

Mao Tze-tung:

PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

(Report of Mao Tze-tung to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on December 25, 1947)

This is the fifth important document which Mao Tze-tung has published since 1937. The first was "On Protracted War" (1938) being an analysis of the nature of China's war against Japan. The second "On A New Stage" (1938) discusses the stalemate during the development of the war against Japan. The third, "New Democracy" (1939) gives the broad outline for the future development of China; the fourth "On Coalition Government" (1945) explains the nature of China's prospective democratic coalition government.

A. A Turning Point in History

The revolutionary war of the Chinese people has now reached a turning point. That is, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has repelled the attacks of the millions of reactionary troops of Chiang Kai-shek, running dog of America; and has enabled itself to go over to the offensive. As far back as the first year of the war, from July 1946, to June 1947, the People's Liberation Army had repelled Chiang Kai-shek's offensives on several battle fronts, forcing him over to the defensive. And since the first quarter of the second year of war, between July and September 1947, the People's Liberation Army has gone over to the offensive on a nation-wide scale, and smashed Chiang Kai-shek's counter revolutionary plans of continuing to head the war toward the Liberated Areas for the purpose of thorough destruction of the Liberated Areas. At present, the war is already not waged mainly in the Liberated Areas but in Kuomintang controlled areas: the main forces of the People's Liberation Army have already fought into Kuomintang controlled areas. The Chinese People's Liberation Army in this land of China has reversed the counter revolutionary wheels of American imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of brigands onto the road to ruin; they have pushed forward their own revolutionary wheels along the road to victory.

This is a turning point in history. It is the turning point from growth to extermination in the 20 years' counter revolutionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek. It is the turning point from growth to extermination in more than one hundred years rule of imperialism in China.

This is a great event. This event is great in character because it occurs in a country having a population of 450,000,000, and once it has taken place, it will of necessity go toward nation-wide victory. This event is furthermore great in character because it occurs in the eastern part of the world in which is a population totaling more than one billion (half of mankind) suffering under the oppression of imperialism; the passing over of the Chinese people's war of liberation from the

defensive to the offensive cannot but bring about jubilation and encouragement among these oppressed nations. At the same time, it is also a kind of aid to the oppressed peoples now struggling in the various countries of Europe and the Americas.

B. “We must defeat Chiang Kai-shek, because the war launched by him is a counter revolutionary war directed by American imperialism...”

From the very day on which Chiang Kai-shek launched the counter revolutionary war, we said that we not only must, but moreover can, defeat Chiang Kai-shek. We must defeat Chiang Kai-shek, because the war launched by him is a counter revolutionary war directed by American imperialism against the independence of the Chinese Nation and the liberation of the Chinese people.

The tasks of the Chinese people after the conclusion of World War II and the overthrow of Japanese imperialism, were to effect new democratic reforms politically, as well as economically and culturally, to realise the unity and independence of the nation and to change from an agricultural country into an industrial country. But precisely at this time, after the victorious conclusion of World War II, American imperialism and its running dogs in various countries have replaced German and Japanese imperialism and their running dogs, and organised a reactionary camp against the Soviet Union and the New Democratic Countries of Europe, against the workers movement in the capitalist countries, against the national movement in the colonies; and against the liberation of the Chinese people. At such a time the Chinese reactionary clique headed by Chiang Kai-shek acted as the running dog of American imperialism, exactly like the running dog of Japanese imperialism, Wang Ching-wei. They sold out China to America, unleashed war, opposed the Chinese people and obstructed the advance of the cause of the Chinese people's liberation. Hence, at such a time as this, had we displayed weakness and yielded, had we not dared resolutely to arise to fight counter revolutionary war with revolutionary war, China would have become a world of darkness, and future of our nation would have been sacrificed. The Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese People's Liberation Army in resolution, waging a patriotic, just, revolutionary war against the offensive of Chiang Kai-shek. Basing its belief on the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese Communist Party clearly estimated the international and domestic situation, and knew that all the attacks of domestic and foreign reactionaries not only must, but moreover, could be defeated. At the time when the skies seemed to be dark, we pointed out that this was but a temporary phenomenon; the tempest would soon be over, the light of dawn was just ahead.

At the time when Chiang Kai-shek's gang of brigands launched a nation-wide counter revolutionary war in July 1946, they considered that only 3 to 6 months were required in which to defeat the People's Liberation Army. They considered that they had 2,000,000 regular army troops, more than 1,000,000 irregular troops and more than 1,000,000 personnel and troops of rear area military organisations—a total military strength of more than 4,000,000 men; they had already utilized time to complete preparations for the offensive; they again controlled the big cities; they held a population of more than 3,000,000; they had taken over all the equipment of

the 1,000,000 troops of the Japanese army invading China; they had obtained the huge military and financial aid of the United States Government. Furthermore, they considered that the Chinese People's Liberation Army had already fought itself weary in the course of the 3 years anti-Japanese war, and was far behind the KMT

army in numbers and equipment; the Chinese liberated areas still only had a population of a little over 100,000,000, the reactionary forces of feudalism in most of these areas had not yet been eradicated; the land reform was still not universal and thorough; the rear of the People's Liberation Army was not yet consolidated. On the basis of all these, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, heedless of the Chinese people's yearning for peace, once and for all tore up the Truce Agreement signed between the Communist and Kuomintang parties

in January 1946, and the Resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference of various parties and groups, and launched an adventurous war. At that time, we said that our enemy's superiority in military strength was only a temporary phenomenon, a factor playing only a temporary role; the aid of American imperialism was likewise a factor playing only a temporary role; while the anti-popular nature of Chiang Kai-shek's war, and the support or opposition of the people are factors playing a constant role; and in these respects, the People's Liberation Army held superiority. The war of the People's Liberation Army is of a patriotic; just, and revolutionary nature which must of necessity obtain 'the support of the people throughout the country. This is the political basis for victory over Chiang Kai-shek. The experience of 18 months war fully bears out our judgement.

c. Principal Methods By Which People's Liberation Army Defeats Chiang

17 months of combat (July 1946 to November 1947—December not yet included) destroyed a total of 1,690,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's regular and irregular troops, of which 640,000 were killed or wounded and 1,050,000 were taken prisoner. Our troops were thus enabled to repel the offensives of Chiang Kai-shek, preserve the basic regions of the Liberated Areas and go over to the offensive. Militarily speaking, we were able to do this because we carried out a correct strategic line. Our military principles are:



MAO TZE TUNG

A Portrait by Li Man-feng
from "South Seas Pictorial," Singapore

1. First strike scattered and isolated enemies, and later strike concentrated, powerful enemies.

2. First take small and middle-sized towns and cities and the broad countryside; and later take big cities;

3. The major objective is the annihilation of the enemy fighting strength, and not the holding or taking of cities and places. The holding or taking of cities and places is the result of the annihilation of the enemy's fighting strength, which often has to be repeated many times before they can be finally held or taken.

4. In every battle, concentrate absolutely superior forces—double, triple, quadruple, and sometimes even five or six times those of the enemy—to encircle the enemy on all sides, and strive for his annihilation, with none escaping from the net. Under specific conditions, adopt the method of dealing the enemy smashing blows, that is, the concentration of all forces to strike the enemy's centre and one or both of the enemy's flanks, aiming at the destruction of a part of the enemy and the routing of another part so that our troops can swiftly transfer forces to smash another enemy group. Avoid battles of attrition in which gains are not sufficient to make up for the losses, or in which the gains merely balance the losses. Thus we are inferior taken as a whole—numerically speaking—but our absolute superiority in every section and in every specific campaign guarantees the victory of each campaign. As time goes by, we will become superior, taken as a whole, until the enemy is totally destroyed.

5. Fight no unprepared engagements; fight no engagements in which there is no assurance of victory. Strive for preparation and assurance of victory in every engagement based on the relative conditions of our forces and those of the enemy.

6. Promote and exemplify valour in combat; fear no sacrifice or fatigue nor continuous actions—that is, fighting several engagements in succession within a short period without respite.

7. Strive to destroy the enemy while in movement. At the same time, emphasize the tactics of attacking positions, wresting strong points and bases from the enemy.

8. With regard to assaults on cities, resolutely wrest from the enemy all strong points and cities which are weakly defended. At favourable opportunities, wrest all the enemy's strong points and cities which are defended to a medium degree and where the circumstances permit. Wait until conditions mature, and then wrest all enemy strong points and cities which are powerfully defended.

9. Replenish ourselves by the capture of all enemy arms and most of his personnel. The source of men and materiel for our army is mainly at the front.

10. Skilfully utilize the intervals between two campaigns for resting, regrouping and training troops. The period of rest and regrouping should in general not be too long. As far as possible do not let the enemy have breathing space.

All the above are the principal methods by which the People's Liberation Army defeats Chiang Kai-shek.

These methods were forged by the People's Liberation Army in the course of prolonged warfare with domestic and foreign enemies, and are entirely suitable to our present conditions. Chiang Kai-shek's gang of brigands and the military

personnel of American imperialism in China are well aware of our military methods. Chiang Kai-shek has many times called together his generals and field officers for training, issuing for study our military books and documents obtained in battle, attempting to seek counter-measures.

The American military personnel suggest this and that strategy and tactic to Chiang Kai-shek for destroying the People's Liberation Army, directly train troops for Chiang Kai-shek, and supply him with military equipment. But none of these efforts can save Chiang Kai-shek's gang of brigands from defeat. This is because our strategy and tactics are founded on a people's war. No anti-popular army can utilize our strategy and tactics. A vital factor in conquering the enemy is the establishment of strong and powerful revolutionary political work by the People's Liberation Army based on a people's war and on the solidarity of army and people, the solidarity of commanders and fighters, and the disintegration of the enemy.

When we dodged the mortal blows of the superior enemy, transferred our military forces to seek the destruction of the enemy in movement, and abandoned many cities on our own initiative, our enemy was jubilant. They considered that this was their victory and our defeat. They went dizzy over the so-called successes of a moment.

On the second day of Kalgan's occupation Chiang Kai-shek ordered the convening of his reactionary National Assembly, as if his reactionary rule would henceforth be as secure as the Tai Mountain.* The American imperialists were also cutting joyous capers, as if their wild schemes of converting China into an American colony could henceforth be carried out without hindrance.

But as time went by, Chiang Kai-shek and his American masters changed their tune. Now all domestic and foreign enemies are dominated by pessimistic sentiments. They heave great sighs, loudly proclaiming a crisis; and not even a trace of joy is to be seen.

In the course of 18 months, most of Chiang Kai-shek's high-ranking frontline commanders have been dismissed or replaced because of their military defeats. Among them are Chengchow's Liu Chih, Hsueh's Hsueh Yueh, north Kiangsu's Wu Chi-wei, south Shantung's Tang En-po, North Honan's Wang Chung-lien, Mukden's Tu Yu-ming and Hsiung Shih-hui, Peiping's Sun Lien-chung and others. Chiang Kai-shek's Chief of the General Staff, Chen Cheng, empowered with the direction of overall operations was also deprived of this power of command, and demoted to commander on a single battle front—Manchuria. But during the period in which Chiang Kai-shek himself replaced Chen Cheng as overall commander, there developed the situation in which Chiang's armies passed over from the offensive to the defensive and the People's Liberation Army passed over from the defensive to the offensive. Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique and their American masters should now be aware of their own mistakes. They regarded all the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party for a long period after the Japanese surrender, in striving for peace and opposing civil war, and representing the yearnings of the Chinese people, as expressions of cowardice and feebleness. They over-estimated

* Taishan is one of China's five famous mountains.

their own strength, under-estimated revolutionary strength, adventurously unleashed war; and thereby fell into the trap they themselves had laid. The strategic calculations of the enemy are thoroughly miscarried.

D. Satisfy Demands of Poor Peasants and Unite Middle Peasants.

At present, the rear areas of the People's Liberation Army are much more consolidated than they were 18 months ago. That is the outcome of our Party's firmly siding with the peasants in reforming the agrarian system. During the anti-Japanese war, for the sake of establishing an anti-Japanese united front with the Kuomintang and uniting all people who at the time were still capable of resisting Japan, our party on its own initiative changed from the policy before the anti-Japanese war of confiscating landlord's lands and distributing them to the peasants to that of reducing rents and interest—this was entirely necessary.

After the Japanese surrender, the peasants urgently demanded land and we therefore made a timely decision to change the agrarian policy of reducing rents and interest to one of confiscating the lands of the landlord class and distributing them to the peasants. The directive issued by our Party's Central Committee on May 4th, 1946 expressed this change. In September 1947, our party convened a national agrarian conference, worked out the basic program on Chinese agrarian law, and immediately carried it out universally throughout the various areas. This step not only affirmed the line of last year's May 4th directive, but also made clear-cut rectifications of certain unthoroughness (the landlords obtaining more land and properties than the peasants; the land and properties of rich peasants being left untouched in principle). The Basic Program on Chinese Agrarian Law stipulates that under the principle of eliminating the agrarian system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and carrying out the agrarian system of land to the tillers, the land shall be equally distributed according to population. This is the most thorough method for eliminating the feudal system, and is entirely in conformity with the demands of the broad masses of Chinese peasants. For the sake of resolutely and thoroughly carrying out agrarian reform, not only peasant unions of the broadest mass character, and their elected committees, comprising farm labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants must be organized in the villages; but also, and first of all, poor peasants leagues, and their elected committees, comprising the masses of poor peasants and farm labourers must be organized in the villages. These shall be the legal organs for carrying out agrarian reform, and the poor peasants league should become the backbone leading all rural struggles. Our line is to rely on poor peasants and solidly unite with middle peasants to destroy the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation system of the landlord class and old-type rich peasants. The land and properties which should be distributed to landlords and rich peasants shall not exceed those distributed to the peasant masses. But neither should the ultra-left, erroneous policy carried out between 1931 and 1934, the so-called "distribute no land to the landlords, and poor land to the rich peasants" be repeated. Although the proportion of landlords and rich peasants in the village population may be greater or smaller in various places, generally speaking they make up only approximately 8 percent (reckoned in families), but the land they hold, generally speaking, makes up

70 to 80 percent of all land. Therefore, the object which our agrarian reform opposes is a very small number of people, whereas the number of people (families) in the villages who can and should participate in the agrarian reform united front make up as much as over 90 percent.

Two basic principles must be noted here: firstly it is necessary to satisfy the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers—this is the most basic task of agrarian reform. Secondly it is necessary to resolutely unite the middle peasants and not injure the basic principles, and the tasks of our agrarian reform will surely be triumphantly completed. In accordance with the principle of equal distribution, the surplus land and a portion of the properties of old-type rich peasants should be taken for distribution because China's rich peasants in general have a heavy feudal and semi-feudal exploiting nature—most rich peasants at the same time collect land rents and engage in usury, and their conditions of hiring labour are semi-feudal. Also because the land they hold is very great in quantity and very good in quality, the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers cannot be satisfied if equal distribution is not carried out. But, in accordance with the stipulations of the Basic Program on Chinese Agrarian Law, there should in general be differentiation between the treatment of rich peasants and landlords.

In the course of agrarian reform, the middle peasants express their approval of equal distribution of land because equal distribution does not harm the middle peasants. In the equal distribution, the land of a portion of the middle peasants remains unchanged, the land of another portion increases. Only a portion of well-to-do middle peasants have a small quantity of surplus land, and they are willing to hand it over for equal distribution—this is because after equal distribution their land tax burden is lighter. Nevertheless, in the carrying out of equal distribution in the various areas, it is still necessary to heed the opinions of the middle peasants; if they do not agree, concessions should be made to them. In the confiscation or distribution of the land and properties of the feudal classes, attention should be paid to the needs of certain middle peasants. In the demarcation of class composition, care must be taken not to assign those who are really middle peasants erroneously to the rich peasant category. Active elements among the middle peasants must be absorbed into peasant union committees and the government and their work. With regard to the burden of land-taxation and support of the war, just and equitable principles should be adopted. All these are the concrete policies that



"The Puppet"—By Liao Ping-hsuong

must be adopted by our Party in carrying out this strategic task of solidly uniting the middle peasants.

The entire Party must understand that the thorough reform of the agrarian system is the basic task of the present stage of the Chinese revolution. If we can universally and thoroughly solve agrarian question, we will have obtained the most basic condition required for conquering all enemies.

E. Reorganize and Purify the Party Ranks.

For the sake of resolutely and thoroughly carrying out agrarian reform and consolidating the rear-areas of the People's Liberation Army, it is necessary to reorganize and purify the ranks of the party. The movement for the reformation of ideology and style of work within our Party during the period of the anti-Japanese war, in general attained success. This success lay, in the main, with the fact that our Party's leading organs as well as many cadres have gone a step further in their grasp of such a basic orientation as the integration of the universal truth of Marxism, Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In this respect, our party has taken a great stride forward in comparison with the several historical periods prior to the anti-Japanese war. However, the question of impure composition and working-style of the Party's local organizations, and especially of the Party's primary rural organizations was solved. During the 11 years from 1937 to 1947, our Party organization developed from several tens of thousands of Party members to 2,700,000 Party members—this is a huge leap forward. It has made our Party an unprecedentedly powerful Party. It provided us with the possibilities of defeating Japanese imperialism and repelling the offensives of Chiang Kai-shek, and leading the liberated areas of more than 100,000,000 population and a People's Liberation Army 2,000,000 strong. But along with this also came defects. That is, many landlord, rich peasant, and lumpen-proletarian elements took this opportunity to slip into our Party. They dominate many party, government and mass organizations in the rural areas; took it over, bully and oppress the people, and distort the Party's policies, causing these organizations to become alienated from the masses of the people, preventing agrarian reform from being thorough. Such serious conditions place before us the task of reorganizing and purifying the ranks of the Party. If this task is not solved, we cannot make progress in the rural areas. The Party's national agrarian conference thoroughly discussed over this question, and stipulated appropriate steps and methods. These steps and methods are now being resolutely carried out in the various areas along with the equal distribution of land. Among them, the first in importance is the unfolding of criticism and self-criticism within the Party, thoroughly to expose erroneous thinking and serious phenomena deviating from the Party's line in the organization of various areas. All party comrades must realize that the solution of this question of impurities within the Party, reorganizing and purifying the ranks of the Party, enabling the Party to completely stand on the same direction with the broadest labouring masses and lead them forward, is a decisive link in solving the agrarian questions and supporting the prolonged war.

F. Economic Structure of New China:

1. State Economy; 2. Agricultural Economy Developing from Individual towards Collective.

Confiscate the land of the feudal classes and put it under the ownership of the peasants; confiscate the monopoly capital headed by Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung, and Chen Li-fu and put it under the ownership of the New Democratic State; protect national industry and commerce. These are the three great economic platforms of the New Democratic Revolution. The four families—Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen during their 20 years in power have amassed enormous capital worth 10 to 20 billion American dollars monopolized the economic pulse of the entire country. This monopoly capital, merged with state power, becomes state monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism intimately merged with foreign imperialism and the domestic landlord class and old-type rich peasants, becomes compradore-feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. This is the economic foundation of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This state-monopoly capitalism not only oppresses workers and peasants, but also oppresses the petty-bourgeoisie and injures the middle bourgeoisie. This state-monopoly capitalism reached its highest peak during the anti-Japanese war and after the Japanese surrender; it prepared full material conditions for the new democratic revolution. This capital is popularly called bureaucratic capital in China. This bourgeoisie is called bureaucratic bourgeoisie, that is, China's big-bourgeoisie. Apart from doing away with the special privileges of imperialism in China the object of the new democratic revolution within the country is to eliminate the exploitation and oppression of the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (big bourgeoisie), transform compradore-feudal relations of production, and liberate all the fettered productive forces. The petty-bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie oppressed and injured by these classes and their state power, although they too are bourgeoisie, may however, participate in the New Democratic Revolution or maintain neutrality. They have no connections or comparatively fewer connections with imperialism; they are the real national bourgeoisie. Wherever the state power of new democracy extends, these classes must be firmly and unhesitatingly protected. Among the upper petty-bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie in the areas ruled by Chiang Kai-shek, there is a portion with reactionary political tendencies, small in number, the rightist elements of these classes. They disseminate illusions for American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc and oppose the people's democratic revolution. As long as their reactionary tendencies can still influence the masses, we should carry on a work of exposure among the masses who receive their influence, strike at their political influence among the masses to liberate the masses from their influence. But political blows are one thing, and economic extermination is another. If we confuse these two things, we will commit errors. The objects which the New Democratic Revolution is to eliminate are only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, only the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (big bourgeoisie), not capitalism in general and not the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. Owing to the backwardness of China's economy, it will still be necessary to permit the existence

for a long period of the capitalist economy represented by the broad petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie even after the nation-wide victory of the revolution. Furthermore in accordance with the division of labour in national economy, the development of a section among them beneficial to the national economy will still be necessary; they will still be an indispensable part of the entire national economy. The petty bourgeoisie mentioned here refers to small-scale industrial and commercial capitalists who hire workers and shop employees. But besides this, there are the broad independent, small, industrial and commercial business men who do not hire workers or shop-employees. With regard to these small industrial and commercial business men, it goes without saying that they should be firmly protected. After the nation-wide victory of the revolution, owing to the fact that the new democratic state will have in its hands the enormous state capital which controls the economic pulse of the entire country taken over from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; and will also have in its hands the agricultural economy emancipated from the feudal system. Although for quite a long time it will basically still be scattered and individual, nevertheless it can be guided step by step to develop in the direction of cooperative in the future. The existence and development of small and middle capitalist elements are, under these conditions not at all dangerous. The same applies to the new rich peasant economy which will necessarily come into being in the rural areas after the agrarian revolution.

Adopting ultra-left, erroneous policies toward petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie economic elements as our party did in the period from 1931 to 1934—“excessively high working conditions, excessively high income tax rates; infringing on industrial and commercial elements in agrarian reform; not taking as our own objectives the development of production, the flourishing of economy, taking into account both public and private interests and benefits to both labour and capital, but taking as our objectives short-sighted, unilateral so-called welfare of the toilers”—must absolutely not be permitted to recur. If this kind of mistake is repeated, it will necessarily injure the interests of the labouring masses and of the New Democratic State. There is a provision in the Basic Program on Agrarian Law: “The property and legal operation of industrial and commercial business men should be protected from infringement.” The industrial and commercial business men mentioned here refers to all independent, small industrial and commercial business men, and all small and middle capitalist elements.

To sum up, the economic structure of new China is, 1: state economy—this is the leading element; 2: agricultural economy developing step by step from an individual towards a collective one; 3: the economy of independent small industrial and commercial business men, and the economy of small and middle private capital—these are the entire national economy of new democracy. The guiding principle of the national economy of new democracy, for its part, must closely pursue the general objective of developing production, a flourishing economy, taking into account both public and private interests and benefits to both labour and capital. All principles, policies and methods which deviate from these general objectives are erroneous.

G. United Front Enlarged

The People's Liberation Army issued a manifesto in October 1947, in which it was stated; "Unite the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and commercial elements, all oppressed classes, all people's organizations, all democratic parties and groups, all national minorities, overseas Chinese everywhere and other patriotic elements—unite to organize a national united front to strike down the dictatorial government of Chiang Kai-shek and establish a democratic coalition government." This is the most basic political platform of the People's Liberation Army as well as of the Chinese Communist Party. Regarded on the surface, our revolutionary national united front in this period appears to have shrunk in comparison with that during the anti-Japanese war. But in reality, it is only in the present period, it is only after Chiang Kai-shek sold out the national interests to American imperialism and launched an anti-popular nation-wide internal war, and it is only after the crimes of American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary ruling bloc had been completely exposed before the Chinese people that our national united front really enlarged. During the anti-Japanese war, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang had not completely lost prestige among the Chinese people, they still had many deceptive functions. It is different now: All their deceptions have been laid bare by their own deeds. They have no masses whatsoever, and they are already completely isolated. Contrary to the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party has not only obtained the confidence of the broadest masses of the people in the Liberated Areas, but has also obtained the support of the broad masses of the people in the Kuomintang controlled areas and in the Kuomintang controlled big cities. If in 1946 there was still a section of people among the intelligentsia of the upper petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie under Chiang Kai-shek's rule who still cherished ideas of a so-called "third road," these ideas have now become bankrupt.

Owing to our Party's adoption of a thorough agrarian policy, it has enabled our Party to obtain the loyal support of masses of peasants much broader than during the anti-Japanese war. Owing to the aggression of American imperialism, the oppression of Chiang Kai-shek, and our Party's correct line of resolutely protecting the interests of the masses, our party has obtained the sympathy of the broad masses of the working class, peasant classes, petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie in the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's rule. These masses unceasingly raise high the struggle against American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government because they suffer from hunger, because they are politically oppressed and because Chiang Kai-shek's anti-popular civil war has snatched away all of the people's roads to life; their basic slogans are anti-hunger, anti-oppression, anti-civil war and anti-American intervention in China's domestic affairs. Before the anti-Japanese war, during the anti-Japanese war and even for a period after the Japanese surrender, such an extent was never reached. Therefore, we say that our new democratic revolutionary united front is now broader and also more consolidated than at any period in the past. This fact is not only connected with our agrarian policy and urban policy, but is moreover closely connected with

such a general political situation as the victories of the People's Liberation Army, Chiang Kai-shek's going over from the offensive to the defensive, the People's Liberation Army's going over from the defensive to the offensive and the entering of the Chinese revolution into a new period of upsurge. The people have now seen that the extinction of Chiang Kai-shek's rule is already inevitable, and they therefore place their hopes on the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army—this is a very natural reason.

Without the broadest united front, comprising the overwhelming majority of the entire national population, the victory of the Chinese New Democratic Revolution is impossible. But this is not all, this united front must also be under the firm leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Without the firm leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, no revolutionary united front can be victorious. In 1927 when the war of Northern Expedition reached its high tide, the capitulationists in our Party's leading organs voluntarily abandoned leadership of the masses of peasants, petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and especially abandoned leadership over the armed forces, causing the revolution of the time to meet with defeat. During the anti-Japanese war, our Party opposed a kind of thought analogous to this capitulationist thought, that is, yielding to the Kuomintang's anti-popular policies, trusting the Kuomintang more than the masses, not daring to give free rein to setting the struggle into motion, not daring to enlarge Liberated Areas and the People's Armies in Japanese occupied areas, presenting the leadership of the anti-Japanese war to the Kuomintang. Our Party carried on resolute struggle against this kind of feeble, incompetent, decadent thinking which violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism; and resolutely carried out the political-line of "developing progressive forces, winning over middle-of-the-road forces, and isolating diehard forces," and resolutely enlarged the Liberated Areas and the People's Liberation Army. This not only guaranteed our Party could conquer Japanese imperialism during the period of Japanese imperialist aggression; but also guaranteed our Party could with no losses turn over smoothly to the pathway of opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counter revolutionary war with a people's revolutionary war when Chiang Kai-shek waged counter revolutionary war after the Japanese surrender; and within a short period of time win great victories. All Party comrades must bear these historic lessons well in mind.

H. The Light of Dawn is just before Us

In 1946 when the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc launched nation-wide, anti-popular internal war, they dared to be adventurous not only because they relied on their own superior military strength, but also principally because they relied on the American imperialism which they believed to be extraordinarily powerful and matchless throughout the world holding the atomic bomb in its hands. They believed that on the one hand American imperialism could succour them with a steady stream of military and financial necessities; and on the other hand they wildly imagined so-called "necessity of war between the United States and the Soviet Union" and so-called "necessary out-break of a World War III." Such reliance on American imperialism is a common characteristic of reactionary forces in the

various countries throughout the world following the conclusion of World War II. This fact reflects the seriousness of the blow dealt to world capitalism by World War II, the feebleness of the reactionary forces in the various countries and their psychological panic and loss of confidence; it reflects the powerful might of the revolutionary forces of the whole world which causes the reactionaries of various countries to feel that there is no way out except to rely on the aid of American imperialism. But in reality, is the American imperialism after World War II as powerful as Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries of the various countries imagine? Can it really pour a steady stream from America to succour Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries of the various countries? Not in the least. The economic strength of American imperialism which grew during World War II has met with the unstable and daily shrinking domestic and international market. Further shrinking of this market will lead to the outbreak of economic crisis.

American war prosperity is merely a momentary phenomenon. Its strength is only superficial and temporary. Crisis, like a volcano, is daily menacing American imperialism: American imperialism is sitting right on this volcano. This situation forced American imperialist elements to establish a plan for enslaving the world: to plunge like wild beasts into Europe, Asia and other places; muster the reactionary forces of various countries—these dregs spat out by the people—to organize the imperialist anti-democratic front against all democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union; prepare war, scheming at some remote time in the future to unleash World War III and defeat the democratic forces. This is a wild plan. The democratic forces of the whole world must, and entirely can, defeat this plan. The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp exceeds that of the imperialist camp. The superiority is with us, not with the enemy. The anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has already been formed.

With no crisis, on the rise and cherished by the broad masses of the people of the whole world, the strength of the Socialist Soviet Union now already exceeds that of imperialist America seriously menaced by crisis, on the decline and opposed by the broad masses of the people of the whole world. The various new democratic countries of Europe are consolidating themselves internally and uniting with one another. The anti-imperialist forces of the people of various European capitalist countries headed by France and Italy are growing. Within the United States exist people's democratic forces daily growing stronger. The peoples of Latin America are not at all slaves subservient to America. A mighty national liberation movement has arisen throughout all Asia. All forces of the anti-imperialist camp are uniting and developing forward. The Communist Parties of 9 European countries have organized an information bureau and published a summons to battle, calling on the people of the whole world to arise in opposition to imperialist plans for enslavement. This summons to battle has inspired the oppressed peoples of the whole world, pointed out to them their direction of struggle, and consolidated their confidence in victory. In the face of this summons to battle, the reactionaries of the whole world are in confusion and consternation. All anti-imperialist forces of the various eastern countries should also unite to oppose oppression of imperialism and the

reactionaries within each country, taking as the objective of their struggle, the liberation of the more than a billion oppressed people of the east. We should hold our destinies in our own hands. We should clear away all weak and incompetent thinking within our ranks. All viewpoints which over-estimate the strength of the enemy and under-estimate the strength of the people are erroneous. Together with the democratic forces of the whole world, we need only exert our efforts, and we can surely defeat the imperialist's plans for enslavement, block a third world war so that it cannot take place, overthrow the oppression of all reactionaries and win victory of eternal peace for mankind. We are clearly aware of the fact that there will still be all kinds of obstructions and difficulties in our path of advance, we should prepare to cope with the greatest degree of resistance and struggle of the part of all foreign and domestic enemies. Only if we are able to grasp the science of Marxism-Leninism, have faith in the masses, stand closely together with the masses and lead them forward, we are entirely capable of surmounting any obstacle and conquering any difficulty and our strength is matchless. This is the historic era in which capitalism and imperialism of the whole world are moving towards their doom, in which Socialism and Democracy of the whole world are moving towards victory. The light of dawn is just before us. We should put forth our efforts.

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