

March Ahead Under the Red Flag of the General Line and Mao Tse-tung's Military Thinking

by LIN PIAO

The following article by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, is translated from "Hongqi" (Red Flag), theoretical fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, No. 19, Oct. 1, 1959. It was published there under the title "Take Giant Strides, Holding High the Red Flag of the Party's General Line and the Military Thinking of Mao Tse-tung." — Ed.

I

TEN years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great motherland. All the officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army join with the people throughout the land in joyful celebration of this great, historic festival of the entire nation.

Ten years are only a brief moment in the span of history. Yet in these ten years our country has achieved the great victory of the socialist revolution immediately after the victory of the new-democratic revolution. In the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, socialism has essentially defeated capitalism in all fields. The history of class exploitation of thousands of years has been ended in the main. The 650 million Chinese people, one-fourth of the world's population, have entered socialist society.

Following three years of economic rehabilitation, our country fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy (1953-1957) and thus laid the preliminary foundation for socialist industrialization. In 1958, on the recommendation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party formulated the general line for building socialism—go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Under the guiding light of this general line, industry and agriculture, culture and education, began their great leap forward, making it possible for our country to fulfil the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule. Last autumn, in less than two months, people's communes were swiftly set up throughout our countryside. In less than a year they have consolidated themselves and embarked on the road of sound development and they are displaying their superiority with ever increasing clarity.

China's unparalleled speed in building socialism and her brilliant achievements testify eloquently to the inexhaustible power and wisdom of the industrious and courageous Chinese people in creating history, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great people's leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Imperialism, however, has not stopped its sabotage against

us for a moment and is still dreaming of overthrowing us. Not long after the founding of our Republic, U.S. imperialism launched the war of aggression in Korea and, at the same time, seized our Taiwan in a vain attempt to occupy Korea first and then strangle the new-born People's Republic of China. This attempt ended in ignominious defeat. Now China's great leap forward and the people's communes have thrown the imperialists into great fright and confusion and they have unleashed the most vicious smear campaign and attack against China. But again they have failed miserably. Despite all the obstruction and sabotage of imperialism and reaction, China's wheel of history is rolling forward at the speed of "twenty years concentrated in a day." The Chinese people have now grown strong!

GREAT achievements have been made on the national defence front, as on other fronts of socialist construction, in the past ten years. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army rapidly mopped up the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionary forces and liberated the entire Chinese mainland. Together with the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers defeated the armed forces of the No. 1 imperialism of the world. U.S. imperialism was exposed before the peoples of the world as a paper tiger. In liberating the offshore islands, guarding the country's frontiers and its territorial waters and air, punishing Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Quemoy, preparing for the liberation of Taiwan and putting down the rebellion of Tibetan reaction, our army has been successfully discharging what is entrusted to it by the people of the country. Along the national defence frontiers and at strategic points in depth, modern, large-scale national defence projects have been undertaken, so that our country has begun to have a relatively complete network of modern defence installations. Guided by the correct line laid down by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung for building our army into a fine, modernized, revolutionary army, and with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the army itself has undergone a new major change in the history of its development. The technical equipment of the army has been improved and a series of reforms concerning the command, organization, training and other systems of the army has been effected. Now our army has developed from a single arm into a combined force of different arms. The major technical branches of the land forces have been strengthened markedly. A powerful air force has been built and the navy has grown correspondingly.

In the course of the modernization of the army, the Party's absolute leadership in the army has been consolidated, the glorious tradition of the unity between the army and the civilian population, between officers and men, has been developed and the mass line has been carried out in the various fields of work. Following the great rectification campaign, inspired by the Party's general line for building socialism and the nationwide big leap forward, the army has also taken an all-out, comprehensive big leap forward in its work. As part of our national defence forces, we have, in addition to a politically firm and technically modern standing army, built up a militia force of several hundred million people. With this militia force, the entire population can be turned into a military force whenever imperialism dares to attack our country. In co-ordination with the standing army, this militia force can engulf the enemy in the flames of an all-out people's war. In addition to building itself up, our army has at all times taken a great part in national construction and social reforms. In the political report to the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party, delivered on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out that "the People's Liberation Army is the defender as well as the builder of the cause of socialism." Our army has in the past ten years faithfully carried out this honourable task.

In the past ten years our country has been undergoing a great change—the transition from the thorough victory of the democratic revolution to the carrying out of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Militarily, our army has advanced from a single arm to a modern combined force of different arms; this is also a big leap forward. In these circumstances, we are confronted with a series of vital problems concerning the building up of the army. The main problem is: Is it still important for politics to be in command in the stage of the modernization of the army? Concretely speaking, what place has political and ideological work? What attitude should the members of the armed forces adopt towards the country's economic construction and the mass movements? What is the correct way to handle intra-army relations and to strengthen still further the Party's leadership in the army? All these questions must be settled in the new stage of the building up of the army. In the past ten years, we have achieved the successes and victories mentioned above because we have dealt with these vital problems quite correctly. Today, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of our Republic, we would like to dwell mainly on some of our experiences relating to this.

II

THE realization of socialism and communism is the lofty ideal for which the officers and men of our army have struggled heroically for many years. Even in the stage of the democratic revolution, the Party never relaxed in educating its armed forces in the ideals of socialism and communism. The great majority of the comrades of our army displayed resolution and courage in the period of the democratic revolution and, in the period of the socialist revolution, exerted their efforts heroically for socialism and showed themselves undaunted fighters in the cause. However, quite a number of comrades lack a high degree of socialist consciousness though they have

certain aspirations for socialism and wish to see its fruition. Consequently, the thinking of some of them often remained at the stage of the democratic revolution while the socialist revolution had already begun. It is in the very course of the socialist revolution that quite a few of them gradually prepare themselves mentally for the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is much broader and deeper than the democratic revolution. Its aim is to liquidate all systems of exploitation and the private ownership of the means of production. Each step in this revolution has a powerful impact on the life and thinking of the several hundred million people of our country, and the various ideological trends in society are inevitably reflected, directly or indirectly, in the army. If adequate mental preparation for the socialist revolution and serious self-remoulding are lacking, the revolutionary army man cannot possibly maintain a firm stand in the socialist revolution and, consequently, cannot possibly carry through the Party's general line for building socialism in a conscious, resolute manner. When socialism actually comes and private ownership of the means of production by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is actually coming to an end, he will therefore be taken by surprise and even lose his bearings. Thus the germ of bourgeois ideology would spread in that section of our Party and army where resistance is weak and exercise a corrosive and splitting influence on our Party and army. Consequently, we would encounter internal resistance in the struggle for the realization of socialism.

WITHIN our army, the two opposing classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class, do not exist, but the struggle between bourgeois and working-class ideology does exist. This ideological struggle is a reflection of the struggle between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, in the transition period. As the situation now stands, the transformation of the old economic system of society has been completed in the main, but not fully; the economic system of society has been changed, but remnant bourgeois ideological and political activities still remain and the social base for this, though shrinking, is still there to a certain extent. The force of habit of the bourgeoisie and small producers is a kind of social base of bourgeois ideology which still finds a place among a section of the people and would become active and cause trouble when the opportunity arises. Either socialist or capitalist ideology must predominate in the minds of the people. Therefore, in the transition period, the struggle to enhance proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology remains vital at all times in building up the army.

None of the work of our army, including its modernization, can be divorced from this ideological struggle. This political and ideological struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie rises and ebbs, rises again and ebbs again, like the tides; it is far from over to this day and will not be over until classes are finally and completely liquidated. Consequently, our work of socialist ideological education cannot be completed all at once. With the rise and ebb of the class struggle, it will necessarily be carried on sometimes steadily and evenly, in the form of long-term theoretical and policy education, and at other times in the form of large-scale rectification and ideological remoulding campaigns. Socialist ideology assumes its position and expands step by step through education and struggle. Every revolutionary must go

through uninterrupted revolution ideologically. The *san fan* movement (against corruption, waste and bureaucracy), the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the movement to study the Party's general line for the transition period, the movement to clean out the counter-revolutionaries, the rectification campaign, the anti-rightist struggle, the great debate on socialism around the central question of agricultural co-operation, and the study of the Party's general line for building socialism with the people's communes and the great leap forward as its main content—all these things which we carried out during the past ten years represent highly successful political and ideological work. Of course we do not rest content with these successes and do not believe that the future tasks on the political and ideological fronts will be any lighter because of these successes.

IN waging the struggle on the political and ideological fronts, we always maintain that as far as the overwhelming majority of comrades are concerned this is mainly a question of education and raising their level. The officers and men of our army ardently love socialism, fight for it resolutely and can withstand tests of great stress. Those who insist on taking the road of capitalism and are deliberately against socialism are merely a handful of individuals from alien classes who have sneaked into the army. However, since the overwhelming majority of the officers and men of our army come from the peasantry, unavoidably some comrades sometimes consider questions from the temporary, partial interests of small producers and do not clearly understand certain questions of socialist change; unavoidably, too, a small number of comrades are affected, in the great stress of socialist revolution, by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, and especially well-to-do middle peasant, ideological influences and reveal an insufficiently resolute standpoint. This is the situation and, if allowed to develop, bourgeois ideology would spread in our army. Therefore, we must not slacken ideological work for a moment. These ideological questions belong to the category of contradictions among the people and cannot be solved by methods which are proper for contradictions between ourselves and the enemy or by coercive, high-handed methods; they can only be solved by democratic methods, the method of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education.

During the new historical period, political and ideological work in the army is very important and must never be slackened. "Political work is the life-blood of our army"—this is a truth which has been proved by decades of revolutionary practice of our army. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in one of his editor's notes in the book *Socialist Uprising in China's Countryside* pointed out: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the economic system of a society is undergoing a fundamental change." This statement, of course, applies equally to the army. In building up our army into a modernized army, we pay very much attention, of course, to improving equipment and mastering technique. But we must at the same time pay attention to the other side, which is indeed the predominant side, that is, we must not forget politics, we must emphasize politics. Our army is an army in the service of politics, in the service of socialism, and we must guide the military and day-to-day work with politics. Politics is the most fundamental thing; if political and ideological work is not



Helping the people

Painting in Chinese ink and colour by Liu Tan-che

done well, everything else is out of the question. The great achievements in the varied work of our army in the past ten years represent, first and foremost, the blossoming and fruition of socialist ideology. Henceforth it will still be a fundamental task in the building of our army to strengthen theoretical education in Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen education in socialism and the general line of the Party and to link this closely with the practice of the contemporary revolutionary struggle and the change in the thinking of the members of the army—so as continuously to eliminate from people's minds the vestiges of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and enhance their socialist consciousness.

III

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army, which was born and grew up in the midst of the people's revolutionary struggles, has always regarded the revolutionary mass movement as its own affair. When the masses rise up and wage hard, bitter struggles against the old system and for the transformation of society and of nature, the People's Liberation Army always stands as one with the people and gives them wholehearted, powerful support; it participates directly in the seething, stirring mass movements in which, at the same time, it receives the greatest and best training. And whenever hostile forces attempt to obstruct and undermine the mass revolutionary movements, the People's Liberation Army always stands behind the masses. At the same time, the vast, surging mass movements, in turn, always inspire and educate the army

greatly, serving as a revolutionary crucible in which the political consciousness of the army is tempered and raised. The reason why the People's Liberation Army, under extremely difficult conditions, has been able to defeat an enemy far superior both in equipment and numbers is precisely the fact that it is an armed force that has flesh and blood ties with the masses who, when fully mobilized, "create a vast sea and drown the enemy in it, remedy our shortage in arms and other things, and secure the prerequisites to overcome every difficulty in the war" (Mao Tse-tung: *On the Protracted War*). This relationship between the People's Liberation Army and the masses of the people is determined by the very nature of the People's Liberation Army and the very purpose for which it was founded. This was so in the period of democratic revolution and remains so in the period of socialist revolution. In March 1949, when the democratic revolution was attaining decisive victory and the new stage of socialist revolution was about to begin, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, again issued a timely, great call to us — that the People's Liberation Army shall for ever be a fighting force and at the same time a working force.

AFTER the liberation of the mainland, the major task of our army shifted from fighting to training; instead of living scattered in villages as before, it moved into regular barracks and had less opportunity for direct contact with the masses. At that time some comrades held that since there was a division of labour between economic construction and the building up of national defence and that since army training was very heavy work, it appeared as if there were no need for the army to take part in the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people or in national economic construction, no need to take part in "civilian" business. We criticized this wrong view and firmly corrected it in time. We have continued to develop our army's long-standing, glorious tradition of simultaneously carrying out the three great tasks of fighting, mass work and production and we have launched various activities in support of the mass movements in line with the requirements of different stages of socialist transformation and socialist construction. During the past ten years, the People's Liberation Army has vigorously supported and enthusiastically joined in every major social reform and mass movement. The spokesmen of the imperialists who are violently hostile to our socialist cause describe our army's participation in the people's revolutionary movements as "armed suppression." Nothing, indeed, is more absurd. In fact, the imperialist bosses are accustomed to employing their reactionary armed forces in brutal suppression of the people of their own countries and of the national and democratic movements of the colonial peoples. Their slanders and calumnies against our army only show their mortal fear of the close unity between our powerful People's Liberation Army and the more than 600 million people, and their frantic attempts to cover up their own nefarious deeds with lies and fabrications.

The big leap forward in our national economy that began in 1958 along with the great upsurge to form the people's communes has shown the boundless vitality of our Party's general line for socialist construction. This line, which was readily grasped by the masses, has become

a tremendous material force and brought about a vast mass movement unprecedented in history. What should be our attitude to this mighty mass movement? Should we plunge into it and support the masses with all our hearts? Or should we stand outside the movement and pick fault with the masses here and there, or even stand in opposition to the movement and against the masses? In sharp contrast to the right opportunists, the People's Liberation Army, long brought up on the teachings of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and standing as one with the people, resolutely supports this great mass movement.

THE officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully understand from their personal experience that the big leap forward and the people's communes have their objective material base and are the inevitable products of China's historical development. The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung concentrated the will and creative energy of the masses and pushed this mighty movement forward. The mighty upsurge of revolutionary fervour and socialist consciousness manifested by the broad masses of the labouring people during the big leap forward and the people's commune movement is due precisely to their determination to change our backward economic situation as quickly as possible, to put an end to our state of being "poor and blank" and to build our country into a great socialist state with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. All officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully understand this lofty aspiration and burning enthusiasm of the people; they see eye to eye with the people and are deeply moved by their great determination. Our comrades in the People's Liberation Army know only too well that the imperialists and their henchmen are eyeing our socialist construction with hostility and will never miss a single chance to sabotage. This makes it all the more necessary for us to maintain constant vigilance and firmly carry through and defend our Party's general line for building socialism so as to develop our national economy at high speed. Only with our national economy developing at a rapid tempo can the modernization of our national defence be attained, and the happiness and tranquillity of our people be safeguarded.

Our comrades of the People's Liberation Army all realize that fear of the mass movement is in the ingrained nature of right opportunists and bourgeois revolutionaries. Confronted by the mass movement, they are only interested in picking faults and exaggerating them so as to spread slackness, despondency, dissatisfaction and pessimism, to negate our achievements and the Party's general line. We, on the other hand, are firmly for the full mobilization of the masses to carry the socialist revolution to its completion and to build socialism with great vigour and vitality. To reject the mass movement and oppose it by seizing upon some isolated, local and temporary shortcomings which have been quickly overcome, is to turn one's back upon progress, upon the revolutionary cause. Participating directly in the mass movement, the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army see, above all, the tremendous endeavours and magnificent successes of hundreds of millions of people. This is the main current, the essence of the mass movement. In the people's communes, for example, we see

not only the powerful vitality and unparalleled superiority of this new-born social organization and the important role it plays in developing the national economy and culture and in raising the living standards of the people; we also come to realize that in the event of a war of aggression launched by imperialism against our country, the people's communes, in which township administration and commune management are merged into one and industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs are integrated into one, are the mighty prop for the task of turning the whole population into fighting men, of supporting the front, of defending the country and overwhelming the aggressors. Seeing this revolutionary creation of the masses of people which can accelerate the advance of the socialist cause and at the same time promote the building of national defence, what else can anyone who genuinely desires a prosperous and powerful motherland do but support it wholeheartedly and praise it with deep emotion? Of course, it was inevitable that in the course of such a vast, rapidly growing, mass revolutionary movement as the establishment of the people's communes, lack of experience would result in some shortcomings. But what merits extraordinary attention is not at all that some shortcoming or another occurred but the fact that the shortcomings were so few and far between compared with the achievements, that the shortcomings were overcome so rapidly and that the skill with which our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the mass movement is so superb and so worthy of admiration and study.

As we have said, the People's Liberation Army is an instrument of political struggle and instead of standing aloof from politics, a revolutionary soldier must attach importance to politics and work hard at political study. And the practice of the mass movement and of social struggle is itself a rich political experience. We should at all times keep in touch with the masses and raise our own level by absorbing nourishment from the revolutionary mass movements. By vigorously and actively taking part in national construction and the mass movements, officers and men of the army can widen their breadth of vision, enrich their minds and fortify their own mass point of view and their love of labour, raise their theoretical level and deepen their understanding of policy through integration with rich practice. Furthermore, they can learn from the civilian cadres the methods of class analysis and the lively working methods of the mass line. Time and again, experience has shown that as far as the masses of officers and the rank and file are concerned, participation by the army in mass movements is a most vivid, fruitful and profound political schooling. Faster political and ideological progress is invariably achieved by the cadres and soldiers of any unit that pays attention to this: while the cadres and soldiers of any unit that neglects this become politically uninformed and narrow-sighted and their thinking lags behind events. Some years ago there were comrades who regarded it as an extra burden for the army to participate in mass movements and assist the people in production. They held that only drilling and lectures constituted training while participation in practical socialist struggles was not training but an obstruction to training which would bring "more loss than gain." Such a viewpoint is utterly wrong.

IV

IN building a modernized army, when the technical equipment of our army is being constantly improved and the mastery of technique and the raising of the technical level of our army are more important than ever before, is man still the decisive factor? Some comrades take the view that modern warfare differs from warfare in the past, that since the weapons and equipment available to our army in the past were inferior we had to emphasize dependence on man, on his bravery and wisdom, in order to win victories. They say that modern warfare is a war of technique, of steel and machinery, and that in the face of these things, man's role has to be relegated to a secondary place. They attach importance only to machinery and want to turn revolutionary soldiers into robots without revolutionary initiative. Contrary to these people, we believe that although equipment and technique are important, the human factor is even more important. Technique also has to be mastered by man. Men and materiel must form a unity and men must be made the leading factor. What we have to consider constantly is how to mobilize all positive factors still better and bring the initiative of the mass of officers and men into full play. That is why in building up the army during the past ten years, we have paid special attention to creating close relations between the officers and men and between the men at the higher and lower echelons, and to applying the mass line thoroughly in all work.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an entirely new type of people's army. It began its work of building itself up by destroying the warlord system of the feudal, mercenary army and establishing the system of democratic unity. Our army has the most authoritative system of command but also the close relations of a great revolutionary family, with unity between the officers and men and between the higher and lower echelons. Our army is a fighting organization of the greatest centralism and the strongest discipline yet also an army with the richest democratic life. The members of our army work under a unified command from top to bottom yet are accustomed to applying the mass line in all spheres of work. Officers and men, centralism and democracy, unified command and the mass line, these seem to be diametrically contradictory yet they have been integrated excellently in our army. This is a Marxist-Leninist tradition which the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have long established in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In the past ten years, regardless of the changes in our army's weapons and equipment and in its organizational systems, we have held fast to this glorious tradition and developed it incessantly.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has long since pointed out that whether the relations between the officers and men are good or bad is not a question of technique or method but of attitude, it is a question of basic attitude as to whether or not the personality of the ordinary soldier is respected. We have always held that the only difference between the officers and men is one of division of labour within the revolutionary ranks and, politically speaking and as far as personality is concerned, there is no distinction of high and low. Officers are not special figures above the rank and file. Only when the officers have affection and

solicitude for the rank and file, when the rank and file respect the officers and when they respect each other, can relations of equality and brotherhood be established and the aim of unity between the officers and men be attained. Such unity brings forth unlimited fighting strength. In 1958, our army responded to the call of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and began to put into practice the system of officers going down to the companies and serving as rank and file soldiers for a period of a month each year. Our comrade generals who are commanding officers and political commissars of the various military areas, services and arms, took the lead in putting this into effect. The officers who join the companies as ordinary soldiers drill, do manual labour, live and spend their recreation time together with the rank and file. They do whatever the squad leaders order; what they do not know they learn from the squad leaders and the rank and file like pupils in school. Very soon they are united with the soldiers as one and become their bosom friends. The reports from the various units show that in companies which officers have joined as ordinary soldiers, political enthusiasm and morale is especially high. With the officers themselves setting examples, the rank and file show every possible concern for the officers. They pay great attention to their health and help them as much as they can so as to lighten their strain of physical labour. Serving as ordinary soldiers is also of great help to the officers themselves. In working and living with the rank and file, they are able to establish the communist style of treating others on an equal footing, guard against bureaucratic airs and raise the level of their mass outlook; they can examine the directives and decisions of the leading organizations and the style of work of the leadership from the angle of an ordinary soldier. Although only a year has passed since the introduction of the officers-serving-as-soldiers system, one can already see that it will enable the officers and the rank and file of our army to merge more closely into an integral body whose pulse and heart beat in unison, and to become an invincible force.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has always attached great importance to the development of democratic life. He has instructed us many times on this. He has said that the army should practise a certain degree of democracy. This is the way to achieve unity between the officers and the men and hence increase the fighting strength of the army. He has said that every unit of the army should carry out campaigns to support the cadres and love the soldiers, calling on the cadres to have affection for the rank and file and at the same time calling on the rank and file to support the cadres. They should frankly explain their shortcomings and mistakes to each other and correct them quickly. This is the way the goal of internal unity can be properly achieved. He has also said that what is called the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people is precisely one of the mass line, which our Party has often talked about. This democratic working method, the working method of the mass line which Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us, was first carried out in the army and has provided us with rich experiences. In the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the rank and file are the ones to be governed and led, yet at the same time they are entitled to take part in the conduct of affairs, contribute their ideas and recommend

ways and means in the course of the work. The cadres are the ones who govern and lead, yet at the same time they are subject to the supervision of the masses, depend on the masses and mobilize them in work. Where contradictions arise, the democratic method of persuasion and education is used to adjust them according to the unity-criticism-unity formula. In this way unity is strengthened, morale is raised, discipline is consolidated and the initiative and creative energy of the mass of officers and rank and file are developed. During the past ten years we have made great progress in all this. The Chinese People's Volunteers, too, scored outstanding achievements in applying democracy to the highly modern war of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. The "underground Great Wall," that is, the tunnel fortifications which played a very important role in this war, was the collective product of the wisdom of the masses gained through the joint efforts of the officers and the rank and file. We have also applied democracy to modern military training. The results prove that units which carry out the mass line well invariably score excellent achievements in training. In 1958, the mass campaign to master military technique under the slogan of "mastering many skills while specializing in one, every soldier capable of many uses" came into prominence. A technical innovation campaign that centred on improving technical equipment also developed on a large scale, resulting in many rationalization proposals and many valuable innovations and inventions. In addition, the democratic method of airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in *dazibao** — the method adopted throughout the country since the rectification campaign — has also been introduced in the army. This method is most suitable for mobilizing the masses for self-education, solving internal contradictions, bringing into full play mass initiative and increasing their sense of responsibility.

The democracy which we practise is democracy under centralized guidance and it is carried out under leadership. We are at all times opposed to anarchism and equalitarianism. While carrying forward democratic life in the army, we also consider and take into account the special features of an army at all times and places. We take democracy as a means whereas our end is to increase the army's unity, strengthen its discipline and raise its fighting strength. The officers and the rank and file of our army have the common political purpose and the common ideological basis of unity among themselves to defeat the enemy. Therefore, democratic life in our army has all along gone forward on a sound footing. We should firmly trust the majority of the masses. Should any people with ulterior motives try to use democracy to undermine our army, neither would the leadership at all levels tolerate them, nor would the mass of officers and men ever let them get away with it.

V

THE Party's absolute leadership in the armed forces and the staunch Party character of the host of cadres of our army are the best guarantee for victory in the field of national defence in our country's socialist construction.

*Opinions written in bold characters and posted on walls for everybody to see.—Tr.

We know full well that in the past ten years, as in the years of war before that, whenever we were confronted with crucial problems in the building of national defence and in military struggles, we always received our correct orientation from the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the problems were solved successfully. For example, the laying down of the policy for building a modernized revolutionary army, the correct handling of the relations between the building up of national defence and national economic construction, the wise policy decision on resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and the correct strategic guidance, the decisions on the policies regarding the struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and the operations on the Fukien front, the introduction of the policy of combining the powerful regular forces, the special technical units and the armed militia in preparation for turning the whole population into fighting men, and so on—all these, without exception, are the result of leadership by the Party and by Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally.

IN his article on "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the political power of a state. Whoever wants to seize the political power of the state and to maintain it must have a strong army." He added in the same article: "Communists do not contend for personal military power (they should never do that, and let no one follow the example of Chang Kuo-tao), but they must contend for military power for the Party and for the people. . . . Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun will never be allowed to command the Party." The Chinese People's Liberation Army, in the ten years since the founding of the Republic, as in the time of war, has always resolutely supported the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, serving as a most faithful and dependable instrument in carrying through the line and policies laid down by the Party, as the staunchest defender of the people's democratic dictatorship under the Party's leadership and of the socialist cause. As a result, the masses of the people have always lavished great honours and love on the People's Liberation Army, whereas imperialism and all the reactionaries have invariably regarded the unmeasured loyalty of the People's Liberation Army to the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung as something that works to their greatest disadvantage. We cadres and Communists working in the army must be on the alert at all times against the intrigues of the enemy—both against invasion by the enemy with arms and against "sugar-coated shells" of all kinds and sabotage from within. The cadres and Communists in the army have an especially important duty in defending meticulously the interests of the people, the socialist cause and the leadership of the Party from assault and sabotage by any enemy whatsoever. This is a duty which, first and foremost, calls for conscientious study by the cadres and Communists in the army, for their self-remoulding so as to acquire a high degree of political consciousness and a staunch Party character.

Party character is not an abstract thing. The staunch Party character of a Communist and a cadre in the army should find expression, at all times and in all circumstances, in upholding the unity of the Party unswervingly and in

wholehearted struggle for the programme and line of the Party. It is therefore constantly necessary for a Communist and a cadre to take interest in, and pay attention to, the political situation and to the policies, line and other issues concerning the direction to pursue, to maintain a firm stand, distinguish right from wrong and avoid wavering and loss of bearings when confronted with important problems of right and wrong. The position of the individual in relation to the Party must be placed correctly. The Party should be obeyed absolutely; no personal ambitions are permissible. Discipline should be strictly observed; in all circumstances importance should be attached to the unity of the Party and nothing should be done behind the back of the Party; one should be just, selfless and honest, and not chase fame hypocritically; modest and not conceited; courageous in accepting criticism and advice and active in combating all wrong tendencies, not rejecting criticism and persisting in mistakes. In short, individualism is the source of all evils. As soon as it sprouts, it must be criticized to the full and overcome by every effort, not a single bit of it must be allowed to get by. The Party character of the great majority of the cadres in our army has grown steadily stronger under the constant instruction of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is precisely because we have large numbers of cadres who are imbued with a staunch Party spirit that the Party's leadership in the army has been carried through and such great achievements have been made.

It has been pointed out time and again by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung that in strengthening Party character, the basic question lies in using the proletarian world outlook of dialectical materialism to replace the bourgeois world outlook of idealism that exists in people's minds. This calls for stern effort over a long period of time. A Communist will inevitably commit mistakes so long as he does not thoroughly change his world outlook but observes things and handles problems with a bourgeois world outlook. A man cannot be very fully tempered and attain a high Party character without changing his world outlook. To study Marxist-Leninist theory and the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung conscientiously and to establish a proletarian world outlook firmly are the incumbent duty of every cadre and Communist in our army.

WHILE we are celebrating our decade of brilliant achievements in the building of the country and the army, our socialist construction is continuing its leap forward at high speed and the international situation is developing in a direction all the more favourable to peace, democracy and socialism. The great Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are flourishing in prosperity; the anti-colonialist liberation struggles are growing tempestuously all over the world; while the imperialist camp is ridden with internal contradictions and shrouded in grim shadows. The wise conclusions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that "the East wind is prevailing over the West wind" and "the enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better day by day" are borne out by a growing volume of facts. The possibilities for the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of world peace are increasing with each passing day. We should

fight for peace resolutely. Though a handful of bellicose elements in the United States are still trying hard to continue to intensify the cold war, are repeatedly creating incidents to provoke the socialist camp and the national independence movements, and certain imperialist elements are unceasingly engaging in vicious instigations against the People's Republic of China—and we have to maintain full vigilance against all this—yet we are firm in our belief that the forces of the new are bound to defeat the forces of decay. The cause of world peace, democracy and socialism will continue to leap forward in mighty strides. All the circumstances are bright, both internally and internationally. Inspired by the brilliant achievements of our country during the past ten years and by the militant call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the

Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by the great Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities of China, the 650 million Chinese people will certainly achieve new and still more brilliant successes in building socialism! In the years of the triumphant march to socialism, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, manning its battle stations, will resolutely carry out every mission entrusted to it by the Party and will fully live up to the expectations of the people throughout the country. Let us continue to hold high the red banner of the Party's general line and the military thinking of Mao Tse-tung, go all out, aim high and march forward courageously to consolidate our national defence, liberate Taiwan, uphold peace and build our motherland!