

PEKING REVIEW

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January 13, 1967

Take Firm Hold of the Revolution, Promote Production and Utterly Smash The New Counter-Attack Launched by The Bourgeois Reactionary Line

Message to all Shanghai people from 11 revolutionary mass organizations, and "Renmin Ribao's" important editorial note.

New Year's Day Editorial of "Jiefangjun Bao"

Hold the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Still Higher, Bring the Mass Movement of Creatively Studying and Applying Chairman Mao's Works to a New Stage, and Turn the P.L.A. Into a Truly Great School Of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

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Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party; it is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle.

— *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*

Take Firm Hold of the Revolution, Promote Production and Utterly Smash the New Counter-Attack Launched by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line

— Message to All Shanghai People

"Renmin Ribao" editor's note: The "Message to All Shanghai People," published in the Shanghai "Wenhui Bao" on January 5, is an extremely important document. It holds high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and sounds a clarion call to continue the vigorous counter-offensive upon the bourgeois reactionary line. It resolutely responds to Chairman Mao's great call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production and raises the current key question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This question does not just concern Shanghai alone but the whole country as well.

With the growth of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai, the "Wenhui Bao" and "Jiefang Ribao" have appeared as two completely new and revolutionary newspapers. They are products of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line. This is a great event in the history of the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. This is a great revolution. This great event will certainly play a tremendous role in pushing ahead the development of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout east China and in all the cities and provinces in other parts of the country.

"Renmin Ribao" on January 9 gave its whole front page to the important editorial note which we print above and the message addressed to all Shanghai people by the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and ten other revolutionary mass organizations, the full text of which follows. — "P.R." Ed.

UNDER the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories in the mass movement over the last few months to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. We have entered the year 1967 to the sound of militant songs of triumph. It was pointed out in the New

Year's day editorial of the *Renmin Ribao* and the journal *Hongqi*: "1967 will be a year of all-round development of class struggle throughout China. It will be a year in which the proletariat, united with other sections of the revolutionary masses, will launch a general attack on the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and on the ghosts and monsters in society. It will be a year of even more penetrating criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line and elimination of its influence. It will be a year of decisive victory in carrying out the struggle [to overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base]." In other words, it will be a year in which the bourgeois reactionary line will totally collapse and disintegrate completely, a year in which the great proletarian cultural revolution will win a great victory of decisive importance.

The broad revolutionary masses of Shanghai have also won an initial victory in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line followed by a handful of people within the Party in the Shanghai area and have carried the struggle to a deeper and broader new stage.

The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our Shanghai factories is surging forward vigorously, smashing through all resistance with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, follow Chairman Mao's teachings most closely and resolutely carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." We of the revolutionary rebel groups clearly understand that if the great proletarian cultural revolution is not carried out well, we will lose our orientation in production and slide back in the direction of capitalism. What we ourselves have experienced in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution has increasingly proved to us that only if the great proletarian cultural revolution is carried out well, will production develop on a still greater scale. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is erroneous.

However, a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately follow the bourgeois reactionary line have a bitter hatred for the great proletarian cul-

tural revolution. They have been trying by every means to resist the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao. Their schemes and devices may be summarized in the following ways:

At the beginning of the movement, they used the pretext of "taking firm hold of production" to repress the revolution and oppose taking firm hold of the revolution. When we workers of the revolutionary rebel groups wanted to rise up in revolution and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they used the tasks of production to bring pressure to bear on the workers and tagged us with the label of "sabotaging production." Did they really want to "take firm hold of production"? No, they wanted to defend their own positions and attempted to obstruct our revolution. We exposed their schemes and rose up bravely in rebellion.

Then they resorted to another trick, that is, they played with high-sounding revolutionary words, giving the appearance of being ultra "Left" in order to incite large numbers of members of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments whom they have hoodwinked to undermine production and sabotage transport and communications under the pretext of going north to "lodge complaints." They did this to attain their aim of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. More recently, a handful of reactionary elements were even plotting to cut off water and electricity supplies and bring public transport to a standstill. We must drag out these reactionary elements and exercise proletarian dictatorship over them, punish them severely and never allow them to succeed in their criminal schemes.

Comrade revolutionary workers! Go into action at once! Resolutely carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao! We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, must become models in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." We must serve as the vanguards and the backbone not only in taking firm hold of the revolution, but also in promoting production. Our city of Shanghai, China's biggest industrial producer, plays an extremely important role in the overall economic life of the country. But lately, in many factories and plants, it has occurred that some or even the majority of the members of the Red Militia Detachments have suspended production and deserted their posts in production. This runs directly counter to the stipulation by the Party Central Committee on taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and directly affects the people's livelihood and the development of national economic construction. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the

face of this adverse current, have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and smashing the big plot whereby they have attempted to thwart the revolution by sabotaging production. The actions of these workers are correct and splendid! All of us comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups should learn from them. **Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports."** We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, have the lofty aspiration, the determination and the strength to do still better in both the revolution and production and to carry out **Chairman Mao's great call for "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."**

Masses of class brothers of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments who want to make revolution! **"Taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" is a policy put forward by Chairman Mao,** a policy stressed time and again by the Party Central Committee, an important policy which guarantees the carrying through to the end of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To support or not to support, to carry out or not to carry out this policy is itself a matter of principle, a cardinal issue of right and wrong. In allowing yourselves to be incited by those people and by deserting your posts in production, whose interests are you serving? By acting in this way, whose hearts, after all, are you gladdening and whose are you saddening? We hope that you will follow Chairman Mao's teachings, that, on this important question of principle, you will see things more clearly, make a clear distinction between right and wrong, stop being deceived, wake up quickly, return to your posts in production, and return to the proletarian revolutionary line. We, comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups, will certainly welcome you back warmly to make revolution along with us and improve production with us. There is no question of our reprimanding you, because we are all close class brothers, and because the overwhelming majority of you are victims of the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line, are revolutionary masses who have been hoodwinked by those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and by those who are stubbornly following the bourgeois reactionary line.

All revolutionary students and revolutionary government cadres of the city! Let us closely unite with the masses of revolutionary workers, and in order to carry out resolutely **the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put**

forward by Chairman Mao, let us undertake widespread propaganda work and struggle, open fire fiercely and with still greater resolve at the bourgeois reactionary line, crush all new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line and launch a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories and plants!

In the radiance of the boundless brilliance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, we look towards the future and see the splendid and magnificent prospect of the revolution. We the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, and all working people must unite with the revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres, must make a common effort, fight shoulder to shoulder and continue our victorious advance so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the red sun in our hearts, the greatest leader Chairman Mao and long life, long, long life to him!

**The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel
General Headquarters**

**The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of
the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai**

**The "Rebel to the End" General Liaison Head-
quarters of Shanghai**

**The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the
Shanghai Journalists**

**The "Bombard the Headquarters" United Corps
of Shanghai**

"The East Is Red" Corps of Tongji University

**The "Rebel to the End" Corps of the Shanghai
Jiaotong University**

**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Third
Headquarters of the Red Guards of the
Capital (Peking)**

**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Flag
Fighting Detachment of the Peking Aero-
nautical Engineering Institute**

**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Rebel
Regiment of the Harbin Military Engineer-
ing Institute**

**The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Provisional
Cultural Revolutionary Committee of the
Sian Military Telecommunications Engi-
neering Institute**

January 4, 1967

Hold the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Still Higher, Bring the Mass Movement of Creatively Studying and Applying Chairman Mao's Works to a New Stage and Turn the P.L.A. Into a Truly Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

THE New Year has arrived at a time when several hundred million people of our country are triumphantly marching forward along the road of the great proletarian cultural revolution charted by Chairman Mao.

We wish long, long life to Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman!

We salute the workers, members of the people's communes, revolutionary students and teachers and revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres of the whole country!

We salute the army's cadres, fighters and comrade administrative personnel and workers! We salute the troops which have been brave in fighting and the units manning the ramparts on our frontiers and islands! We salute the "four-good" companies and departments and the "five-good" fighters! We salute all those who have excelled in the study of Chairman Mao's works! We salute the people's militiamen and the Red Guards! We salute the comrades engaged in building up our national defence industries and doing scientific research work in our national defence! We extend our cordial greetings to the sick and wounded comrades, to the families of martyrs and those serving in the army, to the honoured armymen and the demobbed comrades!

China's socialist revolution has been carried forward to a new stage by the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution launched and led by Chairman Mao himself and by the historically important 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Through intense class struggle, the great proletarian cultural revolution has already begun to win great victories. The situation is very good indeed. The great cultural revolution is rising

to a new high tide as the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao synchronizes with the revolutionary fervour of the broad masses of the people. The bourgeois reactionary line has gone bankrupt, and the very small number of diehards who stubbornly cling to it are more and more isolated. The Red Guards, whose development has been swift, are growing into an earth-shaking, mighty army of the cultural revolution. Workers and peasants in their great numbers have taken positive action and have plunged themselves into this great cultural revolutionary movement. Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is flourishing. The scale of the movement is expanding, with the content of the struggle growing richer. The red current of the great cultural revolution is sweeping the whole country. A handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and ghosts and monsters are hemmed in and encompassed by an ocean of revolutionary people. All decadent and decaying ideas and all such superstructure not conforming to the socialist economic base are being demolished by the masses. The great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung with its powerful and resplendent radiance has fired and gripped all with a force and to an extent never known before. In the course of the revolution, this great spiritual force of Mao Tse-tung's thought is turning further into a new tremendous material force.

In the year just past, our whole army, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, has faithfully implemented the 5-point principle, put forward by Comrade Lin Piao, for giving prominence to politics. It took an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution and won great successes on both the ideological and material fronts. The mass movement of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way

surged ahead, each wave higher than the preceding one. Giving prominence to politics was placed on a still more solid footing. Political and ideological work was more vigorous than ever. Many advanced collectives came to the fore as the "four-good" campaign took firmer foot. People of a new type animated by the spirit of communism, such as Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh, Liu Ying-chun and Tsai Yung-hsiang, were maturing in great numbers. There were impressive results in the revolutionization of people's minds, which brought about a big impetus in all fields of work. The tasks set for fighting, training, construction and production were done with flying colours. New successes crowned the work of building up the people's militia. Playing its part as a working force to the full, our army popularized the thought of Mao Tse-tung extensively, took an active part in socialist construction and rendered vast support to the masses in battling natural calamities. The third nuclear explosion, the guided missile nuclear weapon test and the latest successful new nuclear explosion all signify a new level of scientific development in our national defence. Never have the national defence capabilities and the fighting strength of our army been as great as they are today.

Whatever our army has achieved is due to Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership and the implementation of the directives of Comrade Lin Piao and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee. It represents a shining victory for giving prominence to proletarian politics, a shining victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a shining victory for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Chairman Mao has issued a call to us: The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. Apart from combat duties, it should take up other work as well. It should learn politics, military affairs and culture. It should hold itself ready to join in the struggle of the cultural revolution to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. It should concurrently take up studies, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. In this way, our several million strong army can play a very great role indeed. These instructions of Chairman Mao's further put forth a magnificent programme for building a proletarian people's army. They are of great historic and strategic significance and will be a permanent guiding principle for our army-building. They concern not only the question of the proletariat's army-building but also the general orientation of our socialist construction as a whole. The entire thinking underlying these instructions marks a new epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism.

We must really turn our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, meet the new situation of

the great proletarian cultural revolution and the new situation in which the whole Party and the whole nation are studying Chairman Mao's works in a big way. Therefore, in the months ahead we must hold higher than ever before the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage, in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's directive. We must see to it that our minds become more revolutionized year by year, that our work is done better year by year. We should not rest on our oars or become complacent; we should be more modest and prudent, work harder, press ahead, sum up our new experience and exert ourselves to new creative efforts. We must always preserve the glorious red flag of the proletariat intact, excel in our work and prove equal to the expectations of Chairman Mao and the whole nation.

The general principle for the work of the whole army in 1967 is as follows: firmly apply the spirit of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's 8th Central Committee, hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, unswervingly give prominence to politics, take an active part in and stand guard over the great proletarian cultural revolution, bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage, further strengthen the revolutionization of people's minds, strive for more and better "four-good" companies and turn our army into a truly great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

One. Press on with the great proletarian cultural revolution and achieve still better results and bring the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage. This is the foundation for the whole year's work

Chairman Mao teaches us to concern ourselves with the affairs of the state and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The objective of this revolution is to eradicate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and establish the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat; in a word, to establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a monumental ideological revolutionary movement in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung is used to educate and remould people. We must concern ourselves with the affairs of the state and never forget the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and liquidate its foul influence. We must be active

in our participation and staunch in our defence of this cultural revolution and carry it through to the end, in accordance with the Decision of the Party's Central Committee on the great proletarian cultural revolution

and the related directives issued by the Party's Central Committee and its Military Commission.

We must sail with the east wind of the great proletarian cultural revolution and bring the mass move-

GLOSSARY

1) The "four-firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind, as distinguished from ideas in books. That is to say, first place to man, first place to political work, first place to ideological work and first place to living ideas.

2) The "three-eight" working style: The Chinese People's Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, has fostered a fine tradition. This fine tradition is summed up by Chairman Mao in three phrases and eight additional characters, meaning firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

3) Chairman Mao laid down the following rules of discipline for the Chinese People's Liberation Army. **The Three Main Rules of Discipline** are: a) Obey orders in all your actions; b) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; and c) Turn in everything captured. **The Eight Points for Attention** are: a) Speak politely; b) Pay fairly for what you buy; c) Return everything you borrow; d) Pay for anything you damage; e) Do not hit or swear at people; f) Do not damage crops; g) Do not take liberties with women; and h) Do not ill-treat captives.

4) **The five-point principle of putting politics in command** is: a) creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and, in particular, make the utmost effort to apply them; regard Chairman Mao's works as the highest instructions on all aspects of the work of the army; b) persist in the "four-firsts" and, in particular, make great efforts to grasp living ideas; c) leading cadres must go to the basic units, give energetic leadership to the campaign to produce "four-good" companies, guarantee that the basic units do their jobs effectively and at the same time that a good style of leadership by the cadres is fostered; d) boldly promote really outstanding commanders and fighters to key posts of responsibility; and e) train hard and master the finest techniques and close-range and night fighting tactics.

5) **Democracy in the three main fields** refers to the three aspects of democratic life in the People's Liberation Army, namely, democracy in the political, economic and military fields. With regard to political democracy, fighters are politically on an equal footing with cadres and are free to criticize and voice their opinions against them and to put forward proposals regarding work in the army. With regard to economic democracy, the economic committee elected by the company's armymen meeting assists the company leadership in managing the company's mess and production and supervises expenditures

to guard against corruption and waste and any violation of policies. With regard to military democracy, in periods of training there must be mutual instruction between cadres and fighters and among the fighters themselves, and there must be a review of the results of the instruction and learning. In periods of fighting, the rank and file should be aroused to discuss how to fulfil combat tasks and at the end of an engagement to review the fighting.

6) **"Four-good" companies** are companies which are good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military training and in arranging their everyday life.

7) **"Four-good" departments** are departments which are good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in their specialized work and in arranging their everyday life.

8) **"Five-good" fighters** are fighters who excel in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military technique, in fulfilling combat missions, and in keeping fit.

9) **The five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat** are as follows:

They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

ment of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way to a new and higher stage.

Chairman Mao, the red sun in our hearts, is the greatest Marxist-Leninist, the most outstanding leader of the proletariat and the greatest genius of our time. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era and the most powerful ideological weapon for fighting and defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. For the whole Party and the whole country, it is the guiding principle in all spheres of endeavour, the core, soul, and the foundation for our work of army-building. We should expound over and over again the great significance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, propagandize his great revolutionary practice and the tremendous force generated by the revolutionary people as a result of their mastery of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Various methods should be adopted for self-education among the masses to stimulate and strengthen still more their proletarian feeling for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and raise their understanding of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to new heights.

The study of Chairman Mao's works must be grasped still more firmly and put on a still more solid footing in order to bring about a new order of things and raise it to a new level. We must do still better in mastering the method of studying with problems in mind, studying and applying creatively what one studies, combining study with practice, first studying what is urgently needed so as to get prompt results and putting great stress on practice. In the storm and stress of the class struggle and in the course of carrying out various tasks, serious and painstaking efforts must be made to learn the basic views and important articles contained in Chairman Mao's works and the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. A higher degree of integration of study with practice is our aim. We must apply what is learnt, study again and again and apply again and again so that by making the biggest effort we can obtain a real grasp and mastery of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Comrades throughout the army should study the "three constantly read articles" in the same way as they study maxims, demolish the bourgeois concept of working for "self-interest," promote the proletarian concept of devotion to "public interest," and thoroughly transform their world outlook. They should also seriously and repeatedly study the Kutien Congress resolution, that is, the article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." This resolution, personally drafted by Chairman Mao, for the first time provided the most comprehensive, the most thorough and correct solution to the problem of orientation and line in our Party-building and army-building. It is in effect the pro-

gramme of our Party-building and army-building. It holds good for all time and should also be studied as maxims. Comrades throughout the army should resolutely oppose all kinds of bourgeois ideas and the bourgeois reactionary line, establish a really firm world outlook, the communist world outlook of wholeheartedly serving the people of China and the world and firmly carry out and defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They should all become conscious, revolutionary fighters of the proletariat armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and loyal to Chairman Mao for ever.

Party committees and leading cadres at all levels must take the lead. They must do this in studying Chairman Mao's works, in following his teachings, in acting according to his instructions and become Chairman Mao's worthy soldiers. They must go among the men and the masses, and study and apply Chairman Mao's works along with the fighters and masses. Leading cadres must take the lead in baring their innermost thoughts and in struggling with their own egoism and set a good example in remoulding their thinking and in implementing and defending Chairman Mao's correct line. This is the key to carrying the mass movement of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works to a new and higher stage.

Two. Continue to make determined efforts in building up the basic levels and produce more and better "four-good" companies

Chairman Mao has always attached importance to doing a good job of building up the companies; he stresses that "soldiers are the foundation of an army." The campaign to create "four-good" companies is conducted to put into effect the "Resolution Concerning the Strengthening of Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted by the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee at its Enlarged Session. It is a fundamental measure for strengthening the build-up of the companies, a revolutionary, socialist emulation campaign of immense vitality among collectives. We must make the companies fine schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought through the sustained development and improvement of this "four-good" campaign.

We must attain these four things: good political and ideological work; a good "three-eight" working style; good military training; and a good arrangement of everyday life. The most important and fundamental thing of all, however, is to strive for good political and ideological work, and especially doing a good job of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works creatively. Only when this is accomplished, resulting in the revolutionization of people's minds, can other fields of work be really done well.

Following changes in the situation at home and abroad, especially the deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the sharp, complex class struggle in society is reflected more and more within the army. We must firmly adhere to the "four firsts," get a firm grasp of the living ideas of our men and be good at applying Mao Tse-tung's thought to tackle and solve all sorts of practical ideological problems.

In dealing with living ideas, we must successfully tackle the eight auxiliary aspects of political education, proceed with education by positive examples and give plenty of publicity to fine people and fine deeds. We must adhere to materialist methods of work, timely sizing up of situations, paying attention to things in their embryonic stage and employing different solutions to different cases. Methods of political work should be used for carrying out education in managing affairs, and here we should get to grips with the men's living ideas. We must carry out the mass line and launch an extensive mass campaign for comrades to help each other ideologically.

The Party branch of each company should keep a firm hold on the key link, namely, giving prominence to politics, and resolutely shape the company in accordance with Chairman Mao's thought and line on army-building. It should strengthen collective leadership and conscientiously enforce democratic centralism. It should make a success of its work to admit new members into the Party and intensify Party education so that every Party member excels in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and in political and ideological work. A company can be doubly successful in its work if its Party branch provides strong leadership, if its cadres consciously give prominence to politics, and if it fully and boldly arouses the rank and file and develops democracy in the three main fields of work.

Party committees and leading organs at all levels should go right down to the grass-roots level, to the companies, and constantly strengthen leadership in the "four-good" campaign. Together with the fighters, they should sum up from time to time the experience gained in the campaign and improve their style of leadership and methods of work. In particular, officers of regimental level must make a point of giving leadership in person.

Three. While performing our task as a fighting force, let us do well as a work force and a production force, and develop the glorious people's army tradition

Chairman Mao has said that our army is always a fighting force and at the same time a work force and a production force. We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction: while acquitting ourselves well as a fighting force, we must succeed as a work force and a production force. We must concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories

and do mass work and know how to turn our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought which will train a new generation of the communist type capable of handling both military and civilian affairs and both industry and agriculture.

We must work vigorously among the masses, disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought at all times and in all places and serve the masses well. We must do our part actively in the building of socialism and set an example in carrying out the Party's policies and observing the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. Every army unit must become a propaganda team and every comrade a propagandist in disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We must take a long-term view of our construction work, make a success of our army's agricultural and sideline production and gradually set up some small and medium-sized factories.

We must continue with and carry forward our fine style of hard struggle, be diligent and frugal in our army-building and enforce strict economy.

While carrying out our task as a work force and a production force, we must study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, modestly learn from the local government and people, from the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, from the Red Guards, and identify ourselves with the masses. We must press on with the ideological revolutionization of the troops and maintain the fine qualities worthy of the people's army.

Four. Strengthen the revolutionization of all organizations and boldly promote the really outstanding commanders and fighters to key posts of responsibility

Chairman Mao has said: "In the final analysis, leadership involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas, and to use cadres well," and "cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." On the question of organization, the most important thing is the kind of cadre line to follow and the kind of cadres to select and promote. This affects the question of whether or not our army will be in the hands of comrades truly loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and whether or not the Party's policy and line will be thoroughly carried out in the army. In accordance with the instruction given by Chairman Mao over a long period and the five requirements laid down for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause put forward by Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Biao, taking into consideration the actual conditions of our army, has put forth a three-point criterion for the training, selection and promotion of cadres. They are:

1) to hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on high and to be loyal to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought;

2) to give prominence to proletarian politics and to keep in close contact with the masses; and

3) to have revolutionary vigour and drive.

In judging, selecting and promoting cadres we should pay attention to essentials and implement the Party's class line. Of course, the lesser points must be taken note of, but the main thing is to judge by the essentials and see whether such cadres measure up to the three-point criterion.

Irrespective of army units, departments, academies or schools, revolutionization of organizations must go hand in hand with revolutionization of people's minds. The three-point criterion must be strictly observed in the training, selection and promotion of cadres. Outstanding commanders and fighters who truly measure up to this must be boldly promoted to key posts of responsibility. This must be kept under the most careful review from the time of admitting new members to the Party and selecting and promoting cadres at the grass-roots level. The academies and schools must introduce thorough teaching reforms and train students according to the three-point criterion.

Every one of our cadres must set strict requirements for himself in accordance with this criterion. Infinite loyalty to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought is required of each one. They must put unswerving faith in and reliance on the masses. Each one must have a correct attitude towards himself, and regard himself not only as part of the revolutionary forces but at the same time as a target of the revolution, and make ceaseless efforts to remould himself. For the older comrades it is all the more essential to retain their proletarian revolutionary integrity in the autumn of their lives, so as to make still greater contributions to the revolutionary cause.

Five. Heighten vigilance, stand firm at battle stations and strengthen war preparedness

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight." Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we must heighten our revolutionary vigilance, stand firm at our battle stations, resolutely defend the security of our motherland and ensure the smooth progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We must do a really good job in our preparation to smash the war of aggression by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. We must further study and grasp Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war. We must strengthen our education on the current situation and grapple with the living ideas of the men that arise in war preparedness. We should bring into full play the "three-eight" working style, and especially the style of working intensively and getting things done quick-

ly. We must use Chairman Mao's works as the basic textbooks in our military training, strengthen our political and ideological work during training, train hard to master the technical skills that can stand any test and the tactics of close-range and night fighting, and we must also do well in our field training. We must step up our political and ideological work among the frontier guards, island garrisons and among the units engaged in construction work.

We must do a good job in our militia and put it on a solid basis, organizational, political and military. The task of helping to train the students and Red Guards of the middle schools and colleges should be accomplished as an important political task. Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war should be vigorously disseminated and established among the masses.

The situation as regards the world revolution is excellent today. More and more revolutionary people have come to know and master the powerful ideological weapon that is Mao Tse-tung's thought. It has become their battle standard, the banner of victory. Imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries now find the going tougher with each passing day. U.S. imperialism, which has received crushing blows in Vietnam, is struggling desperately and trying to extend the war to China. The revisionist leading clique of the C.P.S.U., working in league with the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries of all countries, is stepping up its criminal activities against China. We must sharpen our vigilance a hundredfold and remain at all times prepared to smash any sudden attack by U.S. imperialism and its hangers-on! We must always remain ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people and crush the accursed U.S. aggressors! We must strive for the liberation of Taiwan and the defence of our motherland and exert efforts to furnish support to the revolutionary struggles of the world's people!

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles."

We must hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought higher than ever, rally closely around the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao at the head and resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must put absolute faith in and reliance on the masses, arouse the masses, go among the masses, honestly learn from them, unite with them and fight alongside them. Only thus can we successfully accomplish the glorious tasks given us and turn our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Let us turn our eyes to the future and march firmly forward under the radiance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

(*"Jiefangjun Bao"* [the "Liberation Army Daily"] editorial, January 1.)

Study "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"

The following, which appeared in the December 29, 1966 "Jiefangjun Bao" [the "Liberation Army Daily"], was written as guide material to army cadres and fighters in their study of this work by Chairman Mao. — Ed.

Historical Background

IT is now 30 years since Chairman Mao's brilliant great work *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War* was published in December 1936. It is a scientific summing up of the rich experience of China's Second Revolutionary Civil War and a fruit of the victory of Chairman Mao's correct line over the erroneous lines of the "Left" and Right opportunists.

The First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) ended in failure as a result of the betrayal by the big landlord and big bourgeois classes represented by Chiang Kai-shek and because of the surrender of leadership by the Right opportunists inside the Party represented by Chen Tu-hsiu. White terror reigned over the whole country. It was at the critical moment in China's revolution that Chairman Mao, holding high the great banner of people's war, organized the famous Autumn Harvest Uprising, led the armed forces to the Chingkang Mountains, founded the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and China's first revolutionary red base, set ablaze the raging flame of the Chinese revolutionary war and illuminated the future of the revolution.

The "Left" opportunist line in the Party at that time, particularly the third "Left" opportunist line represented by Wang Ming, however, opposed and denied Chairman Mao's correct line, and ruled out Chairman Mao's Red Army leadership; as a result, the Red Army was forced to withdraw from the revolutionary base, bringing extremely serious losses to the Chinese revolution.

In January 1935, during the Long March, the Party's Central Committee called an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, put an end to the "Left" opportunist leadership, firmly established Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party, and saved the Party and the Chinese revolution. Since then, the Chinese revolution has always been under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, going from victory to victory.

In order to eradicate the bad influence of the erroneous lines of "Left" and Right opportunism, to raise the Marxist level and proletarian military thinking of

the whole Party, and to successfully lead the impending War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Chairman Mao, after writing *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*, wrote this great work *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, which is an overall summing up of the struggle between the two lines during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37).

Great Significance

Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War splendidly epitomized the rich experience in China's revolutionary war and created a brand new proletarian military science. In this work, Chairman Mao applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism with genius and in a creative way, profoundly expounded the basic viewpoint of the proletariat in regard to war and the scientific method for studying war, made a thorough analysis of the special features of China's revolutionary war, made clear the objective laws of war and laid down a complete set of invincible strategic and tactical principles for waging people's war.

This great work is a masterpiece on military science, the most comprehensive, most complete, most systematic and on the highest level of Marxism; it is the first of its kind on proletarian military strategy and the military programme of the proletarian revolution.

This brilliant work is not only a great Marxist classic on military affairs, it is also a great Marxist classic on political science and philosophy; it applies not only to the field of military affairs, but also to all other fields. It is a powerful ideological weapon for defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

The principles and theories expounded by Chairman Mao in this work are derived from practice and are universal truth tested through practice. The basic laws of China's revolutionary war made clear in this work are also the universal laws of all revolutionary wars. It not only served as the guiding principles that led China's revolutionary wars to great victories in the past, but it is also the guiding principle for our future war against aggression. It has made immeasurable contributions to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples.

We are living in a new, great epoch of world revolution. People's revolution and revolutionary wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America are mounting, raging and developing vigorously. The proletariat and working

people in Europe, North America and Oceania are in the midst of a new awakening. The development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, which is without precedent in history, has pushed the socialist revolution to a deeper and more extensive new stage. But, U.S. imperialism and its accomplices are frantically escalating the war in Vietnam in an attempt to force war on the Chinese people. In these circumstances, a deeper study of this great work so as to master Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking is of vital strategic and realistic significance in guiding the present great proletarian cultural revolution, in smashing surprise attacks by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, in liberating Taiwan, in defending the motherland and in supporting the struggles of the world's revolutionary peoples.

Main Points for Study

As we study this great work, we should pay special attention to grasping the following questions:

I. Take Up the Gun and Use Revolutionary War to Wipe Out Counter-Revolutionary War

Chairman Mao has said: "**War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.**" This is the most scientific, most complete definition on war given by Chairman Mao.

Revolution and revolutionary wars are unavoidable in class society. The brutal exploitation, oppression and plunder by the reactionary ruling classes is bound to provoke the oppressed peoples and nations to fierce resistance. To preserve their rule, the reactionary rulers invariably are the first to use bayonets and guns to deal with the revolutionary people. In these circumstances, the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations, who seek emancipation and who want to seize political power and win victory for the revolution, have to give tit for tat, take up arms and oppose counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force and wipe out counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war. Chairman Mao has said: ". . . it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed." Historical facts prove that the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations have obtained liberation and political power all because they have taken up arms, waged large-scale revolutionary war and wiped out counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war. In China's revolution, it is under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, after a protracted revolutionary war in which imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, who were backed by it, were defeated, that we have gained political power and won victory for the revolution.

U.S. imperialism at present is the most vicious enemy of the people of the world, the ringleader of

all reactionaries. Working hand in glove with the reactionaries of all countries, it frantically plunders and oppresses the people, savagely suppresses people's revolutionary movements and forces war on the revolutionary people. Only by taking up the gun and by opposing counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war can the people of all lands eventually overthrow U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries and gain people's rights and victory for the revolution.

In seizing political power, the revolutionary people must rely on the gun; in defending it, they also must rely on the gun. People who have already seized political power can prevent and smash the internal and external enemies' subversion and aggression only if they constantly think of class struggle, hold the gun firmly in hand and remain highly vigilant at all times. At present, U.S. imperialism, in close co-ordination with the Soviet revisionist leading group, has shifted the emphasis of its global strategy to Asia, directing its spearhead against China. We must make full and good preparations for opposing a U.S. imperialist launched war of aggression, and be ready at any time to deal with the enemy and to fight a war at an early date, to fight a big war, a nuclear war, and all kinds of warfare and fight on several fronts. We must place all our work on a "fighting a war" footing. Should U.S. imperialism and its accomplices dare to force a war of aggression on our people, we shall resolutely use revolutionary war to wipe it out completely.

The modern revisionists, with the C.P.S.U. leadership as their centre, have given much publicity to "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful transition" and "peaceful competition," saying that under the condition that imperialism is in existence, "a world without arms, troops and war" can be realized; they speak of the revolutionary wars of the people of all lands as "adventurism" and the encouragement and support given to these revolutionary wars as "bellicose." This is a shameless sell-out of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and a complete betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. They are the accomplices of U.S. imperialist aggression and plunder. To oppose imperialism, we must resolutely oppose modern revisionism and thoroughly expose its criminal activities of colluding with imperialism and selling out the revolutionary people.

Chairman Mao has emphatically pointed out that all revolutionary wars are just, that mankind's just war is the banner of mankind's salvation, a most lofty and glorious undertaking, and a bridge to a new era in world history. Every one of us revolutionaries must truly follow the teachings of Chairman Mao, resolutely support and actively take part in all just wars and contribute to the complete emancipation of the people of the world, the elimination of the root cause of war, and the establishment of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation.

II. Rely On the Masses and Wage People's War

Chairman Mao has said: "**The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world**

history." (*On Coalition Government*) The human factor and the political factor for ever remain the most fundamental factor for victory in war. Chairman Mao has also said: "A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking." ". . . active support of the population, is the most important one [condition] for the Red Army." Provided that we closely rely on the people and are at one with the people, this army of ours can be invincible everywhere in the world.

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, on the strength of their troops being superior in numbers and in technical equipment, continuously carried out "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the Red Army. But, the Red Army, guided by Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war, had fully mobilized the masses in the base areas. Wherever the Red Army advanced to, the people's support followed; with the people fighting enthusiastically in co-ordination with the Red Army, the enemy was caught in a vast trap, was hit everywhere he went and found it difficult to move an inch with the result that "the fat ones wore out and became thin and the thin ones wore out and died." Whereas the Red Army, growing ever stronger in battle, won brilliant victories in four counter-campaigns against the "encirclement and suppression."

During the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Third Revolutionary Civil War, our army, guided by Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war, relying on the masses and together with them, defeated Japanese imperialism, toppled the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek dynasty which had the backing of U.S. imperialism, founded New China and established the great base for the world revolution.

The revolutionary practice of the world's people, especially that of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, too, has fully borne out that the only correct way for the oppressed nations and peoples to overthrow imperialist and reactionary rule and completely emancipate themselves is to rely on the masses and fight people's war. A most convincing example is the south Vietnamese people who, by relying on people's war, have badly mauled armed-to-the-teeth U.S. imperialism.

No matter how modern weapons and technical equipment may advance, and how complex modern warfare may be, people's war always remains our most effective weapon in dealing with U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. Now that we have made our own guided missile nuclear weapons, it is a heavy blow to U.S.-Soviet collusion for nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail and a great inspiration to the revolutionary people throughout the world who are struggling valiantly. But, in future we will still rely on people's war to defeat the enemy. Chairman Mao said long ago: ". . . 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." (*Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*) Any idea of simply counting on weapons to win victory is very wrong and very harmful.

For the broad masses to take part actively in and support revolutionary war, it is necessary to have wide and deep-going political mobilization, arm the people's minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought, raise their political consciousness to the maximum and bring their revolutionary initiative into play. The revolutionary people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, fear neither hardship nor death and can overcome all kinds of difficulties and defeat every enemy.

Relying on the masses to wage people's war requires arming the entire people and turning all the people into soldiers. There must be strong people's armed forces under the absolute leadership of the Party to serve as the backbone in war and, at the same time, it is imperative to set up armed mass organizations on an extensive scale and to organize and arm as many people as possible so that they can take direct or indirect part in war. Hence the waging of people's war in which the main armed units are integrated with local armed units, regular troops with guerrillas and militia, and the armed masses with the unarmed masses. The idea of abandoning people's guerrilla war and putting sole emphasis on the role of the main forces while neglecting that of local forces, militia and guerrillas is entirely wrong, and so is any idea of placing sole reliance on the main forces in war. The three-in-one integration of the main forces, local forces and militia is the traditional framework in our armed forces. In a future anti-aggression war, it will still be necessary to rely on the masses, militia and guerrillas. The hundreds of millions of people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought constitute a vast and matchless force, the mainstay for defeating the enemy and the real iron bastion which no force on earth can destroy.

The Red Guards, born in the great proletarian cultural revolution, are a generation of new people who have grown up nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought. Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, they dare to think, speak out, act, break through, and make revolution; they have performed everlasting meritorious deeds for the revolution. They are a shock force in the great cultural revolution and a powerful reserve force of the People's Liberation Army. In the event of war, they will go to the battlefields and perform new meritorious deeds in fighting aggression.

The modern revisionists with the leading clique of the Soviet Communist Party at their centre ridiculously allege that rockets and nuclear weapons can decide everything in a modern war and that, against nuclear weapons, the militia is a mere heap of flesh, and so forth. This out-and-out weapons-decide-everything theory of the bourgeoisie is a big exposé of these counter-revolutionary and revisionist renegades.

III. Carry Out Flexible and Mobile Strategy and Tactics and Concentrate Forces to Fight a War of Annihilation

Chairman Mao has made a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war in these

phrases: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't." This means to fully exert our political superiority and the strength of the masses and to use our strong points against the enemy's weak points. We fight in such a way that you cannot hit us or even find us when you want to; when we want to beat you, we will score a direct hit and wipe you out. Strategically, we shall "pit one against ten," while tactically we shall "pit ten against one," concentrating our forces to fight a war of annihilation.

War of annihilation is the fundamental policy of our army's military operations. **Chairman Mao has said: "Only by annihilating the enemy's effective strength can we smash his 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns and expand our revolutionary base areas. . . . Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them."** To fight battles of annihilation is the only way to deal the most effective blow to the enemy and gain victory. During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the big and powerful enemy amassed a force several times or even more than ten times the strength of the Red Army in their "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the weak and small Red Army. Under the personal command of Chairman Mao, the Red Army used the method of concentrating forces to fight a war of annihilation, and succeeded in wiping out large numbers of enemy troops and smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns one after another. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our army's policy for military operations was to regard guerrilla warfare as basic while losing no chance of mobile warfare under favourable conditions. After eight years of bitter fighting, it wiped out the enemy, grew stronger and scored great victories. In the Third Revolutionary Civil War, our army concentrated absolutely superior forces in every battle and wiped out the enemy part by part. In the course of fighting, the bigger the military campaign, the larger the number of enemy troops wiped out and the more powerful our army became. In the three big world-shaking campaigns — Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huaihai and Peiping-Tientsin, 1.54 million enemy troops were wiped out. A total of more than 8 million Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops were knocked out in three years.

First and foremost in a war of annihilation is the concentration of a superior force. Only by concentrating a superior force is it possible to alter the situation between the two opposing sides, to change from an inferior position to a superior one, from passive to active, from weak to strong, and from defensive to offensive, so as to reach the goal of annihilating the enemy. The concentration of forces is a material basis for fighting a war of annihilation. It is necessary, therefore, to concentrate an absolutely superior force in every battle — that is, a force two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength

— encircle the enemy forces from all sides and strive to wipe them out completely without letting any out of the net.

In order to concentrate forces to fight a war of annihilation, it is essential to adopt the policy of luring the enemy deep into our area without fear of sustaining some temporary losses; some cities and areas must be abandoned on our own initiative in a planned way so as to let the enemy in and fight him. Only when the enemy is allowed in, will he be compelled to divide his forces, shoulder heavy burdens and commit mistakes. Only in this way can we gain time for concentrating a superior force to swallow the enemy up mouthful by mouthful and finally defend or capture cities or areas. The idea of dividing forces to defend every position and resisting everywhere out of fear of temporarily losing some territory and sustaining partial losses is entirely wrong since this can neither annihilate the enemy nor hold cities or areas.

The principle of concentrating forces to fight a war of annihilation seems to be easy to carry out but it is rather difficult in practice. Some people usually approve of this method of war. But when it comes to actual war, they often divide their forces either because they regard the enemy lightly or because the enemy so frightens them they lose their initiative; the result is that they find themselves in a passive position and unable to annihilate the enemy. Therefore, however complicated, serious and cruel the conditions they are in, the commanders at every level must be clear-headed from start to finish and concentrate forces to fight a war of annihilation by independently organizing and using their power.

The concentration of forces to fight a war of annihilation is not only the guiding thought for war but for our work in all fields. Whatever work is done, this method must be adopted. We cannot attempt to complete all parts of work in one stroke; they must be completed one by one. Just as a meal can only be eaten mouthful by mouthful, so factories can only be built one by one, and work can only be completed piece by piece. Nothing will be done well if all things are tackled at once without making a distinction between the primary and the secondary and if the forces are scattered. Only by concentrating forces and laying stress on the solution of one or two principal problems without let-up for a period of time — that is, to concentrate forces to fight a war of annihilation — can work be done well.

IV. Learn Warfare Through Warfare, Master Laws of War and Show Initiative in Directing War

Chairman Mao has said: "The laws of war are a problem which anyone directing a war must study and solve." All those who seriously study and master the laws of war and act in accordance with them are able to direct a war correctly and win it. Anyone who

acts to the contrary is certain to be rebuffed and defeated.

Proceeding from the nature of Chinese society and its political, military, economic and other conditions, Chairman Mao made an all-round and penetrating analysis of the principal characteristics of China's revolutionary war, used his genius to make its basic laws clear, creatively solved a series of basic problems concerning directing a war, and guided the Chinese revolutionary war from one great victory to another.

In laying stress on learning warfare through warfare, Chairman Mao created a completely new method of studying and learning the laws of war. This is our chief method. To make revolution and wage a war is often not a matter of learning before doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing itself is learning. Only by following Chairman Mao's instructions and putting "daring" and "doing" above everything else, and courageously plunging into the practice of war — tempering ourselves in the teeth of storms and learning to swim in swimming — can we acquaint ourselves with the laws of war and master them.

The laws of war are the objective laws of the development of the contradictions between the two opposing sides. In order to understand and master them, one must make comprehensive and detailed investigation and study of the various aspects of war conditions. He must become acquainted with the conditions of his own forces and those of the enemy forces and with all other conditions affecting the war. From all this he discovers the laws of action and applies them in practice, so that he wins every battle he fights because he is clear about himself and his enemy.

Though the outcome of war is determined by the military, political, economic, natural and other conditions of the two opposing sides, it is also decided by their subjective ability in directing war. For us to be able to have the initiative in directing a war, the most fundamental thing is to make Chairman Mao's strategic ideas our guide and his great practice our example, be good in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the practice of war and closely combine theory with practice. On the basis of definite material conditions, we give full play to our subjective momentum. In this way we can become both courageous and wise heroes directing and staging a colourful and magnificent drama.

Laws must be grasped both in fighting a war and in tackling other revolutionary work. At present, when we are carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must take Chairman Mao's thought as our guiding principle and the 16-point decision [of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution] as our weapon, courageously throw ourselves into the torrent of the revolutionary struggle and creatively and repeatedly study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of class struggle, making summaries and progress continually until we understand and master the laws of the development of class struggle. Only in

this way can complete victory be won in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

V. Basic Guarantee for Winning Revolutionary War Is the Resolute and Thorough Carrying Out of Chairman Mao's Correct Line

Chairman Mao has said: "Our revolutionary war has proved that we need a correct Marxist military line as well as a correct Marxist political line." The Party's absolute leadership over war is the basic guarantee for carrying out the revolutionary war to the end and winning victory. The most fundamental thing about the Party's leadership over war is to carry out a correct leadership in line. Guided by the correct political and military lines worked out by Chairman Mao, glorious victories were won in the Chinese revolution and revolutionary war.

Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and smoothly, but only in struggle against the "Left" and Right opportunist lines. Back in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, a resolute struggle took place between the correct line represented by Chairman Mao and the Right opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu; the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War saw the "Left" opportunist line overcome three times and the Right opportunist line of Chang Kuo-tao once; during the period of the anti-Japanese war, the Right opportunist line of Wang Ming was defeated. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, several large-scale struggles have been carried out against the representatives of the bourgeois line who have wormed their way into the Party and the army. The struggle between the correct line represented by Chairman Mao and the wrong line of all shades has never ended. This was true during the entire period of the democratic revolution; it has also been true in the period of the socialist revolution and construction.

Chairman Mao has said: "Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war." We must never forget this teaching of Chairman Mao and must wage a resolute and uncompromising struggle against all kinds of erroneous lines. Without defeating the erroneous lines, it would be impossible to thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's correct line and win victories in the revolution and in a revolutionary war.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding in our country is to destroy bourgeois ideas on a big scale and vigorously establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought and arm the 700 million people with his thought. This is the greatest preparation in the event of war in order to smash the aggression that U.S. imperialism and its accomplices may launch against China. We must resolutely and thoroughly carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line in a thoroughgoing way,

and steadfastly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. **Comrade Lin Piao** has said: **"The proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao is as incompatible with the bourgeois reactionary line as fire is to water. Only by thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating its influence can the line of Chairman Mao be carried out correctly, completely and thoroughly."**

Greetings on China's Latest Nuclear Explosion

CHINA carried out a new nuclear explosion with complete success on December 28, 1966. This follows its recent successful guided missile nuclear weapon test. Messages from many parts of the world have been received in Peking greeting this new achievement.

President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, together with Comrades Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong, in a joint message to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, said: "We are delighted to learn that within this year [1966] China has conducted three successful nuclear tests. They represent the raising of China's science and technology to a new level. This is a great encouragement to the Vietnamese people, who are waging a struggle of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and also to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, who are waging heroic struggles for national liberation. It is a great contribution to the defence of world peace."

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, sent warm congratulations to Chairman Mao. His message reads in part: "This brilliant success has raised China's socialist science and technique to an even higher level. It is another great victory for the talented Chinese people, the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung."

"The successes in relation to nuclear testing repeatedly scored by the 700 million Chinese people and the historic victories they have won both at home and internationally have dealt the aggressive plans and criminal schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists most heavy and decisive blows." The message further notes that this is "an encouragement, stimulus and support" to all progressive mankind in "the common struggle against the imperialists and colonialists, and their lackeys."

In his message of greetings addressed to Chairman Mao, **Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, said that the south Vietnamese people and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation were gladdened by the success of China's rapidly developing science and technology, that this was a great encouragement to their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and an in-**

In accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's directive, we must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, defy death to defend and resolutely implement the correct line of Chairman Mao, and turn our army into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought and into a revolutionary army which is extremely proletarianized and extremely militant.

finitely great contribution to consolidating the forces fighting against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, against colonialism, and the safeguarding of Asian and world peace.

Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat, in a message addressed to Premier Chou En-lai, characterized China's three successful nuclear tests in 1966 as a great encouragement to the Laotian people in resisting U.S. aggression and struggling for national salvation.

Comrade Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, in his message to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, described China's new nuclear explosion as a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for the revolutionary classes, peoples and nations of the whole world, and as a new defeat for the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and for the modern revisionists centred on the Soviet revisionist leading clique.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, said in his message to Premier Chou En-lai that Cambodia and its people "share the immense joy of the great and courageous people of China in celebrating, with their leaders and their illustrious and glorious Chairman Mao Tse-tung, this new and outstanding success in the mastery of nuclear energy." China's new success, he added, was the strongest support for the Asian peoples.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council received a message from **Comrade Francois Marty, Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist).** This congratulated the Chinese people who, by relying on themselves and following the precious teachings of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have forged ahead and astonished the world. The success of this major test, the message declares, has "sounded the knell of U.S.-Soviet nuclear blackmail."

Comrade Daniel Campos, Member of the Secretariat of the Bolivian Communist Party, sent a message saying: The Chinese people, loyal to their historic mission of building scientific socialism and resolutely upholding Marxism-Leninism, are making rapid progress in devel-

(Continued on p. 23.)

ROUND THE WORLD

BROWN'S PROPOSAL

From Johnson's Portfolio

Together with Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union have teamed up to give another new twist to their "peace talks" swindle on the Vietnam question.

On December 30, British Foreign Secretary Brown sent urgent messages to the D.R.V. Foreign Minister, U.S. Secretary of State and the "foreign minister" of the south Vietnam puppet regime, asking them to send representatives "to meet together immediately to arrange a cessation of hostilities." Brown's message said that Britain was "willing to offer appropriate facilities" in Hongkong* or any suitable British territory and "arrange for the transmission of such messages as may be necessary between the interested parties for the arrangement of this meeting."

Brown's proposal was immediately acclaimed by the U.S. imperialists. At a press conference on December 31, Johnson expressed his appreciation, saying that the United States was "rather anxious to meet . . . anywhere, anytime that Hanoi is

willing to come to a conference table."

The U.S. imperialists crowed too soon, however. In a statement on January 3, a D.R.V. Foreign Ministry spokesman exposed Brown's proposal as a move made in the service of the U.S. aggressors. He declared that "the United States must stop its aggression, withdraw all its troops and those of its satellites from south Vietnam, put an end to all its acts of war against the D.R.V. and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs by themselves, then peace will be restored immediately." The statement pointed out that, by "calling for peace" at a time when the United States was launching a new "peace offensive" in an attempt to deceive world public opinion and prepare for further intensification of its aggressive war in Vietnam, the British Government was dancing to the U.S. tune in order that the latter may take new and more serious steps to escalate the war.

Brown's proposal was made just after it was officially announced that Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., would visit Britain in February mainly to discuss the Vietnam question. At the same time, Brown wrote to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko asking him "to contribute the weight and authority of the Soviet Government . . . by urging the three governments concerned to nominate representatives to the talks."

The Soviet revisionist leading clique, which has all along done its best to serve the U.S. imperialist scheme to "force peace talks through bombing" and "induce peace talks through a cessation of bombing," has recently stepped up its activities. In order to effect a possible increase of Soviet "influence" in bringing

about "peace talks," it has hinted to Britain that it urge the United States to play the "cessation of bombing" game.

In a letter of reply to U.S. representative Goldberg dated December 31 (see *Peking Review*, No. 1) U.N. Secretary-General U Thant indicated that he would exert his "utmost efforts" to serve the U.S. peace talks scheme. He reiterated his call for a "cessation of bombing" and "de-escalation" of military actions and advocated the "prolongation of the New Year ceasefire."

Brown's proposal and U Thant's reply are both from Johnson's portfolio. While continuing to send reinforcements to south Vietnam and stepping up the bombing of north Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is trying to use the "New Year ceasefire" to turn its "peace talks" scheme into a fait accompli. The Soviet revisionist leading clique is playing the role of Number One accomplice to U.S. imperialism in the latter's intensified efforts to carry out its counter-revolutionary dual tactics.

Chairman Mao has said, "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself."

Just as U.S. aggressive forces in Vietnam will not cease to exist of their own accord, so U.S. imperialism and its collaborators such as the Soviet revisionist leading clique, the British Government and U Thant will not give up the "peace talks" fraud of their own volition. Only by hitting continuously at the U.S. aggressors and exposing the scheme of the Johnson Administration and the Soviet revisionist leading clique can the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation win complete victory.

* For a long time, the British Government has connived at U.S. imperialism's use of Hongkong as a base for aggression against Vietnam. Now it openly proposes that Hongkong be used as a stage for the U.S. "peace talks" farce. This shows the utter stupidity of the British Government in overestimating its own strength in the face of the great 700 million Chinese people.



The American Tune
Cartoon from "Renmin Ribao"

Great New Era of World Revolution

"We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow."

— Mao Tse-tung

Asia: Revolutionary Struggles Surge Forward

Asia in 1966 was an important arena in the struggle of the revolutionary peoples against U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism, helped by the Soviet revisionists, stepped up the shift of the emphasis of its counter-revolutionary global strategy from Europe to Asia. It strove with might and main to establish an anti-China "cordon sanitaire" and to stamp out the flames of the Asian peoples' revolutionary struggle, particularly the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. On the other hand, the revolutionary peoples of the continent, influenced and inspired by Mao Tse-tung's thought, waged a united struggle, time and again frustrating the vile schemes hatched by Washington and its accomplices and defeating the armed onslaughts of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

In Vietnam, the focal point of the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism, the heroic Vietnamese people scored brilliant victories despite the repeated escalations of the war by the U.S. imperialists and their cynical "peace talks" swindles in which they have been aided and abetted by the Soviet revisionist leading group.

More than 100,000 U.S. aggressor troops were put out of action in south Vietnam in 1966. This is more than five times the figure for 1965 and also more than half the number of U.S. reinforcements who arrived during the year. The U.S. and puppet troops now control only the cities and military strongholds. Of south Vietnam's total population of 14 million, only 4 million remain

to be liberated. In north Vietnam, over 800 U.S. planes were shot down in 1966. By effectively pinning down U.S. armed strength and weakening it, the heroic Vietnamese people have completely upset U.S. imperialism's global strategic deployment with the result that their struggle has been both a source of inspiration and a tremendous support for the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples.

In Laos, the patriotic army and people dealt a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism and its running dog, the Laotian Right-wing military group. In 1966, they wiped out and routed more than 10,000 enemy troops and shot down or damaged more than 200 U.S. and puppet planes. Repulsing repeated attacks on the liberated areas, they have extended these areas and smashed the U.S. scheme to occupy Central and Lower Laos and to link up the U.S. positions in the southern part of Laos with those in south Vietnam. This is a big strategic defeat for U.S. imperialism.

Thailand is another major U.S. base for aggression in Southeast Asia where people's war has begun to show its power. As U.S. imperialism stepped up military construction and poured in large reinforcements—there are now over 36,000 U.S. troops in Thailand—the people's resistance grew and even Western news agencies have to admit that the country is fast becoming "a second south Vietnam." Formerly active mainly in northeastern Thailand, the people's armed forces have now extended their operations in the south. From January to mid-November they fought 120 engagements and repeatedly defeated the U.S.-directed encirclement and suppression campaigns. All this has thrown the U.S. and Thai reactionaries into a panic.

U.S. imperialism and its henchmen have launched rabid attacks against the Asian peoples. But these offensives only served to bring about a new popular awakening. In a number of countries, the people have carried on mass political struggle, including armed struggle, against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They have won one victory after another.

In the Philippines, the past year witnessed unabated armed struggle coupled with demonstrations against Yankee imperialism. These demonstrations reached a climax last October when warmonger Johnson called the Manila conference in order once more to escalate U.S. imperialism's aggressive war in Vietnam.

In India, the mass movement against the reactionary Congress government swept the entire country, involving tens of millions of workers, peasants, students and government employees. This movement has broken out of the bonds of economic struggle and the once dominant doctrine of "non-violence" is becoming increasingly discredited.

In Indonesia, the people have waged a sustained struggle against the Rightist military regime despite the fascist bloodbath which took a toll of hundreds of thousands. Reorganizing their ranks, the people have begun to meet counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.

The Japanese people, influenced to an ever greater extent by Mao Tse-tung's thought, have started a tit-for-tat struggle against the assorted followers of the Soviet modern revisionists. A process of regrouping affecting the political, economic, cultural, social and other spheres of life is rapidly taking place in the country's popular organizations. This shows that the forces which are truly fighting for national independence are steadily gathering strength and a new upsurge of the patriotic mass anti-U.S. struggle is in the making.

Africa: A New Awakening of the Peoples

An increasing number of African revolutionaries have come to see

more clearly that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon light for the African revolution. This has exerted a most deep-going influence on the African national-liberation movements.

The African peoples have gone ahead along the path charted by Chairman Mao of "learning warfare through warfare."

The patriotic armed forces of the Congo (L) have continued to fight against the U.S. and Belgian imperialists and their puppets. They have gone deep into the vast countryside and unfolded guerrilla war. They make a point of studying Chairman Mao's works even when engaged in intensive fighting, especially his theory of people's war. They have established their own political power in the guerrilla base areas and organized the masses in developing production. They have studied "the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," as well as Chairman Mao's writings on the building of a people's army, strengthened their ties with the masses and raised the fighters' political consciousness and fighting power.

Chairman Mao's brilliant ideas on people's war have also spread widely in other African countries and regions where patriotic armed struggles are going on. In Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique, the patriots have learnt to use such guerrilla tactics as ambush, surprise attack and luring the enemy in deep, to strike at the enemy and expand their own strength. Patriots who have persevered in armed struggle in northern Angola for more than five years opened a new front last June by extending their armed struggle to the Mozico district in the southeast. The patriots of "Portuguese" Guinea are now in control of about half of the country's territory. The patriotic armed forces in Mozambique have also grown from a few hundred to several thousands. They are setting up base areas.

In 1966, the people of Equatorial Guinea in west Africa and of Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) in central south Africa also took up arms against the colonialists. Guerrilla

activities by revolutionary armed forces have also been reported recently from South West Africa.

Chairman Mao has said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." In an attempt to save themselves from extinction on the African continent, imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States have made frantic counter-attacks on the independent African countries in 1966. However, the imperialists' counter-revolutionary activities have brought a new awakening to the African peoples.

Many countries have learnt a lesson from the counter-revolutionary coup in Ghana and have struck fearlessly at imperialist-engineered plots of subversion and sabotage and won big victories. These included the Uganda people's crushing of the imperialist-directed plot to subvert their government in the period from March to June; the frustration by the Guinean Government and people of an imperialist subversion plot in April; the Tanzanian Government's two successful counter-blows against the conspiratorial and sabotage activities of U.S. and British imperialism in the period from April to October; and the defeat by the Congolese (B) Government, relying on its people, of two imperialist attempts to overthrow it in the period from June to November. The recent anti-U.S. campaign touched off by the kidnapping at the Accra airport of the Guinean delegation to the Ministerial Council Meeting of the Organization of African Unity was a particularly heavy blow to U.S. aggressive activities in Africa.

In the past year, increasing numbers of African revolutionaries have come to understand that to oppose imperialism it is imperative to oppose revisionism. They drew this conclusion from the bitter lessons gained through the undermining or betrayal of their anti-imperialist struggle again and again by the Soviet revisionists, the collaborators of U.S. imperialism.

The patriotic armed forces in western Congo (L), in a statement in January 1966, for example, indignantly condemned the Khrushchov revisionists' betrayal of the great revolutionary Lumumba. The statement pointed out that the Congolese (L) people who had gained experience through various forms of struggle in the previous five years would never again agree to any form of national conciliation suggested by the modern revisionists. It called for efforts to shatter the encirclement of both imperialism and revisionism. In November, eight African nationalist organizations denounced a Soviet-engineered seminar held in Cairo with the purpose of stifling the African revolution.

Latin America: Anti-U.S. Struggles Develop in Depth

Chairman Mao has said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." This has applied to Latin America where the ruthless persecution of the revolutionary forces by U.S. imperialism and its hirelings met with the tough resistance of the peoples.

In August and September, over 100,000 university students in Brazil took part in a valiant, unyielding movement against U.S. imperialism and the military dictatorship. In March, Ecuadorian workers, peasants, students, salaried employees, housewives and others unfolded a nationwide struggle against the pro-U.S. military dictatorship headed by U.S. henchman Jijon and eventually overthrew it. In Argentina, no sooner was the pro-U.S. General Ongania installed in office in June than he was defied by tens of thousands of university students and hundreds of thousands of workers who came out to fight against the dictatorial regime.

During 1966, peasants and agricultural workers of Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, the Dominican Republic and other countries launched numerous land-seizing cam-

paigns and staged anti-starvation marches and strikes in their struggles for land and livelihood. In northeast Brazil, where the peasants are suffering in the deepest misery, the storm clouds of a new mass struggle are gathering.

In the face of the unbridled suppression practised by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, more and more Latin American people have realized that armed struggle is their only way of freeing themselves from exploitation and slavery and winning liberation. Despite repeated encirclement and suppression by the enemy, the guerrillas in Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru and Nicaragua have firmly kept to the path of armed struggle. They have fought in the mountainous regions and in the countryside; they are prepared to wage a protracted and arduous revolutionary war.

Of vital significance is the fact that a number of revolutionary vanguards have begun to accept Chairman Mao's great theory of people's war. They have criticized and repudiated the line of attempting to win an easy victory by the sporadic guerrilla actions of a handful of people instead of relying on the masses. They have emphatically pointed out that, in carrying out a genuine armed struggle,

it is necessary to establish the leadership of the proletarian party, fully mobilize the masses, rely on the peasants, set up rural bases and use the countryside to encircle the cities and eventually capture them.

Furthermore, an increasing number of revolutionaries have come to realize that the main battleground of people's war is in the countryside, and that in order to win victory in the armed struggle it is necessary to rely chiefly on the peasants and to work hard among them for a long time. A number of guerrilla groups have begun to pay attention to the work of mobilizing the peasants.

The Venezuelans, persisting in armed struggle, have made it clear that the leading organs of the armed struggle should be moved from the cities to the mountainous regions. University students in Peru, taking with them Chairman Mao's works, have gone into the Andes Mountains where the Indians live to organize peasants' associations. The Colombian guerrillas, chiefly composed of peasants, have successfully dealt with government troops **fully armed with modern U.S. equipment**, including bombers. They are making full use of all the advantages of their natural surroundings, and using home-made mines, pits and other indigenous

methods. In Guatemala, certain guerrilla detachments are conducting revolutionary propaganda among the peasants, and have started setting up peasants' committees and militia.

In 1966, the revolutionary forces in Latin America have grown stronger in the sharp struggle against modern revisionism, and new-type Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have been established in more and more countries. These new-type Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations adhere to revolutionary principles. Waging tit-for-tat struggles against modern revisionism centred around the leading clique of the C.P.S.U., they have exposed and repudiated "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful transition" and other capitulationist absurdities spread by the modern revisionists. They have drawn a clear line of demarcation between themselves and modern revisionism — politically, ideologically, organizationally, and in their style of work. They have made it a central task of their ideological work to seriously study and energetically popularize Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a matter of far-reaching significance for the deepening of the national-democratic revolutionary movements in Latin America.

(Continued from p. 19.)

oping nuclear power in opposition to the nuclear blackmail of the imperialist forces headed by the U.S. and their accomplice the Soviet revisionists and in defence of socialism and genuine world peace. In other words, he said, the Chinese people, instead of begging imperialism for peace as the modern revisionists shamelessly advocate, were opposing counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war.

Yusuf Adjitorop of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party in a letter of congratulations to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, described China's new successful nuclear explosion as a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. The letter also pointed out that Mao Tse-tung's road, the road of armed revolution against armed counter-revolution, the road of people's war, is the only road for achieving the liberation of the Indonesian people. The letter concludes: "Long life to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era!"

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand in greetings sent to the Chinese C.P. Central

Committee, hails Chairman Mao as the banner guiding the revolutionary people of the world to victory. The success of China's nuclear explosion tests and of its guided missile nuclear weapon test, it added, have all served to inspire and strengthen the confidence and determination of the world's revolutionary people in their struggles. They have been an especially great encouragement to the people of Thailand who are fighting against U.S. imperialism and the traitorous and dictatorial Thanom regime for independence and democracy.

Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), in his letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, said: The three Chinese nuclear tests in 1966 have dealt a tremendous blow at the attempted U.S.-Soviet nuclear monopoly at the very time when U.S. imperialism-Soviet revisionism are stepping up their counter-revolutionary activities. The letter also pointed out that China's moral and material might, its refusal to surrender before U.S. imperialism-Soviet revisionism and this new demonstration — all greatly encouraged the people to throw off U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, Soviet revisionism.

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