-physics and through other scientific research, it is now possible to generally describe the development process of celestial bodies. This achievement has convincingly attested that the viewpoint of dialectical materialism regarding the natural world which develops incessantly according to the objective laws of dialectics is entirely correct.

CSO: 3530  
6693



RECALLING A PERFORMANCE BY THE ARMED PROPAGANDA TEAM

Following is a translation of an article by Liu I-yen (0491 0001 7159) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 10, 3 September 1965, pages 43-45.

At the time of the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the victory over Japan, I recalled a performance during the anti-Japanese war in front of the enemy's stronghold. Although it was only a small affair in the literary and artistic activities of that time, it was in a form appropriate to the conditions of struggle at that time, and it has made me recall the superior tradition in which literature and art served politics during that period. At different periods and under different conditions of struggle, literary and artistic activities can adopt different forms, but the superior tradition of literature and art serving politics must be continued and developed at all times.

That was in 1943. The Chiao-tung anti-Japanese base was in very difficult straits.

In the summer of that year, young fighters rose up, so that the large-scale "mopping up" drive by the Japanese bandits was temporarily halted. But the "economic blockade" of the base and the policy of "nibbling away" were still being pushed vigorously. In order to smash this Japanese bandit plot of "nibbling away" at the base, the Chiao-tung military and people, under the party's leadership, launched a summer political assault on the enemy. We comrades of the frontline drama troupe of the fifth detachment separately went to various local armed companies to develop work by means of literary and art forms.

I and two male comrades were dispatched to the Independent Battalion in Feng-lai hsien. The cadres and men there welcomed us as though we were relatives. That evening, the leadership wanted me to stay in the home of a puppet soldier's dependents. I was rather hesitant when I heard this, for this was a guerrilla district, and there were not many regular units of the Eighth Route Army. And I was a woman, so why have me stay in a house occupied by a puppet soldier's kin? Just as I was feeling quite gloomy about this, the battalion's political committee stated: "Her husband is a squad leader in the puppet forces, and is stationed at a base some 40-odd

li from here. Although he is a squad leader, he is our target for defection. If the work is done well, we may be victorious." So then I was greatly enlightened: they were putting me to work after all.

I went happily. Going in, I saw a five or six year old boy playing in the courtyard. As soon as he saw me, he shouted into the house: "Hey Ma, a woman of the Eighth Route Army has come." A woman replied and came out. She stood at the door of the main quarters and said: "Comrade, come in and sit down." I said: "I'm from the Independent Battalion and I'd like to spend the night at your place. Would you mind?" Rather surprised and pleased, she said: "Comrade, you stay, but don't say just one night; you can stay as long as you like. I ... " She looked very ashamed. Then we went into the main quarters. It was already evening, so she took out a kerosene lamp with a cover, wiped the cover clean, lighted the lamp, and in a second the room was bright.

We sat together on the raised brick platform, and she told me everything: Her original name was Chang Yu-ying (1728 3768 5391); her family was a poor peasant's family; she had only two sisters, and she was the oldest. After three years of study, she had gotten married at the age of 20, and a year later she gave birth to a man-child. After the Japanese bandits occupied Feng-lai hsien, her husband was drawn into the puppet army by a bad person. After this when the child went into the street or when she went out, the neighbors often pointed at them and talked about them. She of course had never expected that today she would have a woman from the Eighth Route Army in her home. After this night's conversation, I understood what material could be used to get her husband to return to the right side. At the same time, I conveyed to her the principles as to why opposition to Japan must succeed. It wasn't until very late that we finally went to sleep.

The next day, I reported the contents of the conversation to the leadership. The leadership thought that an acting-singing program could be written on the basis of this material, which could be put on in front of the enemy camp. This was a vigorous weapon for carrying out a political assault and for disintegrating the enemy. I happily accepted the task, but I was completely in the dark about the conditions for performing this in front of the enemy camp. In battles in the past, although I had taken part in some support work, I really had no idea about how to pull this off.

After two days, the short skit, "Madam Chang Urges Her Husband to Return to the Just Cause," was written and well rehearsed. First of all, I sang it for Madam Chang. She listened and sighed. When I was almost finished, she put her arms around me, wept, and said: "Comrade Liu, you've expressed just what's in my heart. If I could see the child's father, I would certainly tell him to take off that yellow skin."

About evening one day, a 12-man armed propaganda team was formed. The Independent Battalion's political committee put forward eight soldiers, and then there were the three of us. We had made careful preparations for anything which might happen. There was only one demand made on me, and that was to act boldly, and not to forget to sing when I heard gun fire. We definitely wanted to finish the performance. We 12 persons left the village, with an evening breeze on our faces with just a touch of coolness in it.

When we left the mountains and set out on the plain, the colors of night slowly descended around us. We couldn't take the main roads through the villages; we could only go along the small paths in the fields. In two or three hours, we passed through Ch'ing-sha-chang, and probably went on for 30 li. We arrived at the enemy area and could already hear the sounds of clubs and the barking of dogs in the "protected villages" which were ruled by the enemy. We then walked more softly, quickened our pace, and proceeded by following a winding stream. Before long, we came to a halt. The political committee member called on the squad leader to lead half the squad to the front for reconnaissance. When the guards were placed, he was to come back and lead us again.

At this time, lightning flashed in the distance, the weather was very sultry, and it looked like it was going to rain. Suddenly two rifle shots sounded. I became very tense for a moment, had we been discovered by the enemy? What was to be done about our assignment? From out of a dark shadow, the political committee member said: "The puppet forces were taught by amateurs. As soon as it gets dark and they can't see, they fire their rifles to screw up their courage. Just listen, now they'll be shouting." I listened, and sure enough, they were shouting, but I couldn't make it out. After a half hour, the squad leader came back alone and said: "Let's move out. Everything's set." Everyone stood up and followed the squad leader along the stream.

Before long, we came to the front of a village. There was nothing around it, no trees, no planted fields; there just seemed to be a small stream surrounding the outside wall. The political committee members whispered to us: "That's the moat." Blockhouses were crouching there like monsters. Suddenly flame flashed from the barrel of the rifles. The squad leader led us over to the side of a gully and stopped. The political committee member asked: "Is it safe here?" The squad leader replied: "This is a blind angle. Firing and hand grenades can't reach you here." The political committee member said: "All right. If anything comes up, you report to us quickly." The squad leader agreed and then led off the other four squad members.

The political committee member shouted to the blockhouse: "We are the Eighth Route Army ... " Before the sound of his voice had died away, the enemy fired a volley at us. Everybody crouched down on the ground and then we noticed that we were in a freshly dug trench. The soldiers had indeed made all the preparations for us.

He continued to shout towards the blockhouse: "If you continue firing at us, we will blow up your blockhouse." The firing stopped. Suddenly, we heard a squawky-voiced person shout: "Don't listen to communist propaganda! Fire!" The firing started up again. The political committee member ordered: "Open fire!" The squad leader appeared carrying a sub-machine gun. He aimed it at the openings in the blockhouse and commenced firing. There was real obedience there, for the enemy immediately became still as a mouse.

The political committee member shouted: "Japanese imperialism won't last long. If you people want any way out of this, don't persist in being 'armed traitors'. You must 'have your bodies in the enemy's camp, but your hearts must be with the patriots.' Don't do evil things, do good things. The government is keeping a close record: when a good thing is done, a red

mark is put down; when an evil thing is done, a black mark goes down. You will all be called to account for this one day." There were no sounds from the blockhouse, so he continued: "Please listen well. We going to put on a little performance for you. After you've heard this, please think it over."

Then I started to sing. The enemy was quite noisy and fired a few stray shots. Some shouted: "Eighth Route Army woman, sing louder; we can't hear." I thought: I am an anti-Japanese soldier, and I must not show any fear in front of the enemy. With this thought, I sang forth resoundingly. I was as though I could see the son of the puppet squad leader and the sorrowful eyes of Madam Chang. I became all the more emotion-filled, and my voice became even louder. When I had finished singing, a puppet soldier suddenly shouted: "Hey, Eighth Route Army woman, sing another one." The squawky-voiced person cursed: "You've already heard enough." Next a male comrade recounted a tu-ku, propagandizing a most recent victory. Before he finished, the squad leader hurriedly appeared out of the shadows, and reported to the political committee member: "We have intelligence. We must pull back at once." The singing comrade quickly finished his ta-ku, and shouted a final "see you again." We then followed the political committee member and withdrew along the road by which we came. Just as we were about to leave the side of the stream, we heard firing behind us and voices shouting: "Catch her, catch that woman!" But the voices became more and more distant, and the firing slowly died down. Since the enemy was in the Ch'ing-sha-chang night, they didn't dare go far from their base. They did not pursue us far, and then put their tails between their legs and returned to their blockhouse.

On the road back I thought to myself: We don't know what the results of this propaganda will be.

By coincidence I again went back to that area one year later. It was a newly liberated area, and I again saw Madam Chang. As soon as she saw me, she grabbed my hand and told me excitedly: "The child's father is now a member of the Cheng-nan Pa-pei Agricultural Association. Not long after you put on that performance in front of the enemy blockhouse, he returned to us leading a whole squad."

Hearing this, I was very happy that her husband had given up his evil ways, that that bit of propaganda had played a small role in it.

From that performance on, I came to realize that literary and art workers must throw themselves into the burning struggles and serve politics, that at the same time they must forge themselves and reform themselves, so as to make themselves into revolutionary literary and art fighters.

6722  
CSO: 3530-D

- END -



1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

CORNELL  
UNIVERSITY  
SEP 20  
1962