

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

— MAO TSE-TUNG

GREAT STRATEGIC CONCEPT

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1967

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GREAT STRATEGIC CONCEPT

— In commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers

Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) Editorial, August 25, 1966

Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers when he received the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong in Yenan twenty years ago. This great strategic concept has immensely boosted the people's morale and shattered the arrogance of imperialism and all reactionaries.

In the past twenty years, this brilliant thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has not only illuminated the course of the Chinese revolution and ensured the great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war. It has also become well known to and been grasped by the masses of revolutionary people of the world as their mighty ideological weapon to defeat imperialism, headed by the United States, and its stooges.

Whether one fears imperialism and the reactionaries or not is essentially a question of whether one wants

and dares to make revolution or not. Revolution is incompatible with fear. Fearlessness in the face of imperialism and reaction, daring to struggle and daring to win victory — these are the primary mental conditions for making revolution.

Strange as it may seem, it so happens in the world that it is always “the weak” which defeats “the strong” and it is always the oppressed nations and people which triumph over imperialism and the reactionaries. This is a law of historical development, a law of class struggle. However, when the oppressed nations and people who have no arms begin to wage the struggle, they are invariably, and sometimes incomparably, weaker than imperialism and reaction in the relationship of forces. In these circumstances, to fight against imperialism requires enormous courage, invincible determination and such revolutionary and rebellious spirit as is characterized by the saying, “He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor.” One who fears that there might be wolves ahead and tigers behind and that a falling leaf might crush him to death is fit only to be a slave. For him, there can be no talk of revolution, much less of victory.

U.S. imperialism which is about to meet its end is the biggest reactionary force in human history. Brandishing the atom bomb over the last twenty years, it has made frenzied counter-attacks against the people’s revolutionary forces in various countries. In

the face of nuclear war blackmail by U.S. imperialism, some people are apt to be misled by appearances for a time, because they fail to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while the people are approaching victory. They still have a certain feeling of awe of U.S. imperialism. Actually, U.S. imperialism is nothing to be feared, nor should it be. The more you fear it, the more ferocious it becomes. If you stop fearing it, it is not terrible any more. The truth of the matter is that the more you are afraid of ghosts, the more they haunt you and once you stop fearing them, they cease to exist.

Being not afraid of U.S. imperialism or the atom bomb, the Chinese people wiped out, with millet plus rifles, eight million reactionary Kuomintang troops which had the all-out support of U.S. imperialism and possessed planes plus tanks, and the Chinese people finally won nationwide victory. The Korean people together with the Chinese People’s Volunteers wiped out nearly 400,000 U.S. aggressor troops in the three years and one month of the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, and completely exploded the myth of U.S. invincibility. Today, U.S. imperialism has concentrated one-third of its overseas forces in Vietnam. It has used all modern weapons except the atom bomb. It has spent much more money and dropped far more explosives on Vietnam than it did during its aggressive war in Korea. But the heroic

Vietnamese people are not in the least afraid of all this. Daring to fight and daring to take on the enemy, they have pommelled and trounced U.S. imperialism, thereby convincingly proving that it is nothing more than a paper tiger.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: There is nothing to fear about bigness. Isn't U.S. imperialism very big? It turned out to be nothing when we rebuffed it once. So, there are actually some big things in the world that are not to be feared.

To be or not to be afraid — the determining factor is whether one believes in the masses of the people as creators of history. Imperialism looks powerful but is actually weak because it is cut off from the people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that strength lies in the people and that the people are the majority. Once the people are awakened, organized and armed, and fight a shooting war against the enemy, then imperialism will no longer be so "powerful" and so arrogant. When the people stand up, the enemy will fall down.

Of course, this does not mean that one can treat the enemy lightly and carelessly. Comrade Mao Tse-tung always teaches us that strategically, with regard to the whole, revolutionaries must despise the enemy, treat him as a paper tiger, dare to struggle against him and dare to seize victory; at the same time, tactically, with regard to each part, they must take the enemy

seriously, treat him as a real tiger, be prudent, carefully study and perfect the art of struggle in order to isolate and wipe him out step by step. Historical experience has taught us that imperialism can be defeated, but only through a prolonged, arduous and stubborn struggle. It is wrong to entertain any hope of winning victory by chance. It is wrong, too, to lose heart and become pessimistic after suffering some set-backs. It is better for the revolutionary people to anticipate more difficulties and prepare for a longer period of struggle and estimate the various possibilities more comprehensively. This approach will enable the revolutionaries to deal properly with all kinds of complicated situations and cope with the maximum resistance and struggle by the enemy. It is the correct policy which leads to victory in revolution.

To despise the enemy strategically and to take full account of him tactically is a unity of opposites. But the primary, fundamental thing that plays the determining role in the whole situation is daring to struggle and to seize victory. One must have such revolutionary spirit before it is possible to have revolutionary action and victory in revolution.

Ours is an era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. In such an era, who is more afraid of whom? Who is more powerful? Countless facts have shown us that it is imperialism, the reactionaries of all coun-

tries and modern revisionism that are terribly weak and it is they who are afraid of us and definitely not the other way round. The task of Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries is to arm the minds of millions upon millions of people with this great strategic concept that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and reinforce the revolutionary confidence and determination of the people to enable them to launch revolutionary attacks on a still bigger scale against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. People of the whole world, unite, defy difficulties, advance wave upon wave, dare to fight and dare to win victory. Then the whole world will belong to the people.

WE ARE FEARLESS

—In commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers

Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily)
Editorial, August 25, 1966

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in his "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" published twenty years ago, put forward the profound thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. This is an excellent, epoch-making Marxist-Leninist work of genius.

Chairman Mao's profound thesis is a brilliant answer to the question of how to assess the relative strength between revolution and counter-revolution, and a penetrating exposition of the revolutionary truth that the forces of the people will inevitably triumph over the forces of reaction. It has greatly boosted the morale of the people and shattered the arrogance of their enemy. It has immensely strengthened the revolutionary people's dauntless spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win victory.

This great strategic concept of Chairman Mao's has illuminated the Chinese people's path to victory in revolution as well as the road to emancipation of the people all over the world. It has been grasped and applied by more and more of the world's revolutionary people as a mighty ideological weapon for all the oppressed nations and peoples to defeat imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in all countries.

Chairman Mao said:

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

Again in 1957 when he swam the Yangtse, Chairman Mao said: People say that the Yangtse is a very big river, actually there is nothing to be afraid of about its size. Isn't U.S. imperialism very big? It turned out to be nothing when we rebuffed it once. So, there are actually some big things in the world that are not to be feared.

The Chinese people, armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are not afraid of U.S. imperialism. It was just because of this dauntless spirit that we succeeded, with millet plus rifle, in wiping out eight million Chiang Kai-shek troops which had the full support of U.S. imperialism. Together with the heroic

Korean people, we defeated the U.S. bandits and blasted the myth about the "invincibility" of U.S. imperialism. The heroic Vietnamese people have also shown their defiance of U.S. imperialism. They have driven it into a corner both at home and abroad, and thereby lifted the spirits of all revolutionary people. The truth of the matter is that U.S. imperialism is nothing to be feared, nor should it be. The more you fear it, the more arrogant it becomes. If you stop fearing it, it will fear you. If the illusions about U.S. imperialism are not swept away, there will be no hope for revolution; if they are, then there will be bright prospects before it.

The Chinese people, armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are not afraid of revisionism which is also a paper tiger. How arrogant Khrushchov, the chieftain of modern revisionism, once was! But didn't he fall quickly following the resolute struggle of the Chinese Communist Party and the Marxist-Leninist forces the world over? The new leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are feebler than Khrushchov and still less to be feared. They are already in a plight and will definitely come to no better end than their predecessor.

The Chinese people, armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are not afraid of any alliance of counter-revolutionary forces. Just as imperialism and modern revisionism are paper tigers, so are the reactionaries

of all countries. Paper tigers plus paper tigers remain paper tigers. Their counter-revolutionary alliance will surely go bankrupt. No adverse counter-revolutionary current whipped up by them can change the general trend of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to world-wide victory.

The Chinese people, armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are not afraid of war. To U.S. imperialism's threat of war, our answer is: first, we are against war; second, we are not afraid of it. If you come, we will resolutely hit you back, fight a people's war and thoroughly wipe you out. U.S. imperialism and its accomplices are used to frightening people with the atomic bomb. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that the atomic bomb is also a paper tiger. We possess not only the physical atomic bomb but also the moral atomic bomb which you can never hope to possess. The revolutionary people's moral atomic bomb is infinitely more powerful than the physical one.

We are thorough-going materialists. We are convinced that the people are the creators of history. The people are always the majority; they are always the strong. The new-born forces of the revolutionary people will definitely defeat the corrupt, decadent reactionary forces.

We are fearless. We are afraid of nothing. We defy all difficulties, all enemies. Truth is on our side. Victory will belong to us for ever.

THE NATURE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM AS A PAPER TIGER — SEEN FROM ITS REPEATED FAILURES

by Jen Ku-ping

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said twenty years ago:

Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the "strength" of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength.

Chairman Mao has often taught us that **U.S. imperialism is no more than a paper tiger.**

This can be proved by a review of the post-war period in which U.S. imperialism lost every war it fought in different parts of the world and in which its military strategies failed one after another.

Since the end of World War II, the world situation has undergone tremendous changes. Socialism has gained much in strength and the national-liberation movement has developed vigorously, while imperialism has been weakened as never before. U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and become the chieftain of the imperialists and all reactionary forces. A vast intermediate zone separates U.S. imperialism on the one side and the socialist countries on the other.

Under such circumstances, U.S. imperialism adopted the military strategy of first embarking on aggression against and undertaking to control this intermediate zone and, in particular, of suppressing the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, while making feverish preparations for a world war against the socialist countries.

But, being heavily pounded from the very outset by the two surging historic tides of socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement, U.S. imperialism has failed again and again in pursuance of this inordinately ambitious military strategy.

In the early post-war years, the Truman administration adopted the "containment" strategy. By this strategy, the United States used its monopoly of atomic weapons at that time as a means of blackmail while relying mainly on conventional weapons to fight ground wars in order to seize the intermediate zone and encircle the socialist countries. However, this strategy did not and could not "contain" the development of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. The great victory of the Chinese revolution opened a tremendous breach in the imperialist front. The victory of the Korean war of resistance against U.S. aggression was the biggest military defeat ever suffered by U.S. imperialism in its history. The "containment" strategy thus went bankrupt.

The Eisenhower administration then adopted the strategy of "massive retaliation". By this strategy, the United States laid stress on the development of nuclear weapons and a strategic air force in an attempt to use nuclear blackmail to deter the peoples from waging liberation wars and the socialist countries from supporting them. At the same time, the United States made active preparations to launch a nuclear war against the socialist countries. But no sooner was this strategy announced than it ran into a blind alley in Indo-China. Then the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle triumphed in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A fundamental change in which

the East Wind prevailed over the West Wind took place in the world situation as a whole. The strategy of "massive retaliation" thus ended in failure.

After assuming power, the Kennedy administration worked out the strategy of "flexible response", which placed more stress on general and complete armament expansion and postulated the formation of "diversified military strength" to fight all kinds of wars. While pushing forward its preparations for nuclear war and intensifying its nuclear blackmail, it substantially expanded its conventional forces for fighting limited and special wars, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Lyndon Johnson, Kennedy's successor, sticks to the "flexible response" strategy and supplements it by a strategy of "escalation".

The "escalation" strategy has greatly increased the adventurous nature of the "flexible response" strategy. Whenever the United States considers it necessary or advantageous, it will make war threats and start war, or having started it expand the war on any pretext. If the country that is made victim shows any sign of fear, the United States will reach out for a yard after taking an inch and continue to make ever greater demands. Furthermore, the United States has become still more reckless in carrying out nuclear war blackmail. It threatens that, if conventional war fails to achieve its aim, it will escalate to nuclear war.

The "escalation" strategy makes it easier for U.S. imperialism to deceive the people while it starts or expands a war. It pretends to have "limited targets" and feigns to be "restrained", in order to benumb the people's alertness and escalate the war step by step. Nor will it escalate all at once to the top rung, but leave room for manoeuvring, in order that it may use "deterrent" and bait, to gradually increase pressure and lure its opponent into a trap.

The "escalation" strategy fully exposes the weakness of U.S. imperialism. In "escalating" the war, it brandishes its nuclear weapons to scare people; but at the same time it attaches many

“safety-bolts” to the war, especially to nuclear war. Before a step is taken, it looks ahead and behind, makes a lot of noise and puts out feelers, being mortally afraid of going too far and landing itself in a difficult position. This is the typical strategy of a gambler who, while longing to win, is afraid of losing everything.

During the five years in which the Kennedy and Johnson administrations have pursued the strategies of “flexible response” and “escalation”, they have launched more wars of aggression and committed more armed intervention and military subversion than the Truman and Eisenhower administrations together did in sixteen years. But what have the events in these five years shown? The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the peoples have been mounting ever higher. The sparks of guerrilla warfare have been kindled in more and more countries in Africa and Latin America. In Asia, and especially in Vietnam, the frantic “escalation” of war by U.S. imperialism and its attempt to force “peace talks” through bombing have failed to intimidate or subjugate the heroic Vietnamese people; on the contrary, the latter have been fighting on more courageously than ever before, growing stronger in the fight and achieving great victories.

Why did U.S. imperialism make repeated changes in its military strategy? The reason was that it had encountered tremendous difficulties and suffered repeated defeats. However, these changes in its military strategy, instead of improving its situation somewhat, have further weakened its strategic position and made it more unstable. As a result, U.S. imperialism has lost more of its initiative and suffered still greater defeats. From “containment” to “massive retaliation” and then to “flexible response” — this is the best evidence of U.S. imperialism suffering repeated defeats in various parts of the world and of its worsening position and accelerated decline.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: **“All the reputedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people.”** U.S. imperialism’s counter-revolutionary global strategy of seeking to dominate the world by force is a rabid strategy which makes itself the enemy of the people of the whole world. It is doomed to failure. The post-war history has shown that no matter what changes U.S. imperialism may make in military strategy, it is entirely possible to defeat it. It has suffered many defeats and will suffer many more. All the people who are subjected to aggression, intervention, control and bullying by U.S. imperialism will be able to win victory if they can thoroughly shatter the myth about the invincibility of U.S. imperialism, see through its paper tiger nature and dare to stand up to it and deal it blows.

(Published in *Renmin Ribao*, August 27, 1966)

THE FATAL WEAKNESS OF THE MILITARY STRATEGY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

by Jen Ku-ping

The counter-revolutionary military strategies worked out one after another by U.S. imperialism after World War II with a view to dominating the world have all ended in bankruptcy. Racking their brains, the U.S. imperialists have in the past few years cooked up a "flexible response" strategy. This was followed by Robert McNamara's "measured response" strategy and Herman Kahn's escalation strategy, both designed to supplement and invigorate the failing "flexible response" strategy. Instead of saving U.S. imperialism from defeat, they aggravated and increased its fundamental contradictions and fatal weakness.

U.S. imperialism can never resolve the contradictions between itself and the people of the world. The implementation of the "flexible response" strategy can only make itself more isolated than ever.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says:

Imperialism has prepared the conditions for its own doom. These conditions are the awakening of the great masses of the people in the colonies and semi-colonies and in the imperialist countries themselves. Imperialism has pushed the great masses of the people throughout the world into the historical epoch of the great struggle to abolish imperialism.

U.S. imperialism is frantically pursuing policies of aggression and war in order to enslave the people of all countries. The development of events, however, runs against its wishes. In doing all kinds of evils everywhere — launching wars of aggression, committing armed intervention and military subversion — U.S. imperialism has educated the people all over the world and aroused them to oppose it. Its "flexible response" strategy has actually given greater impetus to the struggle of the people throughout the world against it. Wherever a struggle for freedom and liberation breaks out, U.S. soldiers are sent to kill and burn. This cannot but arouse stronger resistance among the people of various countries. Wherever the U.S. aggressors' "response" goes, the people there receive a tempering and their revolutionary struggle develops further.

To seek world domination, U.S. imperialism has had to intensify its fascist rule at home and impose heavier war burdens on the people — which will inevitably lead to the sharpening of class and racial contradictions. The accelerated "escalation" of the war of aggression in Vietnam has taught the American people a practical lesson, and an unprecedented people's anti-war movement is now under way in a society which had remained tranquil for so long. The black people in the United States have begun to resort to violence in self-defence in their struggle against racial discrimination and linked their fight closely with the struggle against the war of aggression in Vietnam. Thus, U.S. imperialism is now heavily besieged by the people of the world, including those of the United States.

U.S. imperialism can never resolve the contradiction between its unquenchable ambition and its shortage of troops. The adoption of the "flexible response" strategy will only make its limited military forces all the more thinned-out, put them in a more passive position and submit them to more blows.

To realize its rabid ambitions in carrying out aggression, U.S. imperialism has kept scattering its military forces throughout the world. Since the adoption of the "flexible response" strategy, its total armed forces on active service have been constantly on the increase, from 2.47 million in 1960 to 3.15 million at present. However, because it commits aggression everywhere and attacks in every direction, its weakness as revealed in troop shortage and dispersed strength, instead of being eased, has become even more serious. At present, the U.S. government is conscripting large numbers of youth unfit for military service. McNamara recently admitted that the U.S. armed forces will draft every year 100,000 men who are mentally or physically not up to the standard for service. This sheds light on the seriousness of the U.S. shortage of manpower for military service. But even such lowering of standards and stop-gap measures cannot help U.S. imperialism resolve the contradiction between its unbounded ambition and insufficient military strength. U.S. imperialism is stationing troops in more than 40 countries and regions overseas, has more than 2,000 military bases and installations with nearly 1.4 million troops abroad which accounts for 45 per cent of its total military strength. As a result, a shortage of men arises wherever troops are sent, and when tension occurs in a place, the whole situation becomes passive.

U.S. imperialism's insatiable ambition and dispersed military strength have also resulted in a far-flung battlefront, a too distant rear and extreme supply difficulties. The United States, separated by the Atlantic, is more than 6,000 kilometres from Europe and Africa and, by the Pacific, over 10,000 kilometres from the Far East and Southeast Asia. Its bases and installations throughout the world and long supply lines have to be manned by personnel, defended by troops and supplied with material. While serving U.S. imperialism in its wars of aggression, these personnel and troops constitute a burden and drain on its resources to wage such wars.

The farther it stretches out its arms, the heavier this burden becomes.

Can this contradiction be resolved by a stepped-up expansion of its armed forces? No. Leaving aside all the difficulties it has to overcome to achieve this, the U.S. government will never have enough troops to meet its needs, even it doubles and redoubles the number irrespective of all consequences. Why? Because U.S. imperialism is pitting itself against the people in all parts of the world: while trying to preserve its old positions, it launches new aggression; while trying to clamp down upon the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and keep its grip on its "allies", it has to prepare for an attack on the socialist countries; while committing aggression abroad, it has to put down popular resistance at home. As a result, it has to scatter its forces everywhere. No matter how many more troops it may provide, of what use will they be when they are lost in the vast ocean of the people all over the world fighting against U.S. imperialism?

Can the United States resolve this contradiction by shortening its battlefront? No. U.S. imperialism's far-flung battlefront is determined by its strategic aim of world domination. Even if it can for a time shorten its battlefront to some extent and concentrate certain amount of military forces in the main battlefield, the result can only be this: that the more reinforcements it sends in, the deeper it will be bogged down, the greater the drain on itself and the more dismal its defeats. Moreover, a concentration of forces in one part is bound to weaken those in other places, thus making it easier for the people there to carry on their struggle against U.S. imperialism. In none of these places will the United States gain anything in the end.

Can this contradiction be resolved by increasing maritime and air transport capacity and strategic mobility? No. The military forces of U.S. imperialism have long been tied down in all parts of the world, making it difficult for the United States to transfer

troops from any of these places. By relying on the strategic mobility, U.S. imperialism is merely trying to strengthen one part by weakening another. The result is that the U.S. troops, forced by the world's revolutionary people, are running about and subject to attacks everywhere. At present, one Vietnam alone has made the United States feel the shortage of its troops. Even though the U.S. may gain greater strategic mobility, how will it make good this shortage should several more Vietnams appear in other parts of the world?

Can this contradiction be resolved by improving the arms and equipment and firing-power of its troops? No. Aren't the arms and equipment of the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam modern enough? Isn't their firing-power strong enough? They are. But they still have to call for reinforcements every day because of the shortage of troops. United States military experts admitted long ago that to suppress guerrilla forces the U.S. needed a 20:1 superiority in military strength. Some American bourgeois papers maintained that 1,400 U.S. soldiers were needed to control one large village in south Vietnam and several million to control all the villages there. How will the United States ever be able to do that?

Can this contradiction be resolved by using nuclear weapons? Again no. True, nuclear weapons can cause mass destruction and slaughter, but they cannot take the place of decisive battles of ground forces or determine the final outcome of a war. Without large numbers of ground forces it is impossible for U.S. imperialism to launch a war of aggression or seize and occupy territories.

U.S. imperialism can never resolve its contradiction between its ambition to conquer the world by force and the low morale of its officers and men who are weary and afraid of war. Its "flexible response" strategy will only further lower the morale of its troops and lead them to still more defeats.

U.S. imperialism has been able to ride roughshod over the world, attacking this country today and that country the next merely because it has a modernized armed force several million strong. However, the anti-popular character of U.S. imperialism's wars and the nature of its armed force as a counter-revolutionary tool of U.S. monopoly capital pits America's armed force against the people at home and abroad and results in its being torn by sharp class and racial contradictions and contradictions between officers and men. All this has caused the low morale and weak fighting power of the U.S. troops.

In the pursuance of the "flexible response" strategy, the more wars of aggression the United States starts, the more defeats and casualties for its troops, the lower their morale and the weaker their combat strength. This has become a big headache for the Johnson administration. In fact, it admits this is the number one question confronting U.S. troops. Then, what is the way out for U.S. imperialism?

The U.S. imperialists have tried to inject courage into their soldiers by deceptive means, alleging that the aim of their wars of aggression is to "prevent Communist aggression", "maintain peace and order", "safeguard freedom" and so on. But how can these crude lies fool the broad mass of U.S. soldiers into believing that they have undertaken long expeditions to Vietnam, the Congo (L.) and the Dominican Republic to kill the people there in the interests of U.S. security?

The U.S. imperialists have tried to use bigger war bounties as incentives to encourage U.S. soldiers to give their lives for their Wall Street bosses. For all their money, however, they can never raise the morale of their troops; on the contrary the more money they put in, the more the U.S. soldiers will fear death and the lower their morale will become. This is a vicious circle independent of their will.

The U.S. imperialists have also tried to use new-type weapons to compensate for the low morale of their troops. But no weapon will operate by itself: it has to be handled by man. Of what use are weapons, however, if the men who use them — no matter how many and how fine they are — do not know why and for whom they are fighting? No, they are of no use at all. Instead, the men will render the revolutionary people the gratuitous service of supplying them with the weapons.

U.S. imperialism can never resolve the contradiction between itself and its allies — the former trying to dominate and the latter opposing such domination. Its strategy of “flexible response” can only accelerate the disintegration of the aggressive military blocs.

U.S. imperialism has strung together aggressive military blocs in the capitalist world behind an anti-Communist, anti-socialist façade, forcing the participants of these blocs to undertake arms expansion and war preparations for its policies of aggression and war. It practises jungle law on the old colonial powers in order to trample them underfoot. Since pursuing the strategy of “flexible response”, the United States has laid greater stress on the principle of “inter-dependence”, demanding that its allies rely on its nuclear strength, and itself rely on the ground forces and bases of its allies. This in fact is tantamount to asking other countries to supply troops to fight in the front line as cannon fodder for the United States and to make their territories available as battlefields so that “the war can be fought in places as remote as possible from the U.S. coast”. This cannot but evoke the mounting opposition of the broad masses of the people in these countries and sharpen the conflict of interests between the ruling classes of these countries and the United States.

The military blocs which U.S. imperialism has rigged up with painstaking efforts are also in an increasingly bad shape. CENTO has existed only in name for a long time. SEATO has long been

paralysed and NATO is in danger of disintegrating. What help have these military blocs afforded U.S. imperialism in its present war of aggression against Vietnam besides a handful of mercenary troops it has so far collected from south Korea, Australia and New Zealand? Have not the Yankees been compelled to take the field themselves and fight the war single-handed?

Similarly, U.S. imperialism can never resolve the contradiction between its frail economic base on the one hand and its frantic arms expansion, war preparations and massive wars of aggression on the other. Its strategy of “flexible response” can only further weaken this economic base.

The fact is that the frantic arms expansion, war preparations and massive wars of aggression of the U.S. ruling clique have led the American economy on to the road of permanent militarization. Since the war of aggression against Korea, military spending has taken up about 80 per cent of government expenditure every year. Munitions production has gone up from less than 1 per cent of the total industrial production before World War II to 10 per cent. This has brought about a serious deterioration of the U.S. financial and economic standing as a whole in the wake of a temporary and false boom in the country's economy.

The strategy of “flexible response” has led to further considerable increases in military expenditure. Direct military spending will reach 60,500 million dollars for the 1967 fiscal year, 20 per cent higher than in 1953, the peak year during the Korean war and only next to that of 1945, the peak year during World War II. To meet the huge deficit in government finance, the U.S. administration had to resort to heavier taxation and the floating of more government bonds. In recent years, government taxes amounted invariably to more than 30 per cent of the annual national income. Federal debt has now reached the astronomical figure of more than 310,000 million dollars. This onerous burden eventually falls on the backs of the working people. Inflation

and rising prices have also further impoverished them and caused the domestic market to shrink. All indications now point to the ripening of a new and deeper economic crisis.

The United States with its enormous economic and military strength is the biggest dollar imperialism, the most aggressive imperialism in the history of imperialism. Everywhere it bullies and oppresses people and launches wars of aggression and slaughters revolutionary people. In this sense, it is an iron tiger, a real tiger. Nevertheless, these are superficial, temporary phenomena. Seen in its essence and from a long-term point of view, U.S. imperialism is but a paper tiger. The "strength" of the United States, much vaunted by the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, is no more than a myth. Its "strength" consists merely of a bigger iron and steel production capacity, a bigger number of aircraft, warships and nuclear weapons, and large amount of dollars all stained with the blood of the people of various countries. This is not real "strength". As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, **"it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** When the people awaken, become united and start to struggle, the "strength" of U.S. imperialism will be of no avail and the iron tiger, real tiger will change into a paper tiger, dead tiger and bean-curd tiger. This is the basic reason why "powerful" U.S. imperialism has always been defeated by the relatively "weak" revolutionary peoples.

(Published in *Renmin Ribao*, August 28, 1966)

U.S. IMPERIALISM'S STRATEGIC DISPOSITIONS OF PULLING DOWN THE WESTERN WALL TO REPAIR THE EASTERN WALL

by Jen Ku-ping

U.S. imperialism is shifting the emphasis of its counter-revolutionary global strategy to Asia for a stiff contest of strength with the Asian people.

First of all, let us look at U.S. imperialism's dispositions in Asia and around China.

U.S. ground forces deployed in Asia and the Pacific have increased from 4 divisions a short while ago to 7 divisions and 4 brigades at present. This constitutes about 34 per cent of the total U.S. ground forces of 21 divisions and 10 brigades.

Of the 938 vessels of the U.S. navy, more than 500 have now been assigned to the Pacific fleet. Of its 23 aircraft carriers, 14 have been assigned to the Pacific fleet.

The U.S. air force and navy have a total of more than 5,000 planes in Asia and the Pacific, as against 3,000 or more in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the Atlantic.

To meet the needs of a wider war of aggression in Asia, the United States has located 4 of its 8 supply service commands in Asia. In addition, it is accelerating the construction of large numbers of new military bases and the extension of existing ones

in Thailand, south Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Okinawa, Japan, south Korea and other places.

To meet the needs of a wider war of aggression in Asia, U.S. imperialism has directed Japan and the puppet gang in south Korea to knock together a "Northeast Asia military alliance" and an "Asian anti-Communist league"; and it is granting more aid to the Indian reactionaries, so as to build up a "wall to contain China".

In shifting the emphasis of its strategy to Asia, U.S. imperialism has obtained the total co-operation and active assistance of the revisionist leading clique in the Soviet Union. The latter follows a policy of appeasement in Europe, betrays the interests of the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries in Eastern Europe, works energetically for a "détente" with U.S. imperialism and has reached a tacit understanding with Washington to "freeze" the situation in Europe — all this has enabled the United States to concentrate its strength to deal with the people of Asia. In Asia, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has ganged up with the Indian reactionaries and Japanese militarists and is aiding and abetting the United States in its scheme to force "peace talks" on Vietnam through bombing. Together they are working for the encirclement of China. In this way, the Soviet clique serves as accomplice number one of U.S. imperialism in pursuing its counter-revolutionary strategy.

U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, baring their fangs and stretching out their claws, look rather fierce and frightening. However, U.S. imperialism's shifting of its strategic emphasis to Asia is only further proof of its paper tiger nature.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us:

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt

to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.

U.S. imperialism is part of the reactionary forces on the verge of extinction. The transfer of its strategic weight to Asia does not at all show that it has any great strength or that it has any way of saving itself from doom. It is only a portent of its last-ditch struggle.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America a revolutionary storm is raging, and U.S. imperialism is being trounced and beaten everywhere; it is in dire straits. This is particularly so in Asia where the revolution is developing most rapidly and is winning greater victories than elsewhere and where U.S. imperialism is suffering the most dismal defeats. The magnificent victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression, moreover, have confronted it with the danger of being driven out of all Southeast Asia — "this historic arena of vital significance". Bearing aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carrying out a thorough-going revolutionary, anti-U.S. policy, the Chinese people are the most resolute and powerful force backing the peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism. This is why U.S. imperialism regards China as a "most terrible, most serious threat", and its "principal adversary". So the United States' shift of its global strategic deployment reflects the tremendous advance of the world revolutionary tide, and it is the struggle of the Chinese and Asian peoples against U.S. imperialism that has forced it to make this change.

By transferring the main weight of its forces to Asia, U.S. imperialism is courting disaster. Instead of extinguishing the flames of the Asian people's revolution, it gives the Asian people an excellent opportunity to put up a good fight. In Asia, there

are powerful revolutionary forces and millions upon millions of valiant fighters against U.S. imperialism, who have rich experience in conducting people's war. The 300,000 troops of U.S. imperialism have been badly mauled by the 31 million Vietnamese people. What can a few additional troops, warships and aircraft do? To be quite frank, if U.S. imperialism kept its forces in Europe and the Americas, the Asian people would have no way of wiping them out. Now, as it is so obliging as to deliver its goods to the customer's door, the Asian people cannot but express welcome. The more forces U.S. imperialism throws into Asia, the more will it be bogged down there and the deeper will be the grave it digs for itself.

The United States cannot extricate itself from the crises it faces in Asia simply by throwing more of its forces into the area. On the contrary, it will only aggravate the various contradictions inherent in its policy of aggression. The expansion of its war of aggression in Asia will only further mobilize the people of the world, including the American people, against U.S. imperialism. With its forces being transferred to Asia, its Western European "allies" under its domination will take advantage of the situation to stage "revolts" and oust the United States from its positions. Then U.S. imperialism will be in a worse plight than it is now.

U.S. imperialism has spread out its armed forces and stationed troops in all parts of the world. In shifting its troops to Asia from other places, it can only be pulling down the western wall to repair the eastern wall, thus landing itself in a position of utter passivity. The concentration of its forces in one place means decrease of its troops in another place. This clearly exposes the fatal weakness of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. The anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the world over is a unified whole, while U.S. imperialism can be sliced up. The tying down of large numbers of U.S. troops by the Asian people has created favourable conditions for the further growth of the struggle of

the people in other parts of the world against U.S. imperialism. With all the people rising to attack it, one hitting at its head and the other at its feet, U.S. imperialism can be nibbled up bit by bit.

The Chinese people have always had a clear-cut stand towards U.S. imperialist preparations for an adventurous expansion of its war of aggression in Asia. The Chinese government has solemnly declared to the whole world:

We must tell the U.S. imperialists in all seriousness: wherever you extend the war and however heavy the price, we will unswervingly support the fraternal Vietnamese people in fighting through to the end, till they thoroughly and completely drive the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam and win final victory.

Similarly, we resolutely support to the end the revolutionary struggles of the other peoples of Asia and the rest of the world. If U.S. imperialism insists upon imposing war on the Chinese people, we will resolutely see it through. In the course of their protracted struggle, the Chinese people have thoroughly understood the character of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger. It will not be satisfied unless you strike at it. If it attacks you, you wipe it out a little and it will be satisfied a little; if you wipe it out more, it will be satisfied more. It will behave better if you firmly resist and strike hard at it. The Chinese people are well aware that we will have performed the greatest meritorious deed for the revolution of the people of the world once we wipe out the main force of U.S. imperialism. The day when the main military force of the United States is wiped out will mark the outbreak of revolution all over the world, and that means the utter collapse of U.S. imperialism.

(Published in *Renmin Ribao*, August 30, 1966)

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY WILL TRIUMPH OVER U.S. IMPERIALISM'S COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

— In commemoration of the first anniversary
of the publication of Comrade Lin Piao's article
"Long Live the Victory of People's War!"

by Tung Ming

Comrade Lin Piao's famous article "Long Live the Victory of People's War!" was published a year ago. It is a comprehensive, systematic and profound analysis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and strategic concept of people's war and provides the revolutionary people of the whole world with a powerful ideological weapon in the fight against imperialism and modern revisionism. It has dealt a heavy blow to the arrogance of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and greatly heightened the morale of the peoples striving for freedom and emancipation. Its publication was of extremely great historic and international significance.

The present great struggle between the people, who account for more than ninety per cent of the world's population, and U.S. imperialism is a decisive battle between revolution and counter-revolution on which hinges the future of the world. It is also a decisive battle between the two systems, socialism and capitalist-imperialism, between Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary military strategy based on people's war and imperialism's reaction-

ary military strategy based on the theory that weapons decide everything.

All wars waged by the reactionaries including U.S. imperialism are anti-popular. They cannot depend on people but only on weapons for the conduct of their wars. That is why they are bound to exaggerate one-sidedly and put blind faith in the role of weapons. This theory that weapons decide everything determines their attitude in war, namely, the doctrine that might is right, and their opportunism and pragmatism. They invariably advance when conditions seem favourable and retreat in face of difficulties. They bully the weak-kneed and fear the brave. They grow tough when their opponents show any signs of weakness, and they soften in face of toughness. The greater the fear of them, the more arrogant and aggressive they become; the more their opponents defy and fight them unflinchingly, the less they can do about it. Their nature as exploiters often makes them act crazily in pursuit of their selfish interests, and unwilling and unable to correctly appraise the relative strength of objective forces or to understand the laws of war. They are inevitably subjective-idealistic in determining strategy and conducting war. They always overestimate their own strength and underestimate that of the people, commit one irretrievable mistake after another and are never able to correct these mistakes.

The U.S. imperialists, the biggest military imperialists, have manufactured and stockpiled a large number of nuclear weapons during the last twenty-one years. Making use of their enormous economic power and modern scientific technique, they have done everything they can to develop lethal weapons. At the same time, their military concepts have become a hotchpotch of the theory that weapons decide everything, the doctrine that might is right, as well as pragmatism, opportunism and subjective-idealism. U.S. imperialism, the first to produce nuclear weapons, has in its military thinking become an utter slave of such weapons. United

States military strategy has undergone several changes since the end of World War II. But the idea of relying on nuclear weapons to conduct nuclear blackmail has remained unchanged and runs through all its military strategies. U.S. imperialism has outdone all reactionaries, past and present, in the absurdity and ridiculousness of its military theory that weapons decide everything.

After it manufactured the first atom bomb twenty-one years ago, U.S. imperialism thought that henceforth the use or the threatened use of atomic weapons of mass destruction would be sufficient to assure U.S. domination over the world. However, the victory of the Chinese revolution and of the Korean war against U.S. aggression, the victorious development of the current Vietnam war against U.S. aggression and that of the revolutionary struggles in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have shown the bankruptcy of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary military strategy based on nuclear blackmail.

In 1959, fourteen years after the United States exploded its first atomic bomb, General Taylor, a faithful stooge of Wall Street, finally discovered that the conception that "atomic weapons can decide everything" is a "great fallacy" and so he put forward the "flexible response" strategy as a life-saving recipe for U.S. imperialism. Although Taylor sees the fallacy of the "massive retaliation" strategy which mainly relies on strategic nuclear weapons, his new strategy is likewise built on the theory that weapons decide everything. It still depends on so-called "naval and air superiority", and on the superiority of highly efficient conventional arms and other weapons and falls back on the threat of nuclear war as its mainstay. As a result, this new strategy has become powerless in face of the revolutionary people who fear nothing, neither hardships nor death.

The "escalation" strategy which has appeared on the scene over the past two years and which serves as a shot-in-the-arm for the strategy of "flexible response" is more closely tied up with

nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats. It is nothing but the villainous strategy of a gambler and a rascal, an out-and-out opportunist and pragmatist strategy. The characteristic of the champions of this "escalation" strategy is that while they raise a hue and cry about expanding the war and brandish nuclear weapons to frighten others, they fear that once the war expands they will be in serious trouble and the situation will get out of hand. Their strategy provides for ascending or descending the ladder of "escalation". Once they find that the expansion of the war is disadvantageous to them or that their opponents do not fear this strategy, they concoct a "face-saving" pretext and come down the ladder, just as a rascal gives way at the first sign of imminent danger. This fully exposes their nature as paper tigers which appear to be strong but are actually weak.

The experience gained by the revolutionary people of China and other countries in their protracted struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys has proved that the revolutionary military strategy of people's war, created by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is the only correct and victorious strategy for the oppressed people to defeat all enemies.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military strategic concept of people's war is built on the foundation of thorough-going historical materialism and dialectical materialism. It is a fundamental Marxist principle that the people are the motive force in the making of world history. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively applied this theory to war, holding that weapons play an important but not the decisive role in war and that the basic factor that decides the outcome of war is man, not weapons. Revolutionary war is a war of the masses and only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them can the war be carried on and won.

Proceeding from this guiding thought, we consider that the best weapon is not such lethal weapons as aircraft, artillery, tanks or atom bombs, but Mao Tse-tung's thought; and that the greatest

combat power is not the power of any new weapon but the awakened people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Proceeding from this guiding thought, we can despise any formidable enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically; we can most correctly assess the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves and make the most ingenious use of all the internal contradictions of the enemy; we can integrate the army with the people to the maximum extent, bring into fullest play the initiative of the masses of the people, strategically using one against ten and tactically pitting ten against one, flexibly avoiding the enemy where he is strong and attacking him where he is weak; we can concentrate superior forces to wipe out the enemy, slicing him up and nibbling him up bit by bit; we can bring into full play the wisdom of the soldiers and of the masses of the people, becoming more resourceful, experienced, wiser and stronger with each battle until the relative strength between the enemy and ourselves is radically changed and the enemy is wiped out thoroughly, completely and totally.

This revolutionary military strategy, once grasped by the masses of the people and integrated with them, becomes an invincible force which in the end will bury U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys and enable the oppressed peoples to win genuine liberation.

Contrary to the expectations of all the reactionaries, the emergence of nuclear weapons cannot save from bankruptcy the theory that weapons decide everything. The greater the imperialist threat of nuclear war, the more does revolutionary people's war show its splendour and superiority. The war against U.S. aggression now being victoriously waged by the Vietnamese people provides us with a new example of "the weak" defeating "the strong"; it is a potent living example showing that by relying on people's war, the people can defeat any anti-popular war launched by U.S. imperialism.

Just as Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out in "Long Live the Victory of People's War!":

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

(Published in *Renmin Ribao*, September 3, 1966)

STUDY THE "TALK WITH THE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT ANNA LOUISE STRONG"

"JIEFANGJUN BAO" EDITOR'S NOTE: *Chairman Mao's "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" was published twenty years ago, when U.S. imperialism, relying on its monopoly of the atom bomb, was blustering about everywhere, and the Chiang Kai-shek gang, with U.S. support, was fiercely mounting a big-scale attack on the Liberated Areas. It was at this crucial moment that Chairman Mao gave this extremely important talk. In the great, revolutionary heroic spirit of the proletariat and in clear, lucid language, Chairman Mao put forward the brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. This great thought of Chairman Mao's has enormously boosted the morale of the revolutionary people and shattered the arrogance of the enemy; like a beacon it illuminates the Chinese people's road to victory in revolution as well as the path of the world's oppressed nations and peoples fighting for emancipation.*

This great thought is a scientific summary of the experiences of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people and the people of all other countries. It is a great development of Marxism-Leninism. It is an outstanding example of how a Marxist-Leninist has placed unlimited confidence in the strength of the masses of the people. It is the fundamental strategic idea of the revolutionary people. It is a powerful ideological weapon of the people the world over for fighting imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. During the new era in which the revolutionary movement of the peoples, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is developing vigorously, this great thought shines still brighter, finding its way deep

into the hearts of the people all over the world and is a source of dynamic power for attacking U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In our proletarian cultural revolution this great thought of Chairman Mao's has tremendously encouraged the proletarian, revolutionary spirit of the millions of revolutionary people — the spirit of daring to break through, to act, to make revolution and to rebel. It enables them to overcome all the obstacles in their way and to overthrow those in authority in the Party who are taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois authorities, to sweep away all ghosts and monsters and bourgeois ideologies and to achieve complete victory in the cultural revolution.

Every cadre and fighter of our Army must conscientiously study this great work of Chairman Mao. They must understand with greater profundity the corrupt and reactionary nature of imperialism and all reactionaries, arm themselves still better with Chairman Mao's great thought of daring to struggle and to win and being adept at struggling and gaining victory, promote the revolutionary, heroic spirit of overpowering all enemies, and constantly maintain a high degree of combat readiness. Should U.S. imperialism and its accomplices dare to impose war on us, we, the Chinese people, together with all the peoples throughout the world, will break the backs of the aggressors and wipe them out, lock, stock and barrel.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Published in August 1946, the "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" was an extremely important statement on the international and domestic situation made by Chairman Mao soon after the conclusion of World War II, at a time when the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in China had begun to engage in a decisive battle. It is a brilliant document of great historic significance.

Great changes in the international and domestic situation took place after the end of World War II.

Internationally: the victory of the anti-fascist war provided a greater possibility and paved a still more realistic road for the liberation cause of the proletariat and oppressed nations of the whole world; the people's democratic and national liberation movements in various countries entered a new phase of development and new revolutionary storms arose in Asia, Africa and Latin America. After the war, U.S. imperialism replaced the German, Italian and Japanese fascists and attempted to establish an unprecedented huge empire. The U.S. strategic objective was first to seize the vast intermediate zone between the United States and the socialist countries, to stamp out the revolutions of the oppressed people and nations, and then to wipe out the socialist countries and place all the peoples and countries of the world, including its own allies, under the slavery and control of U.S. monopoly capital. Using its monopoly of the atom bomb, U.S. imperialism carried out war blackmail everywhere, built military bases everywhere, and did its utmost to push its policies of aggression and war, plunder the wealth of the peoples of various countries and step up preparations for a new war. To maintain their tottering rule, the reactionaries in all countries also vigorously worked hand in hand with U.S. imperialism, frightening the people with the "strength" of U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt to extinguish the revolutionary flames of the people of all countries by relying on the strength of U.S. imperialism.

At home: after eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the people's revolutionary forces led by the Chinese Communist Party had grown immensely; our Party enjoyed the highest prestige among the whole population and had absolute political superiority. After the victory of the War of Resistance, U.S. imperialism replaced Japanese imperialism and adopted a policy of making China an American colony. The Kuomintang reactionaries, represented by Chiang Kai-shek, started an overall attack on the Liberated Areas in July 1946 with the all-out support of

his U.S. masters. The Chiang Kai-shek gang believed that they had already completed their preparations for the attack in view of the fact that they had more than 4 million reactionary troops and a vast region embracing more than 300 million people, they were in control of all the big cities and most of the railway lines in the country, they had taken over all the equipment of the one million Japanese troops who had invaded China, and especially since they had received large amounts of arms and equipment and economic aid from U.S. imperialism. They also believed that the Chinese People's Liberation Army had become battle-weary in the eight years of the War of Resistance, and moreover, that it was far inferior to the Kuomintang troops in number and equipment, that the Liberated Areas had only a population of over 100 million and in most places the reactionary and feudal forces had not yet been cleared out and land reform had not been carried out generally and thoroughly, and that the rear of the People's Liberation Army was not yet consolidated. Therefore, they believed that only three to six months were needed to defeat the People's Liberation Army. Proceeding from this wrong estimation, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, disregarding the Chinese people's aspirations for peace, started an unprecedentedly large-scale counter-revolutionary civil war.

Under these international and domestic circumstances, there were people, at home and abroad, who appraised the situation pessimistically. They overestimated the strength of imperialism and the reactionaries and underestimated that of the people, they were deluded by the phenomenon of the enemy being outwardly strong and inwardly weak, they failed to grasp the essential fact that the enemy was nearing extinction while the people themselves were approaching victory, they were afraid of U.S. imperialism and the outbreak of a new world war. They dared not wage tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and firmly oppose the counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war. Thus,

how to estimate the forces of revolution and reaction, whether one dares to struggle in the face of the seemingly formidable enemy and make revolution and win victory, had become the most important question affecting the Chinese and world revolutions and the destiny of both the Chinese people and the people of the whole world. It was at this crucial moment that Chairman Mao made public this illustrious article in which he put forth his brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers.

GREAT SIGNIFICANCE

Chairman Mao's "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" is a great Marxist-Leninist work of genius. In it, by applying thoroughgoing dialectical and historical materialism, Chairman Mao penetratingly analysed the domestic and international situation that prevailed at the time, profoundly exposed the rottenness of imperialism and all reactionaries, scientifically summed up the historical experience of the revolutionary struggles of our people and other peoples, and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, thus adding a new powerful weapon to the armoury of Marxist-Leninist theory. This brilliant work is an invaluable asset not only of the Chinese people but also of the people of the world. It is of extremely important and far-reaching strategic significance in guiding the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is an incontrovertible objective truth, the fundamental strategic idea of the revolutionary people, and a powerful ideological weapon of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world for opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. This brilliant thought greatly raises the people's morale, smashes the enemy's arrogance, and greatly

strengthens the determination and confidence of the broad revolutionary masses to defeat any formidable enemy.

In the last twenty years, this brilliant thought of Chairman Mao's has not only illuminated the progress of the Chinese revolution, given incomparable inspiration and strength to the Chinese people, and guaranteed the great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war. It has also been well-understood and grasped by the broad revolutionary people of the world, and it has inspired all the oppressed nations and people in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys and greatly promoted the development of the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world. As this brilliant thought of Chairman Mao's is spreading to the whole world on an increasingly wide scale, and as it is grasped and applied by more and more revolutionary people, it will inevitably bring about new and tremendous changes in the outlook of the world's people and will be turned into a great material force. This force will surely, with the momentum of an avalanche and the power of a thunderbolt, smash the old world to pieces and completely bury imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

The world's revolutionary people, and those in Asia, Africa and Latin America who have taken the road of armed struggle, regard Chairman Mao's theory that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers as the beacon on their road to win liberation; they enthusiastically praise it, energetically study it and use it to guide their own revolutionary struggles. But imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism centred around the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the reactionaries of all countries, deeply fear and hate this theory, and are doing their utmost to oppose and attack it wildly. This proves more conclusively that this theory of Chairman Mao's has a strong revolutionary force and is a shining scientific truth.

At present, the revolutionary people of the whole world are engaging in a fierce and large-scale struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. U.S. imperialism, co-ordinating with its No. 1 accomplice, the Soviet revisionist leading clique, is frantically expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and more and more obviously is directing the spearhead of its aggression against China. In our country, a great proletarian cultural revolution is vigorously unfolding, and our people, under the direction of our great commander Chairman Mao, are mounting a general offensive against the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. In these circumstances, it is all the more of great practical significance that we should further arm our minds with Chairman Mao's brilliant thought that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, resolutely foster a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of absolute fearlessness, wage tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all the ghosts and monsters at home and abroad, and firmly carry the revolution in our country and the world revolution through to the end.

THE MAIN CONTENT

In this article Chairman Mao answered the eight questions put by the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. The main content is as follows:

1. Concerning the domestic situation (answers to the first six questions). The U.S. government and Chiang Kai-shek have no desire to stop the war, because Chiang Kai-shek is out to slaughter the Chinese people, the people must defend themselves for survival. If circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish.

2. Concerning the international situation (answer to the seventh question). The anti-Soviet war propaganda of U.S. imperialism is, on the one hand, political preparation for such a war; on the other hand, this propaganda is a smokescreen to cover

many actual contradictions immediately confronting it. Its real purpose is the oppression of the American people and the expansion of U.S. forces of aggression in the rest of the capitalist world. To start a war, U.S. reactionaries must first attack the American people and subjugate the countries of the intermediate zone. The American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable.

3. Concerning the thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers (answer to the eighth question). All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful. The day will come when U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries are defeated and the Chinese people are victorious. The reason is simply this: the reactionaries represent reaction, we represent progress.

The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. The outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon. The Chinese people have only millet plus rifles to rely on, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's aeroplanes plus tanks.

THESE POINTS MUST BE TAKEN TO HEART

I. IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS

Chairman Mao says:

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

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

This brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's is based on boundless faith in the strength of the masses of the people. As Chairman Mao puts it, "**The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**" The people are always in the majority, they are always powerful, the people always will want to make revolution. The forces of the new invariably triumph over the forces of the old and decadent, and the strength of the people's revolution invariably triumphs over the strength of counter-revolution. Imperialism and all reactionaries are rotten and reactionary, divorced from the people and hostile to them. They are bound to be opposed and overthrown by the people. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, a universal truth of class struggle.

The victorious advance of the people's revolutionary movement is the main current of the times; it cannot be stopped by any force. The march of events in China and throughout the world over the last twenty years has fully borne out Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. The triumph of the Chinese people's revolution, and that of the Chinese and Korean people in the war against U.S. aggression, the great victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and the signal victories of the people of various countries in their revolutionary struggles eloquently attest to the fact that the people's strength is invincible, while U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries do not count for much and can be defeated, one and all.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature, so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature — they are real tigers and paper tigers at the

same time. On the one hand, they are real tigers; they devour people, devour people by the millions and tens of millions. But they will change into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers in the increasingly fierce struggles waged by the revolutionary people. Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, and from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are — paper tigers. We should build our strategic thinking on this. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. We should build our tactical thinking on this.

Here Chairman Mao tells us that **in our struggles with the enemy we must strategically despise all enemies and must tactically take them seriously. In other words, we must despise the enemy with regard to the whole and must take him seriously with regard to each and every specific question.** To despise the enemy strategically, we must possess firm determination and confidence in defeating the enemy completely, invincible and dogged courage to overcome all difficulties and carry the struggle through to the end, and a thoroughly revolutionary spirit of daring to fight and win. To take the enemy seriously tactically, we must, with regard to each part and to each and every specific question, be prudent, carefully study and perfect the art of struggle; adopt suitable forms of struggle and concentrate all our forces for the battle so that step by step we can defeat the enemy.

Whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, which are only outwardly strong, is the touchstone for determining true or sham revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists or revisionists. The modern revisionists, centred around the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, tremble before the imperialists, and implacably hate and malign Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reaction-

aries are paper tigers. They spread fear of imperialism among the masses of the people, pursue an outright capitulationist policy, oppose and sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the people. They have completely degenerated, becoming the chief accomplices of U.S. imperialism and shameless traitors to the proletariat.

Imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries are all paper tigers. In our country, the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought are also paper tigers. No matter how cleverly they may try to masquerade themselves, what intrigues they may carry on in an effort to obstruct and suppress the revolutionary movement of the masses, all their bastions of counter-revolution, pounded by the stormy and stirring revolutionary waves of the masses, will crumble and they will be surrounded ring upon ring by the broad masses of the people.

Armed with the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are most revolutionary, courageous, and fearless. We will thoroughly refute and overthrow all counter-revolutionary revisionists, bourgeois Rightists and reactionary academic authorities of the bourgeoisie. We will thoroughly discredit them and never allow them to rise again. Standing unswervingly with the people the world over, we will destroy U.S. imperialism and all reactionary forces resolutely, thoroughly, completely and totally.

II. THE OUTCOME OF A WAR IS DECIDED BY THE PEOPLE, NOT BY ONE OR TWO NEW TYPES OF WEAPON

Chairman Mao says:

The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.

This brilliant, scientific thesis put forward by Chairman Mao thoroughly exploded the U.S. imperialist myth about the atom bomb and armed the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

U.S. imperialism brandishes the atom bomb to frighten people everywhere. In actual fact, the atom and hydrogen bombs in the hands of imperialism can in no way frighten all those who refuse to submit to be slaves. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: **"Without the struggles waged by the people, atom bombs by themselves would be of no avail."** Although the atom bomb has great destructive power, it absolutely cannot change the laws of war, prevent the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, decide the outcome of a war, still less result in what is said to be the destruction of mankind. It is man who manufactures the weapons, it is man too who uses them. The development of history will only see the destruction of nuclear weapons by mankind not vice versa. Imperialists and modern revisionists rely on nuclear weapons to carry out nuclear blackmail; this is simply a manifestation of vulnerability rather than strength. Any class, any political force, as long as it opposes the masses and goes counter to the historical current, no matter how formidable the new types of weapon it possesses, is a mere paper tiger which is outwardly strong and inwardly weak. Its nuclear weapon monopoly having been broken long ago, U.S. imperialism now is placing its own country under the threat of nuclear weapons when it tries to threaten other countries with nuclear arms. If U.S. imperialism brazenly employs nuclear weapons, it will inevitably fall into still greater isolation and hasten its own doom.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."** Nuclear weapons are after all only one kind of weapon which cannot replace conventional weapons, still less replace ground forces in decisive engagements. The final victory in war cannot be determined by launching nuclear rockets several

thousand kilometres away, but, in the last analysis, by close-quarter fighting on the battlefield within a distance of 200 metres and by complete annihilation of the enemy effectives after sustained fighting of ground forces using conventional weapons. As fire power develops with the use of nuclear arms, there is all the more need to rely on close combat and night operations to win battles, and there is also all the more need to rely on man's courage and spirit of sacrifice and to bring the human factor into play.

To bring the human factor into play means to bring proletarian politics to the fore and bring into play the factor of political ideology. Comrade Lin Piao pointed out:

To our troops, the best weapon is neither aeroplanes nor artillery, neither tanks nor atom bombs, but Mao Tse-tung's thought. The greatest combat power is man armed with this thought, bravery and daring to face death.

The moral atom bomb of the revolutionary people is much more powerful than the physical atom bomb and much more useful. It was on Mao Tse-tung's thought which our armed forces relied in defeating all enemies at home and abroad. Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is invincible and all-conquering, is eternally the source of strength of the people of our country and all revolutionary peoples.

China's mastery of the atom bomb is a major victory in augmenting the power of our national defence, an important contribution of the Chinese people to the defence of the cause of world peace. When we had no atom bomb, we were not afraid of it; now that we have the atom bomb, we will never depend on it. We depend on people's war in defeating the enemy. This was so in the past and is so now that we are in possession of atom bombs, and remains so for all time, even when we have acquired weapons which are much greater in number and more formidable.

Chairman Mao's concept of people's war is the most effective weapon for defeating U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. Having learnt and grasped Chairman Mao's thought on people's war, revolutionary people throughout the world will fully display their revolutionary spirit and make full use of their merits and advantages and will certainly stage a still more imposing drama in the arena of people's war. In the flames of this war U.S. imperialism, the mad bull that is running amuck everywhere, will be burned to ashes.

III. PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE AND DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ALL ITS LACKEYS, CARRY THE WORLD REVOLUTION THROUGH TO THE END

In this work Chairman Mao made an incisive analysis of the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and pointed out that U.S. imperialism wanted to seize the intermediate zone before destroying the socialist countries and realizing its lunatic ambition of world domination. Developments in the international situation over the past twenty years have fully proved this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's to be incomparably correct. In riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has set itself against the people of the whole world. It is their sworn enemy.

In order to unite all forces that can be united and to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it blows, Chairman Mao issued the great call to form the broadest international united front to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In this work, Chairman Mao said:

The American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries.

In 1964, Chairman Mao in the "Statement Supporting the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism" said:

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of all the continents should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, intervention or bullying should unite, and so form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace.

In his "Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (L.) Against U.S. Aggression" in the same year, Chairman Mao said:

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

Chairman Mao's great call immensely encouraged the common revolutionary will of the people all over the world to unite and oppose imperialism. Today the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism is surging forward, and the revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in particular, is developing by leaps and bounds and has become the most important force directly dealing blows at U.S. imperialism. Despite the inevitable zigzags and reversals in the development of the international situation, the general trend of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to world-wide victory is unalterable.

The international united front of the people of the whole world to oppose U.S. imperialism must definitely not include the lackeys,

accomplices and collaborators of U.S. imperialism. In the active service of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is pursuing a policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, conducting splitting, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement, and carrying out a counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of sham support but real betrayal on the question of Vietnam's resistance to U.S. aggression. They cannot of course be included in this united front. To oppose imperialism one must oppose modern revisionism.

While the present international and domestic situation is excellent, every cadre and fighter in our People's Liberation Army must raise even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, make greater efforts to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, arm themselves ideologically with Chairman Mao's great thinking that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and his great thinking on despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically, fully develop our army's heroic revolutionary spirit of advancing bravely, daring to fight, to struggle, to engage in battle and to overwhelm all enemies, take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and make full and concrete preparations in case of war. We must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We must firmly unite with the people of the whole world, resolutely carry the struggle to oppose U.S.-led imperialism through to the end, carry the struggle against modern revisionism, centred around the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party, through to the end, and struggle for complete victory in the world proletarian revolution.

(Published in *Jiefang jun Bao*, August 23, 1966)

伟大的战略思想

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外文出版社出版(北京)

1967年第一版

编号: (英)3050-1603

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1-E-824P

