

the failure to abolish war, than another, or others, the United States must bear the brunt of the charge today. I phrase it in this way because I do not think that it is sound or ultimately helpful to think of the international situation today in terms of conflict—this nation versus that—or in terms of praise or blame, angels versus devils, the relatively good versus the relatively bad. It is more in accord with what I believe to be the realities of the situation to think of us all as trapped in the heritage of the past, including the wars of our century, in the technological revolution, the arms race and so on. We are not—Americans, Russians, Chinese, Vietnamese and the rest—in separate boats trying to run each other down. We are all in one boat needing to outride a monstrous storm. To put it in another way, we confront a set of problems in common, and all peoples, as Dr. Eric Erikson of Harvard University put it, need to “find a common denominator in the rapid change of technology and history and transcend the dangerous imagery of victory and defeat, of subjugation and exploitation which is the heritage of a fragmented past.”

It happens that a major and very outspoken contribution to the discussion of virtually all aspects of the international situation, including the world revolution, the war in Vietnam and related matters, has been recently made in an article written by the Chinese Communist Minister of Defense, Marshal Lin Piao, which was published in all major Chinese newspapers on September 3. It was made available by Hsinhua, the official Chinese press agency. A full page of excerpts from this official translation appeared in *The New York Times* the following day.

The opening paragraph of Marshal Lin's statement refers to what it calls “the famous thesis” of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The thesis is that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

War, Lin's statement continues, is the product of imperialism and “the system of exploitation of man by man.” Here the authority of Lenin is invoked: “War is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes.”

It follows that so long as imperialism and the system of exploitation exists, imperialists and reactionaries will “invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples.” This, Marshal Lin declares, “is an objective law independent of man's will.”

Under these circumstances the test of whether one is seriously bent on revolution and ready actually to embark on it is “whether one dares to fight a people's war.” This is the test which distinguishes “genuine from fake revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists.”

Marshal Lin turns next to the problem of the military (including nuclear) power of the imperialists. Here again he cites a “famous thesis” of Mao, namely, that “the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers.” They may seem and even be formidable from a short run point of view, but in the long run it is “the people who are really powerful.” A people's war may meet with many difficulties but “no force can alter its general trend toward inevitable triumph. . . . Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be impossible to make a revolution. . . let alone to achieve victory.”

Lin's next main point sets forth the Maoist strategy of establishing the revolutionary base in rural areas, on the peasantry, and carrying out “the encirclement of the cities from the countryside.”

Not only must the revolution within each Asian, African and Latin American nation be conducted along Maoist lines, but Lin adds the intriguing and important thesis that on a global