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No 2, 1965
- Communist China -

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TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 2, 1965. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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LENIN'S PREDICTIONS ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY STORMS OF THE EAST

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 27 February 1965, pages 1-8.

Editor's note: We are here publishing several articles on Lenin's hopes for the revolutionary storms of the East.

Most of these articles by Lenin were published at the beginning of the century. At that time, the European bourgeoisie had been in a state of decay for a long time and was headed towards reaction. The oppressed peoples of the East, who were slumbering in a medieval state of inaction, were variously beginning to awaken. Lenin enthusiastically hailed the fact that "a great new source for the world's revolutionary storms had sprung up in Asia." He predicted that the revolutionary movements in the East would turn about and influence and spur the proletarian revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries of Europe.

In Lenin's essays we can observe that he sympathized with and supported the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nationalities and peoples; we can also see how he scorned and censured the erroneous attitude held by the revisionists of the Second International who held that "the revolutionary movements in colonial countries were unimportant and unusually peaceful national movements."

Before World War I and before the October Revolution, the Asian revolutionary storms which Lenin enthusiastically praised were still democratic revolutionary movements led by the bourgeoisie. After the first world war and the October Revolution, and especially after the second world war, a tremendous change had taken place in the Asian revolutionary movements. The proletariat had entered the stage of history, and had seized revolutionary leadership in many countries. The peoples of China, Korea, and Vietnam smashed the Eastern strongholds of imperialism and entered on the mighty road of building socialism. In other countries, the revolutionary

peoples overthrew the direct colonial rule of imperialism and set up national, independent nations.

After the October Revolution, Lenin further pointed out: The broad masses of people in the colonial countries "will definitely serve a huge revolutionary function in the next stage of the world's revolution." The development of history has fully borne out the scientific prediction of Lenin. The various peoples of the East, who for a long time were ignored by others, are already in the forefront of the world's revolutions, and have actively arisen to "take part in the destiny of the world." The East, which in the past was cut up by the imperialist powers at will, has become the anti-imperialist, revolutionary, battling East.

The great victories of the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S., patriotic struggle fully demonstrate the power of the revolutionary strength of the peoples of the East. In this, U.S. imperialism, which is considered strong, has been badly battered by the Vietnamese people, so that it has sunk into a position from which it cannot extricate itself.

It is not only in Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America, that a violent revolutionary storm has arisen. Based on this new world situation, the CCP Central Committee in 1963, in its "Proposal for a General Line in the International Movement," further developed Lenin's points:

"The vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the focal points for the contradictions of the world, the weakest areas under imperialist control, the primary regions in the world's revolutionary storms for directing attacking imperialism.

The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement constitute the two main streams of history of this time.

The national democratic movements in these regions are an important part of the world's proletarian revolution.

The anti-imperialist struggles by the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples have severely attacked and weakened the ruling base of imperialism and neo-colonialism; they form a great force for preserving world peace.

Consequently, on a certain level of significance, the entire international proletarian revolutionary cause evolves upon the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in these areas which make up most of the world.

Consequently, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles by the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are not regional in nature, but involve the overall question of the entire international proletarian revolutionary cause in the world."

Towards the flourishing development of the national liberation movements, Marxists have always, similar to Lenin, been joyful and encouraging; the more the flames of the national

liberation movements spread out, the more happy and excited they became. Similar to Lenin, they always carefully studied the revolutionary experiences of the oppressed peoples and took practical steps to support this great revolutionary struggle.

Although these essays by Lenin were composed 40 or 50 years ago, they still possess great theoretical and practical significance for the world's revolutionary peoples. Lenin said: "With the experiences of Europe and Asia, we will put whoever still speaks of non-class politics and non-class socialism into a cage for people to look at as they do at Australian kangaroos." Haven't facts precisely borne out this point?

Asia Is the New Source of the World's Revolutionary Storms

Just as the opportunists are praising with all their might social peace and extolling the idea that revolutionary storms can be avoided under the "democratic system," a great new source for the world's revolutionary storms has sprung up in Asia. After the Russian revolution, there occurred the revolutions in Turkey, Persia, and China. We are now in an age when these revolutionary storms are flourishing and when they "will turn about and influence" Europe. No matter how the wolves tear at the fate of the great, hated Republic of China, no power on earth will again be able to recover its old slave system in Asia, nor can they eradicate the courageous democratic spirit of the peoples of Asia and Asia Minor.

Those persons, who don't heed the conditions for preparations and development of the masses' struggles, observe that the decisive battle against capitalism in Europe has been extended for a long period, and thus sink into a state of despair and anarchy. Now we can see how short-sighted and cowardly this despair of anarchism was:

Asia with its 800,000,000 people has already entered the struggle to realize the ideals of Europe, and what we should absorb from this fact is not despair, but courage.

In similar fashion, the revolutions of Asia reveal to us the meanness and shamelessness of liberalism, the special significance of independent actions by the democratic masses, and the clear boundaries between the proletariat and any other class. With the experience of Europe and Asia, we will put whoever still speaks of non-class politics and non-class socialism into a cage for people to look at as they do at Australian kangaroos.

Europe has also become activated along with Asia, only not along the Asian formula. The "peaceful" period from 1872 to 1904 is gone forever. The great inflation of prices

and the T'o-la-ssu suppression has caused the economic struggle to become unprecedently sharp, so much so that even those British workers, who have been deeply debilitated by liberalism, are becoming active. In Germany, this most "stubborn" bourgeois base, the political crisis is rapidly maturing. The frantic competition in military preparations and the policies of imperialism have made the present European "social peace" seem like a powder-keg. The process of the dissolution of all bourgeois political parties and the maturing of the proletariat is developing in a straight line.

Since the time of its appearance, each period in the three great periods of world history has caused Marxism to demonstrate new proof and new victories. However, in the approaching historical period, Marxism, this proletarian teaching, will be even more victorious.

Excerpted from "The Historical Mission of the Theory of Marx," (published on 1 March 1913). See The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 18, pages 583-584, published by the People's Publishing House, 1959.

The Awakening of Asia

Has not China often been called a model of countries which have been in a state of complete immobility for a long time? However, the present Chinese political life is springing upward, and the social movements and the democratic high tides are seething up. Following the Russian movement of 1905, democratic revolutions have engulfed all of Asia, Turkey, Persia, and China. Agitation is also on the increase in British India.

What is worthy of note: the democratic revolutionary movement has now also spread to Dutch India and Java and other Dutch colonial areas with a population of 40,000,000 people.

The representatives of this democratic movement: First, the masses of Java have, under the banner of Islam, engendered this national movement. Secondly, there are the intellectuals educated from among the Europeans there in the capitalist atmosphere; these Europeans are advocating independence for Dutch India. Thirdly, there are the overseas Chinese in Java and on other islands; they brought the revolutionary movement with them from their homeland.

In describing this awakening in Dutch India, the Dutch Marxist Wan-i-ts'u-wei-ssu-tan has pointed out that the long tyranny of the Dutch government is presently meeting resolute opposition and resistance by the local inhabitants.

The normal situation on the eve of revolution has appeared: Associations and political parties are springing up with surprising speed. The government is attempting to forbid

these, which causes even greater indignation, and increases the movement even more. For example, not long ago, the Dutch government dissolved the "Indian Party". [See note.] This was because the party's constitution and program discussed the demand for independence. The Dutch "civil governor" (I might add that the church authoritarians and the liberals approved; how European liberalism has decayed!) held that this was a criminal attempt to want to be separated from the Netherlands. Of course, the dissolved party changed its name and reappeared.

A local nationalist association has appeared in Java, and this has a membership of 80,000; and mass meetings have been organized. The increase of the democratic movement is irresistible.

World capitalism and the 1905 Russian movement have completely awakened Asia. Millions upon millions of oppressed people, who were slumbering in a medieval state of immobility, have awakened, and they demand a new life and demand to struggle for basic human rights and democracy.

The workers of every advanced country in the world are watching in a concerned and excited manner this strong upsurge in the world's liberation movements taking place everywhere and in every form. The European bourgeoisie, which has been frightened out of its wits by the strength of the workers' movements, has taken refuge in the reactionary forces, in militarism, in monk-ism, and in ignorance. However, the European proletariat and the young democratic forces of Asia, which have complete confidence in their own strength and complete trust in the masses, are rising up to take the place of the decadent bourgeoisie.

The awakening of Asia and the development of the progressive European proletariat to seize political power signal the beginning of a new stage in world history in the 20th century.

This article was published on 7 May 1913. See The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 19, pages 67-68; this was put out by the People's Publishing House in 1959.

Backward Europe and Progressive Asia

The words in this title do not seem reasonable. Who is not aware of Europe's progressiveness and Asia's backwardness? But the words in this title contain a striking truth.

Civilized, progressive Europe with its developed technology, rich culture, and perfected constitutions has already reached the historical stage where the bourgeoisie in power, fearful of the ever stronger proletariat, is supporting backward, moribund, and medieval things. The collapsing

bourgeoisie and the forces which have collapsed or are presently collapsing have joined together in order to preserve the system of employment for wages and slavery which has begun to fall to pieces.

In progressive Europe, the bourgeoisie which supports all backward things is in power. The reason why Europe is advanced at this time is not because of the existence of the bourgeoisie, but because the bourgeoisie is being ignored. This is because it is only the proletariat which can bring about an increase in the huge million-man army which is striving for a beautiful future; it is only with the proletariat that the deep abiding hatred towards backward, savage things, towards special privileges, the system of slavery, and the phenomena of man humiliating man can be strengthened and expanded.

In "progressive" Europe, only the proletariat is an advanced class. The existing bourgeoisie voluntarily undertakes all sorts of savage, cruel, criminal activities so as to preserve the moribund capitalist system of slavery.

The fact that the European bourgeoisie supports the reactionary forces in Asia for the sake of the greedy goals of some financiers and capitalist swindlers is the most striking example of the decadent state of the entire European bourgeoisie.

Everywhere in Asia the strong democratic movements are increasing, expanding, and becoming strengthened. There the bourgeoisie is still united with the peoples in opposing the reactionary forces. Millions of people are becoming awakened, and starting to pursue life, glory, and freedom. This world-wide movement is truly cheering and encouraging the conscious workers who understand that collectivism can only be achieved through the democratic system. All true democrats are extremely sympathetic with young Asia.

But as for "progressive" Europe? It has seized China, and aided the enemies of China's democracy and freedom.

Please take a look at a simple, yet noteworthy account. The new loans to China have been used to oppose the Chinese democratic forces: "Europe" is supporting Yuan Shih-k'ai (5913 0013 0418) who is preparing to instill a military dictatorship. Why does it want to support Yuan Shih-k'ai? It is because this is an advantageous opportunity. The total amount of the loans is about 250,000,000 rubles; and this is to be converted according to the market rate of 100 to 84 rubles. This means that the "European" capitalists are providing the Chinese people with 210,000,000 rubles, and asking the masses for 225,000,000 rubles. Look at that, within a few weeks, they have earned 15,000,000 rubles of pure profit. Isn't this a clever "pure" profit?

And if the Chinese people won't acknowledge this loan? Are there not in China the majority under the republican system

and in the assembly who oppose this loan?

Well now! Then "progressive" Europe will start shouting about "civilization", "order", "culture", and the "motherland". At this point, it will launch its canons, and will join together with its ambitious, traitorous, reactionary friend Yuan Shih-k'ai (5913 0013 0418) to wipe out the "backward" republican system in Asia!

The forces in power throughout Europe and the entire European bourgeoisie are in league with the medieval, reactionary forces in China.

But the whole of young Asia, the hundreds of millions of workers, has reliable allies in the proletariat of the civilized countries. No force on earth can block the victory of the proletariat; they will certainly liberate the peoples of Europe and of Asia.

This article was published on 18 May 1913. See The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 19, pages 82-83.

The Peoples of the East Are Beginning to Intervene in the Destiny of the World

We know that the peoples of the East are about to take part in the struggle for independence and to struggle to create a new life. This is because the multitudes in the East are nationalities without independence and equal rights. Up until today they have been the objects of plunder by the foreign policies of imperialism, the support of capitalist culture and civilization. We understand very well that the so-called ruling authority entrusted in governing the colonies is the right to rob and plunder, the right assigned to a handful of people to exploit the majority of peoples. In the past the majority of the world's peoples had absolutely no connection with historical progress, because they were not able to become an independent revolutionary force of the time. At the start of the 20th century, however, they will no longer play this negative role. We know that after 1905 Turkey, Persia, and China continued to have revolutions, and a revolutionary movement started up in India. The imperialist war also spurred on the development of the revolutionary movements, because many military units from colonial areas were drawn into the European imperialist war. The imperialist war also awakened the East and drew the various nationalities of the East into international political life. England and France armed the colonial peoples and helped them become familiar with military technology and new weapons. They will use this knowledge to oppose their imperialist lords. After the East was awakened, the modern revolutions entered a new era. The various nationalities of the East began to

intervene in the destiny of the world, and were no longer simply the objects by which others became wealthy. The various peoples of the East awakened and demanded that practical action be taken and that every nationality should take part in the fate of mankind.

Excerpted from "The Report at the Second Congress of the All-Russian Eastern Region Communist Parties of Every Nationality" (published on 20 December 1919.) See The Complete Works of Lenin, pages 137-138, Vol. 30, published by the People's Publishing House in 1957.

The Working Masses in the Colonial Countries Will
Certainly Play a Huge Revolutionary Role in the Next
Stage of World Revolution

The working masses in the colonial areas and the semi-colonial countries, who make up the majority of the world's population, have, at the start of the 20th century and especially after the revolutions burst out in Russia, Turkey, Persia, and China, become awakened and are starting to take part in political life. The imperialist war from 1914 to 1918 and the Soviet regime in Russia have caused basic changes in the masses, enabling them to become positive factors in world politics and in using revolutionary actions to destroy imperialism. But the educated hirelings who have sold out in Europe and in America, including the leaders of the Second International and the Second and One-half International, stubbornly fail to realize this point. Of these countries, British India is in the foremost position. There, the stronger the proletariat in industry and the railroads becomes, the more cruel becomes the terrorist behavior of the English in carrying out large-scale slaughter (at Ah-mei-li-ch'a) and public beatings; and thus the revolution develops ever more rapidly.

.....

Here we would still like to put emphasis on pointing out the significance of the revolutionary movements in the colonial areas. In this field, we discover that all old political parties, all bourgeois workers' parties of the Second International and the Second and One-half International, and the petty bourgeois workers' political parties possess the remnants of the old viewpoint of moderation: it is said that they are unusually sympathetic with the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples. There are still people who view the revolutionary movements in the colonial countries as unimportant, and unusually peaceful nationalist movements. But the facts are not like this at all. From the beginning of the 20th century, a great change has already occurred in

this respect: in the multitudes of the peoples who make up the majority of the world's population, independent, active, revolutionary elements have appeared. It is quite obvious that in the decisive battle for the world revolution in the future, the movements of this majority of the population will first of all struggle for national liberation, and then will turn about and oppose capitalism and imperialism. Their revolutionary role will perhaps be much greater than we presently hope. It must be pointed out (for the first time in our communist international) that we have already begun to prepare for this struggle, and this is very important. Of course, in such a vast area there are even more difficulties; but, no matter what, the movement is moving forward, and the working masses and peasants in the colonial countries, despite the fact that they are presently very backward, will certainly play a huge revolutionary role in the next stage of the world's revolutions.

Excerpted from "The Third Congress of the Communist International" (published in 1921). See The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 32, pages 442-443, 468-469; this was published by the People's Publishing House in 1958.

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THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL WIN, U.S. IMPERIALISM
WILL LOSE

Following is a translation of an article
by the Hung Ch'i Commentator in the Chinese-
language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag),
Peiping, No. 2, 27 February 1965, pages 9-11.]

In the five days from 7 to 11 February, the U.S. imperialist bandit chieftan Johnson repeatedly issued orders launching hundreds of aircraft to carry out frantic bombings and strafings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). These aggressive actions by U.S. imperialism towards the DRV smashed through the borders separating the north and the south and thus expanded the Indo-China flames of war.

This expansion of the war by U.S. imperialism has already met with the appropriate punishment given by the Vietnamese people. In the south, the Vietnamese liberation army has commenced even larger scale attacks, causing the U.S. aggressor forces to suffer the "most severe defeat to date." In the four day period from 7 to 10 February, more than 3,000 U.S. and puppet troops were destroyed, among whom were 450 U.S. aggressors, killed or wounded. There were also 61 U.S. aircraft which were destroyed, shot down, or damaged. In the north, the heroic soldiers and civilians also shot down many U.S. bandit aircraft. All over the world there has arisen an angry, seething tide which has condemned the crimes of U.S. aggression. U.S. imperialism has again been encircled by the just condemnation of the peoples of the world.

U.S. imperialism, which follows the policy of a "position of strength," has formerly placed all its hopes on so-called "sea and air military superiority" and has used this as its means to expand its aggression. In actuality, this so-called "superiority" is nothing more than a few thousand planes and a few hundred warships. Did they not also have this so-called "superiority" previously in China, in Korea, and in South Vietnam? However, even when they had several million troops, the Chiang clan monarchy could not be maintained, nor could they handle half of Korea or half of Vietnam.

Now there has been a new development in the world situation, the strength of the people has increased even more, and yet they want to cross swords with the entire Indo-Chinese people; isn't this to attack stones with eggs, and thus seek their own destruction?

From antiquity until today, the decisive factor in war has never been weapons, but rather the nature of the war and the hearts of the people. The people are truly an indestructible iron wall, and all anti-people forces, no matter how "strong" they appear, will always be smashed in the long run. U.S. imperialism is engaging in an unjust, anti-people's war, and this in itself has determined its ultimate defeat.

U.S. imperialism has over-extended itself: its military forces are dispersed throughout every continent in the world, its fronts are too long, its back areas are too distant, its military strength is insufficient, the morale of its soldiers is poor, and it is taking a beating everywhere. U.S. imperialism is not only hollow and weak militarily, but also politically and economically. It is becoming more and more isolated, and its troubles are mounting. A volcano may erupt under its feet anywhere at any time.

U.S. imperialism is always picking up stones and hitting its own feet; it is always putting a noose around its own neck. No matter where it commits aggression, it always mobilizes the people of the area and arms them. It not only teaches them how to fight, but also provides them with weapons and ammunition. Now, since U.S. imperialism has decided to expand the scope of its "service" to the whole of Indo-China, the peoples of the area will make good preparations. Wherever the evil claws of the U.S. aggressors extend, there they will find their burying place.

For four years now, U.S. imperialism's bandit chieftans Kennedy and Johnson have made South Vietnam into a testing ground for "special warfare." In this, they have invested several hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars, several hundred thousand tons of weapons and other military equipment; they have sent several tens of thousands of military personnel, including a large number of civilian officials and generals such as the "number one military chief", Taylor. In this effort, they have undertaken thousands of "mopping up" campaigns towards the Vietnamese people, and have carried out the "three-complete" policy of complete killing, complete robbery, and complete destruction, which is even more cruel than the acts of the German fascists and the Japanese militarists. However, what have been the results? Have they not been beaten by the Vietnamese people until their heads are spinning, until they have started on a dead-end course? Even Taylor, who was shouting about "pacifying South Vietnam within 18 months," has had to admit that he has not "magic prescription" in his pocket for solving the Vietnamese question. Now when

U.S. imperialism is attempting to expand the flames of war into the north and over all of Indo-China, it can be affirmed that it will end up with an even greater defeat.

U.S. imperialism works with its own robber logic: it carries out aggression everywhere, but turns around and shouts that it has suffered aggression everywhere by others. In the eyes of U.S. imperialism, the entire world belongs to the United States. It can send its aggressor armies anywhere at any time, and when they have met with opposition and have been beaten, it considers this aggression by others. It occupies the Chinese territory of Taiwan, and the Chinese people have become aggressors. It launched the aggressive war in Korea, and the Korean people have become the aggressors. It slaughters the Vietnamese people, bombs the DRV, so that both its hands are covered with the fresh blood of the Vietnamese people, and then it claims that the Vietnamese people are aggressors. Where in the world does such a logic come from?!

Recently, U.S. imperialism has again raised a new slogan, spreading it everywhere, claiming that it wants to negotiate from a position of strength; it has advanced the pre-conditions that the so-called "Viet cong must first stop their attacks," and that the Vietnamese people "must first put out the fire." What does this mean? In essence, it is attempting to bind the hands of the Vietnamese liberation army, so as to wrestle away on the negotiation table what it could not achieve on the battle field. U.S. imperialism's calculations have truly been knocked askew. However, when did the world ever offer such a cheap victory? Everyone knows that U.S. imperialism itself set off the flames of war in Vietnam, and ignited the flames in the rest of Indo-China as well. The Vietnamese people and the peoples of Indo-China have full right to engage in self-protection counter-attacks, and this sacred right cannot be withdrawn by anyone. The present question is not at all one of the Vietnamese people "first extinguishing the flames", but it is rather that the U.S. aggressive armies must completely pull out of Indo-China.

If the U.S. aggressors do not themselves pull out of South Vietnam and Indo-China, they will be chased out by the Vietnamese and Indo-Chinese peoples, or wiped out completely. Since U.S. imperialism has expanded the war into the DRV, the DRV has full right to adopt the measures needed to beat the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs mercilessly. All countries which uphold the Geneva agreements also have full right to use all their strength to support the DRV in their attacking the aggressors. We must warn the U.S. robbers: the farther you go along the road of expanding the war, the more miserable will be your defeat. The Vietnamese people and all the peoples of the world will certainly not allow to ride roughshod over Indo-China, and will not forgive your

crimes of aggression.

China and Vietnam are lips-and-teeth neighbors; the Chinese people and the Vietnamese people are sympathetic brothers. U.S. imperialism's aggression towards the DRV is aggression towards the Chinese People's Republic. The Chinese people will definitely not ignore the situation, and sit idly by without helping. The 650,000,000 Chinese people long ago completed preparations to support the DRV in its counter-attack in self-protection against U.S. imperialism. We firmly believe that the Vietnamese people will win, and U.S. imperialism will lose.

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HOW TO VIEW THE ENEMY'S OPPOSITION

Following is a translation of an article by Chang Ching (4545 4544) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 27 February 1965, pages 15-23.7

Is it a good thing or a bad thing to be opposed by the enemy? This is a question of political principle which every revolutionary must clearly resolve. With regard to this, comrade Mao Tse-tung has a famous viewpoint: it is a good thing to be opposed by the enemy.

In 1939, in an article entitled "To Be Opposed by the Enemy Is a Good Thing, Not a Bad Thing," written on the third anniversary of the establishment of Chinese people's Resist-Japan Military and Political College, comrade Mao Tse-tung, using a clear proletarian viewpoint and a firm revolutionary spirit, penetratingly elucidated this point.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "With regard to us, if a person, a party, an army, or a school, is not opposed by the enemy, that is a bad situation; this is surely to go along with and deteriorate with the enemy. If we are opposed by the enemy, that is good, for it shows that we have demarcated clear boundaries with the enemy. If the enemy enthusiastically opposes us, if he says all sorts of muddled things about and claims that we are completely wrong, that is even better. This demonstrates that not only have we demarcated boundaries with him, but also that our work has been very successful." (1)

This concept of comrade Mao Tse-tung is a sharp weapon of the revolutionary people in the struggle against the enemy. It fully embodies the proletarian revolutionary principle and a resolute nature. To grasp this concept clearly is of extremely great significance with regard to revolutionary people making firm their proletarian standpoint and developing their revolutionary spirit.

This concept of comrade Mao Tse-tung is a case of using the viewpoint of dialectical materialism to observe class struggle and of fundamentally recognizing the counter-revolutionary behavior of imperialism and reactionary groups.

It fully embodies the revolutionary nature and struggle nature of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Ho-erh-ch'en has said: The dialectic is the "algebra of the revolution." Chairman Mao Tse-tung's article on being opposed by the enemy is good material for our studying this "algebra of the revolution."

1.

The correctness, glory, and greatness of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian political parties have in the past been proved from two angles: from the people's support and love, and from the enemy's opposition and hatred.

In the same way that one cannot see the sun rise in the west, revolutionaries can never listen to the sounds of praise coming from the enemy's side. Those people are definitely not revolutionaries who hope to be called brother by the enemy and hear songs of praise from them. What revolutionaries hear from the enemy side is only rumors, slander, persecution, suppression -- and this is music to their ears. This is because the reactionary rantings and frantic opposition of the enemy towards the revolutionaries are the best proof that the revolution has wounded them; this is the best proof that they realize that the revolution is vigorous, that it is threatening their existence, and that it will push them to their doom.

Why was it in the 1840's that the reactionary forces of Europe joined together to cast out "the spectre of communism"? This was because communism, the ideological weapon for the proletarian revolutionary struggle, had already been spread far afield, and because it was "a force openly acknowledged by all the powers in Europe." (2)

Why was it, during the Paris revolution of June 1848, that the bourgeoisie frantically cursed the rebelling workers as "robbers", "murderers", "cannibals", "criminals who should die a thousand deaths," and thus used methods of cruel suppression to take care of them? This is because the June Revolution was the first decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In this battle, the Paris workers fought bravely, stubbornly, and unyieldingly, and sorely wounded the bourgeoisie, causing them to feel that if the proletariat, this fierce lion, ever angrily sprang up, their ruling seats might be overthrown.

After the defeat of the Paris Commune, all the reactionary forces of Europe joined together to oppose the First International and to persecute the International assembly members. This also was good. This reflected the fear and terror felt by the enemy towards the revolution and the international unity of the proletariat; this demonstrated the correctness of the International's revolutionary line carried

out under the leadership of Marx and Engels. If the International had not resolutely supported the Paris Commune, if the International's assembly members had not everywhere stood in the forefront of the revolutionary struggles, would the enemy have hated them so much and have persecuted them as dangerous men?

In the latter half of the 19th century, Marx was the person most hated and slandered by the enemy. "The governments of all countries -- whether dictatorships or republics -- all expelled him; the bourgeoisie -- whether conservatives or extreme democrats -- variously strove to be first in slandering and cursing him." (3) Was this a good thing? It was very good. The enemy's opposition to him was because he used scientific analysis to prove that capitalism would collapse and that communism would replace it; it showed that the historical mission of the proletariat was to be the grave-diggers of the capitalist system, that it would use the revolution to overthrow capitalism and to establish communist society. Their opposition was because he participated in and led the revolutionary struggle, because he was incomparable in his ardent, stubborn struggling and in his outstanding achievements. It was because he won the trust of the world's proletariat and became the best leader and counselor of every country's revolution. Since the enemy opposed him because of his great revolutionary achievements, his achievements stood out all the more. Since the enemy opposed him because he was a glorious, correct, and great revolutionary leader, his glory was all the more enhanced and his correctness and greatness demonstrated.

In the course of the revolution undertaken by the Russian Bolshevik party headed by Lenin, not a day went by without their being despicably slandered, injured through rumors, and cruelly persecuted by the Tsarist government, the bourgeoisie, and the imperialists. How did Lenin view this? He said that in suffering these attacks and persecution, the Bolshevik party "felt particularly glorious and happy." This is because "the frantic hatred by the bourgeoisie is frequently the best proof to slandered, suppressed, and persecuted people of our correct and loyal service to the proletariat." (4)

In the course of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese Communist Party, headed by comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the revolutionary movements which it directed, were similarly attacked by the enemy day after day. As long as it was revolutionary and progressive, the enemy clenched his teeth in hatred and tyrannically opposed it. How did comrade Mao Tse-tung view this? He held that this was a good thing, not a bad thing. Taking the example of the Resist-Japan Military and Political College, he made the analysis: The reason why the enemy so ardently opposes this college is because it is

"the most revolutionary, most progressive, and struggles most for the liberation of the nationality and society." "The violent opposition of the capitulationists and the stubborn elements to this college proves its revolutionary nature and its progressiveness, and increases its glory. The reason why it is a glorious military school is not only because the majority of people support it and praise it, but also because the capitulationists and stubborn elements violently oppose and slander it." (5)

The case is the same with a school, a person, a party, and an entire revolutionary cause. The history of the world's communist movement and the history of the Chinese revolution all prove the correctness of comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis.

If a person or party is not opposed by the enemy, but is praised by him, this then is a bad thing. This shows that he (it) has lost his revolutionary standpoint and is handling things badly. Bebel spoke correctly: "If the enemy praises you, then you have probably done something stupid." If a person or party is never opposed by the enemy, but is praised by him, this is even worse. This proves that he (it) is going along with and deteriorating with the enemy, that he has "merged into one" with him; his (its) political life is then over.

The leaders of the Second International, Bernstein and Kautsky, and the social democratic parties under their leadership, were such cases. After Engels died, when Bernstein openly and systematically revised Marxism, the whole world's bourgeoisie unanimously acclaimed and praised him. At that time, the evil enemy of Marxism, Na-wu-man, wrote in the periodical "Rescue": Bernstein's criticism of Marxism "is very good, very clever, and what is most important is that this is his own criticism. If we had criticized it, that would just be the 'enemy's' criticism; but since this is his criticism, this is the criticism of a 'comrade'." It was just because of this that the bourgeois newspapers advocated Bernstein's writings.

To consider praise by the bourgeoisie as glorious, to sell out revolutionary principles for the approbation of the bourgeoisie -- these are the common points of the revisionists and proletarian traitors in history, their common ground. And so to be loved by the enemy means to be necessarily rejected by the people. After Bernstein and Kautsky became the darlings of the bourgeoisie, their political life entered the grave. That they were traitors to the proletariat and slaves to the bourgeoisie is written in history; that they were negative teachers of the revolution is fixed in the people's memories.

2.

The reason why we Marxist-Leninists consider opposition

by the enemy good is because we know that all the methods, measures, and treacherous plots which the enemy employs against us will react against him. If the enemy throws stones at the revolution, they will in the end fall upon him.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung likes to use the following phrase to describe the behavior of such stupid people: "They pick up a stone only to drop it on their own foot." Things are really like this. "To start with the goal of harming others will result in harming oneself. This is the law of development of all reactionary policies." (6)

Do not imperialism and reactionary groups often use poisonous curses and slander and outlandish rumors to oppose communist party members? While this might temporarily deceive a few persons, does not in the long run every one of their curses provide us with material for exposing them? Do not all of their rumors serve the opposite function?

The bourgeoisie has slandered us by saying that communists want to instigate a system of communal wives. Marx and Engels exposed them by saying: It is precisely the bourgeois marriage which is a system of communal wives. "Are not the wives and daughters of the proletarians at the disposal of the bourgeoisie? We needn't speak of actual prostitutes. Don't they seduce the wives and take them as objects for their special enjoyment?" (7)

After the publication of Kautsky's new work, Terrorism and Communism, which slandered the Russian Bolshevik October Revolution, the bourgeoisie of every country acted as though it had received a treasure; French radio stations broadcast the news, German newspapers described its contents, and they all considered it as good material for attacking the communists, a good opportunity. Nevertheless, their actions helped the masses to recognize that the revisionists were an evil mask for the bourgeois puppets, and thus this spurred the bankruptcy of the revisionists and the spread of Marxism. In discussing this, Lenin said: "We sincerely thank the million wealthy French lords for their outstanding help in spreading Bolshevism! Their vigorous aid to us has caused Kautsky's anti-Bolshevik vulgar ravings to become a joke." (8)

In China, Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique used the most poisonous language to slander and create rumors against the communists. However, what were the results? The more fiercely he cursed, the more outlandish the rumors he spread, the more fearsome he described the communists, the more the people wanted to see the face of a communist and wanted to listen to his voice. Facts prevail over sophistry. When people sought out the facts and recognized the truth, all their rumors and slanders went bankrupt immediately. People no longer listened to their "anti-propaganda", but all the more believed in the communists. Their rumors and slander did an about-face and served as propaganda for us,

and expanded the communist party's influence among the masses.

Do not imperialism and reactionaries often use persecution and suppression to oppose the revolutionary people and to eradicate revolutionary strength? This naturally may cause the revolutionary strength to suffer somewhat, but as long as revolutionaries carry out the correct strategy and policy and hold firm in struggle, their persecution and suppression will not only not eradicate revolutionary strength, but it will serve the function of increasing revolutionary strength and spurring the revolution. It is just as comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "The persecution carried out by reactionaries against the revolutionary people will in the final analysis push the people towards even broader and even more violent revolution." (9)

There are many examples of this in history. About the year 1870, the German socialist workers, because they opposed the nationalist chauvinism in the war between Germany and France, propagandized revolution and upheld the principles of internationalism; thus they were often persecuted. Many editors of the party newspaper were locked up in prison, and party speakers were regularly questioned and sentenced for crimes by the courts. They were exiled, things were confiscated, the assemblies were dispersed time after time. However, all this was in vain. It was just as Engels said: "If a man is exiled or imprisoned, another will come immediately to replace him; if an assembly is dissolved, two new ones will immediately be summoned; ... All persecution brings about the opposite result: They cannot only not destroy or at least bring the workers' political parties under control, but on the contrary they help find new adherents and strengthen the organization." (10)

In 1878, the German Bismark regime formulated extraordinary laws against the socialist party so as to persecute communists. However, contrary to the hopes of the reactionary classes, the anti-socialist laws brought about "results which were particularly beneficial to the proletariat": They spurred on the revolution and impelled the German proletariat along the revolutionary path. Engels said: "The reason I call Bismark a friend is because nobody ever before has given the German socialist movement so much help." (11) "If there had not been persecution and misery, if there had been no militarism and steadily increasing taxes, we would not have made such progress." (12)

In China, U.S. imperialism provided the Kuomintang with large amounts of aircraft, cannons, tanks, machine guns, and other modern equipment, with the goal of slaughtering the Chinese people and annihilating the CCP and the People's Liberation Army. Naturally this caused disasters to the people, but in no time at all, these weapons were shipped to the people

by that famous transporter Chiang Kai-shek. Our people then used these weapons to defeat them. Looking at it in this way, we ought to thank U.S. imperialism and Chiang's reactionaries; if they had not vigorously opposed us, revolutionary victory would not have been ours so rapidly.

In a similar fashion, wherever in the world the imperialists and reactionaries oppose and suppress the people's revolutionaries, there they will engender the opposite result. For example, are not the Vietnamese people using the large quantities of American-made weapons shipped to them by U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, Diem and Khanh, to attack them mercilessly and to achieve glorious victories? In the Congo, are not the people using the large amounts of weapons shipped to them by U.S. imperialism and Belgium imperialism and its running dogs, Adoula and Tshombe, to attack them mercilessly and to achieve glorious victories? The people are always using the actual weapons of imperialism and its running dogs to attack them and annihilate them; this has become a law of revolutionary struggle.

After the war, U.S. imperialism took on the role of world gendarme; it established military bases throughout the world, stationed armies, created crises, and pushed ahead with its aggressive and warlike policies. U.S. imperialism picked up these "stones" so as to strike the peoples. But, facts have proven and continue to prove: All these "stones" will simply fall on itself. It is just as comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "All U.S. bases in foreign countries are nooses tied about the neck of U.S. imperialism." "U.S. imperialism always believes that the crises which it creates are beneficial to itself, but the fact is that these crises run counter to their hopes; they serve the purpose of mobilizing the world's peoples to oppose U.S. aggression." (13)

The reason why the persecution and the suppression practiced by imperialism and reactionaries on the revolutionary people cannot block the revolution, but rather serves to hasten it, is because revolution is the inevitable product of social contradictions and class struggle; it is an objective demand in the laws of social development. The more the reactionary classes practice tyranny on the revolutionary people, the sharper become the class contradictions, and the stronger and more pressing becomes the demand of the people to resolve the contradictions through revolution.

Engels said: "The age of superstitions has long since passed when the cause of revolution could be blamed on the evil intentions of a small number of agitators. Now, everyone knows that if a revolution shakes an area, there is always a social demand at its back, and that the satisfaction of this demand has been blocked by the decadent system. This demand may not have been strongly or widely felt by people, with the result that it will not be victorious immediately. However,

if there is an attempt to use violent force to suppress the demand, it will only become stronger and stronger until it finally smashes its fetters." (14)

Let imperialism and the reactionaries vigorously oppose us. The people's revolutionary strength will become stronger and stronger as will the communist movement.

In discussing the communist movement after the October Revolution, Lenin said: "Destruction and persecution cannot weaken it, nor difficulties hinder it; on the contrary they strengthen it." (15)

3.

When the enemy opposes us, we can receive negative instruction and learn things.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently held that the enemy is a good teacher of the revolutionary people. All measures which the enemy uses to oppose the people, including attacks, destruction, suppression, persecution, aggression, and the like, can become good negative political material.

When our people study the revolutionary struggle, it is taught by two teachers. One is Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung; this is the positive one. The other is imperialism and the reactionaries; this is the negative one. The positive teacher is important, and the negative one cannot be neglected either.

Why does our people possess such a high degree of anti-imperialist activism and resoluteness? Isn't the result of the "education" by imperialism? Since 1840 when the English invaded China, there followed the combined English-French war against China, the French war against China, the Japanese war against China, and the war of the eight nations against China. Later, the Japanese again attacked China's northeast, and then the whole of China. Most recently, there was the war in which U.S. imperialism provided money and arms for Chiang Kai-shek to attack the Chinese people. "All these aggressive wars, along with political, economic, and cultural aggression and suppression, caused the Chinese people to hate imperialism and made them wonder what sort of thing this was. This brought about the development of the Chinese people's revolutionary spirit, and they united through struggle." (16)

Why did our people resolutely take up arms and use revolutionary weapons to oppose counter-revolutionary arms? Wasn't this taught by Chiang Kai-shek? In the period from 1921 to 1926, due to the opportunistic leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu (7115 3747 4423), our party did not understand the importance of armed struggle, with the result that it suffered greatly. The bloody suppression by Chiang Kai-shek's traitors "taught" us, causing us to understand the extreme importance of taking up weapons and engaging in armed struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "We act according to the methods

of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang is always trying to force people to accept war; he holds a knife in his left hand and a knife in his right hand also. We will follow him and pick up a knife also." (17)

Chinese people are like this, and so are the peoples of the world.

We can speak this way without fear of contradiction: A single violent act by imperialism and the reactionaries can raise the people's political consciousness and develop their revolutionary spirit faster than several tens of political schools.

Due to political deception by the enemy and insufficient experience, some persons from among the people often hold illusions about imperialism and the reactionaries for a period of time, and thus they don't actively prepare for struggle. To destroy these illusions, we must rely on Marxist-Leninists to propagandize and instruct; the negative teaching purpose served by the enemy's counter-revolutionary actions often help destroy these illusions rapidly.

In the past in our country, didn't some persons hold illusions about U.S. imperialism? When we communists pointed out that U.S. imperialism was aggressive and murderous by nature, that it was an executioner without any morality, they still were doubtful and said: "That's not necessarily so." However, when U.S. imperialism in its counter-revolutionary "White Paper" openly revealed its abiding hatred of the Chinese people and admitted that the U.S. was providing money and arms for Chiang Kai-shek to use to slaughter the Chinese people in its stead, and when it expressed its determination to continue to intervene in and cause trouble in China, many people suddenly woke up. When discussing this point, comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "Acheson has gone to school. He speaks with the authority of the U.S. State Department, and what he says and what we communists and other progressive persons say, with regard to certain material and conclusions, are identical. This time we cannot but believe that this will open the eyes of the masses. This is the sort of thing it was after all." (18)

Some people in the world still cherish illusions about imperialism and the reactionaries. When we Marxists-Leninists point out that imperialism and oppressed peoples cannot dwell in "peaceful coexistence", when we point out that there can be no "peaceful transition" to socialism under the tyrannical rule of the reactionary classes, this seems to go in one ear and out the other; "it's not necessarily so." However, U.S. imperialism's aggression towards Cuba, towards Vietnam, towards the Congo, dispelled the illusions of many about "peaceful coexistence." The coups d'etat manufactured by imperialism and the reactionaries in Iraq and in Brazil also

dispelled the illusions about "peaceful transition".

Imperialism and the reactionaries have done their worst, and this is very good. Every bad thing is a living negative political example which can teach people and open their eyes.

4.

How to view the enemy's opposition is closely tied with whether or not we fear the enemy.

Do we fear the enemy's opposition, do we engage in diametrically opposed struggle with him, or do we without principle pull back, compromise, yield, and surrender? This has consistently been a basic point of divergence between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists.

The revisionists are frightened by the surface strength of the enemy, and seem unable to stand up straight as though their legs were made of rubber. Since they feel that the enemy's opposition is bad and since they fear the enemy's opposition, they don't dare to strike or oppose the enemy, and so they consistently pull back, compromise, nourish evil through over-indulgence, accept this and that, and finally yield and surrender. The results are that they are consumed by the enemy and the revolution is destroyed. Therefore, Marxist-Leninists must resolutely struggle with revisionism.

There was in 1879 the Su-li-shih three-man group (K. Ho-hsi-po-ko, A. Bernstein, and K. Shih-la-mei) which, because it feared the anti-socialist laws and was afraid that the "excessive actions" of the revolution would prod the bourgeoisie and increase the bourgeoisie's "hatred", advocated following the opportunistic path of discarding class struggle. Marx and Engels pointed out that "if class struggle is discarded, then no matter whether it is the bourgeoisie or 'all independent persons', 'no one will fear to join hands with the proletarians and march forward!' But it will be the proletarians who are being swindled." (19)

This means that if we don't want to be opposed by the enemy, there is only one way: Discard struggle and discard the revolution. The revisionists act this way. From fearing the enemy's opposition to not daring to oppose the enemy, and discarding the revolution -- this is the common path followed by all revisionists in history.

In contrast to the revisionists, Marxist-Leninists believe in the great strength of the masses and believe that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers which can be defeated. Starting from this very viewpoint, we do not fear the enemy's opposition and we dare to engage in resolute struggle with the enemy. As Engels said, our policy does not resemble that of the opportunists: we do not recoil at the first attack by the enemy, cry out, moan, and seek forgiveness in a low voice, claiming that we had no evil

intentions. We claim a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye, and repay each enemy attack on us with two or three counter-attacks. Engels said: "Our policy has always been this right up to the present time, and I believe that we have overcome all enemies rather smoothly." (20)

Indeed, not to fear the enemy's opposition, to scorn the enemy with fearless courage, to engage in resolute struggle with the enemy -- these are the revolutionary traditions of the proletariat. It is always like this whether our revolutionary strength is great or weak.

For a long period during our country's revolution, the enemy's strength was superior, while the revolutionary strength was inferior. The enemy occupied vast areas, while we had only a small base; the enemy had the cities, while we had only the villages; the enemy had "planes and tanks", while we had only "rice and rifles." This is the way things were. The enemy used his superiority, opened up with his propaganda and war machines; attacked us, persecuted and slaughtered us, and attempted to throw us into the graveyard. However, not only were we not frightened, but on the contrary, we finally adopted the "eye for an eye" policy of Engels, the revolutionary policy of complete opposition spoken of by comrade Mao Tse-tung, and dared to struggle, dared to win; we firmly believed that the counter-revolution couldn't overcome us, but that we could overcome the counter-revolution.

After the Chinese people's revolution was victorious, when our strength was greater than any time in the past, we naturally had even less reason to fear the enemy's opposition. However, there were still a few persons who did not dare to struggle with the enemy, for they were afraid they would arouse the enemy. They held that it was only by being friendly with the enemy, by "presenting an agreeable countenance", by not being forceful or offending, that the enemy would not cause trouble and would not oppose us. History has already shown the errors in this thinking. In fact, just the opposite is true. To be friendly with robbers can only result in "helping the tyrant commit evil," and in causing them to relax and even more boldly act in a tyrannical manner. We are very well acquainted with the disposition of imperialism and the reactionaries: They deceive the weak and fear the strong. If you are weak and show it, they will bit by bit step up the pressure, take a mile when you give them an inch, and finally bring you to the place of execution. But if you are strong and show it, and engage in complete struggle, it will have no choice and will not be able to act in a presumptuous manner.

The thinking which fears to arouse or offend the enemy has fallen into the enemy's snare and met the enemy's needs. Originally, it is just like in physics when there must be an action before there is a reaction; in society there must be

suppression, exploitation, and aggression before there is an anti-suppression, anti-exploitation, and anti-aggression revolutionary struggle. "The officials oppress and the people rebel;" when the people rise in revolution, they were always "forced" into it by the reactionary classes. However, each time the people rise up, the reactionary classes rant and rave, claiming that the people have "cause them trouble", have "insulted" them, have "offended" them, and have "committed aggression" against them. Thus they use these as pretexts to attack, suppress, and persecute the revolutionary people. Haven't our people and the peoples of the world been often introduced to this pure bandit logic? Doesn't the thinking which fears to arouse the enemy precisely meet the needs of this bandit logic, allowing the enemy to do just as he wishes?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that with regard to internal and external reactionaries, that is, imperialism and its running dogs, "it is not a question of arousing or not arousing; they act the same in any case since they are reactionaries. We must clearly demarcate the boundaries between reactionaries and revolutionaries, expose the plots and treachery of the reactionaries, bring about vigilance and attention among the revolutionaries, let our determination grow, and destroy the intimidating power of the enemy; only thus will we be able to isolate the reactionaries, overcome them, or replace them. One must not show any cowardice at all in the face of a wild beast." (21) The history of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world all prove: With regard to imperialism and the reactionaries, it is only when we possess this understanding, this attitude, and this disposition that there is benefit to the revolution.

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From the above we can know that the concept that "being opposed by the enemy is a good thing" and the closely related idea of not fearing the enemy's opposition constitute a sharp weapon for the revolutionary people in their struggle with the enemy.

It is always on the stormy waves of class struggle that the revolutionary ship is advancing, braving the bullet-like rain of the enemy. It is only by showing no fear at all in the face of the internal and external enemy's threats of destruction and persecution and oppression and by daring to struggle that we will reach the other shore of victory.

Now, although our people have achieved the basic revolutionary victory, imperialism and the reactionaries are still opposing us in every possible way. Throughout the world, the revolutionary struggles by the oppressed peoples

and oppressed nationalities are all the more constantly meeting with the combined suppression of imperialism and the reactionaries. Consequently, to propagate comrade Mao Tse-tung's concept of "it is a good thing to be opposed by the enemy" and to use this dialectical materialist viewpoint to arm ourselves has a great realistic and international significance.

With this concept, when the enemy curses us, slanders us, and rails against us, we will not feel depressed or demoralized; on the contrary, our spirits will rise, we will feel strong and vigorous, and we will feel boundless glory and superiority. We are not only not afraid, but we should also add: Let them curse even more vilely! This will all the more expose their evil countenances, and provide us with even more material by which to expose them.

With this concept, when the enemy launches frantic attacks against us and arouses an anti-communist, anti-Chinese storm, we will have no fear whatsoever, will stand firmly, and will engage in battle with them with a fearless revolutionary spirit. We can not only "let the storm rage while we sit firmly in our fishing boats", but we should also add: Let the storm rage even more fiercely! We will be forged into even more steadfast persons in the storm.

Notes:

(1) "To Be Opposed by the Enemy Is a Good Thing, not a Bad Thing," Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-tung, (Vol. A), page 151, published by the People's Publishing House.

(2) "The Communist Manifesto," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4, page 465, put out by the People's Publishing House.

(3) Engels: "The Burial Ceremony for Karl Marx," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 19, page 376, put out by the People's Publishing House.

(4) "Political Deception," The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 25, page 248-249, put out by the People's Publishing House.

(5) "To Be Opposed by the Enemy Is a Good Thing, Not a Bad Thing," Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-tung, (Vol. A), page 150-151, the People's Publishing House.

(6) "Talk on the New International Situation to the New China Daily Reporters," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, page 570, the People's Publishing House.

(7) "The Communist Manifesto," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4, page 487, the People's Publishing House.

(8) "How the Bourgeoisie Uses the Traitors," The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 30, page 8, the People's

Publishing House.

(9) "Speech at the Supreme Soviet Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the October Revolution," Chairman Mao's Speeches in the Soviet Union, page 6, published by the People's Daily Publishing House in 1959.

(10) "Addition to the Preface of the 1970 Edition of The German Peasant War," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 18, page 565, the People's Publishing House.

(11) "The German Anti-Socialist Extraordinary Laws. -- The Russian Situation," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 19, page 170, the People's Publishing House.

(12) "The Workers' Movements in Germany, France, America, and Russia." The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 19, page 133, the People's Publishing House.

(13) "Chairman Mao's Discussion of the Present Situation at the Highest State Affairs Conference," The New China Semi-Monthly, No. 18, 1958, page 14.

(14) "The German Revolution and Counter-Revolution," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 8, page 5-6, the People's Publishing House.

(15) "Left-wing Infantilism in the Communist Movement," The Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, page 83, the People's Publishing House.

(16) "Discard Your Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 4, page 1488, the People's Publishing House.

(17) "The Situation and Our Policy After Victory in the Anti-Japanese War," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 4, page 1126, the People's Publishing House.

(18) "Why Should We Discuss the White Paper," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 4, page 1505, the People's Publishing House,

(19) "The News Letters of A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Pai-la-k'o, and Others," The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 19, page 185, the People's Publishing House.

(20) "Engels to Bernstein," Selected Letters of Marx and Engels, page 398, published by the People's Publishing House in 1962.

(21) "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 4, page 1478.

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