Appendix II

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

by Lin Piao

Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee
Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of China

The following excerpts are taken from an article written by Lin Piao and transmitted over Peking NCNA International Service in English on 2 September 1965, and published in a State Department Bulletin.
LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

by Lin Piao

Editor's Note: In commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Chinese "victory" over Japan, Lin Piao unleashed an unusually vitriolic (and unnecessarily long) diatribe against "imperialism" in general, and the United States in particular. Lin presented the "party line" on the strategy and tactics of people's wars, or as Krushchev had named them - "wars of national liberation." In this speech, Lin Piao outlined how the strategy of protracted war, which had supposedly been responsible for the Chinese people's victory over Japan, could be applied on an international scale. In this policy statement of China's international intentions several conclusions became quite clear.

1. The Chinese Communist feel that the strategy and tactics of the protracted war are capable of overcoming any degree of military technology and firepower.

2. Further, the Chinese show nothing but contempt for the Russian inclinations toward "coexistence." Clearly, the Chinese Communists are demanding the violent overthrow of capitalist countries, and they consider themselves at the epicenter of direction and influence in this struggle.

3. Despite their bellicosity, the Reds seem to have subtly informed their struggling communist compatriots that each country must prepare to win this kind of war without outside assistance. (See "Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance," P.198)

4. Finally, the war in Vietnam is held up as the "test case" for their philosophy. If the "people's war" can defeat the United States in Vietnam, Lin Piao boasts convincingly that the same strategy can succeed in all other "rural" areas of the world. And, that eventually the "rural" areas of the world will surround and annihilate the "urban" centers - namely Western Europe and the United States.
A full twenty years have elapsed since our victory in the great war of resistance against Japan. After a long period of heroic struggle the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, won final victory two decades ago in their war against the Japanese imperialists who had attempted to subject China and swallow up all of Asia.

Today, the U.S. imperialists are repeating on a worldwide scale the past actions of the Japanese imperialists in China and other parts of Asia. It has become an urgent necessity for the people in many countries to master and use people's war as a weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In every conceivable way, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are trying to extinguish the revolutionary flames of people's war. The Krushchev revisionsists, fearing people's war like the plague, are heaping abuse on it. The two are colluding to prevent and sabotage people's war. In these circumstances, it is of vital practical importance to review the historical experience of the great victory of the people's war in China and to recapitulate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war.

The CCP and Comrade Mao Tse-tung were able to lead the Chinese people to victory in the war of resistance against Japan primarily because they formulated and applied a Marxist-Leninist line.

In the summer of 1937 Japanese imperialism unleashed its all-out war of aggression against China. The nationwide war of resistance thus broke out.

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

The defeatists came forward with the assertion that... China could win very quickly, without much effort.

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

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

Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas

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

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

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

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

During the war of resistance against Japan, the Japanese imperialism forces occupied many of China's big cities and the main lines of communication, but due to the shortage of troops they were unable to occupy the vast countryside, which remained the vulnerable sector of the enemy's rule. Consequently, the possibility of building rural base areas became even greater. Shortly after the beginning of the war of resistance, when the Japanese forces surged into China's hinterland and the Kuomintang forces crumbled and fled in one defeat after another, the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies led by our party followed the wise policy laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and boldly drove into the areas behind the enemy lines in small contingents and established base areas throughout the countryside. During the eight years of the war, we established nineteen anti-Japanese base areas in northern, central, and southern China. With the exception of the big cities and the main lines of communication, the vast territory in the enemy's rear was in the hands of the people.

The base areas established by our party became the center of gravity in the Chinese people's struggle to resist Japan and save the country. Relying on these bases, our party expanded and strengthened the people's revolutionary forces, persevered in the protracted war, and eventually won the war of resistance against Japan.
At the same time, the work of building the revolutionary base areas was a grand rehearsal in preparation for nationwide victory. In these base areas, we built the party, ran the organs of state power, built the people's armed forces, and set up mass organizations; we engaged in industry and agriculture and operated cultural, educational and all other undertakings necessary for the independent existence of a separate region. Our base areas were in fact a state in miniature. And with the steady expansion of our work in the base areas, our party established a powerful people's army, trained cadres for various kinds of work, accumulated experience in many fields, and built up both the material and the moral strength that provided favourable conditions for nationwide victory.

The revolutionary base established in the war of resistance later became the springboards for the people's war of liberation, in which the Chinese people defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries. In the war of liberation we continued the policy of first encircling the cities from the countryside and then capturing the cities, and thus won nationwide victory.

Build a People's Army of a New Type

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

The special feature of the Chinese revolution was armed revolution against armed counter-revolution. The main form of struggle was war and the main form of organization was the army which was under the absolute leadership of the CCP, while all the other forms of organization and struggle led by our party were coordinated, directly or indirectly, with the war.
During the anti-Japanese war our army stanchly performed the three tasks set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, namely, fighting, mass work, and production, and it was at the same time a fighting force, a political work force, and a production corps. Everywhere it went, it did propaganda work among the masses, organized and armed them and helped them set up revolutionary political power. Our armymen strictly observed the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention, carried out campaigns to "support the government and cherish the people," and did good deeds for the people...to overcome economic difficulties, better their own livelihood, and lighten the people's burden. By their exemplary conduct they won the wholehearted support of the masses, who affectionately called them "our own boys."

Our army consisted of local forces as well as of regular forces; moreover, it energetically built and developed the militia, thus practicing the system of combining the three formations, that is, the regular forces, the local forces, and the militia.

Our army also pursued correct policies in winning over enemy officers and men and in giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. During the anti-Japanese war we not only brought about the revolt and surrender of large numbers of puppet troops, but succeeded in converting not a few Japanese prisoners, who had been badly poisoned by fascists ideology. After they were politically awakened, they organized themselves into antiwar organizations such as the League for the Liberation of the Japanese People, the Antiwar League of the Japanese in China, and the League of Awakened Japanese, helped us to disintegrate the Japanese Army, and cooperated with us in opposing Japanese militarism. Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, the leader of the Japan Communist Party, who was then in Yenan, gave us great help in this work.

The essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is that in building a people's army prominence must be given to politics, that is, the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis. Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the lifeline of our army. True, a people's army must pay
attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and its military

technique; but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons, and technique, it

relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage

of the commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses.

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

Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics of People's War

Engels said, "The emancipation of the proletariat, in its turn, will have its specific

expression in military affairs and create its specific new military method."³ Engels

profound prediction has been fulfilled in the revolutionary wars waged by the Chinese people

under the leadership of the CCP. In the course of protracted armed struggle, we have

created a whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war by which we have been able

to utilize our strong points to attack the enemy at his weak points.

During the war of resistance against Japan, on the basis of his comprehensive

analysis of the enemy and ourselves, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the following

strategic principle for the communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth armies: "Guerrilla

warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favorable conditions."⁴ He

raised guerrilla warfare to the level of strategy because, if they are to defeat a

formidable enemy, revolutionary armed forces should not fight with reckless disregard

for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the

enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the

revolution. Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength

of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces in the course of the
war, deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerrilla to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy.

In the initial period of the second revolutionary civil war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung enumerated the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as follows: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." Guerrilla war tactics were further developed during the war of resistance against Japan. In the base areas behind the enemy lines, everybody joined in the fighting—the troops and the civilian population, men and women, old and young; every single village fought. Various ingenious methods of fighting were devised, including "sparrow warfare," landmine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage warfare, and guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers.

In the later period of the war of resistance against Japan and during the third revolutionary civil war, we switched our strategy from that of guerrilla warfare as the primary form of fighting to that of mobile warfare in the light of the changes in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves. By the middle, and especially the later period of the third revolutionary civil war, our operations had developed into large-scale mobile warfare, including the storming of big cities.

War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations. This guiding principle should be put into effect regardless of whether mobile or guerrilla warfare is the primary form of fighting. It is true that in guerrilla warfare much should be done to disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary to actively advocate and fight battles of annihilation whenever conditions are favorable. In mobile warfare superior forces must be concentrated in every battle so that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's 10 fingers is not as effective as chopping off
Battles of annihilation are the most effective way of hitting the enemy; each time one of his brigades or regiments is wiped out, he will have one brigade or one regiment less, and the enemy forces will be demoralized and will disintegrate. By fighting battles of annihilation, our army is able to take prisoners of war or capture weapons from the enemy in every battle, and the morale of our army rises, our army units get bigger, our weapons become better, and our combat effectiveness continually increases.

In his celebrated 10 cardinal military principles, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, [few words indistinct] in terms of numbers, we, are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

At the same time, he said that we should first attack dispersed or isolated enemy forces and only attack concentrated and strong enemy forces later; that we should strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare; that we should fight no battle unprepared and fight no battle we are not sure of winning; and that in any battle we fight we should develop our army's strong points and its excellent style of fighting. These are the major principles of fighting a war of annihilation.

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

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

Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance

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

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

The Chinese people enjoyed the support of other peoples in winning both the war of resistance against Japan and the people's liberation war, and yet victory was mainly the result of the Chinese people's own efforts. Certain people assert that China's victory in the war of resistance was due entirely to foreign assistance. This absurd assertion is in tune with that of the Japanese militarists.
The liberation of the masses is accomplished by the masses themselves—this is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way.

During the war of resistance against Japan, our party maintained that China should rely mainly on its own strength while at the same time trying to get as much foreign assistance as possible. We firmly opposed the Kuomintang ruling clique's policy of exclusive reliance on foreign aid. In the eyes of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, China's industry and agriculture were no good, its weapons and equipment were no good, nothing in China was any good, so that if it wanted to defeat Japan, it has to depend on other countries, and particularly on the U.S.-British imperialists. This was completely slavish thinking. Our policy was diametrically opposed to that of the Kuomintang. Our party held that it was possible to exploit the contradictions between U.S.-British imperialism and Japanese imperialism, but that no reliance could be placed on the former. In fact, the U.S.-British imperialists repeatedly plotted to bring about a "Far Eastern Munich" to arrive at a compromise with Japanese imperialism at China's expense, and for a considerable period of time they provided the Japanese aggressors with war material. In helping China during that period, the U.S. imperialists harbored the sinister design of turning China into a colony of their own.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "China has to rely mainly on its own efforts in the war of resistance." He added, "we hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the people." Self-reliance was especially important for the people's armed forces and the liberated areas led by our party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that our fundamental policy should rest on the foundation of our own strength. Only by relying on our own efforts can we in all circumstances remain invincible.
To make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country, and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country, and does not rely on the strength of the masses but leans wholly on foreign aid—even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution—no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won.

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

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the Great October Revolution. The road of the October Revolution is the common road for all people's revolutions. The Chinese revolution and the October Revolution have in common the following basic characteristics:

1) both were led by the working class with a Marxist-Leninist party as its nucleus; 2) both were based on the worker-peasant alliance; 3) in both cases state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established; 4) in both cases the socialist system was built after victory in the revolution; and 5) both were component parts of the proletarian world revolution.

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great merit lies in the fact that he has succeeded in integrating
the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism by his masterly generalization and summation of the experience gained during the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war has been proved by the long practice of the Chinese revolution to be in accord with the objective laws of such wars and to be invincible. It has not only been valid for China, it is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world.

The people's war led by the CCP, comprising the war of resistance and the revolutionary civil wars, lasted 22 years. It constitutes the most drawn-out and most complex people's war led by the proletariat in modern history, and it has been the richest in experience.

In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it, "force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." 10

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." 11

He clearly pointed out: The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically. To despise the enemy strategically is an elementary requirement for a revolutionary. Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make revolution and wage a people's war, let alone to achieve victory.

The imperialists are extremely afraid of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all oppose and attack this thesis and the Philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But all this cannot in the least diminish its importance. The light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman and the military scientist, proficient at directing war in accordance with its laws. By the line and policies, the strategy and tactics he formulated for the people's war, he led the Chinese people in steering the ship of the people's war past all hidden reefs to the shores of victory in most complicated and difficult conditions.

It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys.
Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant question is extremely important in these regions. The peasants constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution against the imperialists and their lackeys. In committing aggression against these countries, the imperialists usually begin by seizing the big cities and the main lines of communication, but they are unable to bring the vast countryside completely under their control. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can maneuver freely. The countryside and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of establishing revolutionary base areas in the rural districts and encircling the cities from the countryside is attracting more and more attention among the people in these regions.

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The socialist countries should regard it as their internationalist duty to support the people's revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
Ours in the epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom and socialism and communism are marching to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war is not only a product of the Chinese revolution, but has some characteristics of our epoch. The new experience gained in the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries since World War II has provided continuous evidence that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the whole world. This is the great international significance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people. But these weapons cannot save U.S. imperialism from its doom. Nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly.

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

However fully developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon that the physical atom bomb.

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

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

The Krushchev Revisionists are Betrayers of People's War

The Krushchev revisionists have come to the rescue of U.S. imperialism just when it
is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with people's war. Working hand
in glove with the U.S. imperialists, they are doing their utmost to spread all kinds of
arguments against people's war and, wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine
it by overt or covert means.

The Krushchev revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable
of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons, whatever methods of fighting it may adopt.
This is tantamount to saying that anyone without nuclear weapons is destined to come to
grief, destined to be bullied and annihilated, and must either capitulate to the enemy when
confronted with his nuclear weapons or come under the "protection" of some other nuclear
power and submit to its beck and call. Isn't this the jungle law of survival par excellence?
Isn't this helping the imperialists in their nuclear blackmail? Isn't this openly forbidding
people to make revolution?

The Krushchev revisionists maintain that a single spark in any part of the globe may
touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind. If this were
true, our planet world would have been destroyed time and time again. There have been
wars of national liberation throughout the 20 years since World War II. But has any single
one of them developed into a world war? Isn't it true that the U.S. imperialists' plans
for a world war have been upset precisely thanks to the wars of national liberation in
Asia, Africa, and Latin America? By contrast, those who have done their utmost to
stamp out the "sparks" of people's war have in fact encouraged U.S. imperialism in its
aggressions and wars.
"While magistrates are allowed to burn down houses, the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." Such is the way of the imperialists and reactionaries. Subscribing to this imperialist philosophy, the Krushchev revisionists shout at the Chinese people standing in the forefront of the fight for world peace: "You are bellicose!" Gentlemen, your abuse adds to our credit. It is this very "bellicosity" of ours that helps to prevent imperialism from unleashing a world war. The people are "bellicose" because they have to defend themselves and because the imperialists and reactionaries force them to be so. It is also the imperialists and reactionaries who have taught the people the arts of war. We are simply using revolutionary "bellicosity" to cope with counterrevolutionary bellicosity. How can it be argued that the imperialists and their lackeys may kill people everywhere, while the people must not strike back in self-defense or help one another? What kind of logic is this? The Krushchev revisionists regard imperialists like Kennedy and Johnson as "sensible" and describe us together with all those who dare to carry out armed defense against imperialist aggression as "bellicose." This has revealed the Krushchev revisionists in their true colors as the accomplices of imperialist gangsters.

To win the struggle against U.S. imperialism and carry people's wars to victory, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world must resolutely oppose Krushchev revisionism.

The peoples of the world now have the lessons of the October Revolution, the anti-fascist war, the Chinese people's war of resistance and war of liberation, the Korean people's war of resistance to U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people's war of liberation and their war of resistance to U.S. aggression, and the people's revolutionary armed struggles in many other countries. Provided each people study these lessons well and creatively integrate them with the concrete practice of revolution in their own country, there is no doubt that the revolutionary peoples of the world will stage still more powerful and splendid dramas in the theater of people's war in their countries and that they will wipe off the earth once and for all the common enemy of all the peoples -- U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

209
The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression. The determination of the Chinese people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is unshakable. No matter what U.S. imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people until every single one of the U.S. aggressors is driven out of Vietnam.

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

We want to tell the U.S. imperialists once again that the vast ocean of several hundred million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge your few million aggressor troops. If you dare to impose war on us, we shall gain freedom of action. It will then not be up to you to decide how the war will be fought. We shall fight in the ways most advantageous to us to destroy the enemy and wherever the enemy can be most easily destroyed. Since the Chinese people were able to destroy the Japanese aggressors 20 years ago, they are certainly still more capable of finishing off the U.S. aggressors today. The naval and air superiority you boast about cannot intimidate the Chinese people, and neither can the atom bomb you brandish at us. If you want to send troops, go ahead, the more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send, and can even give you receipts. The Chinese people are a great, valiant people. We have the courage to shoulder the heavy burden of combatting U.S. imperialism and to contribute our share in the struggle for final victory over this most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.
We are optimistic about the future of the world. We are confident that the people will bring to an end the epoch of wars in human history. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that war, this monster, "will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future, too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counterrevolutionary war with revolutionary war."13

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

Victory will certainly go to the people of the world!

Long live the victory of people's war!
NOTES


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


8 Mao Tse-tung, "Interview With Three Correspondents From the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, the SAO TANG PAO, and the HSIN MIN PAO," Selected Works, Vol. 2.

9 Mao Tse-tung, "We Must Learn To Do Economic Work," Selected Works, Vol. 3.


12 Ibid.
