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MAN IS THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN WAR, NOT MATERIALS

Following is a translation of an article by Shih Tung-hsiang (2457 2639 0686) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 7, 1965.

U. S. imperialism is greatly stepping up its aggressive activities everywhere throughout the world. American military forces are going to South Vietnam in great numbers to suppress the revolutionary struggle there. American aircraft are frantically bombing North Vietnam, and according to their strategy of "gradual escalation", they are forcing war on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). The U.S. government has adopted policies of naked piracy, and has forced its way into the Dominican Republic. It has bloodily suppressed the struggle of the Dominican people to overthrow the traitorous dictatorial rule there. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is carrying out armed aggression, direct control, intervention, or subversion against Laos, the Congo, Cambodia, and many other countries. U.S. imperialism has over-extended itself. It is everywhere carrying out its tyrannical policies and committing evil things.

In U.S. imperialism's efforts to launch aggressive war and to conquer the whole world, it primarily relies on its strong military armaments and its nuclear weapons. It rants that it will use its "sea and air superiority" to suppress the revolutionary struggles throughout the world. And it will use atomic bombs to advance its aggressive wars. The modern revisionists, such as those of Khrushchev's ilk, along with the imperialists, are loudly claiming that new weapons play the decisive role in war. They rant and rave that in modern warfare "the tune will be determined by rockets, atomic bombs, and hydrogen bombs." Therefore, people will certainly ask: Is the decisive factor in war man or one or two new weapons? Will the revolutionary people decide the development of history, or will decadent imperialism? With regard to the struggle to oppose imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, and the struggle to oppose modern revisionism, a correct understanding of this question is very advantageous.

1.

Marxism-Leninism holds that people are the creators of history, that

the decisive factor in war is man, not materials. In countless revolutionary struggles in history, the revolutionary peoples have faced enemies which were incomparably better armed than they were. However, they were always able to overcome the better armed enemy with their inferior arms.

At the time of the great socialist October Revolution, the armed strength of the Russian proletariat consisted only of a small number of Red Guards, sailors, and militia forces; they were vastly inferior to the armed strength of the enemy. At that time, the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party and Lenin, fought bravely, overcame strength with weakness, overthrew the Kerensky regime, and achieved victory. After the victory of the October Revolution, the newly born Soviet state came up against the armed intervention of 14 imperialist powers; three-quarters of their land area fell into enemy hands, and a counter-revolutionary civil war flamed up. In such matters as numbers, military cadres, armaments, and provisions, the young Red Army was far inferior to the enemy; however, after three years of bitter war, it finally smashed the armed intervention by imperialism and put down the counter-revolutionary war internally. During World War Two, Hitler rolled over all of Europe and then concentrated his forces for a surprise attack on the Soviet Union, ranting that within two weeks or two months he would have "annihilated" the Soviet Union. The Soviet Red Army, under the leadership of the CPSU headed by Stalin, with the support of the peoples of the world, not only resisted the assault of Hitler's fascist forces, which were superior in armaments, and wiped out large numbers of the enemy, but also victoriously mounted a counter-attack which thoroughly smashed Hitler's war machine and achieved a decisive victory in the entire anti-fascist war.

When the Chinese people's revolutionary army was first formed, it was a very weak military force. It was few in numbers, its weapons were in short supply, its ammunition was lacking, it had an extremely difficult situation regarding materiel supply, and it also lacked war experience. Moreover, the Kuomintang reactionary clique had an army of over one million troops and it was aided in finances and in weapons by every major imperialist power. Relying on superior military force, they launched five encircling attacks against the worker-peasant Red Army, in an attempt to annihilate it. Under the leadership of the military line and strategy of comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Red Army smashed four of the attacks, and was not only not wiped out, but grew to a size of 300,000 men. After the Long March, at the start of the anti-Japanese war, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army had only 40,000 men and its weapons were very old-fashioned. Under the leadership of the CCP and comrade Mao Tse-tung, this revolutionary army, under a three-sided attack by the enemy, the puppets, and the reactionaries, penetrated to the enemy's rear areas, launched the masses on a course of action, started guerrilla warfare, killed, wounded, and captured 1,700,000 Japanese and puppet troops, and achieved victory in the anti-Japanese war. During the third revolutionary war, the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek occupied an area containing more than 300 million people, controlled all the major cities and most of the routes of communication, possessed 4,300,000 reactionary weapons of U.S. make, took charge of the weapons of the million-man Japanese invading army, and also received direct support from U.S. imperialism. The liberated areas had only 100 million people,

which were divided into ten areas; the People's Liberation Army (PLA) had only 1,200,000 troops, and its weapons were in short supply. However, under the leadership of the CCP and comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people and the PLA, by means of three years of warfare, finally changed basically the situation of the enemy being strong and their being weak, overthrew the 100-year long rule of imperialism and its running dogs in China, and established the great Chinese People's Republic.

In June of 1950, U.S. imperialism launched its war of aggression against Korea. It utilized one-third of its ground forces, one-fifth of its air force, and most of its navy as the major forces in the war; it also brought together the forces of 15 satellite countries, and employed every sort of modern weapon outside of the atomic bomb. Relying on its absolute superiority in weapons, U.S. imperialism announced at the time: "All resistance in South and North Korea will have come to an end before Thanksgiving." However, this wild calculation fell through. The Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, which had inferior weapons, battled the U.S. invaders until they were bloodied and completely indecisive. After more than three years of heroic warfare, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers wiped out more than 1,090,000 enemy troops, among which were 390,000 American troops, smashed the myth of U.S. imperialism's "invincibility", and forced U.S. imperialism to sign the armistice agreements.

Since 1961, the "special warfare" launched by U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam has met its sorry end. This year, they further expanded the war in the south and also carried the flames of war to the DRV. During the course of this war of aggression, they have sent more than 50,000 troops there, armed the several hundred thousand strong mercenary army of the Vietnamese reactionary clique, and used every type of modern weapon including chemical warfare and poisonous gas. At the start of the war, the Vietnamese people's forces used primarily bows, local weapons, and bamboo stakes. But relying on the support of the masses, they started a guerrilla war, and in the war constantly improved their weapons and their fighting ability soared rapidly. By April of this year, they had wiped out 550,000 enemy troops (which includes more than 4,800 American troops), shot down and damaged 2,100 enemy aircraft, sunk and damaged more than 1,000 enemy ships, destroyed and damaged 2,300 enemy vehicles, captured 60,000 pieces of enemy weapons, destroyed almost 7,000 "strategic hamlets." Due to greating wiping out the enemy, four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam and ten million people have been liberated. The people of North Vietnam, at the same time that they support their comrades in the struggle for liberation in the south, have bravely resisted U.S. imperialism's air attacks, and achieved the great results of shooting down 300 enemy aircraft. At present, a great new turn has appeared in the Vietnamese situation. The Vietnamese people are about to achieve their goal of completely overcoming U.S. imperialism and uniting the motherland; U.S. imperialism finds itself beset by troubles on all sides, not knowing whether to advance or to withdraw, and will soon meet with complete defeat.

History is a reliable yardstick for measuring truth. The victory of the October Revolution, the victories of the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war, of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, of the Korean anti-U.S. war,

of the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S., save-the-country war, of the people's revolutionary struggles in many countries, all definitively prove that the decisive factor in warfare is man, not weapons, that the course of historical development is determined by the revolutionary peoples, not by decadent imperialism.

2.

Why is it that people, not weapons, decide wars?

The masses are the creators of all material and spiritual wealth in society, the decisive force in the development of history. In the history of mankind, new forces will always conquer decadent forces; revolutionary weakness will always overcome counter-revolutionary strength; reactionaries who suppress people will always be beaten by the suppressed people. This is an objective law. Revolutionary weakness can change into strength because it is the strength of the developing direction, because it has many superior points and favorable conditions viewed in its basic nature and long-range development. Therefore, when there was only one young socialist country in the world, Lenin pointed out: "There are two worlds on the globe today: One is the old world of capitalism, and although it is in a state of confusion, it will never voluntarily withdraw; the other is the new world presently developing; it is very weak, but it will get stronger, because it is invincible." Stalin has said: "The new things produced in life which are daily maturing are invincible, and it is not possible to impede their advance. ... No matter how weak or small they are today, they will triumph in the long run." "Conversely, the aging moribund things in life will meet with defeat, ... no matter how strong or large." This is the most basic cause why the people, not weapons, decide wars.

Of course, it is not all smooth sailing without any rough water for the weak to overcome the strong, for the new forces to overcome the decadent. War is a contest of these forces, and the revolutionary peoples don't rely on "weakness" to seize victory; by subjective striving, they change the balance of forces, so that their own become strong. The ultimate victory can only belong to the revolutionary peoples, never to their enemies. It is just as comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Struggle, meet defeat, struggle again, meet defeat again, struggle again, right on down to victory -- this is the logic of the people." "Cause trouble, be defeated, cause more trouble, be defeated again, right on down to extinction -- this is the logic of imperialism and all reactionaries towards the people's cause."

In his "On Protracted War," comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly demonstrated that on the question of war the just side with the most help will win, while the unjust side with the side with little help will certainly lose. This is an irrefutable truth of Marxism-Leninism. It has been thus in the past, it is thus now, and will be thus in the future.

War is a social phenomenon which accompanied the development of classes. When clashes of interests developed between social classes, strata, or cliques, when these reached the life-and-death stage, warfare became the highest method of solving contradictions. Lenin said: "The basic principles of the dialectic applied to war are: 'War is without doubt another type of continuation of policy (that is, violence).'" Comrade Mao Tse-tung further

elaborated: "War-- which began with the beginning of private wealth and classess -- is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions between classes, between nationalities, between countries, between political groups, at a certain stage of development." In every war there is clear class distinction and the distinction between the just and the unjust. As long as imperialism and the system of exploitation exist, the following types of unjust wars will continue to appear: that of the reactionary ruling class oppressing and plundering the oppressed nationalities and peoples, that of internal reactionaries mutually slaughtering one another, that of the wars between countries in which the reactionaries attempt to plunder the peoples of other countries. At the same time, just revolutionary wars undertaken by the oppressed nations and peoples to resist aggression, oppression, and exploitation are unavoidable. People have always undertaken wars as persons responsible to a certain class and certain interests. Approval or opposition to war is determined by class interests.

War's basic nature directly embodies objective material (economic), class relations, and approving and disapproving sentiment is a reflection of objective material (economic), class relations. In the places where class exploitation and suppression exist, the main body of the masses -- the laborers who engage in production -- is always the exploited, suppressed one. At the same time, it forms the main strength in warfare. Just wars, those in accord with the people's basic interests, are always actively supported by the people; unjust wars, those which violate their interests, can never in the long run obtain their active support. The laboring people may for a time be deceived by an unjust war, this unjust war will always reveal that it is violating their basic interests. When the people realize this point, they will gradually awaken and adopt an attitude of opposition to the war. When the masses realize the just nature in opposing aggressive wars and the unjust nature of aggression, their correct understanding will guide their actions and create a huge material force.

According to the laws of class struggle, when we examine warfare, we must not simply look at the factors of military and economic strength, but we must, from the overall situation and developing trend in class struggle, analyze all the basic factors which will decide the struggle between us and the enemy. We must particularly look at the nature of the war, the people's strength, and the people's sentiment. It is just as comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "A contest of strength is not just a contest of military and economic strength, but it is a contest of man's strength and man's heart. Military and economic strength must be handled by man."

The primary reason why the people's revolutionary wars achieve victory is because they are truly and actively supported by the masses. The people engaging in revolutionary war hold an absolute superiority politically. People's wars are mass war; in manpower, material force, and spirit strength, they have an inexhaustible source. In people's wars, the revolutionary armed forces come from the people and they have flesh and blood relations with them. They closely rely on the people, whole-heartedly serve them, struggle for the people's interests, experience the bitter and sweet, go through weal and woe, with the people, and everywhere protect the people's interests. The success or failure of their struggles is tied together with the fate of the masses. Consequently, they must necessarily receive the

active support of the masses. In an army such as this the officers and men are unified, the superiors and subordinates are unanimous. When they take up weapons and throw themselves into the struggle, they do it from their consciousness and volition about revolution. They are politically conscious to a high degree, and they know for whom they are fighting, and why. They are all determined to liberate the people and sacrifice themselves. Therefore, in war they possess great battle determination and a heroic spirit to beat all enemies and overcome all difficulties. With this sort of coordination between the armed forces, people, and weapons, people fully develop their inexhaustible wisdom and creative power, and the effectiveness of weapons is most fully utilized. This sort of army has no equal in the universe; even if it does lack weapons, even if it is temporarily inferior in military strength, it will finally defeat the enemy which on the surface appears to be stronger.

The armed forces of imperialism and the reactionaries are completely different from the people's revolutionary armed forces. The former is the instrument which imperialism and the reactionaries use to maintain their reactionary rule and to launch aggression and war; it is not only completely opposed to the masses, but class contradictions and contradictions between cliques also exist within these armed forces. The masses of soldiers in these armed forces are laboring people who have been forced or deceived into serving. Imperialism and the reactionaries use them for counter-revolutionary war at home or abroad, and for clashes concerning their class interests. Although they may deceive these soldiers for a time, their efforts to cause the soldiers to support actively counter-revolution, to give their own lives voluntarily in place of others, will basically fall through. In 1951, when Stalin was discussing that the U.S. aggression in Korea would be defeated, he said: "The crux of this war is that American and British soldiers strongly disapprove of the action." He said: "Indeed, they must make their soldiers believe: China, which does threaten England or America, and which has its territory of Taiwan occupied by Americans, is an aggressor, while the U.S., which has occupied Taiwan and which is driving its forces towards China's borders, is acting in self-defense; this is very difficult. They must make the soldiers believe: The U.S. has the right to safeguard its security on Korean soil and on the frontiers of China, while neither China nor Korea has the right to guard their own security on their own soil or own frontiers; this is very difficult. Consequently, this war has not won the approval of the English and American soldiers. He said further: "Obviously, if the soldiers believe that the war they have been forced to enter is extremely unjust, if therefore they only carry out their duties perfunctorily on the frontline, if they don't believe that their mission is consistent with justice, their morale will fall, and even the most experienced generals and officers will go down to defeat." The more stubbornly imperialism and the reactionaries engage in counter-revolutionary war, the more they will arouse the people's resistance, and the more they will excite contradictions within the counter-revolutionary army. Thus their fighting strength will be constantly weakened. Therefore, this army will go down to defeat even if it is superior in weapons.

The general trend in the world today shows that the imperialist world is collapsing, that the struggle for control and against it is

deepening. The economic crises in the imperialist countries are constantly deepening, the internal contradictions piling up. Imperialist wars of aggression are unjust wars running counter to the movement of history, and they will not only be opposed by the oppressed countries and peoples, but also by the people of their own country and the peoples of the world. All this constitutes the fatal weakness of imperialism, a factor which will play a long-range role. This not only weakens the military and economic strength of imperialism, but it also determines that imperialism is about to perish. The liberation struggles of oppressed nationalities have already merged into a tremendous irresistible current. The united front formed by the world's revolutionary forces against imperialism is continually developing. National liberation struggles are just wars consonant with the forward movement of history; they are not only supported by the people of the country concerned, but they also receive the support of the world's peoples and the sympathy of the people in the enemy country. These favorable conditions which play a long-range role for the oppressed people will not only help them to overcome military and economic weakness, but will also determine that theirs will be the final victory.

With regard to the national liberation struggle of every country, the oppressed nation is fighting the enemy's aggression on its own soil, and this creates a series of difficulties for the enemy and favorable conditions for themselves. U.S. imperialism is not in Washington, but has hurried to countries thousands of miles away to fight wars; it is fighting with local peoples protecting their own motherlands. Imperialism can only use a part of its forces to fight, while the oppressed peoples can mobilize the entire country's forces to fight with. With its unrighteous divisions, imperialism takes all the people of the oppressed nationality as its enemy; thus it must everywhere set up defensive camps, while the revolutionary armed forces can be held in a flexible, mobile status; they can concentrate their forces to handle the invading enemy. Imperialism's forces are wearied, its marches are distant; its frontline is too extended, its rear areas too far removed; its forces are insufficient, and morale is hard to consolidate. With regard to these aspects, the revolutionary armed forces of the oppressed peoples are far superior. In this fashion, the originally strong imperialist powers become weakened, while the local revolutionary peoples, ostensibly weaker than imperialism, become much stronger than imperialism. Examining again the historical conditions of the present era, it is all the easier to see: With regard to a single oppressed nationality and a single imperialist power, it appears that small, weak countries oppose large, strong ones; taking the whole world as the scope of action, however, colonies and semi-colonies are the weakest areas under imperialist rule. The currents of world revolution cause imperialism to be surrounded by the combined forces of the oppressed peoples and nationalities. The revolutionary peoples may fully utilize their own favorable conditions to conquer the enemy.

3.

Now the modern revisionists oppose the use of the class viewpoint to analyze wars; they oppose using a general comparison of basic factors on the enemy's side and ours to make an analysis of success and defeat in

war; they particularly oppose the Marxist-Leninist pronouncement that success or defeat in war is determined by the nature of the war and by the manpower and human inclination so engendered. Their most important point of contention is the "theory of pure weapons."

These theorists hold that in war the decisive factor is played by weapons alone; they deny the motivating function of man. In the opinion of the modern revisionists, revolutionary forces which lack weapons definitely cannot overcome imperialism armed with modern weapons. They only see that imperialism has modern weapons and nuclear weapons; they don't see the decadence of imperialism. They only see the backwardness of the weapons of the oppressed nationalities; they don't see that the world's revolutionary movements are vigorously developing, that the forces of socialism and national revolutions are constantly expanding. In their view, the difference in strength and weakness lies only in weapons, not in anything else. The strength of weapons is absolute strength, lasting strength; the weakness of weapons is an absolute weakness, a lasting one. They completely fail to understand, or intentionally deny, that the enemy has his strengths, and his weakness as well. Our side has its weaknesses, and its strengths as well. In revolutionary war, there is a dual nature to the strengths and weaknesses of both sides. They completely fail to understand, or intentionally deny, that the contrast of enemy strength and our weakness will in the course of the war develop in the opposite directions.

This "theory of pure weapons" on the part of modern revisionists, which works for imperialism, is a mechanical theory, an idealistic theory about the question of war.

Marxist-Leninists definitely do not deny the important factor of weapons in war; similarly they do not deny the importance and necessity of having modernized weapons for strengthening fighting strength. In his "On Protracted War," comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly stated: "Weapons are an important factor in war;" he also said: "Reform of the military system cannot be separated from modernization and the strengthening of technological factors. Without this, we would not be able to drive the enemy across the Yalu River." Consequently, the basic difference between Marxism-Leninism and the "theory of pure weapons" is not that weapons are not important in war; it is rather the question of whether man or weapons are the decisive factor.

Marxism-Leninism holds that things which are important factors in events do not all serve decisive functions; decisive factors refer to the most basic things in the course of the development of events. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that our opinions are in opposition to advocates of weapons only because "we see not only weapons, but also man's strength. Weapons constitute an important factor in war, but not the decisive one. The decisive factor is man, not materials." Every war has a contest between forces which include manpower and the strength of material. All armed forces engaged in war must be composed of men and weapons. Manpower and the power of materials, man and weapons, all are mutually related in war, all are indispensable. However, their respective functions cannot be viewed equally. The leading, decisive factor is man, not materials. Weapons constitute one factor in a host of factors of material strength, and its role in war cannot be put on the same plane as that of man.

Weapons are made by man and must be used by man. If man did not make weapons, there would be none, and without men using them they could serve no function in war. Whatever degree of power weapons develop in war is determined by man. Therefore, the function of weapons in war is in the final analysis subordinate to the role of man.

Weapons are an instrument; the enemy side may possess and employ them, they may be manufactured by one side in the war, and they may be seized from the enemy side. However, the people who possess and use weapons have class nature. The people who take part in war examine the war according to their own class interests, and have different attitudes towards the war. They may bravely and consciously take part in the war, or they may automatically and negatively participate; they may even oppose the war they are in. Therefore, the roles played by weapons in different hands may well be miles apart. In his article commenting on the victory of the Prussian army in the Prussian-Austrian war, Engels, after affirming the function of the breech loading rifle, said: "However, these rifles cannot move themselves; they require brave hearts and strong hands to utilize them." He also said: "What wins wars is men, not weapons." After Engels said this, although there has been a great development in military technology, he is still completely correct. After the October Revolution, Lenin said; "In any war, victory in the final analysis is determined by the attitude of the masses who give their lives on the battlefield. ... Mass understanding of the goal and cause of war is of tremendous significance; this understanding is a guarantee of victory." "Whoever's reinforcements are plentiful, whoever has much manpower, whoever is more supported by the masses, that side will achieve victory in war."

In modern warfare, the advancement of military technology and improvement in weapons have not downgraded the role of man in war; on the contrary, this has increased the role of man. Even more technical knowledge is needed to handle modernized weapons, and demands on soldiers are greater. Modern warfare heavily relies on one's rear areas, on industrial strength, and on communications conditions; thus the number of persons who directly or indirectly engage in war has greatly increased.

In order to advance their "theory of pure weapons", the modern revisionists despicably distort Engels' contention. With arbitrary quoting, they invoke his passage on the material foundation concerning violence in his chapter "On Violence" in Anti-Duhring. They use this to prove their own error. However, the spirit of this entire section is diametrically opposed to their erroneous theory.

In this chapter, Engels refuted the idealistic viewpoint of Duhring who considered violence to be behavior of the pure will. He demonstrated the dependent relation of politics (including violence) on economics. Engels everywhere related military violence with production forms in society, with the general trend of class struggle, with the strength and will of the masses and the soldiers. And he highly evaluated the human factor in war. He emphasized the following points: "When the masses (the urban workers and the rural peasants) possess their own purpose, the moment is approaching. At this time, the aristocratic army will change into the people's army, the machine will refuse to operate, and militarism, due to its own dialectical development, will head towards its own destruction." Taking the American War of Independence as an example, he noted that the

British army, which possessed "new weapons" and which had achieved tactics "of the highest perfection" in accord with these weapons, finally ended up in defeat because its soldiers would "only bow their heads and obey orders under the lash." And the American patriots, who had only rifles, overcame the tactics of the British army because "they were fighting for their own interests." And they finally conquered. Doesn't this clearly show the decisive role of the nature of war and the inclination of people's hearts in determining the success or failure of war?

The modern revisionists' touting of the "theory of pure weapons" fully shows their scorning of the great role played by the masses in war; and this will necessarily cause them to deny the just and unjust nature of warfare; they deny the laws of class struggle in determining war, deny that war is a continuation of politics. In this way they thoroughly reveal that they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

4.

From the time that U.S. imperialism acquired nuclear weapons, it has frantically brandished its power of "nuclear intimidation", carried out nuclear blackmail towards the peoples of the world, and ranted that it would destroy anyone who did not submit to its rule. Meeting the needs of U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionists have vigorously boasted of the power of their nuclear weapons; everywhere they have spread nuclear terror, and basically denied the great role of man in war.

Naturally the appearance of nuclear weapons has had a certain influence on the political life of the world. The use of this weapon in war would also engender many new features in war; for example, it would bring about changes in military organization, in the form of war, and in the methods of fighting.

However, these changes cannot in the slightest degree undermine the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that the decisive factor in war is man, not materials.

The appearance of nuclear weapons can in no wise alter the laws of the development of human society, nor the laws of class struggle, nor the law that socialism will necessarily replace the capitalist system; and it cannot resolve the basic contradictions in the present world. The revolutionary peoples of the world must rise up to oppose the aggressive and war-like policies of U.S. imperialism; they must oppose the exploitation and oppression by the reactionary ruling classes; they must rise up to struggle for their own liberation. This is something which no reactionary force can block. U.S. imperialism attempts to use nuclear blackmail to frighten the peoples of the world, and to hinder revolutionary struggles -- but these efforts are doomed to failure. When U.S. imperialism attempts to impose its control on other imperialist countries by such schemes as the "multi-lateral nuclear force", it necessarily creates resistance in these countries and thus hastens the collapse of the imperialist camp.

Nor can the appearance of nuclear weapons in any wise alter the nature of imperialism and all reactionaries in their aggression against, exploitation, and oppression of the working masses. Thus it cannot alter the anti-people, counter-revolutionary, unjust nature of the wars which imperialism

engages in. After the appearance of nuclear weapons, every sort of war continuously popped up all over the world. In these wars there was still the distinction between the just and unjust natures. Just wars still receive the active support of the broad masses, while unjust wars still meet with the strong opposition of the broad masses.

Despite the fact that imperialism possesses nuclear weapons, these weapons cannot play a decisive role in war, particularly not in the wars of national liberation carried on by the oppressed nationalities. At a time when the U.S. had a monopoly on atomic bombs, the Chinese people chased U.S. imperialism out and overthrew the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Under conditions where U.S. imperialism had nuclear superiority, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers defeated the U.S. aggressors. The Cuban revolution was triumphant in the backyard of U.S. imperialism which possessed hot nuclear weapons. The liberation war of the Algerian people was successful after French imperialism had tested a nuclear weapon. The South Vietnamese people are presently engaged in a war with U.S. imperialism which possesses nuclear weapons, and they have achieved glorious victories.

Nuclear weapons cannot save imperialism from defeat. They possess tremendous destructive power and killing power, but no matter how great this may be, they are still a weapon and must be made, handled, and used by man. War will still be carried on by the persons who use the weapons and by the class which supports the war. If imperialism insists on imposing nuclear warfare on the peoples of the world, naturally the misery and cruelty of war will be greatly increased. If the peoples of the world want to defeat the inhuman imperialists, they need an even higher degree of political consciousness, an even firmer determination, and a spirit of self-sacrifice. Neither in the past nor in the present have the imperialists ever had this sort of great spiritual strength, nor will they ever have it. Only the peoples of the world possess it. It is precisely because of this great spiritual strength that no enemy, no difficulty, no peril can ever overwhelm the revolutionary people; on the contrary, it is the revolutionary people who will overwhelm the rest.

With regard to military technology itself, nuclear weapons definitely are not all that the imperialists and modern revisionists claim: an "absolute weapon" of limitless might and irresistible. Nuclear weapons cannot occupy territory, and the final solution to war still depends on man and man's bravery. Every weapon has its limitations and contradictions between itself and other factors which make up fighting force. The history of the development of weapons and military technology shows that the might of any weapon is subject to the restrictions of these contradictions. The large-scale modernized military armaments cannot be used at will in every form of war today. In many limited wars, in the wars in which imperialism and its running dogs suppress people's revolutions, such large-scale weapons cannot help but come under various sorts of limitations. In wars of this sort, the use of nuclear weapons is also limited. The history of the development of weapons and military technology also shows that after the discovery of new types of weapons, new forms of defense also appear. With the use of the spear, there appears a shield. When tanks arrive on the scene, so

do anti-tanks guns, bazookas, and tank traps. With the coming of bombers, anti-aircraft weapons appear, as do fighter planes and air raid shelters. With the appearance of guided missiles, there are anti-missile guided missiles. It is definitely not true that there is no defense against nuclear weapons. The modern revisionists on the one hand proclaim that they already possess highly accurate anti-missile missiles in sufficient quantity, while on the other hand they rant that the outbreak of nuclear would be the destruction of mankind. This is completely self-contradictory.

In history, every appearance of a new weapon always creates all kinds of controversy. The bourgeoisie will rant and rave that this new weapon will determine the destiny of war. With the appearance of warships, they shouted about the "theory of the decisiveness of sea power;" with the coming of the airplane, they ranted about the so-called "theory of decisiveness of air power;" with the tank, they ranted about the so-called "theory of the decisiveness of the modernized armored tank." Because the revisionists of the Second International feared revolution, they used the pretext of the appearance of a few new weapons in an attempt to "prove" that armed revolutionary struggles were a thing of the past. Bernstein said that armed uprisings "have lost their effectiveness due to the construction of modern cities and the technology of modern weapons;" he said further that "under technical conditions today, even if there were 'a general arming of the people,' this would simply be an empty gesture in opposing organized armed forces." Kautsky also said that "the weapons of the armies of present governments are vastly superior to anything possessed by the 'common people'. And this superiority rules out any hope of success in resistance by the common people." The "theory of pure weapons" by the modern revisionists continue the tradition of the revisionists of the Second International. However, history has already signalled the bankruptcy of the "theory of pure weapons" on the part of the bourgeoisie and the old-style revisionists; and it will handle in similar fashion the "theory of pure weapons" by the modern revisionists.

When nuclear weapons first appeared, at the time that U.S. imperialism had a monopoly on atomic bombs, comrade Mao Tse-tung continually exposed the empty and blackmail policies on the part of imperialists concerning nuclear weapons. In 1945, after Japanese imperialism had surrendered, U.S. imperialism and its running dogs hurriedly exclaimed that the primary reason for Japan's surrender had been America's two atomic bombs. At that time comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly pointed out: "Atomic bombs could not have forced the surrender of Japan. By themselves, with the people's struggle ignored, atomic bombs are meaningless." The hypocritical propaganda of the imperialists and their running dogs is an attempt to "have the two atomic bombs sweep aside the political influence of the Red Army." In 1946, comrade Mao Tse-tung spoke with the American reporter Anna Louise Strong, in which he made his famous statement that "all reactionaries are paper tigers." But he also pointed out: "The atomic bomb is a paper tiger which the American reactionaries are using to frighten people; on the surface it seems very fearsome, but in reality it is not. Of course, the atomic bomb is a weapon of large-scale destructive might, but it is the people, not one or two new weapons, which decides success or defeat in war." In

1957, when imperialism, reactionaries of the world, and modern revisionism were causing all sorts of trouble, fomenting a high tide of anti-communism, during the period when people everywhere were considering the possibility of a Third World War, comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out: "We will steadfastly uphold peace and oppose war. However, if imperialism insists on launching a war, we are not afraid. On this question our attitude is the same as regarding all 'disturbances': First, we oppose it; second, we are not afraid." These Marxist-Leninist pronouncements by comrade Mao Tse-tung exposed imperialism's plot to use atomic bombs as blackmail, refuted the various extravagant, unreliable talk about the "theory of pure weapons," set up the correct attitude of the revolutionary people on nuclear weapons, and aroused the revolutionary people's militant determination and confidence in victory. Because of this, the CCP and the Chinese people have been the target of extreme hostility by imperialism, reactionaries from everywhere, and modern revisionism; they have been attacked, slandered, and vilified by them. However, the truth of Marxism-Leninism is irrefutable. The solemn attitude of the CCP and the Chinese people on the questions of war and peace and nuclear weapons cannot be distorted by any amount of slander.

After World War Two, the victories in many people's revolutionary wars and national liberation wars demonstrated that the imperialists' nuclear blackmail had not frightened the peoples which dared to struggle, and also that these heroic struggles gave a severe setback to U.S. imperialism's policies of war and aggression. The facts of recent years tell the peoples of the world that as long as they do not fear U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail, constantly expose its blackmail plots, and use steadfast struggle to restrict its actions, they will be able to bring about the failure of this nuclear blackmail and prevent U.S. imperialism from launching nuclear war. Conversely, the more they are scared to death by this blackmail, the more the U.S. imperialists will be encouraged to brandish their nuclear weapons as a threat, and the greater will be the danger of nuclear war.

The fact that U.S. imperialism carries out policies of aggression with its armed might, that it attempts nuclear blackmail on the peoples of the world, does not show that it is strong, but on the contrary that it is possessed by panic and emptiness. It cannot rely on the high morale of its armies, still less can it hope for sympathy and support from the broad masses; it wagers everything on its weapons, and particularly hopes that nuclear weapons will save its neck. However, if the U.S. imperialists should ever be the first to use nuclear weapons in a war, it would commit the gravest crime against mankind, incur the wrath of its own people and the peoples of the world, and find itself in complete isolation. If they were to launch nuclear war, they would in reality find themselves in the path of destruction; the results would be the demise of the imperialist system, certainly not the "destruction of mankind" as claimed by the modern revisionists. It is just as the 1957 statement pointed out: "If the imperialist war-mongers disregard everything and launch a war, this will mean the destruction of imperialism, for the people would not continue to allow the existence of a system which has brought them so much tragic suffering and sacrifice."

The CCP and the Chinese people have consistently opposed imperialism's launching of nuclear war, consistently advocated a complete ban of nuclear

weapons, including a ban on their use, manufacture, storage, and testing, and they have advocated destruction of the existing stockpile of nuclear weapons. Moreover we hold that if the socialist camp possesses strong nuclear superiority, if the peoples of the world throw themselves into the struggle against U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war, if they continue to expose U.S. imperialism's plots for nuclear blackmail, then it is possible to have a total ban on nuclear weapons and to prevent nuclear war.

Everyone knows that, in order to strengthen our country's national defense, to preserve the security of the motherland and maintain world peace, in order to cope with U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail and threats, and in order to eliminate nuclear weapons, our country has undertaken necessary, limited nuclear testing. On 16 October last year and on 14 May this year, our country exploded two atomic bombs. Our government's statement pointed out that in the face of continually mounting American nuclear threats, China could not sit idly by. China has been forced into testing and developing nuclear weapons. Our government has already solemnly announced that China would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese people fervently hope that nuclear war will never occur. As in the past, the Chinese government and the Chinese people, along with all the peace-loving peoples of the world, will continue to strive for the lofty goal of a complete ban on, and total destruction of, nuclear weapons.

The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the great victories of the people's revolutionary wars illustrate this truth: If only all the peoples of the world will unite and dare to struggle, and become adept at struggling, then they will certainly be able to overcome the evil forces of imperialism and reaction headed by U.S. imperialism. In sum, just causes are invincible, the peoples who stand on the side of just causes are invincible; all people's revolutionary armies, which serve just causes and the people's interests, are invincible. History has proven and will continue to prove: Victory belongs to the armies which strive for just causes, victory belongs to the peoples of every country who strive for just causes.

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