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Turning point in China

Zedong Mao

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TURNING

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Turning Point
In China

by MAO TSE-TUNG

New York • NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS • 1948

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This pamphlet contains the report by Mao Tse-tung on the "Present Situation and Our Tasks" to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, December 25, 1947. It is the fifth important document by Mao Tse-tung since 1937. The first was *On Protracted War* (1938), an analysis of the nature of China's war against Japan. The second, *On a New Stage* (1938), discussed the stalemate in the war against Japan. The third, *China's New Democracy* (1939), gives the broad outline for the future development of China; and the fourth, *The Fight for a New China* (1945), explains the nature of China's prospective democratic coalition government.

The text of this pamphlet is from New China News Agency, Hongkong. The captions are the publisher's.

1. FROM DEFENSIVE TO OFFENSIVE

The revolutionary war of the Chinese people has now reached a turning point. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has repelled the attacks of several million reactionary troops of Chiang Kai-shek, running dog of American imperialism, and has itself gone over to the offensive.

Already during 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 battlefronts, 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. It has smashed Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary plan to direct the war toward the liberated areas with the objective of destroying them completely.

Already the war is no longer waged mainly in the liberated areas, but in Kuomintang-controlled areas. The main forces of the People's Liberation Army have already fought their way into Kuomintang-controlled areas. The Chinese People's Liberation Army in this land of China has reversed the counterrevolutionary wheels of American imperialism and of Chiang Kai-shek's 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 20 years of the counterrevolutionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek. It is the turning point from growth to extermination in more than 100 years of the rule of imperialism in China.

This is a great event. This event is great because it oc-

curs in a country of 450 million people. Once it has taken place, it will of necessity move toward nationwide victory. This event, furthermore, is great because it occurs in the eastern part of the world where there is a population totalling more than one billion (half of mankind), suffering from the oppression of imperialism.

The turn of the Chinese people's war of liberation from the defensive to the offensive cannot but bring jubilation and encouragement to these oppressed nations. At the same time, it is also a form of aid to the oppressed peoples now struggling in various countries of Europe and the Americas.

2. CHIANG'S COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY WAR

From the very day on which Chiang Kai-shek launched his counterrevolutionary war, we said that we not only must, but could, defeat Chiang Kai-shek. We must defeat Chiang Kai-shek because the war launched by him is a counterrevolutionary 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 realize the unity and independence of the nation, and to change from an agricultural 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 replaced German and Japanese imperialism and their running dogs, and organized a reactionary camp against the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries of Europe, against the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, against the national movement in the colonies and semi-colonies, and against the liberation of the Chinese people.

In this situation the Chinese reactionary clique headed by Chiang Kai-shek became the running dog of American imperialism just as Weng Ching-wei had previously become the running dog of Japanese imperialism. They sold out China to America, unleashed war, opposed the Chinese people, and obstructed the advance of the cause of the people's liberation. Had we at this time displayed weakness and yielded, had we not dared resolutely to arise to fight the counterrevolutionary war with revolutionary war, China would have become a world of darkness, and the future of our nation would have been sacrificed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, led by the Chinese Communist Party, resolutely engaged in a patriotic, just, revolutionary war against the offensives of Chiang Kai-shek. Basing itself on the experience 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 could, be defeated.

When the skies seemed dark we pointed out that this was but temporary, that the tempest would soon be over, and that the light of dawn was just ahead. When Chiang Kai-shek's gang of brigands launched a nation-wide counterrevolutionary war in July, 1946, they considered that only three to six months were required to defeat the People's Liberation Army.

They counted on two million regular army troops, more than one million irregular troops and more than one million personnel and troops of rear-area military organizations—a total military strength of more than four million men. They had already gained time to complete preparations for the offensive. They again controlled the big cities; they held a population of more than 300 million; they had taken over all equipment of the one million troops of the Japanese Army invading China; and they had obtained huge military and financial aid from the United States Government.

Furthermore, they thought the Chinese People's Liberation Army had already fought itself out in the course of eight years of the anti-Japanese war, and was far behind the Kuomintang army in numbers and equipment. The Chinese liberated areas still had only a population of a little over 100 million. The reactionary forces of feudalism in most of these areas had not yet been cleaned out. The land reform was still not universal and thorough, and the rear of the People's Liberation Army not yet consolidated.

Based on all this, Chiang Kai-shek's gang of brigands, heedless of the Chinese people's yearning for peace, once and for all tore up the truce signed by both 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 temporary, a factor playing only a temporary role. The aid of American imperialism was likewise a factor playing only a temporary role.

On the other hand, 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 the superiority belongs to the People's Liberation Army. The struggle of the People's Liberation Army is patriotic, just and revolutionary, which must of necessity gain the support of the people throughout the country. This is the political basis for conquering Chiang Kai-shek. The experience of 18 months fully bears out our judgment.

3. MILITARY PRINCIPLES

Seventeen months of combat—July, 1946, to November, 1947, with 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 offensive of Chiang Kai-shek, pre-

serve 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:

1. First strike scattered and isolated groups of the enemy, and later strike concentrated, powerful groups.

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 center 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 valor 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 favorable 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. Skillfully 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 peoples' 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

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

others. Chiang Kai-shek's Chief of the General Staff, Chen Cheng, empowered to direct over-all operations, was also deprived of his command and demoted to commander of a single battlefront, Manchuria.

But during the period in which Chiang Kai-shek himself replaced Chen Cheng as over-all 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. All efforts of the Chinese Communist Party during a long period after the Japanese surrender to assure peace and oppose civil war—efforts that represented the yearnings of the Chinese people—they regarded as expressions of cowardice and febleness. They overestimated their own strength, underestimated revolutionary strength, and adventurously unleashed war, and thereby fell into the trap they themselves had laid. The strategic calculations of the enemy have miscarried completely.

4. THE AGRARIAN REFORM

At present, the rear areas of the People's Liberation Army are much more consolidated than 18 months ago. This is because our Party resolutely sided 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 landlords' 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 in-

terests 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 4, 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 4 directive, but also made clear-cut changes, such as not permitting to the landlord more land and properties than the peasants, and no longer leaving the land and properties of rich peasants 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 establishing the agrarian system of land to the tillers, the land shall be equally distributed according to population. This is the most thorough method of eliminating the feudal system and entirely conforms with the demands of broad masses of the peasants.

In order resolutely and thoroughly to carry out the agrarian reform, not only peasant unions of the broadest character, and their elected committees, comprising the great masses of farm laborers, 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 laborers, must be organized in the villages.

These will be the legal organs for carrying out the agrarian reform, and the poor peasants' organization should become the backbone of the struggles of all rural areas. Our policy is to rely on the poor peasants, to unite solidly with the middle peasants to destroy the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation system of the landlord class and old-type rich peasants.

The land and properties distributed to the landlords and rich peasants shall not exceed those distributed to the peasant masses. But neither should the erroneous ultra-

left policy carried out between 1931 and 1934, the so-called "distribute no land to the landlords, and poor land to the rich peasants" policy, be repeated.

The proportion of landlords and rich peasants in the village population may be greater or smaller in various places, but generally speaking they make up only approximately 8 per cent, reckoned in families. However, the land they hold as a rule makes up 70 to 80 per cent of all land. Therefore, our agrarian reform is opposed to a very small number of people, while the number of people (families) in the villages who can and should participate in the agrarian-reform united front make up over 90 per cent.

Two basic principles must be noted here: First, it is necessary to satisfy the demands of the poor peasants and farm laborers—this is the most basic task of the agrarian reform. Second, it is necessary to unite resolutely the middle peasants and not injure their interests. We need only grasp these two basic principles, and the tasks of our agrarian reform will surely triumph completely.

In accordance with the principle of equal distribution, the surplus land and a portion of the properties of old-type rich peasants should be distributed because China's rich peasants in general have a heavy feudal and semi-feudal exploiting nature. Most rich peasants collect land rents and engage in usury, and the conditions of their hired labor 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 laborers cannot be satisfied if equal distribution is not carried out. But, in accordance with the stipulations of the basic program on Chinese agrarian law, in general there should be differentiation between the treatment of rich peasants and landlords.

In the course of agrarian reform, the middle peasants express approval of equal land distribution because it does not harm the middle peasants. In equal distribution, the land of a portion of the middle peasants remains un-

changed; 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, because thereby their land tax burden is lighter. Nevertheless, in carrying out 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 and 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 rural 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 burdens of land taxation and support of the war, just and equitable principles should be adopted. All these are the concrete policies that must be adopted by our Party in carrying out the 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 the agrarian question, we will have obtained the most basic condition required for conquering all enemies.

5. REORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY

To carry out resolutely and thoroughly the agrarian reform and consolidate the rear areas of the People's Liberation Army, it is necessary to reorganize and survey the ranks of the Party. The movement for the reformation of ideology and of style of work within our Party during the period of the anti-Japanese war in general attained success. This success lay, in the main, in that our leading

organs and many cadres were able to advance 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 the impure composition and the working style of the Party's local organizations, and especially of the Party's primary rural organizations, was not 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. This is a huge leap forward. It has made our Party an unprecedentedly strong Party. It provided us with the possibilities of defeating Japanese imperialism and repelling the offensive of Chiang Kai-shek, and leading the liberated areas of more than 100 million population and a People's Liberation Army two million strong.

But along with this also came defects. Many landlords, rich peasants and scoundrels took this opportunity to slip into our Party. They dominate many Party, government and mass organizations in the rural areas; lord 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 and preventing the agrarian reform from being carried through. 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 this question, and stipulated appropriate steps and methods. These steps and methods are now being resolutely carried out in the various areas in connection 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 deviations from the Party's line in the organizations of various areas. All Party comrades must realize that the solution of this question, reorganizing and purifying the ranks of the Party, enabling the Party to travel in the same direction with the broadest laboring masses and lead them forward, is a decisive link in solving the agrarian question and supporting the prolonged warfare.

6. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF NEW CHINA

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 Id-fu and put it under the ownership of the new democratic state; protect national industry and commerce—these are the three great economic planks of the new democratic revolution.

The four families—Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen—during their twenty years in power, have amassed enormous capital worth 10 to 20 billion American dollars, and monopolized the economic pulse of the entire country.

This monopoly capital, merged with state power, becomes state-monopoly capital. This monopoly capitalism, intimately merged with foreign imperialism and the domestic landlord class and old-style 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 the full material conditions for the new democratic revolution.

This capital is popularly called bureaucratic capital in

China. This bourgeoisie is called the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; it 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 exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (the big bourgeoisie), transform compradore-feudal relations of production, and liberate all the imprisoned productive forces. The petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, oppressed and injured by these classes and their state power, although they too are bourgeois, may however participate in the new democratic revolution or maintain neutrality.

They have no or comparatively few 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, small in number, with reactionary political tendencies, the rightist elements of these classes. They disseminate illusions about American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary bloc and oppose the people's democratic revolution.

As long as their reactionary tendencies can still influence the masses, we should carry on work of exposure among the masses under their influence—strike at their political influence in order to liberate the masses from it. But political blows are one thing, and economic extermination is another. If we confuse these two things, we will commit mistakes.

The new democratic revolution is to eliminate only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, only the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (big bourgeoisie)—not capitalism in general and not the petty 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 labor in the national economy, the development of all sections 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 includes small-scale industrial and commercial capitalists who hire workers and employees. But besides these, there are the broad, independent, small industrial and commercial businessmen who do not hire workers or employees. With regard to these small industrial and commercial businessmen, it goes without saying that they should be firmly protected. After the nation-wide victory of the revolution, the new democratic state will have in its hands enormous state capital which controls the economic pulse of the entire country, taken over from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It will also have the agricultural economy emancipated from the feudal system. Although for quite a long time the agricultural economy will still be basically scattered and individual, it can be guided step by step in the direction of co-operatives in the future. Under these conditions the existence and development of small and middle capitalist elements are 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 the petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois economic elements as our Party did in the period from 1931 to 1934 must absolutely not be permitted to recur. Such policies were: excessively high working conditions, excessively high income tax rates; infringing on industrial and commercial elements in the agrarian reform; not taking as our objectives the development of production and a flourishing economy; not taking into account both public and private interests and benefits

to both labor and capital, but taking as our objectives short-sighted, unilateral, so-called "welfare of the toilers" policy. If this kind of mistake is repeated, it will necessarily injure the interests of the laboring masses and of the new democratic state.

There is a provision in the basic program on Chinese agrarian law: "The property and legal operation of industrial and commercial small business shall be protected from infringement." The industrial and commercial businessmen mentioned here include all independent, small industrial and commercial businessmen, 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. An agricultural economy developing step by step from individual toward collective farming;
3. The economy of independent, small industrial and commercial businessmen and the economy of small and middle private capital.

These are the entire national economy of the new democracy.

The guiding principle of the national economy of the new democracy must closely pursue the general objective of developing production and a flourishing economy, taking into account both public and private interests and benefits to both labor and capital. All principles, policies and methods which deviate from this general objective are erroneous.

7. NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

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 dicta-

torial 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 superficially, our revolutionary national united front in the present period appears to have shrunk as compared with the period of 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 broadened.

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. As opposed 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 big cities. If in 1946 there was still a section of people among the intelligentsia of the upper petty and middle bourgeoisie under Chiang Kai-shek's rule who still cherished the idea of a so-called "third road," these ideas have now become bankrupt.

Owing to our Party's adoption of a thorough agrarian policy, it is able to obtain the loyal support of the 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 means of life.

Their basic slogans are against hunger, against oppression, against civil war, and against American intervention in China's domestic affairs. Before and during the anti-Japanese war and for a period after the Japanese surrender, opposition to 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 arises not only from our agrarian and urban policies, but is moreover closely connected with the general political situation arising from 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 only natural.

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 the Northern Expedition reached its height, the capitulators 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 that time to meet with defeat.

During the anti-Japanese war, our Party opposed a way of thinking that approached capitulation, that is, yielding to the Kuomintang's anti-popular policies, trusting the Kuomintang more than the masses, not daring to give free rein to the mass struggle, not daring to enlarge the liberated areas and the people's armies in the Japanese-occupied areas, and presenting the leadership of the anti-Japanese war to the Kuomintang. Our Party carried on a resolute struggle against this kind of feeble, incompetent and decadent thinking which violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party resolutely carried out the political line of "developing progressive forces, winning over middle-of-the-road forces, and isolating die-hard forces," and resolutely enlarged the liberated areas and the People's Liberation Army.

This policy not only guaranteed that our Party could conquer Japanese imperialism during the period of Japanese imperialist aggression, but it also guaranteed that our Party without losses could shift smoothly to the path of opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary war with a people's revolutionary war when Chiang Kai-shek waged counterrevolutionary war after the Japanese surrender. And within a short period we had great victories. All Party comrades must bear that historic lesson well in mind.

8. THE LIGHT OF DAWN

In 1946, when Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary bloc launched its nation-wide, anti-popular, internal war, it dared to be adventurous not only because it relied on its own superior military strength, but principally because it relied on American imperialism, which it believed to be extraordinarily powerful and matchless throughout the world, holding the atomic bomb in its hands. On the one hand, they believed that American imperialism could support them with a steady stream of military and financial

aid, and on the other hand, they wildly imagined the so-called "necessity of war between the United States and the Soviet Union" and the so-called "necessity of the outbreak of a third world war."

Such reliance on American imperialism is a common characteristic of the reactionary forces in the various countries throughout the world after 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 there is no way out except to rely on the aid of U.S. imperialism.

But, in reality, is 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 succor 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, is confronted with an unstable and a steadily shrinking domestic and international market. Further shrinking of this market will lead to the outbreak of an economic crisis.

American war prosperity is merely a momentary phenomenon. Its strength is only superficial and temporary. A crisis, like a volcano, is daily menacing American imperialism; it is sitting right on this volcano.

This situation forced American imperialist elements to establish a plan for enslaving the world, to plunge like a wild beast 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 day 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 can, completely 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 crises, steadily growing, 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, which is seriously menaced by crisis, which is declining, and is 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, especially in France and Italy, are growing. Within the United States the people's democratic forces are 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.

The Communist parties of nine 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 the imperialist plans of enslavement.

This summons to battle has inspired the oppressed peoples of the whole world, pointed out to them the direction of struggle, and consolidated their confidence in victory. Confronted with 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 the 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 completely in our own hands. We should clear away all weak and incompetent thinking within our ranks. All viewpoints which overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are erroneous. Together with the democratic forces of the whole world, we need only to exert our efforts, and we can surely defeat the imperialist plans for enslavement, block a third world war so that it cannot take place, overthrow the oppression of all reactionaries, and win the victory of eternal peace for mankind.

We are soberly 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 on 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, will we be entirely capable of surmounting any obstacle and conquering any difficulty, and our strength will be matchless. This is the historic era in which capitalism and imperialism of the whole world are moving toward their doom, in which Socialism and democracy of the whole world are moving toward victory. The light of dawn is just before us. We should put forth our efforts.

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