

POLITICAL WARFARE

By
Wang Sheng
Lieutenant General, Army
Republic of China

Translated from Chinese Text into English

By
Professor Chen En-cheng, PSC
A.B., LL. B., M.A., J.D.

General Principles of Political Warfare

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Preface

The Communist Party as a whole is a belligerent group of desperados with its peculiar ideology and vast organizations bent on world-conquest maneuvering and aggressive actions. The anti-Communist, resist-Russia War of any democratic country could never be won solely through the use of armed forces; its military operations thus carried out must be coordinated by other phases of actions such as strategic offensive, ideological counter-attack, organizational contention, intelligence contest, psychological operation, mass agitation, etc. All these phases compose the intrinsic elements of political warfare.

With reference to the ample experiences which we have gathered in our long drawn-out war against the Chinese Communists, we are deeply convinced that only through the success of political war operations may we secure the genuine victory of the military action.

Lieutenant General Wang Sheng, now serving as the Executive Officer in the General Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of China, had for many years devoted his energetic research to the study of theories and actual operations of political warfare. When in discharge of his duties as Commandant of the

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Political Staff College, he had founded the Seminary for the advanced study of this important subject, with ranking officers of the armed forces summoned in successive classes to attend the research work. It has thus enabled them to get well acquainted with the strategy and tactics of political warfare.

The well-learned general has now put his research works into a specific publication. For the purpose of facilitating the perusal of it by foreign friends of China, our Department takes up the mission by rendering the Chinese text into English, in the hope that many anti-Communist enthusiasts in our friendly countries may read it as a reference in their study of political warfare.

General Kao Kwei-yuan, Army
Chief of the General Political
Department, MND

February 1963

Introduction

As we are eager to fight back to the China mainland and thus to annihilate the puppet Peiping regime, we must be prepared to fight against our enemy not only on the battle front but also in the political field. The objective of military warfare is to recover our territory through destruction of the enemy's fighting prowess; and so the objective of political warfare is to win the people's mind as well as to break down the enemy's morale.

President Chiang Kai-shek has in his "Outline of Political Warfare" set down a rule: "As in war it is imperative to conquer the enemy's mind before subjugating his person; to win over the people before recovering the land under enemy's occupation." This rightly is the mission to be accomplished by our efforts in political warfare.

Political warfare is indeed very important in our anti-Communist campaign. The superlative guiding rule in this war is that "our efforts must be exerted as by ratio 30% on military campaign and 70% on political offensive;" or in other words, "30% on the battle front and 70% at the enemy's rear." This rule is not treated as a mere slogan, but actually as a practical tenet. It stresses the necessity not only to wage political warfare against our enemy but also to carry out such mission in actual operations against the enemy.

Major General Wang Sheng, Commandant of the Political Staff College, has for years made advanced studies

in the field of political warfare, with unique attainment of expert knowledge in both theoretical and practical phases. Meanwhile, he has also won high honor in giving lectures on this subject to various colleges at their invitation. His manuscripts thus written have been recently put into a good shape. Having perused it, I find the material very valuable not only as a good reference for the study of political warfare but also as a necessary textbook on such course in all military schools. So it is arranged to be published by the General Political Affairs Department of the Ministry of National Defense.

The contents of this book consist of a brief yet crucial statement of the meaning and its important bearing of political warfare, with substantial illustrations of historical cases concerned; and also a presentation of the current situation in the political war as waged by the Republic of China, our allies, and our enemies under careful analysis. Furthermore, it shows the ways and means to conquer our enemy through the waging of political warfare, with its operative functions presented for adaptation. Those who study it with care should be able to find out one way or another to subdue our enemy and pursue it in action toward the winning of final victory.

Chiang Chien-jen

Lieutenant General, Army

Chief, General Political Department, MND

July 1959, Taipei

Foreword

The writer has all along entertained the conviction that the revolutionary campaign in recovery of the China mainland must be accomplished by us in our anti-Communist war. Definitely the reign by terror of the Chu-Mao gang will collapse in due course of time. A Chinese adage tells us: "Hurricane cannot survive a morning, and rain storm can never last a whole day;" by this we may infer that any rule by violence can hardly last long. By pursuing the right way to defeat the outrageous Peiping regime, we certainly could recover our lost mainland on projected schedule.

The traitorous gang of Mao Tse-tung, emerged out of the banditry quagmire, actually is limited in its trickery in politics. Its past attainment on the mainland was due chiefly to the opportunistic practice of its political witchcraft rather than strength of its fighting power or its military equipment. Henceforth, we must defeat the traitorous gang through the waging of political war by turning the table on it with our growing prowess.

Since the early establishment of the Political Staff College in 1951, former Commandant General Wang Yung-shu assigned me to the concurrent post as head professor of its Political Affairs Department, with many courses centered around this subject. After a while, I proposed to strengthen its dynamic aspect by changing the organ into one called Political Warfare Department so as to adapt

its subjects of study to the actual needs of the political training in the armed forces. Such was the inception of my own research in this particular field.

Following the repeated instruction of President Chiang Kai-shek on the need for improvement of the political work in the armed forces, the General Political Affairs Department of the Ministry of National Defense had in 1953 emphasized the broad interpretation of the term "political warfare" in an attempt to arouse wide-spread study of it, in both theoretical and practical phases, by political workers on various levels. In the meantime, the Army Staff College had opened such a course in observance of the instruction and invited me to take charge of it. Although I was then not well learned in it, I accepted the duty solely on the premise of urgent necessity for pioneering the exploration of this study. Such was the beginning of my lectures on political warfare.

Later in 1954 the Political Warfare Class of the Political Staff College was under preparation, in the hope that we can consolidate many courses of political science into a systematic study in both theoretical and practical phases, with supplementary courses to widen its scope and deepen its research. Having mustered the support of many experts and scholars, the class was opened after a two-year preparation. At the beginning of each of this class, there has been arranged an eight-hour curriculum on the general presentation of political warfare under my instruction. The PSC Academic Affairs Department then also called it "General Introduction to Political Warfare."

Although my lectures on this subject have been con-

tinued for many years, the manuscripts had hardly been arranged for publication until last winter as Assistant Professor Ma Pih took time to put them into a copy on my behalf. But then the whole copy still needed review or revision which was suspended due to my busy tours of duty. Most recently, as the General Political Affairs Department urged for publication of this work, for the compilation of textbooks on this subject, while the University of National Defense also urgently needed it for the same purpose, I took time out to make a hasty revision of it. There are in this work possibly many defects or loopholes which may need corrections by advanced experts in this field of study.

Wang Sheng
May 13, 1959

General Principles of Political Warfare

Chapter One: Prelude

1. Meaning of Political Warfare

* Political warfare is a new pattern of war formulated through the scientific development of modern world events. For illustration of its meaning, it is advisable to define the term "governmental rule."

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Founder of the Chinese Republic, succinctly stated, "Government is the people's affair and rule is effected by management; the management of people's affairs is governmental rule." By this brief yet crucial definition we may well be convinced that the governmental rule is set for the administration of the people's affair in a nation. From the standpoint of a state, the people's affair is identical to national affairs. As the state is organized through aggregation of citizens, the governmental rule thus involved for management of the citizens' affairs is tantamount to the administration of national affairs.

The people's affair might be said as very trivial, or else very colossal. This paradox is not self-contradictory. As the affair may well be seen as trivial as the daily life started in getting up from sleep, taking food or drink,

house-cleaning and guest-receiving, and then proceeded on every individual's "investigation of things, extension of knowledge, rectification of heart, and purification of thought; and, further, the process might be developed as to "fighting for the survival and freedom of the whole people" and on to "putting the national affair in good order and the entire empire 'under Heaven' in peace with justice." The whole process starts from trivialities and ends up in magnificence. Kuan Tchung, a noted statesman in the Spring & Autumn Era (c. 740-473 B.C.), advocated the building up of a good government on the basis of proper management of trivial affairs. This still is a sound reasoning.

When discussing politics, most people are inclined to talk about realities in government affairs as, for instance, "rights" of the people. However, as from the viewpoint of political warfare, when facing the challenge of the critical situation of our Chinese nation, we must undoubtedly emphasize the lofty political idealism rather than its crude realities; and, hence, the stress on political responsibility rather than its rights. Therefore, the governmental rule as related to political warfare is one of revolutionary nature instead of the regular politics.

With the meaning of governmental rule clarified as aforesaid, the import of political warfare may well be inferred from it. While the former deals with the regular phase in the management of people's affairs, the latter concerns itself with the struggle to wipe out any obstacle which obstructs the management of such affairs. The so-called "obstacle" may be involving such deadly situation as the imperialistic aggression without or the traitorous rebellion

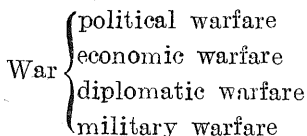
within, or both. The enemy, or enemies in conspiracy, may be bent on using such treacherous ways and means as ideological paralyzation, infiltration and mass agitation, in addition to trickeries through the use of diplomacy and violence by use of armed forces. They are employed primarily to undermine our government by creating political crises. For the purpose of resisting the external aggression and obliterating the internal crises, we have to resort to waging the war by use of ideological weapons and organizational tactics. The emergency situation has thus brought up the formulation of theories in political warfare.

Ordinarily, war in its substance is the employment of violent forces. For the purpose of subduing the enemy so as to put it under physical as well as mental control, both sides have to exert their total power each for the final victory. In the process of such a struggle, the use of any plot or means available by each side, in addition to violent force through the utility of fire arms, is imperative as to intensify the efficacy of armed power to the highest and greatest extent possible. It has long been designed in China as by Sun Tsu, one of the most distinguished strategists in ancient China (c. 514-469 B. C. during the Spring & Autumn Era), that the best way to conquer one's enemy is a war without the need of using violence. Political warfare belongs to this type of strategy.

As aforesaid, the nature of political warfare is explicit, and yet due to the vast complexity of its contents, it may possibly be found as ambiguous or vague: What in reality is its substance and scope? Generally speaking, there are two ways of treating this subject matter as shown in the

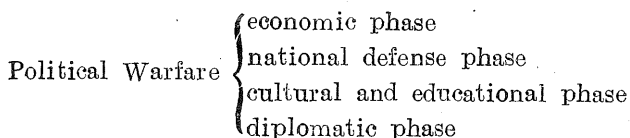
following diagram:

The first one is arranged as such:



It treats the war as consisting of the four necessary factors related in a complete ring. This way limits the political warfare to a narrow scope within the domain of civil administration. It may seem to denote that by simply strengthening the administrative efficiency on the various levels of public organs under the central government, the mission of political warfare can thus be accomplished. However, this is not what we should call political warfare.

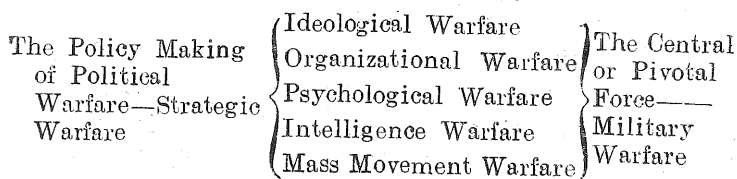
The second diagram is formulated as such:



As stated above, the term "governmental rule" or "political affairs" is very comprehensive in its definition. The so-called "management of the people's affairs" or "national affairs" consists of such subjects as interior administration, foreign affairs, economic affairs, cultural activities, etc., whereas even military affairs might also be treated as the extension of political activities. Nevertheless, this view also is not suitable in our purpose for the study of this subject.

The correct meaning of political warfare should be based on our historical experiences, the factual necessity of

war-time operations, and President Chiang's enlightening instructions concerned for its formulation. At present what we call political warfare must best be defined as consisting of such six items: strategic warfare, ideological warfare, organizational warfare, psychological warfare, intelligence warfare, and mass movement warfare. When waging war against the enemy, it is imperative as to fix the strategy by the wisdom of strategic warfare, to tap the fountain of spiritual power by use of ideological weapons, to carry out the tactical maneuver through organizational operations, and to build up the foundation for victory by stirring up the mass revolt in the enemy's rear; whereas the psychological warfare engages the enemy in direct combat of ideas wherever possible, the intelligence warfare carries out its mission usually in covert battle fronts; and so they all coordinate their functions around the military warfare as their center of activities. Such is what we call *Political Warfare*. The third diagram shows the concept in a complete system of political warfare:



Such an arrangement as based upon the historical lessons of human conflict, conforming with the necessity of our national salvation and survival, and freed from the limitation of political terms, should be very maneuverable in the use of our study.

2. Contents of Political Warfare

In the past section we have pointed out the composite parts of political warfare. They may well be expounded as follows:

(1) **Strategic Warfare** This phase of warfare is to be carried out by use of planned stratagems as to lure the enemy into pitfalls and so to facilitate the realization of our aims for the winning of our final victory. In its substantial meaning, strategic warfare denotes the conflict of wisdom on its highest level, with its scope of maneuverability covering all the phases as from political measures, military strategy, tactics and down to the details of actual military operations. President Chiang has often exhorted all ranking officers to keep on studying the techniques of war-planning. This helps prove the crucial nature of its formulation and practice.

By its appearance, this discernment of strategic warfare may seem incongruous with the other five parts under the political warfare. But in reality, as by an advanced study, they are all closely correlated. The strategic war-planning, as the leading part of all, should well be carried out any time and everywhere as feasibly putting forth through the engagement of the other five phases. In fact, the latter five parts must be substantially and effectively based upon the planned strategy so as to reap the fruits of their operations to the greatest extent possible. Hence, the strategic warfare takes the leading part in political warfare as its decisive policy-making.

(2) Ideological Warfare In essence, ideological warfare takes place in the clash of political principles and cultural weapons, the battling of which is executed through the combat of tongues or pens, or both on various fronts. Its objective is focused on undermining the enemy's political faith so as to frustrate the enemy's morale and in the meantime to win over the multitude of armed forces and people who had been hypnotized by the enemy's "brain-washing." In case considerable victory is achieved in this respect, we can defeat the enemy at its root.

Ordinarily, the cause of political conflict is the incompatibility of political ideas between the opposing camps. Any large-scale war in the present atomic era may be so relentless as abhorred by most nations, and yet a third world war still is deemed inevitable. Why should many nations go to war with reluctance? What is the root of this situation? The root is in the absolute incompatibility of two schools of political thought: democratic liberalism versus communist totalitarianism. It is due to the marked difference of political faith that the ideological conflict is formed. Hence, ideological warfare is brought about not only as the basis of political warfare but also as the fountain head of military warfare.

(3) Organizational Warfare The import of this antagonistic operation lies in the rigid coordination and cooperation of man-power, state affairs and physical prowess so as to produce the greatest force possible through the execution of planned programs, for the attainment of fixed objectives, with consistent, systematic and scientific management of them accrued. President Chiang has thus pointed out:

"Despite how well developed and advanced is the modern science, and how correct or rational is the political principle, they shall nevertheless turn out to be useless corpses if and when devoid of effectual application owing to the lack of a wholesome organization."

The organizational warfare is devoted to employing the power generated by all state affairs working in coordinated order to crush the enemy's organization so as to dissolve it for good. As for instance, the military engagement must be executed with the projected close coordination of the armed forces and logistic support to suit the battle-line fortification and maneuverability. Any place where the deployment of armed forces is arranged must be the strategic point to deal the enemy an effectual blow. Therefore, the organizational maneuver is used in the political warfare to carry out its mission of pre-arrangement of the battle front. Wherever the organized force has explored, that is a strategic point for political advancement. Such an operation, however, cannot be extended without great care. It must be made under the direction of planned strategy, spearheaded by ideological weapons, and promoted on the strength of mass movement stirred up in advance.

(4) Psychological Warfare The import of this type of warfare may well be clearly understood as the application of various ways and means around the military action to defeat the enemy by demoralizing it through conquering of its spirit or will-power. The attainment of such a goal actually is the highest mission of political warfare. Nevertheless, the psy-war operation must also be based upon

the guidance of planned strategy. It must be carried out on the strength of ideological weapons, in conformity with intelligence support; and by use of various ways and means furnished by organizational tactics and propaganda offensive, the psy-war operation must be able to reach the masses of people behind the enemy front, thus agitating them for psychical defection. This is one of the most effectual means in political warfare by dealing the enemy a direct blow.

It may be recalled that before the Korean War in 1950, the U.S. armed forces were slack in the waging of psy-war, and hence were often lured by the Communist into the Red trap. When later discovering this mistake, the American military authorities have promptly made some remedies. The Pentagon has invited numerous experts and scholars to take charge of research and development studies; it then has also set up the center for the planning of psychological warfare, with psy-war schools and tactical detachments closely correlated so as to wage the war of nerves effectively against the enemy. This historical account might clearly demonstrate the importance of psychological warfare in the modern international conflict.

(5) Intelligence Warfare In his renowned work "The Arts of War," Sun Tsu had stressed one point: "By knowing oneself thoroughly and evaluating the enemy properly, one can always wage the war without exhausting his own strength." Any war with failure in apprehending the enemy's conditions will be waged without the assurance of victory. The intelligence warfare stresses the need of probing, gleaning and analysing enemy's situations so as to meet the demand of defeating the foe through proper eval-

uation of its prowess.

The common folk might have a wrong concept in despising the term "intelligence," especially the personnel engaged in such work. Our anti-Communist war previously on the China mainland had thus encountered deplorable failure because of ignorance of the enemy's condition. To make remedies in the current war, President Chiang has specifically emphasized this point: "Organization First and Collection of Intelligence Paramount."

In the modern world no one first-rate country neglects intelligence-gathering. British espionage agents are well-known as having covered every corner of the globe. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in conjunction with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is a huge espionage network.

Intelligence collection at present has developed to be a necessity dwelling on the use of specialized science and lofty arts. It may therefore be dubbed as the wage of covert war between or among nations concerned. The efficacy of such war-waging may well be briefly expounded: "Our own secrets must be kept with the least leaking possible, whereas those of our enemy must be probed and collected the most abundantly available." The former belongs to counter-intelligence whereas the latter is within the domain of offensive intelligence. The war on these two battle fronts is waged covertly in all time at every feasible places. The intelligence warfare is thus aptly called the covert war in political warfare.

(6) **Mass Movement Warfare** This type of warfare is one of the basic factors for winning the war by giving

effective support to the military operation. The people's attitude and the war situation, either favorable or otherwise, form the hinge upon which the victory or defeat revolves. The main function of this warfare lies in stirring up the people behind the enemy front, winning them over, organizing them and consolidating their forces so as to make them fight under our banner for the same objective. Thus, the proficiency of the people might be highly released to obliterate the enemy's strength and crush it in due course of action.

As a rule, the armed struggle may be spread more or less over some definite areas, with its various battle fields confined in various types of terrains. Political warfare on the other hand retains the physical action as well as the minds of masses of people behind the enemy for its battle ground. The war is to win them over and so the victory is secured through success of political warfare. Therefore, the mass movement warfare is the basis of political warfare.

The foregoing statement of six types of warfare denotes the concrete substance of political warfare. And yet one may ask, why should it be limited to the six phases as presented? Isn't economic warfare also very important as to be included?

It is true that economic warfare also is very important and substantially significant. In theory at least, it should have been included in the domain of political warfare. And yet it is left out, simply because it is consisted in the scope of general administration of the government, rather too vague and also too complicated in application. Should

it be shifted to the domain of political warfare, then other important categories such as diplomatic warfare, election warfare, radio wave warfare, and atomic warfare, all are very important as eligible to be included in the overall political warfare. But then the scope of the latter will be over-expanded as too vague to be manageable.

The gist of this discussion is that through our broad interpretation of political warfare, the six items aforesaid are already sufficient for its essential contents. By well mastering of these six types of warfare, one might apply the principles thus used to the waging of economic and diplomatic wars. They might be carried out in open and legitimate war in any time and space under the control of any regime, or else in the covert or illegal war in any time and space in the absence of governmental rule, as underground activities. Besides, other phases of war such as social war and sabotage of different nature may also be enlisted in the mass movement warfare or intelligence warfare. Therefore, the discussion of these six topics might suffice our purpose of presenting the political warfare.

Let us recount the relationship between political warfare and military warfare. It is conceivable that the latter forms the center of the former, as closely correlated in a dovetailed network. As the formation, endurance and supremacy of an armed conflict cannot be secured by the military power alone, the entire war must be waged with the six big items included as its decisive factors. This view is corresponded with what Karl von Clausewitz called "war is the extension of political affairs." If the military conflict may be identified with physical appearance as of a body,

the political warfare is the soul of such a body. President Chiang has thus looked upon the modern warfare as an "ideological total war" with the armed might for its hard core," and here the so-called "ideological war" might be duly referred to the foregoing six topics for explanation. Hence, the operation of political warfare to the highest level possible might also dictate the attainment of the overall victory of the total war. By this consideration it is plain that political war cannot be separated from military conflict. However, in actual operation they are not identical, though closely coordinated. There are four distinctive points between the two related as follows:

In the first place, in regard to the concept of space, military operation usually confines itself in more or less definite battle grounds, with the demarcation of frontline and rear; but political war is not limited to fixed space as marked by physical division line.

Secondly, in regard to the concept of time, the former is clearly divided into such phases as mobilization, actual operation, and demobilization periods; but the latter may be popped up at any moment, prolonged to any time, stopped at any convenient second, and revived at any opportune hour.

Thirdly, in regard to the qualification of able-bodied combatants, the former sets different age-limits, sex-distinction, and position-diversity for the front-line soldiers, rear guards, and armament producers in the rear, with different uniforms and equipments assigned for most of them; but the latter is devoid of all such diversities.

Fourthly, in regard to the pattern of war, the former

is waged usually through the physical infliction of injury or death with bloodshed; whereas the latter, even though committed sometimes with bloodshed, is generally carried out in the lacking of physical clash.

Although political war is different from armed conflict, the two must be as in the total war closely coordinated. As the former is dedicated to the wielding of spiritual force, the latter is devoted to the use of material power. Their close cooperation is one indispensable way to secure victory.

3. The Significant Purpose of Political Warfare

In the pivotal point for securing victory or suffering defeat, political warfare tips the scale with its decisive functions. A Chinese military adage stresses the importance of "making plans behind heavy curtains within the camp so as to dealing a fatal blow upon the enemy thousand *lis* away." "Making plans within the camp" portrays also the characteristic of waging a political war. Another adage stresses the importance of "conquering the enemy without the need of bloodshed." It shows the marvelous function of political warfare. President Chiang has accordingly reiterated the motto of "30 percent military and 70 percent political operations" in conjunction with the war situation as covering the area of "30 percent on the fighting front and 70 percent in the enemy's rear." As put in the ratio of seven to three, political operation is more important than the military action. As the enemy's rear rather than the frontline is treated as the vital target

of offensive penetration, this strategic formula is set also for waging the political war. By this illustration the preponderance of political warfare is more obvious.

Ordinarily, the nature of war consists of two vital factors in action: the spiritual and the material. The former embraces political principles, policies, strategy, tactics, military disciplines, arts and military ethics: these all jointly form the primary factor of political warfare. And then the so-called material factor consists of economic force, natural resources, armament and other equipment: they belong to the principal factor of military conflict. In case one of these two factors is lacking, the war can hardly be won. If both of them are wanting in the belligerent, he will certainly be defeated by the opponent.

As any fight must be provided with both the spiritual and the material factors, the formulas for the expression of them are different. For war spirit is rather abstract as devoid of concrete shape or quantitative size, its expression in the military action may not be limited by time and space. On the contrary, while the material factor is substantial as liable to be detected by our senses, its operation is restricted to the duration of time and the scope of space. Following the progress of civilization, the ways and means to carry out belligerent actions have been transformed as from simplicity toward complexity, with the scope of operation greatly expanded without a tangible limit. The belligerent action has also been undergoing a change from the emphasis in the use of physical force toward that of spiritual power. The trend seems quite natural that the formerly simple armed conflict in some limited

battlefield has proceeded into the realm of complex political warfare.

Since conclusion of the First World War, General Ludendorff of Germany had first raised the theory of total war, with his ample military experiences for its supporting ground. By it he strongly advocated the necessity of having all the people participating in the all-out war, through close cooperation with the armed forces as in a solid body, in order to realize the hope for the final victory. It is then conceivable that while on the one hand the armed forces are fighting in the vast field in land, sea and air, the belligerent party must on the other hand try to destroy the spiritual power and living vitality of the opponent people. In other words, during the war time, not only the armed forces must exert their best in direct action against the enemy, but all the people must also jointly or separately contribute their share of fighting strength. As the modern warfare has transmuted or abolish the limitation of time and space, every one in a belligerent state is involved in war with his morale, thinking, and living, as well as action all set within the fighting scope.

In his treatise "On War", Clausewitz had long asserted that the common social war exactly is an all-out war of the entire people against their common foe; particularly in the conflict between civilized nations, the vast belligerence is originated from political strife and accentuated by political motive; therefore, war might rightly be dubbed as a sort of political struggle. Furthermore, he said, war is not only a sort of political action but also a sort of political instrument. The waging of war is to stretch the

political power in its foreign relations by use of various other ways and means. Conversely, he also advocated the theory of bringing on war through political maneuvering for political aims, with war treated as a mere instrument. Such a proposition of the German strategist might be rightly interpreted as the viewpoint for political warfare. Ever since his treatise was published in 1827, it had won popularity among various peoples throughout the world. It has, as generally observed, shed enormous influence upon the Bolsheviks.

The Communists by their origin have been a group or groups of disgruntled persons with distinctive political back-ground, always treating struggle for supremacy as a normal phenomenon of the human world. They assume the role as the vanguard of all oppressed people, vowing to fight incessantly against the imperialistic capitalists as their oppressors in an all-out, unlimited war. They have been trying to apply the Marxist theory of class struggle in a world-wide scope. By adoption of the basic concept of "persistent struggle" with its "objective of annihilating the enemy", they have formulated the frantic idea of "either you or I must go" and "either destroy or else getting destroyed." Hence, they champion the theory and practice of Clausewitz's treatise. Marx, Engels, Lenin and many other bigwigs in the Soviet camp have been zealots in study of that treatise. As reported, Engels had praised Clausewitz as "a bright star in the sky." Most ironically, Lenin had put historical facts upside down by claiming Clausewitz as a Marxist follower. He asserted that the German strategist "in his writings had clearly

appreciated Marxism in the expounding of direct relationship between war and political affairs. In other words, political conflict produces war, and war is an instrument by use of violent forces to prolong the political strife." However, the Communist fanaticism bent on world-conquest aggression has quite deviated from the original theme of the treatise "On War" by outstripping the concept and scope of Clausewitz's thesis; and so it has penetrated into a different domain of international political thought. This is the Communist plot for Sovietizing the entire world under the Kremlin domination.

Nikolai Lenin asserted the nuclear of war is political maneuvering..... War is only a part of the totality which is politics. A Russian authority on military science had thus expounded the foregoing theory, uttering: "If war rightly is the stretching of political actions, with but the use of different instruments, then peace must also be looked upon as the prolongation of war, manipulated through employment of different ways and means." Hence, the Communists treat peace-time and war-time in the same manner. They maintain that even though the use of arms may be dispensable in peace-time, there still is the need of continuing the permanent or unlimited struggle. As war and peace are treated in the same mode, Lenin emphasized war as a mere stretching of the same (peace-time) policy; but owing to the use of military action, the antagonistic relationship between the opponents might be subject to a little modification. A little distinction then lies in the fact that the armed forces employed by the Communists might be different in kind.

Since Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Nikolai Lenin had stressed the imperative nature of political maneuvering to secure military ends, the Bolshevik dogmatism has considerably influenced the shaping of Communist policy and strategy. No matter who takes the helm of the Russian totalitarian rule, the Red imperialists usually try to put on the political mask to camouflage their armed invasion. Hence, the Communists prefer the use of political intrigues to military action, attempting to undermine their enemy in peaceable manner, such as those through peace talks, to secure the objective of invasion, such as through the tactics of "divide and conquer." When perusing this passage in the treatise "On War" as "The conqueror always puts on the air of an ardent peace-lover,.....he attempts to make inroads into the invaded country without firing a shot," Lenin made particular underlines with a remark, "Ha! Ha! This really is a brilliant talk." Isn't such an exultant buffoonery of the Kremlinite tantamount to his hearty concord of the passage? Hence, when Soviet Russia is on the brink of war, the Red strategist usually has a slogan to observe and that is "never fight without the assurance of victory." And then for securing such assurance, the Communists as a rule would first try to win the war through political means and then try to collect the spoil by use of armed power. As testified by history, they have occupied vast territories without open war; they did it through the use of political weapons. Their maintenance and development of the military are treated as ways and means primarily for political blackmail, for backing up other phases of the political warfare, and then for finalizing

the Red aggression.

The Soviet Russians' tactics in political struggle are used not only among the rank and file of the people as well as intramurally in the hierarchy of the Kremlin but also extended all over the globe. All the Communist partisans in whatever countries other than Russia actually are the instruments or puppets of the Soviet world-conquest plot. Mao Tse-tung and his gang are no exception.

In "Soviet Russia in China", President Chiang Kai-shek has definitely pointed out:

"Moscow and its aggression instrument—the international Communism—laid the most important point of their stratagem in none other than coordinating their external attack upon their enemy with their internal subversion tactics. For the sake of harmonizing these types of pincer-attack operations, they would definitely resort to the combined use of military weapons and political, economic, social and cultural weapons."

Here, the so-called "political, economic, social and cultural weapons" might well be grouped as the instruments of political warfare. Our defeat on the China mainland was suffered not so much from the Communist military violence as from their political infiltration and subversion. Therefore, our anti-Communist and anti-Russia war, as to secure the final victory through counter-offensive, must stress the particular importance of political warfare.

Chapter Two

Historical Lessons in Political Warfare

1. A Retrospect on This Subject

In the previous chapter many factual demonstrations have been presented, though rather briefly, to illustrate the meaning, contents and purposes of political warfare. There still is the need of relating more historical facts with adequate analysis of them so as to help us visualize the lessons as written in blood, to find out feasible principles in political warfare, and to formulate the scope of this type of crucial international struggle.

There have been numerous and bitter lessons involved with political warfare that we should have learned in the past, particularly in the conflicts between China and Soviet Russia together with its puppets; but owing to our negligence in treating this subject, we have not yet compiled a complete, systematic history of political warfare. Since President Chiang published his distinguished work "Soviet Russia in China" in 1957, it undoubtedly is a precious document related to this subject in the latest thirty years. Hence the present study on political warfare must be based upon this impressive work.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the contents of political warfare are very broad and rather vague, and so the historical facts concerned are very complicate. In ancient China, many strategists such as Sun Tsu, Tien Tan, Liu Pong, Chu-go Liang, etc., are particularly well-known for having practised this type of war. And in Europe Julius Caesar, Charlemagne and Napoleon had also distinguished themselves in this respect in achieving victories. It would be rather difficult to include all such past historical facts in this discussion as to serve our purpose. Therefore, it is advisable to select the sad story of Soviet Russian and Chinese Communist invasion of the mainland for treatment. As illustrations, they may also serve us to broaden our viewpoint by inference and to intensify or sharpen our wisdom for the study.

2. Instances As Shown by Soviet Russia's Political Stratagem against the Republic of China

The political stratagem discussed here is generally set in such a pattern as to conceal the real plot by pretenses to meet the psychical desire of the opponent so as to lure him into a trap and ultimately to materialize the plot of the schemer.

In the supplementary chapter of "Soviet Russia in China", President Chiang has observed that the slogan "peaceful coexistence" of Soviet Russia and its Chinese puppets revealed actually one of the basic stratagems in the invasion of China. These basic stratagems conform

exactly to the entity of Russian political strategy. President Chiang also pointed out, the Chinese Reds in the manipulation of their basic stratagems had this treacherous rule to follow: When their armed invasion is frustrated, they would ask—even beg most docilely—for “peaceful coexistence.” But as soon as their brute force is built up, they will certainly violate the peace agreement and start armed rebellion again. Besides, when they assume peace talks with us, they are getting busy in preparation for the forthcoming rebellion. Such repeated treachery exactly is what they called “unity of contradictions” and “alteration of antitheses” in the Marxist “Dialectics.” Hence in the fight against any Communist gang, we must carefully study their military principles and probe into their political behavior in order to pass the judgment whether our own strategy and tactics are correct. Since we have been waging war with the Chinese Communists for thirty years, the ultimate experience thus gathered is, with reference to the Dialectics, an urgent need of ascertaining their war psychology and putting their treacherous actions under strict control. By this observation, we should definitely apprehend that the strategic warfare of the Communist bloc is based upon the Marxist Dialectics.

The practice of strategic warfare of Russia against the Republic of China dates back to 1924. As related by “Soviet Russia in China,” the “first phase of Sino-Russian peaceful coexistence” lasted in the period from 1924 to 1927. Because communism is unfit for the human living and still less suitable to the Chinese climate, its embryonic stage was grafted into the Nationalist Party as its parasite

in order to carry out such schemes as infiltration, sabotage and subversion. It then tried to organize workers, peasants and other elements of the people under the cover of some uncouth or unsteady organs of the Nationalist Party. It also deftly disguised itself and camouflaged the tenet of class struggle. Its ultimate objective was the establishment of the first Soviet puppet regime in Asia through exploitation of the Chinese revolutionary campaign for national unification and independence.

At the outset of this first phase of the Soviet strategic warfare, the Russian stratagem was an attempt to put on a friendly mask over its ugly face. The Kremlin had issued then the first amity declaration toward China, expressing its goodwill by renouncing any privileges which Czarist Russia had extorted from China, withdrawing the armed guards in all Russian consulates in China as formerly despatched by the Czar, and returning to China various indemnities which Russia had formerly extorted from the Manchu regime. Furthermore, the Kremlin had promised to return the ownership and management of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria without demanding any compensation. Such a smiling face, with the backing of some substantial gestures, was indeed a tricky maneuver in its strategic warfare.

In the meantime, the Chinese Communists had also on the order of their Kremlin masters "joined the Nationalist Party" each in their "individual capacity." Li Ta-chao, then a leader of the Chinese Communists, issued a manifesto on their behalf, explicitly stating that "under the overall direction of the Director-General of Kuo-

mintang and under the all embracing discipline of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists pledged their allegiance to fight for the success of the national revolution by falling on the same steps of the Nationalist Party." And so their heinous plots of parasitism, infiltration and subversion were all covered up.

Since the Kuomintang adoption of such a magnanimous policy of "befriending Russia and tolerating Communist elements," the Chinese Reds had got hold of the position to control the trade union of various localities as well as the Federation of Labor through their manipulation of authorities in the Farmers Department and the Organization Department of the KMT headquarters in Canton. They also stirred up the division of "Leftist", "Rightist" and "Neutralist" cliques among the KMT members, uttering the slogan of "Left-turn for all revolutionists," and incited them to fight among themselves through mutual suspicion, jealousy or distrust. Following the Soviet advisor Borodin's return to Moscow, Kissanka, the chief of Soviet military advisory group, doggedly spreaded his rubbish view that the then projected northward expedition of the Nationalist armed forces "will certainly meet defeat."

And later, when the expeditionary forces advanced to Nanking, the Chinese Communists fomented the Nanking-Hankow split on the instigation of Soviet advisory group. Meanwhile, the Communist "divide and conquer" plot and other subversive activities had been completely exposed. They had successively brought about the "Nanchang riot" and the "Hunan-Hupeh autumn harvest riot." Even when these Red uprisings failed their purpose, the Kremlin

still urged the Chinese Communists to conjure up the riots in Canton and other cities. Therefore, the Nationalist Government in Nanking had to execute the all-out "purge party movement" and sever the diplomatic relations with Russia. That is the first concrete instance of the Communist strategic warfare.

The second instance took place from 1932 to 1945, and that is what the "Soviet Russia in China" had mentioned as the "second stage of peaceful coexistence between China and Russia."

Since the Manchuli Incident of 1929 by which Soviet armed forces had invaded northeastern China and later the "September 18 Incident" by which the Japanese warlords had gobbled up the whole of Manchuria, there was then evolved the truth that the independence and freedom of the Republic of China must be won through fighting along the blood-bath road which was under the cross-fire of both Japanese and Russian aggressors.

Although the Chinese Eastern Railway Incident was temporarily solved as a "local case," the Chinese Communists had nevertheless stirred up sporadic rebellions in conjunction with the Japanese invasion. They still put up the critical situation of double envelopment against China. Then the Nationalist Government decided upon the "Internal Security First" policy, concentrating its armed might to suppress the Chinese Communist rebels prior to resist the Japanese invasion. The firm execution of this policy had won for the Nationalists the success of five close-up attacks upon the Chinese Reds.

The Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung gang had then duly

reached the end of their rope and they had to split up themselves into several groups retreating toward northern Shensi province for regrouping and respite. But then they had also brewed up new plots. With Soviet Russia as their backing, they secured the breathing space and then built up their power step by step. When the 7th. Congress of the Communist International held its meetings in Moscow, in July and August, 1935, the "united front" report was raised in a plenary session under Stalin's direction. Naturally it was passed as a resolution, the most treacherous, and heinous plot ever worked out by the conspiracy of Russian and Chinese Communists.

Accordingly, Mao Tse-tung issued a declaration on August 1, 1935, clamoring for organization of a so-called "all people's national defense coalition government" on the premise of "people's united front to resist Japanese invasion." Subsequently on May 5, 1936, the Chinese Communists put forth a circular cablegram from Yen-an, denoting their willingness to "cease fire for peace negotiations." With some decoys from the "neutralist" intellectual group as the go-between, through numerous, intricate talks, the Chu-Mao gang had by gesture eventually accepted the following four terms demanded by the Nationalist Government as terms for the Communist "surrender" to the Nanking Government: 1. Following the Three Principles of the People; 2. Obeying Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's command; 3. Abrogating the "Red Army" and reorganizing it as a group of the national armed forces; and 4. Annulling the Soviet set-ups in northern Shensi province by renovating them to be regular, local governments. But then the Chinese

Communists had played the game most shrewdly in the artifice of "formally surrendering" themselves to the Nationalist Government.

In the meantime, the Chu-Mao gang and its satellite civic or political bodies exerted their efforts in clamoring for renewing China's friendship with Soviet Russia. In October 1936, the Government sent Dr. T. F. Tsiang to replace Dr. W. W. Yen as ambassador to Moscow, with an instruction that "active measures may be taken up in dealing with negotiations with Russia when performed on equality basis."

But then most unfortunately, Japanese warlords played themselves into the Communist trap. On July 7, 1937, they stirred up the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in Peiping outskirts. And so the Sino-Soviet negotiations were intensively stepped up on the pretext of jointly meeting the Japanese imperialistic aggression.

Subsequently, on August 21 of the same year, the Republic of China and Russia concluded the deadly venomous yet sugar-coated "mutual non-aggression pact." And then Soviet Russia had assumed again its friendly gesture on the pretext of "peaceful coexistence."

But the actual facts in the eight-year Chinese war against Japanese aggression have definitely proved the vicious treachery of the Communist strategic warfare. The Kremlin villains had then intensely carried out their plot of infiltration and subversion against China, in addition to openly extending their material and political aids to the Chinese Reds. They all exerted the best to subvert the Nationalist Government even when it was suffering

from the most critical attack of the Japanese invading forces. And they did the same under the smokescreen of of "Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact" and "cooperation of the KMT and the Communist forces."

On the Soviet Russian side, as for instance, it had violated the spirit as well as the letters of the Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact by concluding with Japan the "Soviet-Japanese neutrality agreement" in 1941, and as for one of the terms in the secret pact, Russia extended its recognition to the "Manchukuo"—the puppet regime set up by Japan through invasion and manipulation.

Subsequently, the Kremlinites had openly made inroads into Outer Mongolia, gobbled up Tannu Tuva, and made designs also to subvert the Sinkiang province of China.

More treacherous still, they had by employing their agents and partisans on the international front lured many American and British newshawks and newshens into the Red trap and thus deadly polluted the Western presses with their distorted reports on China, by malicious mud-slinging upon the Government in Chungking, and later in Nanking in the post-war period. The Communists had committed all such venomous treacheries in coordination with their gruesome espionage and diplomatic offensive on the international front, so as to undermine the prestige of the Chinese government on the one hand and pave the way for the Chu-Mao gang to subvert the government on the other.

Meanwhile, on the Chinese Communist part the Yen-an gang had all along definitely presumed that "any large-scale conflict between China and Japan will definitely

accord the Chinese Communists the best opportunity for expansion." And there had been the possibility that Soviet agents in Tokyo and Japanese Reds then jointly engineered some plots in helping plunge the Japanese warlords into the quagmire of successive frantic games of invasion.

And so during the resist-Japanese war in 1937-45, the Chicom's notorious behavior pattern was "using 70% efforts for self-development, 20% as a gesture to deal with the National Government, and 10% to fight the Japanese." The 18th. Group Army and the so-called "New 4th Army" under Mao Tse-tung's command had repeatedly violated the National Government's instructions to such a rebellious extent as repeatedly assaulting the national army by surprise attacks and thus obstructing the war to resist Japanese aggression.

It was then also reported that with ample Russian aids channelling to Yenan, the Chu-Mao gang actually did not need such military supplies and money given to them by the National Government. As they had received the allotment, they used that tremendous sum of money right in Chungking and elsewhere as "subsidies" to their satellite civic and political units as well as many "cultural" elements or organizations. And so such "subsidies" were used as general funds of the Chinese Communists for carrying out their political warfare stratagems. They were in turn used by Red "armies of Mara" and fellow-travellers to undermine the national unity, to split the camp of fighting against the Japanese invasion, or to subvert the government organization, through propaganda, infiltration, espionage and other vicious activities.

Later in February 1945, at the Yalta conference participated by the United States, Britain, and Soviet Russia, Stalin and his secret cohorts under the American lap had scored an unprecedented victory in the Red diplomatic tussle against the democratic world. Through that infamous conference, Russia had seized China's sovereignty in Outer Mongolia and disrupted China's administrative integrity and thus paved the way for its puppet regime under Mao Tse-tung to invade and overrun the whole of the China mainland.

In June of the same year, when China and Russia were negotiating the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, the peace preservation corps at Tenghua in northern Shensi, upon the instigation of Chinese Reds, occupied the county seat and clashed with Government troops there. In the meantime, in eastern and western parts of Chekiang province and in southern and northern parts of Suiyuan province, etc., Communist forces renewed surprise attacks on Government troops. Such incidents solely engineered by the Communists were used as fresh propaganda materials by American Communists and their fellow-travellers in accusing the Chinese National Government of "starting a civil war," and in asking the U.S. government to stop sending military supplies to China. That sort of world-wide Communist conspiracy had brought about tremendous difficulties and obstacles to China's diplomatic and internal development during the last phase of our war against Japanese invasion and the early post-war rehabilitation.

This is another substantial expose of the Russian strategic warfare.

And the Russian stratagem against the Republic of China was the most wicked during 1945 to 1949 as on the mainland. That was the "third period of false and vicious play of peaceful coexistence" on the part of Russia as "Soviet Russia in China" has so well described. Since Japan announced its unconditional surrender to the Allies on August 10, 1945, the China Theater's area for accepting Japanese surrender covered the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and Indo-China (Vietnam) north of the 16th degree North Latitude. Unfortunately, as falling into the Russian trap set by the Yalta agreement, the Allied Headquarters assigned to Soviet army of Manchu the "duties" of accepting the surrender of Japanese troops in Manchuria.

In fact, Japan might have sooner or later surrendered to the Allied powers even without Russia's abrupt announcement of a "state of war" against Japan. On August 8, 1945, Russia declared that a "state of war" with Japan would exist as from August 9, which was only one day before Japan's offer to surrender or six days before hostilities had practically come to an end. Soviet troops entered Manchuria, Jehol and Chahar only three days before the Japanese actually laid down their arms. This Red intrigue marked a new starting point in Russia's aggression against China and in Chinese Communists' subversion against the Government in the post-war years.

Upon receipt of Japan's declaration of surrender, the National Military Council of the Chinese Government immediately asked all armed forces in the country to wait for orders and carry out all decisions pertaining to the acceptance of the Japanese surrender in accordance with

Allied agreements. In its orders to the 18th Group Army then under Mao Tse-tung's palm, the National Military Council specifically instructed all its units to "remain where they were and to wait for orders"; and, for those committed to combat duties, to abide by orders of their respective war area commanders. In no circumstances were they allowed to make any unauthorized moves.

But the Communists had glaringly violated the orders of the Chinese Government. Chu Teh, in the name of the "Yenan Headquarters" issued "Seven Orders of the Day," directing Communist forces in various places to resort to all-out violence. On August 17, the Chinese Reds, again through Chu Teh, presented a set of six demands to the Government. The intrigue with its purpose behind Chu Teh's "Seven Orders of the Day" and six demands was explicitly glare. It was to take independent actions to disarm Japanese and puppet troops, to occupy or else to disrupt communication lines, and to expand their area of control so as to join forces with Soviet and Outer Mongolian troops pouring into Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan.

At the same time, in attempting to disrupt our national unity, they demanded the formation of a "coalition government" and gave their military tactics certain kind of support for their expansion of political offensive and subversion.

Nonetheless, at that critical juncture, Soviet Russia still kept on playing the dirty aggressive intrigue under the mask of "peaceful coexistence." In the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 1945, China

accepted with reluctance the Russian demand for Outer Mongolia's autonomy or independence out of an urgent desire to maintain amity and a durable peace, between herself and Soviet Russia.

Simultaneously as the Republic of China's envoy negotiated with Soviet Russia for conclusion of the said Sino-Soviet treaty, the government then in Chungking was holding renewed discussions with Mao Tse-tung and his entourage brought there by U.S. Ambassador Patrick Hurley, hoping to find a formula for peaceful coexistence. Altogether, Government delegates and Communist representatives held five meetings in forty-one days. On October 10, 1945, some minutes of the conversations were published. The important points in them were explicitly stated as "concerning the basic policy on peaceful national reconstruction" and "concerning the question of political democratization," etc. And yet in fact when the Communists were clamoring for "peace," their actual practice was just the opposite. Such a treacherous behaviorism shows only one phase of the maneuver of Soviet Russia's strategic warfare.

By August 1945 Soviet Russia's repeated violations of its treaty obligations, together with accentuation of its territorial ambitions in Jehol, Chahar and Manchuria, and its directives to the Chinese Communists to betray the country, had all been exposed. Regarding atrocities such as pillaging and raping committed by Russian armed forces in Manchuria, they were so numerous as beyond calculation through any sort of regular investigation.

Meanwhile, Stalin had on the one hand tried to disrupt

the Sino-American relations through his vicious propaganda and subversive actions of his fifth columnists in the United States; and on the other hand, attempted to manipulate China's foreign policy and internal affairs through the vile activities of the Chinese Communists and their fellow-travellers. Stalin had then committed all such vile acts in the hope of pushing the National Government from "neutralist stand" toward isolation as to eventually become a Soviet satellite through "peaceful transformation."

On the side of the Chinese Communists, even though in appearance they had joined the delegate of the National Government in publishing the "Minutes of the Conversations" on Oct. 10, 1945, in accordance with the "Program of Peaceful National Reconstruction (as set forth by Generalissimo Chiang earlier on Sept. 3, V-J Day, 1945), the Chinese Reds had resorted to the use of their front organizations such as the Democratic League as their tools to push on their infiltration and subversion in various governmental organs, schools, and civic bodies, etc.

Since May 1946, the Red troops, in order to support their military action in Manchuria, unleashed numerous surprise attacks on Government army in Jehol, Chahar, Hopei and Shantung provinces in violation of the cease-fire order of Jan. 10, 1946 (as agreed upon by the Committee of Three during U.S. Gen. George C. Marshall's mediation effort). By use of "off and on" peace talks and various other malicious tricks, the Chinese Communist armed rebellion had spread like prairie fire throughout the country.

Since the Washington Government announced its policy

of withdrawing from the bogged down mediation, with its special envoy Gen. Marshall returned to America, the Chinese Communists had openly launched their all-out rebellion since December 1946.

Meanwhile, soon after Gen. Marshall left for home, Soviet Russia and the Chinese Reds also started their peace campaign by trying to entice the Nanking Government to resume talks with them. Moscow then brazenly assumed the role as the mediator while stepping up also their anti-American campaign. However, due to the wisdom of President Chiang, who had seen clearly what laid behind Moscow's attempt to mediate and also its consequences, the Government firmly resisted the Communist temptation as such. If we had accepted Russia's "mediation," China would have become a second Poland in 1947 as by way of forming a "coalition government." President Chiang resolutely rejected their requests and peace feelers on various occasions.

By that period around 1947, the most deplorable event was that our Ally, the United States, did not discover her own stand as having been lured into the trap of the Russian stratagem, while many Chinese intellectuals and leftist youths, fooled by the Communist propaganda of championing "freedom" and "democracy," also kicked up dusts and spread agitations to promote the Communist infiltration and subversion. It was through this intrigue that neutralism and defeatism came to smuggling into the National Government and also into the armed forces. It thus paved the way for the Communists to complete their allout rebellion which resulted in the tragedy of

the loss of China mainland to the Communist grip in 1949.

The sad account of the loss of China mainland is briefly repeated here just to show how wicked was the political stratagem of Soviet Russia in its war against China. By thus we want to point out also the importance of waging the war of stratagem in the hope that in our anti-Communist campaign hence-forth, we shall never again suffer defeat from the enemy's political intrigues!

3. Soviet Russia's Ideological War against China

By study of history and political theories, we might conceive that one significant step in Russia's invasion of China is its implementation of "ideological offensive." The content of such a warfare exactly is the direct attack upon the human mind as taught by Marxism and Leninism. Mao Tse-tung adopted it through publication of "New Democracy." And then the Russian "ideological conquest" in China had reached its peak. Here we shall discuss the content of these three Red "principles," and called the bluff of their reactionary and aggressive characteristics.

First, let us take up Marxism

At the end of the 19th century and at the early stage of the 20th century, Marxism had been wildly glossed over by Communist followers as their religious creed tinted with thick mystic colors. Some naive youths then, lured into the trap by the Red propaganda, had mistaken communism for a noble idealism. That, of course, is a fateful blunder for all credulous fanatics even

now. As President Chiang has clearly pointed out in his "Soviet Russia in China": The Communist idealism, created by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, was markedly developed by Nikolai Lenin. By shrewdly overthrowing the Russian Provisional Government in 1917, Lenin set up his Soviet regime. In theory he called the job as "transformation of a capitalist, democratic revolution into the proletariat, social revolution," and loudly claimed it as "the liberation of proletariat class tantamount to a liberation of majority of the people." He trumpeted the Bolshevik group as though it was the most advanced revolutionary party in the world and so communism was the most sublime idealism. But in fact, Marxism was a counter-revolutionary movement in the French revolution; it also was a counter-current to the then European and American democratic revolution. His attempt was to set up a totalitarian system through destroying of democracy. President Chiang's precious exposure of the communist fundamental concept has given us the crucial key for solution of many knotty problems in the study of Marxism. Particularly it has shown us the cause why the prediction of Marx could not be realized.

As we want to confirm Marxism as a reactionary idea, we must detect it through the background in which such a theory was formulated. Marx lived in the era when the industrial revolution began, with capitalism taking shape through the enhance of human productivity by use of scientific inventions. The continuous development of capitalism had created the unprecedented change of economic forces in European countries, thus making the

rich to be richer and the poor the poorer, just as an old Chinese saying goes: wealthy men each possessed immense lands while the poor had no soil to set his drill. Under such a circumstance, various idealisms were born in succession. This was the basic cause for the pompous development of ideological wave of democracy and that of socialism. No doubt, these political thoughts had shed much influence upon the fantastic idea of Marx.

And yet two other crucial factors that had decisively shaped the Marxist principle as in the absolutely reactionary direction were the then degeneracy of the British society and the misery of Marx's own living. As he had witnessed the injustice in the British social relations, he was dead set against capitalism, because he thought capitalism was the root of all social evils. His view as such had been fully displayed through his treatise "On Capitalism" (Das Kapital). Such a distorted, one-sided view had guided him to the exploring of an extremely reactionary path. He had perceived only the pathogenic facade of capitalism while ignoring its physiological side. There seemed natural that his principle might lead the reactionary bloc toward the perilous war path of inflicting holocaust to the whole world, if unchecked in time.

It may be recalled that when Soviet Russia launched its invasion of China, it did so by employing the "Marxism Research Institute" to push its ideological infiltration. It was set up in 1920 prior to the establishing of the Chinese Communist Party. It attempted to lure many radical youths and intellectuals into the Marxist labyrinth, changing their minds gradually and so leading them into

its fold of jackals. There were then some naive persons getting harnessed and led by the nose.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen had tried to refute the fallacious points in Marxism when lecturing on the Three People's Principles, especially in those chapters of the Principle of People's Livelihood. This is a substantial evidence that during Dr. Sun's life-time he had definitely waged the ideological war against Soviet Russia.

Next, we shall touch upon Leninism

Leninism was once also dubbed as Bolshevism. According to Joseph Stalin and his followers, Leninism was the developed phase of Marxism and so was the product of the Marxian application to the Soviet revolution. By analysis of such propaganda of Stalin and his cohorts, we see that the characteristic of Lenin's stratagem was more markedly vicious than that of Marx. Those who have not made a thorough study of Communist theories may have frequently mistaken Marxism as accountable for all the evils of Communism as shown in the present world. However, such a conception is not exactly complete. It is true that Marxism has been made a tool to paralyse a portion of the human mind, and so it might be held as accountable to the current calamity of mankind. But the most important factor involved in the process was the implementation of intrigues in Leninism. This point we must make clear first.

What is Leninism then? It is a "monster," a con-

glomeration of political intrigues and dialectic expansionism. On the one hand, it pirated the reactionary features of Marxism; on the other, it inherited Russian narodism, nihilism, pan-Slavism, and all the characteristics of cruelty, sadism, treachery, and terrorism handed down by the Czarist absolutism. Hence, by careful analysis, we can eventually discover Leninism, which is nothing but a mixture of sadistic bestiality, treachery and insatiable expansionism.

What had Leninism stolen from Marxism? In a lump, it stole the blue-print of the Marxian "world-conquest" plot; and then, categorically speaking, it got hold of the Marxist theories of "class struggle," "international conspiracy," and "psychological stratagem." The plot for "communizing the world" had been the subjective ambition of Karl Marx. According to the analysis of Peter A. Kropotkin, such an ambition may have been derived from the "German spirit," endowed with the cult of aggressivism.

During the era of Lenin's dictatorship, the Marxian ambition for world-conquest was promptly assimilated with the Leninian "Russian spirit."

What was the basis for such an observation? An answer might be found in Lenin's methods which he had employed in the implementation of Communist plots. He had, of course, modified them by instilling into them the "Russian spirit" or Pan-Slavism. Take for instance the Soviet application of "class struggle." Marx had only roughly divided the proletariat from the capitalist class and advocated the coarse fantasy of "proletarian dicta-

torship." However, by polluting it with the Czarist stratagem, Lenin had further subdivided the proletariat into four groups such as the advanced, the awakened, the backward, and the unrepented. Hence, instead of "proletarian dictatorship," Lenin advocated "Communist dictatorship" and eventually transformed it into "one-man dictatorship."

Meanwhile, the Leninian "international conspiracy" also was pirated from Marxism. When discussing Leninism, Stalin trumpeted it as having its basis on the overall development of the international reality which was not limited to the Russian situation. He also said: "As Lenin is a Marxist follower, his attitude toward the world must of course be conformed to the Marxism." And yet in fact as Lenin had tried to coin a subterfuge for "communizing the world" and to camouflage the "pan-Slavism," he created the "imperialistic theory," as based upon the Marxian "class struggle" fallacy, to hoodwink those nationalists in under-developed areas and exploit their blood and sweat.

However, while Stalin may have suspected that his followers were ignorant of Lenin's stratagem as such, he had specifically spared no words in exposing Lenin's "pan-Slavism" by pointing out that "Leninism is the application of Marxism to meet the specific conditions under the specific circumstances of Soviet Russia.

And then the "psychological stratagem" in Leninism has been so frequently displayed as too plain to need elaboration. It naturally was also pirated from Marxism. A passage in Stalin's "Discussions on Problems in Le-

minism," had underscored an explanation in this regard. He said: "As we want to defeat our strong opponents, we must exert the best efforts possible in the use of every ways and means available. Then and there, we must exploit whatever 'crevice,' be it even the minutest, of the enemy through our most subtle, most careful, most diligent and most crafty exploration; such opportunities then might be secured as to utilize the conflict of interests among the capitalist classes of different countries, or among the various domestic groups, cliques or different capitalist classes within any one country as to further the Soviet cause; such opportunities as to be utilized may even be the smallest, yet the gist is to secure the majority of our allies, even though they might be in fact only temporary, wavering and unsteady or unfaithful and conditional allies. Any one who is ignorant of this stratagem also is not learned of Marxism, and so is utterly ignorant of the modern scientific Socialism."

The foregoing passage has accurately exposed the substance of the Leninian stratagem. For the sake of "defeating its strong opponents," it might set aside the question of right or wrong, regardless of morality, but employs all ways and means available. If such a fantasy may be dubbed a "principle," how can there be any grain of "truth" in it?

The attempted open incursion of Leninism into China started in 1923 when the Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) adopted the policy of "alignment with Russia and tolerance of Chinese Reds' admission as individuals to the KMT membership," following the Sun-Joffe

statement of January 26, 1923. Nevertheless, as Dr. Sun Yat-sen had already seen through Lenin's plot of ideological infiltration, when the said joint statement was issued, he had it in the very first paragraph strongly worded that "the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China, because here do not exist in fact the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism." Such a declaration might have dealt to the attempted incursion of Leninism into China a "right on-the-head blow."

Further, let us talk about Mao's so-called "New Democracy."

The so-called "New Democracy" was an intriguing program rather than a political theory, because it set forth the subtle plot of Communist rebellion against Chinese nation solely in accordance with the view point of Marx and Lenin. It was released as a pamphlet by Mao Tse-tung in Yen-an in January 1940, for the purpose also of making a show when China's resistance war against Japan entered upon a stalemate. And yet his real intention was set for pushing on his "united front" scheme to, on the one hand, deal a vicious propaganda blow against the National Government in Chungking, and, on the other, to boost his tottering life-line as a ground for maintaining his own survival. In this regard, many clever Americans could have clearly apprehended. The Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress had in its 1950 report on "Communism in China" plainly stated: "Mao Tse-tung's ideology is thoroughly conformed with the principles of Marxist school without any deviation." And

it also said: The function of Mao's ideological tactics..... is to set a pattern of action more suitable to the reality. Thus he has fulfilled the gangway of three directions: first, to show his orthodox color of Communism; secondly, to secure the maximum of utility value by exhorting his followers to wrestle for political power through every ways and means available; and third, to pacify the anti-communist sentiment to the greatest extent possible. And so he had tried to wrap up the bitter pill of Communism by the sweetest sugar-coating and then also made it double its effect in application.

The aforesaid analytical study of the American Congress is exceedingly correct. Its first point exposed the "New Democracy" as a mere replica of Marxism-Leninism, and its second and third points revealed the purpose of Mao's plot, especially the third, as it disclosed that the so-called "New Democracy" is but a scheme for implementing the Communist united front stratagem.

Why must Mao Tse-tung use the name of "New Democracy" to camouflage his adopted Marxism-Leninism? The reason is very simple, and that is a deception purely for the purpose of power-struggle. We all know that China has been devoid of actual conditions for execution of Marxism-Leninism; and, in the mean time, the historical tradition, cultural heritage and social order of China had been completely contrasting to the Russian totalitarianism and dictatorship. Therefore, ever since Gregori Voitinsky and Chen Tu-hsiu set up the "Marxism Research Institute" in 1920, till Mao released his "Theory of New Democracy" in 1940, neither Marxism nor Leninism had in these 20

years found any real support of true and loyal Chinese sons or daughters. As under normal conditions, those Communists who had tried to sell Marxism-Leninism to the public had bumped their heads against the stonewall.

Even though in the vast territory of China there were numerous gaps for many desperados to get shelter and respite, the Chinese Communists could almost find no more such gaps to survive the 1934 encirclement attacks of Government troops. The Chinese Red brigands collapsed then in eight guerrilla districts in South China and their remnants had to flee like desperate beasts in small, mobile groups till they reached Yen-an in northern Shensi province. Even then it was the Japanese invasion of China that had saved the Chu-Mao gang from annihilation.

And so Mao was well learned of the critical situation of his gang of 5,000 when secluded in the desolate cavern in northern Shensi. Whereupon he tried to save his gang by use of political intrigues. When exploiting the opportunity to "fight against the Japanese invasion" in name under the Government's command, Mao had proceeded to carry out the Marxism-Leninism under the camouflage of democracy. And so he put on the mask of "New Democracy" to deceive all naive and credulous guys, both at home and abroad.

Since democracy has been the fashion of the free world, Mao found it more attractive and practical by glossing it over with the word "New"; and so he could lure many blind-folded youths as well as members of the so-called "Democratic League" and "advanced intellectuals" into his trap. Thereupon, he won the first round of the

ideological war.

Subsequently the political thinking of Chinese intellectuals was confused while the ideological bulwark of the Kuomintang was divided and disrupted. Following the collapse of the ideological defense line of the Chinese masses, the vast mainland of China also fell into the Communist Satanic clutches, step by step over a period of ten years since 1940. That, indeed, was a very deplorable event in Chinese history.

4. The Russian Organizational War against China

Propaganda, agitation, and conspiracy through diabolical organizational maneuverings, these formed the trilogy in the Russian bible of expansionism. The former two belong to the domain of "conquest by ideological offensive" while the last one makes for blooming and then toward fruition of its fore-runners. And so the Soviet organizational maneuvers marked the starting point of substantial act in aggression. When the Soviet invasion tactics is under study, its plots in organizational warfare must be subject to careful scrutiny.

First, what we should study is the "Third International."

The so-called "Third International" was exactly named "Comintern." Playing tricks with semantics, Lenin had dubbed his brain-child "Communist International" as the third international, in succession to Marx's First International and Karl J. Kautsky's Second International, as in appearance the orthodox organization of Marxian heritage.

Since April 1917, when Lenin was expelled from Germany to Russia, under police surveillance on a train, and then declared his "political platform," he called for the setting up of a new international organization to put into practice the so-called "world-wide proletarian revolution." Later, as soon as the Russian "October Revolution" seized the power from the Czar, he claimed that the Bolsheviks had for the world revolution established a central base. Hence, he stepped up more furiously his fanatic scheme by urging all the communist followers in Western European countries to commit a series of bloody riots for the purpose of grabbing government powers in their respective nations so as to support the Russian "Soviet hegemony" in the world-wide scope.

However, the Bolshevik violent struggles failed one after another. And so in March 1919, Lenin turned around for political maneuvering and formally set up the Third International in Moscow. Actually, the main theme of Comintern was aimed at purging the Second International, which had been dedicated rather to the Marxian line of Communism, and, instead, urging all the labor forces over the world to support Soviet Russia by solidifying themselves under the command of "the workers' fatherland." Thenceforth, the Communists have had the vast aggressive organization of international nature.

During inauguration of the Comintern, Grigori Zinoviev, one of its founders, had boasted that following the establishment of the Third International in 1919, the projected international Soviet shall be created in 1920. But then in 1920 Lenin's armed invasion of Poland failed as he

had taken up Western Europe as the main target of expansion when adopting the Marxian tactics of "proletarian revolution" toward "world revolution." The Comintern then also stressed its activities in Western Europe and the United States of America. When the Communist Party in America proclaimed its installation in 1919, its comrades in Moscow had elatedly claimed: As the first swallow has brought the presage for the coming of spring, the attainment of world revolution may not be far away. Such view was rife in the Soviet rank and file. However, as their comrades' violent tactics had failed in Western Europe, it was evident that in those highly industrialized countries the proletariat was still too weak to overthrow its government, respectively. And so the Marxist line for world revolution was bankrupt in Lenin's heart.

For the purpose of finding an outlet for the Russian isolation, Lenin turned his eyes from the West to the Far East. Right at that moment, the high tide of Chinese national revolution had been bombarding the remnant stronghold of the ancient tradition, with a show of vigorous strength. Lenin, the opportunistic plotter, was so inspired that he attempted to distract and divert the force of nationalistic movement in the East to deal the West a mortal blow. He then decided upon the use of an indirect formula to promote his "world revolution."

At this critical juncture Lenin had tried extending his tentacles in the East. At the Second "World Congress" of the Comintern in 1920, he formally set up the "Nationalism and Colonialism Committee" and the "Eastern Division of the Comintern," with their efforts concentrated

to the fermentation of the "anti-imperialism campaign" of Oriental peoples. Meanwhile, he also set up in Moscow the Eastern University and Labor University, specifically aiming at the training of Asian students as his tools through "ideological conquest" to extend the Comintern branches into various Asian countries. That exactly was Lenin's motive in establishing the Third International to wage the Communist organizational warfare against the free nations in the world-wide scope.

By that early stage, although Moscow was designated as the permanent headquarters of Comintern, the Third International had more or less the contour of an international organization. But soon after the death of Lenin, while Stalin installed himself as the successor, it was gradually transformed into a subservient tool of Stalin, with its chairman appointed or deposed by the dictator at will. Leaders of the Comintern such as Grigori Zinoviev and Nikolai Bukharin were even killed by Stalin sooner or later. Its branches in various countries—in other words, the communists in all such countries, have been turned to be subservient hounds under Stalin's whip, and, in fact, the real traitors to their own father-lands, respectively. This observation was later definitely confirmed by the fact that as since the Comintern was in name dissolved by Stalin in 1943, all the Communists throughout the world have been put under the direct command of their comrades in Moscow. This is the true characteristic of the Third International.

Regarding the incursion of Comintern into China, its start dated back to May 1920 when the "Research Institute

of Marxism" was installed. Gregori Voitinsky, chief of Comintern's Eastern Division, came to China to arrange with Chen Tu-hsiu, Li Ta-chao, Shen Hsien-lu, Chow Fu-hai, Shao Li-tze, Li Han-june, Yang Ming-chai, Chen Wang-tao, Shen Chung-jiu, Sze Shun-tung, Yu Hsiu-sung, etc., for the setting up of such an organization with its headquarters located at 6, Ye Yang Alley, Rue Joffre, in the French Settlement of Shanghai. They soon also set up branches in various big cities both at home and abroad. For instance, in Shanghai district those who were in charge as its leaders were Chen Tu-hsiu, Chen Kung-poh, and Li Han-june; in Peiping, Li Ta-chao, Chang Kuo-tao, and Liu Jen-ching; in Shansi, Kao Tsung-yu, etc.; Shantung, Wang Shu-mei, etc.; Hupeh, Tong Pih-wu, Chen Chiu-tan, etc.; Hunan, Ho Shui-heng, Mao Tse-tung, etc.; Kwangtung, Lin Po-chu, Peng Pi, etc.; Hangchow, Shen Hsien-lu, etc.; and then in various foreign countries where there were Chinese students, such as in Japan, Chow Fu-hai was in charge of its branch; France, Chou En-lai and Li Li-san, etc.; Germany, Kao Yu-han, Chu Teh, etc., and then in Bussia, Chu Chiu-pai was in charge of its liaison work. By such a wide spread of its network, there is no doubt that Voitinsky had set the Red organizational pattern for China on world-wide basis of the Communist international conspiracy right at the very beginning.

Soon after the establishment of the Research Institute of Marxism, it also set up a "front organization" called the "Chinese Socialist Youth Corps," proceeding on its work of gathering many radical young men and women and sent them to study in the Eastern University in

Moscow. Later in September of the same year, Chen Tu-hsiu called into order in Shanghai the "Preparatory Committee for the Formation of the Chinese Communist Party" under Voitinsky's sponsorship. Chen also visited Russia at Voitinsky's invitation. And so the Comintern had then completed its first step in spreading Communism seeds in China. Having achieved his mission, Voitinsky returned to Moscow in that winter. Soviet Russia had the network prepared for carrying out the organizational warfare in China against the free world as a whole in its early stage.

It is evident that the Chinese Communists exactly are the foster sons and daughters of Soviet Russia, as correctly pointed out by President Chiang Kai-shek, because as shown above most of those so-called promoters of the Research Institute of Marxism have turned out to be the bigwigs of the Chu-Mao gang later on the China mainland. And we might reaffirm our conviction that the Chu-Mao gang has been nothing but a heartless tool of Russian organizational warfare against the democratic world as a whole.

Furthermore, a sketch of the Chinese Communist Party may well be recalled.

As soon as Chen Tu-hsiu was brought to Moscow by Voitinsky in the winter of 1920, he was introduced to Leon Trotsky. The Russian Red leader then urged T. H. Chen to organize the Communist cell in China, which was to join the Third International as a condition for receiving the Russian financial support. For that Chen Tu-hsiu received the Russian ruble as monthly allowance equivalent

to US \$ 20,000 and returned to China in the next spring to prepare for the job. Meanwhile, the Third International also sent G. Maring, its secretary of the "Nationalism and Colonialism Committee" to supervise Chen Tu-hsiu's work. After a half year's preparation, they called into order on July 1, 1921, the first "national convention" of the Chinese Communists in Po Wen Girls High School in the French Settlement of Shanghai, and formally announced the inauguration of their party organization. The so called delegates attending the convention included Chen Tu-hsiu, Chen Tan-chiu, Li Han-june, Liu Jen-ching, Ho Shui-heng, Chow Fu-hai, Chang Kuo-tao, Li Tah, Chen Kung-po, Wang Shu-mei, and Teng En-ming—12 in total. The convention then elected Chen Tu-hsiu as the party chairman, with its constitution passed and its party platform also announced. One of its resolutions prescribed that all of the Chicom's party records shall be dated in terms of the Western chronology instead of the calendar of the Republic of China. By this it was evident that at its very inception the Chinese Communist Party had shown its intention to betray the Republic of China.

One of the most glaring events in that Communist convention was that Maring, a Dutchman also known as Sneevliet, made the concluding speech as its supervisor. He then pointed out, "Due to the backwardness of the Chinese society, the activities of the Chinese Communists must be grafted upon the revolutionary forces of the Kuomintang instead of blurting out in their own name." By this it was evident that from the start the Chinese Communists have had subjected themselves to directions

of their "big brothers" in Moscow; and, more vicious still, they had carried out the political warfare against Kuomintang in an attempt to usurp the Chinese Nationalist salvation movement for their own aggrandizement.

On the other hand, it is also evident that the Chinese Communist Party has never been suitable to the Chinese national condition, and that from its very inception to growing up and seizure of power, it has completely depended upon the all-out support of Soviet Russia, though sporadically in appearance, while exploiting the various types of conflict of interests between China and the world powers. This explains also why the Chinese Reds have been sticking to the practice of political stratagems.

Mao Tse-tung had thus boasted that "there are three great panaceas of the Chinese Communist Party; namely, solidarity of its party organization, tenacity of armed struggle, and its united front tactics." Such a confession might have well depicted the process of the Chinese Reds' armed revolt against the Chinese Republic. Since its inception till 1927, Chen Tu-hsiu had first directed his comrades to join Kuomintang by having them grafted upon the Chinese Nationalist Party as its parasites. However, as soon as they assumed that they were strong enough to usurp the fruit of the Nationalist revolution since 1927, and yet in fact they were expelled by the Kuomintang through its purge party movement, they resorted to open armed revolt by setting up the "Red Army" in China.

Later in 1934, when the Chinese Soviet regime with its headquarters in southern Kiangsi province was badly

mauled by the Nationalist forces, Mao Tse-tung and his gang escaped to Northern Shensi province. In their desperate maneuvering, they then again put on a smiling mask in 1937 to court the favor of Kuomintang, under the smoke-screen of "putting up a joint fight against the Japanese invasion." In fact, they utilized the "united front" stratagem to lure many credulous, or else over-ambitious, and decadent intellectuals into their camp as to keep it grow.

Soon after the V-J Day in 1945, the Chinese Reds then carried out their "three great panaceas" to the fullest extent possible, and stepped up their all-out revolt till they overran the China mainland in 1950.

Of course, there were other factors involved than those stated above as attributable to the Communist seizure of power on the China mainland, and yet the most crucial one is that the Russian organizational warfare has been the main supporting force to the Chicom's revolt. As we probe deeper into the Communist intrigue, the so-called "three great panaceas" of Mao Tse-tung actually is but one sort of organizational tactics.

Finally, it is apparent that the establishment of the puppet Peiping regime was meant the operation of Russian organizational tactics on its utmost level.

It may be recalled that in the autumn of 1949, when the Chicom's armed forces had overrun only north China and part of Southeastern China, Soviet Russia had commanded Mao Tse-tung and his gang to set up the bogus regime in Peiping on October 1. On the next day Moscow had promptly extended its recognition to its foster child. Such was but an extensive application of the Russian

organizational tactics.

Due to the fact that the Chinese National armed forces had still kept the vast territory of Southwestern and Northwestern China under their control, with the southeastern provinces, the most populous part on the mainland, also preserving their anti-Communist sentiment intact, the Chinese Reds under instruction of their Russian masters had the puppet Peiping regime set up through the operation of extended organizational tactics under the name of a "coalition of four great classes of the people." It was on the one hand aimed at frustrating the morale of the Nationalist armed forces in Southwestern and Northwestern China while on the other enticing most of the people on the mainland to "cooperate" with the Chinese Communists. Such a stratagem obviously had yielded results beyond their expectation. Most of the Chinese people, then under the duress of Communist outrageous persecution on the one hand yet with the illusion of the Communist sweetened promise of reconstructing a new order on the other, had been inclined to "follow the tide of destiny" and to accept the "peaceful coexistence with the tiger" formula. Meanwhile, as having fallen deep in the isolated situation both at home and abroad, the Nationalist forces in the interior could find no better way than evacuation, and so the National Government had to relinquish the mainland, withdrawing with its armed forces to Taiwan in 1950.

Having set up the puppet Peiping regime, the Russian Communists have proceeded to make it a tool to rob profits on the mainland and, worse still, to Sovietize Chinese people in order to promote their world-conquest plot.

In the first place, the Soviet concluded in Moscow the so-called "Three Agreements" with the Peiping regime in February 1950, together with many subsequent "treaties," either overt or covert, and so they have secured several important concessions of mining privilege, strategic road-building and food-supplying bargains, and other transactions from the Peiping regime; particularly regarding Sinkiang province and other borderlands of China, Russia had grabbed them under the camouflage of having them set up as "autonomous districts." Such is the first important phase for the establishment of the Peiping regime by the Soviets.

Following the program of all-out Sovietizing the China mainland, the Chu-Mao gang has had successively put into practice the "agricultural collectivization," the "Joint State-Private Enterprises" movement (the transformation of all private businesses into state-controlled concerns), and later the most terrible "people's commune system," in addition to the "reform of intellectuals through hard labor" and the "remoulding of Chinese letters," etc., etc. All of them were carried out in the name of the bogus regime for the purpose of reducing the China mainland to be a thorough Russian colony. Such has been the second phase of utilizing the establishment of the Peiping regime for the Soviet world-conquest plot.

Now, let us analyse the Soviet stratagem at its core. All the aforesaid Russian practices in colonization of China, if not executed through the cat's-paw of the puppet Peiping regime to replace the direct action by Moscow, will they not arouse the much greater resistance of the Chinese

people on the mainland? Besides, any direct action from Moscow will also arouse some hot criticism of the world press. But now as the current situation shows, the Russian imperialists have been shrewdly utilizing the Chu-Mao gang for colonization of the China mainland; they had, at least up to the present, met rather little resistance. So it is confirmed that the establishment of the bogus Peiping regime has been the primary maneuvering of Russian organizational warfare against China toward carrying out of their world-conquest plot.

5. Examples of Psychological Warfare in the Soviet Invasion of China

Generally speaking, the Russian imperialists and their proteges, the Chu-Mao gang, have been well-versed in implementing psychological strategy to deal with their so-called opponents. It seemed that in coping with the weak points of human beings they have made, comparatively speaking, sharp and penetrating analysis, and then proceeded on exploiting them in trying to keep the opponents under control. Their political stratagem stresses infiltration and subversion in the opponents' camp, through instigations and the use of "divide and conquer" tactics to demoralize the opponents' will of resistance. To realize their aim, they, as sworn atheists, may be inclined to use the most treacherously brutal ways and means. Such essentially is the gist of their waging of psychological warfare.

It seemed that the Russians, when exploiting the weak points of human beings, employ the tactical maneu-

vering upon the reflective actions of human nature. Ivan P. Pavlov, a Russian physiologist, had made experiments in this regard on dogs to prove that the reflective action of animals may be subject to control by repeated "indoc-trinations." For instance, since a dog is fed only after bell ringing, with such a habit cultivated for some time, then whenever the dog hears that sort of bell sounds, it would feel anxious to get food with its saliva and stomach secretions seeping in response. By exploiting such a reflective action, it would make animals promptly follow any directions without resorting to reflective thinking. And so Lenin had adopted this theory and applied it to the control over human beings. It is true that those trained animals in a circus are completely subject to the direction of their master's whip. And so the Communists consider that they can also make men, especially the backward people, dance blindly to their leader's whip or just some sort of stimulus by uttering certain slogans.

Despite the fallacy of Pavlov's theory when applied to the civilized human beings, it has nevertheless been adopted and practised with success to a certain extent by the Russian Communists. And so the Chinese Reds have also learned it and practised it in the most diabolical manner.

Another technique that has been practised by the Soviets in controlling the human psychical actions is the traditional dogma handed down by the Oriental Orthodox Church. This religious creed had long subject its followers to blindfolded obedience by use of such rituals as "repentance," "confession" and the "final judgment." Under the

authoritative domination of their religious leader, the Russian zealots degraded themselves as though reduced to Lilliputian status and infested by many sins, and so they took for their only way out the series of circus performance such as repentance, confession, and submissive acceptance of the final judgment. That has been the role of the followers of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the people under their strict control. The Red fanatics have adopted such a despicable role, because their leaders have transformed the Marxism-Leninism into a sort of queer religious fanaticism. As the Chu-Mao gang has fully accepted the Russian "mantle and bowl," they observe the dogmas and adopt the methods with further elaborations. And so the Chinese Reds have played up such terrible tricks as "repentance," "confession" and "people's public trial" to put the mainland people under the most wicked regimentation unprecedented in Chinese history.

The aforesaid two types of psychological control emphasize the use of "temptations of benefits" as in the former and that of "threat of severe punishments" as in the latter. The Russian psychological warfare in the invasion of the China mainland centered around these two techniques as alternatives. Some concrete illustrations are listed as follows:

First, an example of "temptation of benefits" to deflect the opponent's will is related.

In 1917, soon after the success of the Russian "October Revolution," the Bolshevik regime had aroused the armed intervention of many world powers. The so-called "allied White Army of 24 countries" had besieged Soviet Russia

while some powers also extended supports to the anti-Lenin clique in Moscow in an attempt to overthrow the Communist regime. The Bolshevik setup might tend to be collapsed any moment through rampant revolts at home. In this critical situation, Lenin had resorted to the stratagem of "wiping out the internal revolts first and dabbling on external affairs later," with a slogan of "Either Red Or White" to push on his ruthless campaign so as to consolidate the base of his political power. Meanwhile, he also instigated the Communist organizations in various countries to sabotage the joint crusading forces by use of propaganda and labor strikes so as to relieve Soviet Russia from its external crises.

In its attempt to seek foreign sympathy and moral support, Lenin and his clique took one further step to win China's goodwill through the "temptation" operation. After World War I, when various Western colonial powers again turned their eyes toward China in the hope of restoring their special rights, which had suffered a temporary recession during the global war, Soviet Russia alone expressed friendliness toward China. G. V. Chicherin, then Russia's commissar for foreign affairs, first made a "smiling face" report on China to the 5th. Soviet Congress on July 4, 1918. And later on July 15, 1919, Leo Karakhan made the dramatic declaration based on the Chicherin report, as an open letter to the Chinese people and the then split governments in South China and North China. It said among other things: "The Soviet Government returns to the Chinese people without demanding any kind of compensation, the Chinese Eastern Railway, as well as all the

mining concessions, forestry, gold mines, and all the other things which were seized from them by the government of Czars, that of Karensky, and the brigands Horvat, Semenoff, Kolchak, the Russian ex-generals, merchants and capitalists." It also mentioned the possibility of return to China the Russian portion of the various war indemnities formerly extorted from China. Such was a formula of the Russian "temptation" intrigue. Behind the smiling face there was the Soviet plot. And that is, in secret demands Lenin urged the Chinese government concerned to disarm the White Russian Army in the Chinese soil and expel the diplomatic group sent to China by the late Czar. The Soviet government also expressed its willingness to negotiate with the "authorized delegates" of the Chinese people to talk over various knotty problems so as to forever cancel those unjust deeds committed against China and the interests extorted from China by the Czarist regime.

The contents of such Soviet declaration were so well manipulated as to suit the then favorite theme of the Chinese people. Because China was under the continual aggressive pressure of some Western powers, the people were anxious to win independence and freedom for the nation. Hence, the slogan "Down with the Imperialists" expressed the central theme of their psychological warfare against the Western democracies. Only the Peking government in North China took exception since it adopted the same measure as that of the Allied Powers, which had never recognized the Soviet regime, and so it showed indifferent attitude toward the Russian declaration.

Later, on September 27, 1920, Karakhan released the

second declaration which was more or less like the first one. It stressed the abolition of unequal treaties between China and Russia, with an alluring gesture of drawing up new treaties instead, yet aiming at the annihilation of the White Russian force in the Far East by use of China's assistance as the compensation for the Soviet "goodwill."

Regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, it set forth a deviation line as from the former "return to China without compensation" changed to "joint management of these two countries." It went even further as to the Russian "forfeiture of the Boxer Indemnity" permissible only on certain conditions. It is obvious that the change of the Soviet friendly attitude toward stiffening was due chiefly to the fact that as the White Russian force had been gradually reduced to nil, the Soviet government was getting firm in the saddle. Soon after the release of the second declaration, Karakhan sent a formal note to the Chinese Foreign Ministry, reiterating the same theme yet with some modifications concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Later, the Russian manipulation of "temptation" intrigue attained certain form of success which resulted in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "policy of alignment with Russia" as shown in the Sun-Joffe joint statement of January 26, 1923.

It seemed that the Soviets were well-versed in getting hold of the weak spots of the people's psychosis. It may be recalled that as in the October Revolution of 1917 they could easily overthrow the then Provisional Government of Kerensky by one stroke and seized the governing

power, simply because their main theme in psychological warfare was: "Land to the peasants, factory to the laborers, peace to the armed forces." Why can these three phrases in the slogan produce such a marvelous magic touch? It is only too plain that the common psychosis of the common people, especially that of the semi-civilized group, has been obsessed by selfish desires. The Russian Communist bigwigs had got hold of this weak spot of the Russian people and baited them with what they wanted to keep for themselves. Is there any peasant in Russia who did not want to own the land he cultivated? Any worker who did not want to join in the management of the factory in which he worked? And then even the soldiers in the Red Army might have got tired of waging war. And so the Russian people had fallen as easy prey into the Communist trap. However, what they had gained transiently through the Red intrigue was soon confiscated by the Soviet regime.

The Chu-Mao gang adopted the entire lot of the Russian witchcraft. They used the "land reform with land-to-the-tiller" to lure the Chinese peasants; the "laborers' right to manage the factory" to lure workers; the "mutual benefit for both the capital and the labor" to lure businessmen; and the slogan of "Chinese won't fight Chinese" with the benefit of "return to the native land to produce commodities," etc., to lure many soldiers under the then national government to lay down their arms. The result was that all lands on the China mainland were forcibly seized by the Communists and turned into the bleak soil of "people's commune," with all the peasants turned out to be mere

serfs under the Red yoke. Meanwhile, all factories behind the Bamboo Curtain were occupied by Communist cadres through the intriguing formula of "joint management by both public and private concerns," with workers and businessmen turned to be slave laborers. Worse still, most of the former soldiers who were lured into the Red "peace trap" and even "defection to join the Red uprising" had sooner or later met the tragic fate of either getting slaughtered or other types of persecution. It is plain that the short cut for the Communists' running over the China mainland and subjecting the people to their control was attained chiefly through the use of psychological intrigues. Because they can well exploit the weak points of the people's psychosis, the temptation of benefits to the general masses may be so powerful as sweet baits to the right kind of fish. This temptation intrigue has thus formed the core of both the Russian and the Chinese Reds' psychological tactics.

Next, it must be observed that all the Communists are used to employ bestial threats to further their psywar tactics.

Regarding the substantial process through which Soviet Russia had dealt many ruthless threats upon the Chinese national government during the 1932-36 period, a passage in Part One of President Chiang's monumental work "Soviet Russia in China" may well be quoted here. After the Mukden Incident (in which Japanese warlords invaded Manchuria since September 18, 1932), Moscow repeatedly expressed to our Government its desire to resume diplomatic relations (which was terminated on December 14,

1926, by the National Government as retaliation against Russian aiding and abetting a series of Chinese Communists' uprisings). An agreement to this effect was announced by Dr. W. W. Yen and Maxim Litvinov in Geneva on December 12, 1932. But there was yet no improvement in the Sino-Russian relations for several years. In fact, cases of Soviet infringement on China's sovereign rights continued to occur from time to time. In March 1935 Soviet Russia sold the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Japanese puppet regime of "Manchukuo" over China's protest. This trick provided added impetus to Japanese aggression. In the spring of 1936, after Japan had brought up Hirota's Three Demands, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek then realized that we should take positive step to negotiate with Russia. Chang Chun, then minister of foreign affairs, held a number of discussions with Bogomoloff, the Soviet ambassador in Nanking, with the view of finding a way of safeguarding peace both in the East and in the West through joint efforts.

On March 12, however, the Russo-Mongolian Mutual Assistance Pact was announced as a further infringement of China's sovereignty and national interests. Bogomoloff tried to stop a Chinese Government protest by making a riotous scene at our Foreign Office. He even threatened to disclose the contents of his secret conversations with Chang Chun. Such was a glaring instance of Russia's applying of psywar tactics to its diplomatic affairs by use of threats. Despite this episode, the Chinese Government still lodged a serious protest with the Soviet government on April 5, 1936. And so the Moscow psywar tactics as such was

defeated.

The Communist brutish intimidations against the people have been numerous and posed to the extreme. Even the name-calling which they use frequently might have cast a dark shadow upon the people's mind. Such terms as "anti-revolutionaries" and "reactionaries" used to brand their opponents and backed up with various types of cruel persecution, have been employed to terrorize even the innocent ones so as to keep them submissive. It is reported that the Chinese Communists have been practising more than 72 varieties of brutal ways to inflict corporal injuries on the people whom they may ruthlessly call "anti-revolutionaries." The "Black Paper" published by the Committee of One Million in the United States has definitely accused the Chinese Communists of having committed several mass slaughters behind the Bamboo Curtain. Such massacres formed the high tide also of making threats against the rest of the entire people.

According to the statistics compiled by an American missionary who had worked on the mainland many years, in the first six months during the Communist occupation of the Chinese territory, the Peiping regime had arrested more than 20,000,000 people. A conservative estimate of December 1952, gathered by the American Federation of Labor, also confirmed that prior to July of the same year there were 14,000,000 prisoners of war and common people slaughtered by the Communists. Po I-po, then the finance minister of the Peiping regime, wrote in one of the Communist periodicals in 1952, also acknowledging the glaring atrocity of having wiped out 20,000,000 "reactionary

bandits" in the past three years. However, Mao Tse-tung at the early stage of his "Hundred Flowers Bloom" fantasy confessed that the Red public security force had before 1954 purged only 800,000 "counter-revolutionaries." Of course, such figures as released through the Communist official statements are all false. Actually, the number of victims behind the Bamboo Curtain must have far surpassed them. A more approximate calculation might well have set upon 50,000,000 as fallen victims even when in 1954 as those who were driven to commit suicide or else starved and frozen to death due to lack of food and clothes were added to the obituary catalog. How terrible is such an atrocious record of the Chinese Reds!

Besides, the Communist use of immediate threat and overall menace to the people's life and security is not limited to mass massacre. As related above, there were such gruesome tortures as inflicted through "confession," "repentance," "struggle," "liquidation," and "mob trials" upon the people. Such a reign of terror undoubtedly has far-reaching effect upon the people's mind.

Both the Russian and the Chinese Communists had seized power through the use of "temptation intrigues" and "terrorizing threats" as a double-edge sword in the psywar against their opponents. They utilize it unreservedly in diplomacy and domestic affairs as well as well as in military maneuvers. Instances are so numerous as beyond the capacity of this volume to relate here. One keynote for this presentation is that henceforth the democratic camp in its psywar against the Communist bloc must learn well the Red psychological stratagem and probe into

the weak points of the Red armed forces as well as that of the people under their reign of terror in order to push on our counter-attack and thus secure the ultimate victory over our past frustrations.

6. Examples Exposing the Espionage Operations in the Communist Invasion of China

Both the Russian and the Chinese Communists had seized power through the use also of diabolical espionage operations. And so by tradition they have attached to such work so much importance as in close conjunction with that of other aggressive techniques.

The cultivation of Red vicious secret agents has its long history dated back to the Czarist regime. When trying to maintain his absolute control over the Russian people, Nicholas I had not only used the secret police at home but also employed it abroad to suppress the nationalistic movement of the conquered peoples in Poland, Finland, Caucasus and Georgia. His net-work of secret agents had been penetrating into the organizations of various nationalistic movements. Thus, they had been able to crush the underground activities in their captive nations and sent many patriotic elements in such movements to the guillotine. The Czarist court had set up a specific unit of such secret agents. Under the command of the Czar, they kept on tracking down the exiled patriots of the conquered states abroad as well as the revolutionaries at home. Later in 1881, such an espionage unit was formally dubbed as the "Department of National Security." The Czarist heritage

has long been practised in succession of the Soviet hierarchy, with much elaboration and aggravation added.

When the Russian Communists seized power in 1917, they had ample experience in the espionage operations learned and practised during their years of underground activities. As Lenin put it, since the Czar had needed the "Department of National Security" to uphold his absolute, totalitarian rule, Soviet Russia also needed one of even bigger organization of secret agents. Hence, he chose one expert on this line, a desperado of Polish noble family, to promote the work. He was a veteran Bolshevik named Fetiko Dzerzhinski, who had long experienced the refugee life when exiled in Western Europe and was well-learned in intelligence work as well as counter-espionage operations. On December 20, 1917, Dzerzhinski set up the Cheka in Moscow. This organ in its Russian terminology was called Chrezvychainaya Komissiya po Borbe S Kontrrevolyuntsiei i Sabolazhem, and then in its English version was named "The Specific Commission for Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries and Saboteurs." It soon started carrying out in Soviet Russia the massive espionage operation in the reign of terror. Cheka was then the earliest headquarters of Soviet special agents.

For a variety of names changed with some modification of its functions in connection with other like organs, such as Vecheha, GPU, OGPU; and GUGBEZ in July 1934 as a department of the NKVD, and then NKVD as a separate commissariat; MGB, and MVD, and later renamed KGB, now under Ivan Serov since March 13, 1954, see "Soviet Espionage" by David Dallin, pp. 2-3.

At its early stage, Cheka had concentrated its activities in the suppression of "counter-revolutionaries" at home, making rather delayed expansion abroad. Lenin then in 1919 set up the Comintern with its special agents widely spread throughout the world. Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chih Minh and many others were enrolled as its henchmen. As soon as the civil strife in Russia was concluded, the Cheka was reorganized on February 11, 1922, with its name changed to be the "Bureau of Political Administration (briefly called GPU), and set forth to work in coordination with the Comintern to accelerate the espionage operations abroad. They also established one "International Seamen's Federation," with Voja Vujovich (later the first "premier" of Bulgaria) appointed as its secretary, and stepped up its secret mission of smuggling special agents and firearms to various spots all over the world. It may be recalled that in the period of 1922-35, its particular assignment was smuggling of Red agents and firearms to China to prolong the revolt of Mao Tse-tung and his gang against the National Government. The aforesaid sketch revealed only a glimpse of the origin of the Russian intelligence and espionage operations.

Two glaring examples of Russian espionage in the invasion of the Chinese mainland are related here to show how the Communist war of clock and dagger was waged to its most diabolical extreme.

All those who study Soviet problems must have known such figures as Vasili Bluecher, Michael Borodin, Besso Lominadse, and Gerhart Eisler. They were none other than Russian special agents sent to China to carry out the

Kremlin's espionage tactics. In the "Secret Documents Concerning Russian Invasion of China," American writer (魏爾琪) pointed out as early as 1920 many Red agents had infiltrated into the core of Kuomintang and served either as advisors to Dr. Sun Yat-sen or as his proteges. After Dr. Sun's demise in March 1925, Bluecher took shelter under Mme. Sun as her advisor. In the impression of many Americans, he was a rotten egg. Borodin, formerly a jeweler well-learned in smuggle trade had been a special agent sent by the Comintern to work in the United States, as an emigrant using his original name "Gruzenberg." And so, as both Bluecher and Borodin had worked in America and China, their records showed how Soviet Russia had exerted its best in carrying out its espionage tactics.

Nevertheless, the Russian war of cloak and dagger in that period had failed terribly. Since the demise of Dr. Sun, Borodin turned around to court favor of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But as soon as the Communist subversive plot against the Kuomintang was exposed as the weird conspiracy between the Russian and the Chinese Reds, the first step taken by the Nationalist Party was to purge the Communist gang out of the party and then also dealt several blows on them in the suppression of their armed uprisings. The Red conspirators had tried to seize the power of the Nationalist government at Wuhan (Wuchang and Hankow) in March-July 1927 by use of the political strings of Mme. Sun on the one hand and by taking advantage of the vacuum left on the other by Nationalist forces during their Northward Expedition.

The Chinese Reds advocated the setting up of a "democratic dictatorship" under the Communist control. But due to the Nationalist purge-party movement, even the leftist government at Wuhan had also taken definite steps on July 15, 1927, to expel the Communists. Whereupon the Russian agents had no choice but to leave China for the time being. It was later reported that Bluecher went again to the United States while Borodin returned to Moscow and served as a newspaper editor.

It is plain that through the lesson of our bitter experiences, Russian diplomats as a rule always are field leaders of the Kremlin's war of intelligence and espionage. For instance, during China's resistance war against Japanese invasion, 1937-45, the Soviet embassy in Chungking was the headquarters of Communist conspiracy in China. It shaped, directed, and carried out its espionage tactics. The then Russian Ambassador A.S. Panyushkin has also been an expert in secret service. Up to the present, he has been serving since 1952 as the director of the Second Bureau of the Soviet NKVD. Soon after the V-J Day in 1945, Panyushkin had been transferred to Washington as the Russian ambassador to the United States, where he had his expert skill again brought out to deal the democratic world some tragic blows. The so-called Second Bureau of the Russian NKVD is also dubbed the "National Positive Security Bureau," under which there are several divisions devoted to the jobs of investigation, propaganda, kidnapping, assassination, and keeping under its thumb their henchmen in Russian satellites.

During the China's war against Japanese invasion,

both the Russian and the Chinese Red special agents were jointly put under Panyushkin's privileged shelter and unified command. The Russian embassy had then at least one specialist keeping in charge of recruitment and directions of all Red agents together with their front organizations in China. Chou En-lai, then as the central figure of the Chinese Communists in Chungking, had kept close contacts with Panyushkin and taken his guidance. The intelligence officers of the National Government had, of course, kept all vigilant measures available on tracking down the Communist activities. Panyushkin was nonetheless very shrewd and mysterious in behavior. Once when he suspected that his Chinese chauffeur had been approached by some Nationalist plain clothes, he kept the composure as usual. But soon he made a test by asking the chauffeur to drive him to Kolohshan for an outing, and left the car with his hat, gloves and a magazine behind. After a few minutes' walk, he returned to the car and examined those belongings. While discovering that the position of such paraphernalia had been moved a little, he fired the chauffeur on some other pretext. By such a prosaic anecdote we can still conceive how the Communist agents had stressed the importance of espionage operation with so much care always taken even to trivial matters.

In regard to the gruesome espionage work of the Chinese Reds, a few more glaring illustrations may be related here.

The Chinese Communist establishment of special agents on the Soviet pattern started more or less formally in 1927 after the Wuhan government had started the dramatic

purge-party campaign, with most Reds turned underground. In their secret activities, they followed the instruction from Moscow to set up Soviets in several pocket areas in Central and Southern China and launched also armed uprisings. Their organization was rapidly expanded by rallying ignorant peasants to the Red flag.

The notorious August Seventh Emergency Meeting of the Chicom's Central Committee, which was held under Heinz Neumann's direction, decided upon its new policy of violence. Nevertheless, their riotous moves such as the previous Nanchang Uprising, of July 31, 1926, the subsequent Hunan-Hupeh "Autumn Harvest Uprising," the Southeastern Kwangtung Peasants' Riots, the Shun Chieh Riot, the Kiangsu-Chekiang Riot, and even the better projected Canton Uprising were all rendered a complete failure. Mao Tse-tung and a handful of followers had to seek refuge in the Chinkang Hills on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. They had then lost their political influence, with remnant members in their party also wavering.

Later in 1928, when the Russian Communists held their Sixth Congress in Moscow, their intermural power struggle had been rife with conflicts among their cliques, chiefly those of Stalin and Trotsky, getting sharp and critical. Although the headquarters of the Chinese Reds had moved from Wuhan to Shanghai with the foreign settlements taken for its shelter, its situation was in imminent peril. When trying to ward off the surprise attack of their opponents, the Chinese Reds formally set up their unit of special agents on the Russian pattern.

Koo Shun-chang, then the head of Red agents, disguised

himself as a career magician in a joint on the Bubbling Well Road in Shanghai. In appearance he put up magical shows on the roof garden of Sincere Department Store, but in fact Koo had under the pretext of gathering disciples tried to collect riffraff and vagabonds in the city as well as members of secret societies, with their networks widely extended. For some time the Communist secret service was well promoted. Under him there was in Shanghai a so-called "Red Squad" specialized in the job of sabotage and assassination. In 1931, the Nationalist counter-intelligence group had planted an agent within the "Red Squad." The event was later discovered by Koo's henchmen. They decided to get rid of the intruder in a secret manner and asked him to attend a rendezvous at a certain hotel. As soon as the agent entered the hotel room, he was shot by some assassins who then fled with haste. However, as the agent was only wounded, he was brought by the Nationalist group to a certain hospital for emergency treatment, under protection of armed police guards. On one Sunday, the "Red Squad" sent four murderers to the hospital. They shot first the armed guards dead and then killed also the wounded agent before leaving the hospital in a hurry in different directions.

However, the Red agents' assassination feat did not pay off. The four outrageous murderers were closely traced by the Nationalist plain-clothes who kept surveillance around the hospital. By the clue thus secured, the KMT group staged a surprise raid and broke up four Red cells in the following night, with numerous firearms seized. As examined by the Shanghai police force, those firearms had been widely

involved with many murder and kidnapping cases in the big city.

During the Resistance War against Japanese Invasion, 1937-45, although the Communist agents did not resort again to assassination practice, their new tactics of infiltration and subversion were even more diabolical. The head of the Red special agents was none other than the aforesaid "Smiling Wolf" Chou En-lai. Under the cover as a deputy chief of the Political Department of the Supreme Military Council of the National Government, Chou had openly kept close contacts with such politicians and cultural workers as Feng Yu-hsiang, Shao Li-tse, Wang Kun-lun and Kuo Mo-jo, all enlisted as his decoys or henchmen. They got easy access to government figures, and, whenever possible, carried out their espionage tactics, spread rumors through gossiping and committed also subversive crimes. Chou En-lai gathered together such intelligence supplied by all other Communist organs as those of the Liaison Office in Chungking of the 18th. Group Army and the Hsinhua Daily News, classified them, analysed them, and transmitted them to the Russian Embassy in Chungking as well as the Communist Party Headquarters in Yenan.

Of course, their cloak-and-dagger work could not go along without being closely checked. The report concerning the supply of munitions from the 18th. Group Army to the remnants of the New 4th. Army in Eastern China during its revolt against the Government in early 1942, was secured therefrom. Their primary objects for spying operations were the Kuomintang headquarters and various

ministries of the National Government, particularly the policy-making organs of the three Armed Forces. Meanwhile, they were devoted to the mass movement, by which they had tried to win popular support on the one hand and to camouflage their weird activities on the other in order to push on their infiltration and subversive operations.

Prior to their all-out revolt against the National Government in 1945-49, the Chinese Reds had long been carrying on the subversion inside the Nationalist armed forces. In addition to the use of a lot of money and female decoys to gather military intelligence, their focus of preponderant activities was laid upon creation of contradictions and conflicts within the camp of the Nationalist armed forces, driving wedges into it and exploiting them to further the Communist expansion. For instance, there were thus fomented the contradiction between officers and men, that of the low ranking officer and the top brass and the conflict of interests even among the associated forces under the same command. By use of infiltration and subversion tactics, they always tried to secure every opportunity to create such contradictions. In the garrison quarters of the National armed forces, they spread gossips and diffused such sentimental slogans as "For Whom We Fight?" and "Why Not Go Home?" to pave the way for "defection at the front" or "revolt in the rear." In their attempt to engulf some strategic points or to disrupt some important defense lines of the Government forces, they lavishly used money and female decoys, with false guarantees of protection of life and property and even promotion, to

lure some high-ranking officers to surrender together with their men without firing a shot.

But sooner or later after their dirty defection, they were arrested by the Reds with the spoils snatched away from them, degraded or even put to death, covertly or overtly. The case of commander Dai Yung-kwang of the Kiang-yin Fortress was an outstanding one.

It is true that there were many factors that had facilitated the Chinese Reds' revolt to occupy the mainland, but their treachery in employing the espionage tactics was one of the crucial factors.

7. Examples of the People's War in Soviet Invasion of China

Both the Russian and the Chinese Reds have been very skillful in alluring certain groups of the people into the Red trap and turning them to be their cat's-paw. And so their totalitarian reign by terror was built upon the corpses of the sacrificed people who in their mass movement had fought blindfolded in the Communist "people's war" against the National Government.

Lenin had once uttered: The political assault has for its target the assemblage of thousands of the people. He had therefore treated the masses as the object of Communist political warfare. What have Lenin and his followers termed as "mass movement" does not mean to secure benefits for the people, but rather to exploit their riotous force as ways and means to promote the Communist cause. The cardinal point is that their projected mass movement

has always been used as the Communist tool for some ulterior purposes.

The Red witchcraft in operating the mob force consists of two tactical maneuvers: intimidation and temptation. They might well be illustrated by some terrible events in the Russian invasion of China.

Two most outstanding instances in which the Russian imperialists had employed the mob war or mass terrorism in the invasion of China were: one, the engulf of Outer Mongolia, and two, the incursion into Tannu Tuva in Northwest China.

A stipulation governing Outer Mongolia, as provided in the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, said in part: In regard to the Outer Mongolia's aspiration for independence, the Government (of the Republic of China) permits it to hold a plebiscite after the war; and if such anxiety is thus affirmed, it will be granted independence. Basing upon this provision, Soviet Russia may well engulf Outer Mongolia without the need of firing a shot. Thereupon, it started the intimidation tactics on the Mongolian people, because the so-called plebiscite might well be subjected to the witchcraft of mass movement. When the "vote for independence" was cast on October 6, 1945, the Chinese government sent Lei Fa-chang, the then vice-minister of the Interior, and Chi Ming-sun, director of the Mongolian Affairs Department of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, etc., to Ulan Bator (Urga) for supervision of the plebiscite. The total population of Outer Mongolia under candid estimation amounted to around 900,000, but it reported its qualified voters

as numbering 500,000; that means, aside from soldiers, disabled and sick persons, criminals and children, Outer Mongolia had mobilized almost all the adults to attend the voting. Such a thorough mobilization, if not false, was made possible only through the mass movement of the Soviet brand. As a rule, under the Communist close supervision and intimidation, over 95 per cent of the Mongolians, as reported, cast their votes for independence. From then on, Outer Mongolia won also a new name, and that is "The People's Republic of Mongolia." By use of such a farfetched title, Soviet imperialists pushed on their further aggressive plots. As in ancient times Mongolia was divided into two parts as "Southern and Northern"; yet in modern era, as "Inner and Outer" Mongolia, they have long been separated by different administrative systems and landmarks. But the "independence" of Outer Mongolia was then proclaimed without the designation of the word "Outer" and so the ambiguous name of "The People's Republic of Mongolia" might also cast a dark shadow over the spirit of the people in Inner Mongolia.

In December 1945 General George C. Marshall came to China to carry out his mission as U.S. mediator. He had visited Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek seven times on Lushan and for his mediation the government had sooner or later issued five cease-fire orders. On Jan. 10, 1946, the first cease-fire was put forth as effective for a period of 15 days to see if the Chinese Reds would actually observe the truce agreement. It was ironical that right on that day one so-called "Eastern Mongolian People's Autonomous Government" proclaimed its inception at Kekengmiao,

with a declaration to support Soviet Russia in the implementation of Socialism. The puppet chairman then and there was Ulanfu, a Communist cadre who was concurrently the secretary of the communist executive committee of Inner Mongolia.

Having graduated from a military school in Russia, Ulanfu was despatched earlier to Yen-an in charge of Sovietizing Inner Mongolia. Since the formal inception of his bogus regime, he had successively carried out the Red tactics of liquidation, struggle, mass trial and all other outrageous schemes. Such also constituted one phase of Soviet mob war in that area. It had later committed the terrible massacre in Chungli, Chahar. In June 1946, the Red troops, in order to support their military action in Manchuria, there was mobilized a group of "Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Army" of 30,000 strong composed chiefly of cavaliers, but soon its number increased to about 80,000, under the command of Uredo. It was nonetheless subjected to the direct control of the Chinese Communists' "Northeastern Democratic Allied Forces." The aforesaid facts were related to the Soviet invasion of Mongolia by use of "people's war" tactics or mob terrorism.

Next, the Russian incursion into Tannu Tuva (Uryankhai) might be related further in its subtle aspects. Soon after the "October Revolution" of Russia, Tannu Tuva closely followed the steps of Outer Mongolia. When the latter showed its allegiance to the Republic of China, the former had also alienated itself from the Russian fold. In 1919 when the Red Army invaded Kiakhtha and Ulan Bator, its contingent also made inroads into Tannu Tuva in the

northwestern portion of Outer Mongolia.

Aside from the armed aggression, Soviets pushed on the people's warfare through their special agents. In name they sent specialists for treatment in Moscow; but in fact, they had special agents under cover, trying to lure the local people into their labyrinth. Subsequently, there were the so-called "People's Revolutionary Party" and "Young Communist League" popping up in that remote region. These were undoubtedly the organizations set up by Russians for carrying out their mass war tactics.

Later in 1924 following the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet Agreement of May 1924, when the Republic of China and Soviet Russia had the friendly relationship restored, Tannu Tuva convened its so-called "People's Congress," which undoubtedly was subjected to the control of the Soviet mass movement tactics. In the meeting they proclaimed "independence" and promulgated a so-called "constitution," with the same type of "great Huruldan" (parliament) and "small Huruldan" as that in Outer Mongolia. Henceforth, Tannu Tuva also had its new name—"Tofa People's Republic." It became Soviet Russia's first satellite.

Nonetheless, the Russian greed for territorial annexation was not satiated at that point. As soon as the Chinese Resistance War against Japanese invasion broke out in July 7, 1937, Moscow, in its attempt to fish in the troubled water, forced Tannu Tuva to make a so-called "military agreement" by which the Russians had the right to station their armed forces in that area. Later in 1944, when the Japanese invasion posed most serious menace to

China's existence, Soviet imperialists took this occasion to urge for the convocation of a "small Huruldan" conference through the intimidating rally of their secret agents. Under the Russian duress, it petitioned Moscow for Tuva's incorporation into the Soviet Union. In appearance the Kremlin had acted in disguise as "absolutely respecting the sovereignty of Tannu Tuva"; and yet in fact Tuva was annexed as a region of Soviet Russia, "with the approval of the Supreme Soviet."

In March 1948 when the Supreme Soviet took steps to make amendments to the Russian constitution, it had passed also a resolution on the Tannu Tuva's case, by which it formally engulfed the "Topa People's Republic" as one of the six autonomous districts of the U.S.S.R. Upon learning the fact later, the National Government of China had on the following May 7 instructed its Ambassador to Moscow to file a serious protest with Russia. However, to such a protest the Kremlin has never cared to give a reply. This process of absorption set a precedent for Russia in handling other satellites subsequently.

It may also be recalled here that one of the Chinese Communists' principal subversive tactics against the Government of the Republic of China was the "people's war" maneuver. When the Nationalist Party adopted the "alignment with Russia" policy in 1924, the First Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang had under it eight departments in charge of organization, publicity, youth movement, workers, farmers, military affairs, women, and overseas Chinese activities. Later, two more units were added, namely, the departments of commerce and industry.

When candidates were being considered for various departmental posts, the Communists (then admitted to the Kuomintang as "dual-party elements" in their "individual capacity"—in name only) paid particular attention to those of organization, workers, and farmers. Such was their crucial plot by which the Chinese Reds had tried to lay down the foundation to build up their force for executing the "mass riot" tactics. At first they nominated Tan Ping-shan as secretary of the Department of Organization, Feng Chiu-po as secretary of the Department of Workers, and Lin Tsu-han as secretary of the Department of Farmers.

After intriguing manipulations behind the scene, Lin Tsu-han became the head of the Department of Farmers, and he recommended one Peng Pai, also a Communist, as secretary. Later Lin himself resigned in order not to arouse the suspicion of KMT Party members. And so Peng Pai stayed on as the influential secretary despite repeated changes at the top. All training classes set up for farmers were controlled by Communist elements, and the students admitted were also either communists or members of their front organizations. Similarly, the farmers' unions and "farmers' volunteer corps" in various localities were manipulated by the "dual-party" Communists.

Later in October 1926, when the Revolutionary forces under Kuomintang's supreme command had in their Northward Expedition occupied Wuchang and Nanchang along the Yangtze River, the Seventh Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern, meeting in Moscow in November, adopted a "resolution on the situation in China." It regarded the rapid progress of the Northward Expedition

and the Chinese people's enthusiastic response as marking "the third stage in the world-wide revolutionary movement." It declared that during this stage "the national liberation movement should pass on to a new revolutionary situation." This was in Communist jargon another way of clamoring that "the national liberation movement and the peasants' revolution in China must be combined into one." More specifically, the Comintern plot was meant for instructing the Chinese Communists to utilize the National Government's organs as well as KMT Party machines as channels for close contacts with peasants in order to carry out the Communist "Programs for Rural Areas" and to create what they called a "Peasants' Revolution." Their objective was to organize a military force through uprisings in the rural areas and thus to set up a Soviet regime in China. In this regard, Peng Pai had through his long maneuvering position stirred up peasants' riots in south-eastern part of Kwangtung province. They did attempt to secure some measures of victory by use of the combined mass struggle tactics and the application of Red Terror.

It was then in such a critical situation that Moscow felt that its representative Michael Borodin was not aggressive enough and dispatched M. N. Roy and Tan Ping-shan to China.

The Chinese Communists soon committed numerous sabotage and subversion outrages against the National Government, particularly in Wuhan, Nanking, Shanghai and Canton, where the Communists having infiltrated into the armed forces or political organs, had tried to sabotage the Nationalist revolution and unification of the country

by engineering disturbances. Subsequently, the Kuomintang's Central Supervisory Committee held an emergency meeting in Shanghai on April 2, 1927, and passed a resolution to take emergency measures placing all Communist ringleaders under the surveillance of local security organs.

The KMT Central Executive Committee took up further steps in recommending that the Party get rid itself of Communists, with a drastic purge movement to clear up those "dual-party elements" from the KMT party and government organs. And so the Communist projected mass struggle was eventually defeated in that stage.

The tools employed by the Chinese Communists for prosecuting their mass movement or mass revolt tactics were radical students in addition to naive peasants and workers. As early as August 1920, even prior to the formal inception of the Chinese Communist Party, Li Ta-chao and Chen Tu-hsiu had already started their organization of so-called "Chinese Socialist Youth Corps" (briefly dubbed SY), tempting young students to join it by use of such dogmas as "free love" and "free association," etc. It was once disbanded, but later reorganized; and then in 1925 it was dubbed as the "Chinese Communist Youth Corps" (CY).

In August 1928, when CY held its "Fifth Congress" in Moscow, its new program was set upon "turning the students organization to be one of young workers and peasants as its mainstay," making it a complete tool to the CY. But then soon after the "September 18 Incident of 1931," by which Japan committed the invasion of Manchuria, the Chinese Communists dissolved CY and,

instead, put up the magical show of the "Chinese Youth United Front" as a new intrigue to meet the new situation.

Under the CYUF banner the Chinese Reds set up two organizations in different localities: the first one was the "Vanguard of Chinese National Salvation Association in Northwestern China." In appearance they played the game of Chinese patriotic movement, but in fact they attempted to hoodwink the Chinese youth on the one hand and to step up their collusive operation with Soviet Russia on the other. Meanwhile, by employing such "neutralist" organizations as the "Third Party," the "National Salvation Association" and the "Students' Federation" (later forged into one so-called "Anti-Japanese National Salvation Grand Alliance"), bleatly they clamored for "joining the rest of the nation in the fight against Japanese aggression." And so they were accepted as "patriotic Chinese" on their face value, and many Red bigwigs accepted the National Government's appointment to the unique, official posts in the so-called "Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area Government," with Yen-an remained as their headquarters.

The Sino-Japanese War gave the Chinese Reds an excellent windfall opportunity to grow. Their policy as revealed in the autumn of 1937 by Mao Tse-tung was devoted 70 per cent of their effort to self expansion, 20 per cent to coping with the National Government (then in Nanking and later in Chungking), and 10 per cent to fighting the Japanese. That was the crucial, turning point of the Chinese Communists from the utter defeat of 1934, through the desperate struggle for bare existence of 1935-37, toward the carrying out of their diabolical intrigues in

political warfare against the National Government, as in three consecutive stages, 1938-48, by vilely employing the neutralist "Democratic League"—with the former "National Salvation Grand Alliance" for its backbone—and various international "comrades," together with their fellow-travelers and cat's-paws, to achieve the overrunning of the China mainland in 1949-50.

For the purpose of camouflaging their treasonous "territorial usurpation" in the early post-war period, 1945-46, the Communists had stepped up their anti-American campaign together with the "anti-civil-war" propaganda offensive. Meanwhile, as on Nov. 21, 1945, the Red mouth-piece Hsin Hua Daily News openly clamored for "workers' strike, students' walk-out, businessmen's closedown, soldiers' ceasefire, and citizens' tax-boycott." When their plot did not work as anticipated, they fomented the "December 1 incident" in Chungking to aggravate the situation. And later in May-June, 1947, they also incited many naive students to start the so-called "anti-hunger and anti civil-war" campaign in conjunction with Communist political offensive and armed rebellion. The campaign was aimed at hamstringing the Government's military action in countering the Communist aggressive expansion. And so the Chinese Reds crowed out loud over the students' campaign as their "Second War Front." And that, of course, was a mere fragment of the Communist mass war operation continually against the National Government of the Republic of China.

Besides, the Communist tools for carrying out the mass war stratagem included also radical or perverse women

and wayward children. They were either forced, or else lured into the trap, to perpetrate the espionage or subversive works by worming their ways into military or civil service organs at the sacrifice of any and all assets in them. Under the cover of such slogans as "liberation of Chinese womanhood," "protection of women's rights," and "enhance of the women's political status," the Chinese Reds incited many naive women to join in the vile campaigns of subverting the social order and sabotaging of the government rule.

The Communist "youthful children" corps, as one division of the Red "Youth Movement" group, was organized and employed on the pattern of the Russian "Youth Vanguard." In the process of their armed revolt against the Government, they had long utilized many boys and girls to extend and expand their propaganda works, messenger service, tourist guide jobs, demolition adventures, outpost guard or spying activities, etc. They also used urchins to point their accusing fingers against their own parents and other relatives, or their neighbors, as in the "triple investigation campaign", "triple struggle against capitalists", "land reform movement", and "suppression of Kuomintang spies", etc. The little pert fellows were organized into such unique groups as "eaves-dropping squads" and "smell-chasing squads" to serve as Red spies in the neighborhood.

By the aforesaid statement, though still incomplete as it may seem, we can already conceive that the way by which the Chinese Communists carried out their mass war stratagem has been so pervasive as it was penetrating into

various gaps of the society as well as the governing machine or military set-ups.

Chapter Three

Analysis of the Present Situation

Concerning Political Warfare

I. As Operated by the Enemy

Our enemy, either the Russian imperialists in general or the Chinese Reds in particular, have been all along stressing the exertion of political warfare; and more so as the time goes on. For the purpose of shaping our counter-measures against the enemy's offensive, we must thoroughly apprehend their overall political strategy in the current phase. And so here is presented an analytical study of it.

1. The Enemy's Political Stratagem Since the ascendancy of Nikita Khrushchev the Russian imperialists have in appearance changed the application of Stalinism. Stalin believed that war is unavoidable and firmly held that any global conflict may open the route for Communists to conquer the world. On the contrary, Khrushchev asserted that armed warfare is avoidable and so he put on a slogan as "prevention of war." However, the "United Front" and "neutralist" tactics in his "peaceful coexistence" stratagem are nothing but the repetition of Stalin's old formulas since 1935 aiming at torpedoing the anti-aggression line-

up of the Free World. Hence the Russian world-conquest plot remains the same in its traditional mood. And yet if the free world does not put up added alertness against the same, it may possibly fall into the old Red trap.

Since the occupation of the China mainland in 1950, the Chu-Mao gang had once put on its vanity air to the utmost possible. Nevertheless, its aggressive plot still is treacherous. It had in 1956 practically committed the "September 3" cannonading against Kinmen, yet Chou En-lai also put on his smiling mask in an attempt to "talk peace" with the Government of the Republic of China. Later it also abruptly renewed the savage bombardment on "August 23" 1958, but Peng Teh-huai, the then defense minister of the Peiping regime, soon made an appeal for "ceasefire" in his broadcast talk; and subsequently, there has been in his odd game of "stop firing on even day's." All such Red plots have been subjected to careful analysis as by President Chiang in his Double Tenth message of 1958.

The historic message pointed out: "In the Kinmen battle, even though we were in terms of tactics passively responding to the Communist challenge, and yet in the strategical sense we had actually secured the active role in the anti-aggression war. Hence, we have compelled the Chinese Reds to resort to political intrigues since they had gone to the end of their armed might. Now they are exhausting the resources to replenish the military equipment, for the purpose of making the last stroke prior to their final collapse. On the other hand, they also try in vain to turn away from the military battle-ground toward

the political field, attempting to split the cooperation of the Republic of China and her allies, and to soften or shatter the morale of our armed forces, in order to attain the goal which they could not reach through the military action. Hence, they seem never getting tired to the Warsaw talks (with U.S. envoys), and now they still want to repeat their vilest trick which they had been used to play in the past thirty years in their false clamor for cease-fire and even for surrender to the Chinese Government." This passage of President Chiang's declaration has clearly exposed the Communist stratagem, and undoubtedly we will never again fall into the Red trap.

2. The Communist Ideological Warfare Now in Vogue The present ideological warfare of Soviet Russia has been carried out in different localities. In such areas beyond the Communist domination as the Middle East, North Africa, and Southeast Asian countries, the Russians have been clamoring for nationalism and disguising themselves as the champion for the weak or underdeveloped peoples in their nationalist movement to oppose those "colonial powers" such as Great Britain, France, and even the United States; and in the mean time by use of combined isolation tactics and infiltration, they have tried to propagate either overtly or covertly the socialistic ideas in those target areas. And then in the Russian satellite countries such as East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Red China, the Soviets have been using such tricky terms as "independent Communism" or the "new route of Socialism" to fool the common peoples in those countries, to soften their centrifugal sentiment, and to patch up the rifts in

their intermural power struggle. In short, as up to the present the Russian Reds have in their bones the treasure of Marxist-Leninist biased ideas while employing the most wicked tactics of class struggle to promote their world-conquest plot.

The Chinese Reds' ideological warfare might also be analysed in accordance with its two phases. The one is being waged on the China mainland while the other in Hongkong and Macao and directly against Taiwan, the bastion of China's war for recovery of the mainland.

On the China mainland the Chinese Communists have been intensifying their mop-up tactics in the suppression of counter ideological orders. Their first step was the setting of such booby trap as "letting hundred flowers bloom and hundred schools contend" to lure the exposure of anti-Communist ideas; and then by clamping down on their targets they expanded the so-called anti-Rightist struggle in an attempt to liquidate all anti-Communist thoughts; and later by the combined use of indoctrination and intimidation, they force upon the people the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism. Such tactics are indeed wicked to the extreme.

Meanwhile, as in such free land as Hongkong, Macao, overseas Chinese residences abroad, and Taiwan, the Communists have been using their old tricks. Their agents camouflage themselves under the gorgeous cloak of "democracy and freedom," etc. while actually push on their jobs of infiltrating and subverting the camp of the Three People's Principles; and then, as soon as they have planted themselves in some strategic positions, they proceed to criticize

the government and attack the Nationalist Party in the smearing campaign under some colorful smokescreen of the "democracy and freedom" label, in an attempt to lay down the foundation by such ideological warfare in order to carry out their subversive tactics. Having learned well of the Communist stratagem as such, the Chinese people in any and all free lands must keep ourselves always alert against the Communist ideological infiltration.

3. The Communist Organizational Warfare under Development

As is generally observed, the Russian organizational warfare is still set upon the Comintern as its tool even though it was in name dissolved on May 22, 1943. In the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere, Soviet agents all utter the slogan of "anti-colonialism" to enable the local Communists to spread their neutralism movement by rallying up the native nationalist elements to the banner. The neutralist decoys whom the SUCP have so eagerly cherished are such as Jawaharral Nehru of India and Nasser of Egypt, etc. In the maneuvering of neutralism tactics, the Russians have been making use of the "contradiction rule" applied to the conflict of interests among the capitalist-imperialist states and their colonial territories so as, on the one hand, to drive wedges further among them in an attempt to subject them to the Russian control; and, on the other, by "making use" of the close contact and assistance relationship with the neutralist countries, the Russians openly promote the Communist party organizations within those countries in order to carry out their plots of infiltration and subversion, thus reducing them not only into the helplessness of isolation without but also automatic collapse within. At that

moment the Russians will push on their scheme by encouraging the politicians in their target states to set up the "united front" and "coalition government" with the local Communist bigwigs. Right there, the SUCP might as well have quite naturally secured the dominating role in such countries through the operation of organizational warfare.

The glaring example in this type of Communist operation is the one now undergoing in Laos. Still the older and yet more diabolical one was that grossly perpetrated on the China mainland, where the Chinese Reds had achieved the dictatorial usurpation through the former nominal "coalition government" stage. From the bogus central regime in Peiping down to the villages and towns on the mainland, the Red cadres have got hold of the tyrannical power over the people.

There has been some type of underground organization of Red agents in Taiwan as they might have been smuggled around 1950 into this island strong-hold of the Republic of China. But due to the specific vigilance and suppressive measures of the Government, the Red agents could hardly make a show in the open. And in spite of their secret maneuvers, many of their cells have been ferreted out and destroyed. By use of their traditional stratagem, the Chinese Reds will never stop or relinquish their organizational activities in the Taiwan area. They may tend on one hand to direct their remnant agents to change their organizational tactics by taking more cautious and yet also penetrating steps underground to preserve their residuary force, while on the other hand trying to smuggle some more cadres into this area and waging the war in

different forms such as dope trafficking, banknotes counterfeiting, and grafting themselves on other party organizations, etc. Or else some of them may have cunningly kept dormancy, waiting just for opportunities to renew their activities. In this regard, the government and its counter-intelligence officers have to keep themselves always alert and quick in action.

4. The Communist Psywar Situations in the Present Stage

The Soviet psywar stratagem at present is still woven around the application of temptation with benefits and intimidation by force. The Communists, having shrewdly got hold of the psychical weak spots of the peoples in Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia, are employing the temptation tactics to the greatest extent possible while their psywar operations against the free world are focussed also in Asia. In their projected Asian-Afro Conference in 1954, the Russians had proclaimed through their cohorts as Chou En-lai and Nehru, the so-called "five principles of peaceful coexistence," which was nothing but a set of tempting baits. In the mean time, Moscow had extended to those under-developed countries such fabulous "aids" as generously as the circumstances permitted. This type of what seemed to be a substantial action might also be boiled down as nothing but sweet baits with poisonous hooks in them.

But then toward many free countries the Russian Communists have stressed the use of verbal threats backed by various shows of military strength. As for example, their shooting of Sputniks into outer space and firing of nuclear bombs were aimed at creating of psywar threats rather

than "sabre rattlings." Besides, Khrushchey has been used to growling for war to intimidate the free world, such as his snarling over the Berlin issue. These were all precipitated as mere gestures of psychological offensive.

In this regard, the Chinese Reds had learned to mimic their masters in the Kremlin, yet with most awkward fiascos ensued. They had once seriously bombarded the offshore islands and then put forth their brazen call for "ceasefire" and "peace negotiation." That sort of maneuvers was carried out as strategic offensive on the one hand and psychological offensive on the other. In their frantic bombardment against Kinmen and Matsu islands, coupled with the clamor for "liberation of Taiwan," they had also tried to play the temptation tactics through the tricky proceedings of "cease-fire" and "peace negotiation." Or conversely, they might have meant to use the latter as mere smokescreens under which they had tried to push on their armed invasion of the offshore islands. Any way, they had tried to shake the fighting will of Free China's armed forces and people, or at least to influence the psychical stand of our government and our allied powers. By use of war threats, they had attempted, most foolishly, to force the government of the Republic of China to "surrender"; and then by use of temptation, to lure us into their trap. Such a set of most despicable actions has long been detected by us.

5. The Communist Intelligence War Situation in the Present Stage The ambition of Russian imperialists is aimed at conquering the whole world. Working fanatically under such a delusion, they need all the intelligence collected

through their espionage network all over the world. In the 120 countries now on the globe, regardless of the condition of their sovereignty, area and population, there are Russian special agents working underground in every one of them. The objectives of the Soviet NKVD men are all embracing: from the stealing of military secrets and scientific data, such as the atom bomb project, down to all frivolous assignments as eaves-dropping and rumor-mongering, to the committing of many other major "businesses" of theirs like Smuggling of both merchandise and persons, counterfeiting of bank-notes, dope-trafficking, and so on to kidnapping and assassinations. In recent years, the common masses of Britain and the United States have generally apprehended the ever increasing menace of Russian agents. There is no doubt that the NKVD and its networks in foreign lands have made considerable headways, especially through the aiding and abetting of their fellow-travellers. Once U. S. Congressman G. Cannon, when serving as chairman of the House Appropriation Committee, had disclosed: According to a report of the Federal Bureau of Investigations, the number of Russian spies in the United States had passed the mark of 4,500. And then in the midst of the freakish Cold War, Moscow might have definitely stepped up its intelligence offensive against the free world.

The Chu-Mao gang in Peiping in the mean time has born upon itself at least a three-way commitment in its espionage task. First, ever since it occupied the China mainland in 1950, it has looked upon Taiwan as a thorn on its side or a "nail in its eye"; therefore, in its attempt to conquer the bastion of the Republic of China, in its

inability of fighting it out by force, it has been resorting instead to the use of plots. Its second commitment is that the Chinese Reds have to maintain a vast espionage network abroad after the pattern of their Russian masters; and third, they also must keep a sharp eye on their Kremlin masters.

In the former respect, the Chinese Reds may have been taking up four major steps in dealing with the Taiwan situation: First, they attempt to create the "assured victory" of military invasion through "political infiltration"; secondly, to "shake up" and "dissolve" the morale of the Republic of China by use of "psywar" tactics; thirdly, to "disrupt" the solidarity of the Kuomintang by use of their "divide and conquer" plot through espionage and sabotage activities; and fourthly, to secure any and all feasible opportunities to grasp any one possible stool-pigeon in order to push on their infiltration and subversive campaign so as to realize their fantastic dream of "liberating Taiwan" through "military offensive yet without the need of firing a shot." Among the related four steps, the third and the fourth are most outstanding, because they form the backbone in the implementation of the Chinese Reds' intelligence stratagem.

6. The Present Stage of So-called "People's War" Situation of Russian and Chinese Communists The Russian "people's war" on the class war pattern is closely related with their espionage organization and activities. Since the Kremlin has to keep the Russian people under its thumb and to use them under its sabre, it has to maintain and run the unprecedentedly huge network of special agents entrusted

with the enormous scope of activities both at home and abroad. By rough estimation, the Kremlin has in its direct employment a horde of 250,000 agents in addition to its secret police called NKVD. Even though the number is bigger than the sum total of all intelligence personnel of the Western democracies, it is nonetheless but a small fraction of the entire horde of Soviet spies. As viewed from Moscow, all of the Communist followers over the world are intrinsically its special agents, and then through their organizing and fascinating capabilities, they could further employ any and all "sympathizers" and "fellow-travellers" as their tools in promoting their espionage works. As their espionage works frequently are performed through the "united front" tactics with the "popular line" for its slogan, their "people's war," when engaged to show the "public sentiment" or mass riot, is therefore closely related to their espionage tactics or intelligence warfare.

Again, the "people' war" tactics of the Chu-Mao gang are undoubtedly adapted from those of the Kremlinites. Its "people's war" operation on the China mainland is to employ one set of the blind-folded, die-hard people—their cadres—to suppress the other set of anti-Communist people. Such an intramural war is an attempt to wipe out the last bastion of the freedom-loving people—their homes—by the bestial practice of the "people's commune" and the thorough robbery of the people's property including their living tools; and so by forcing the people into the slave labor camp, the Chinese Reds have used the commune system to directly control and enslave the masses.

Meanwhile in Taiwan, the Chinese Reds have also

extended their tentacles of "people's war" operations. In addition to some remnants of underground Red agents they had utilized their front organizations such as those cells clamoring for "independence" or "autonomy under UN trusteeship" and "democracy with full freedom," together with some desperate bureaucrats and ambitious politicians. Geographically speaking, the Chinese Communists have their "people's war" outposts set up in Hongkong, Tokyo and elsewhere as plotting against Taiwan; and then they had also tried to set up their makeshifting bases chiefly in remote villages (including some salt workers' hamlets or fishermen's district) and some uncouth schools. Their plot to make their agents worm into villages is carried out on the principle of "conforming to the local custom, by use of legitimate gestures to meet the social demand." And so with bright slogans, they want to mix with the village folks through "rendering labor services to the people," in order to develop their rural campaign. Meanwhile, their agents take care to camouflage themselves so as to befriend the village folks in the most amicable way possible. They may not preach Communism outright. What they are used to do is grumble against the Government or the Kuomintang, and thus gradually they build up among their acquaintances the anti-government sentiment; later by subtle fabrication of facts injurious to the Government's prestige, they may either widen or deepen the spreading of such sentiment so as to build up their bases of popular movement. Meanwhile, as in some cities, they also attempt to promote the youth movement, with intellectuals highly prized as the object of their catch. They may freely revile the

Government and criticise the political leaders currently in power, on the pretext of enjoying the right of free press and freedom of thought. Thus they also create melancholia and radicalism for the youths directly or indirectly kept in contact. They object to the study of the Three People's Principles at schools and attack those scholars who pursue this study, ironically on the dogma of "freedom of academic research."

The aforesaid presentation is a sketch of the Russian and Chinese Communists' political war operations. Naturally they are what we must apprehend in our war against the Communist aggression in the political war arena.

II. As Operated by Our Friendly Nations

The target of Communist invasion at present undoubtedly is all of the democratic countries in the entire free world. For the sake of accomplishing their "world revolution" mission, the Russian and Chinese Communists are deadly dedicated to carrying out their "world conquest" plots. All the democratic countries in the free world, for the purpose of resisting the terrible Red aggression, cannot but strengthen their defense or counteroffensive measures.

It must be noted first of all that the shrewd aggressors in the Kremlin, unlike the Czarist warlords who were bent on the use of military might, have been stressing rather on the waging of political war as their principal ways and means of aggression. As a rule they usually put on some sort of grimace on the face, but in their bones they have stuffed a lot of nuclear weapons—just as a Chinese adage

described, "mealy-mouthed sweetness is loaded with deadly poison behind." And so they have been most cunningly applying their dialectic formula to the use of political stratagem and military maneuvers.

As viewed from the standpoint of the Kremlinites, the Western democratic bloc has entertained several mistaken concepts in its dealing with the Communist invasion. They are briefly related as follows:

First, in the military phase the Western powers still stick to the idea of "firearms first." Therefore, some American strategists had for several years boasted their "monopoly" of atom bombs, and later taken pride of the stockpile of hydrogen bombs. But then even if the Russian aggressors considered themselves lagging behind in the manufacturing of such weapons, they showed no fear toward the Western supremacy in this regard. In fact, they had considered themselves lucky in having such naive Western strategists for their contemporaries who, getting over-loaded with atom or later nuclear bombs, could find no place to dump them except under mothball. Meanwhile, as the modern war is quite different from any of the previous international conflicts, the military might of the West can hardly save its skin if it is badly routed in the social or political battle-ground. And then even on the military respect, no one belligerent should dwell its fate solely upon the use of any one type of superior weapon (such as the nuclear arms) to defeat its enemy. And so the Russian Communists have shrewdly engaged in political war to freeze the Western nuclear weapons, and they seem having frozen the useless "scrap of metals" in America for good!

Secondly, as in the political arena the Soviets have most treacherously employed the disarmament talks and other campaigns, such as those related to the banning of nuclear blasts and the "atom for peace," solely to their own benefits. Their objectives in tackling such talks and campaigns are on the one hand devoted to wresting the military supremacy from the West through such idle and futile talks to paralyse the effort of military build-up of the Western countries; and on the other, to cover up the Communist preparation for war through development of their new weapons and deployment of their armed forces. In short, they have well fooled the West by use of another formula in the political tactical field based upon their old theme of "peaceful coexistence."

Thirdly, the Western policy-makers have committed another mistake in treating armed might as always superior to man-power. The Communist bloc has learned well the weak spot of Western countries, as in a particular point that when stressing the practice of humanitarianism, the West is wont to lay emphasis in the use of armed might to supplement the valuable man-power. On the contrary, the Communists might relentlessly tend to sacrifice the man-power under their command to wear out the Western fire power; and so they have been used to apply the "human sea" tactics as in the Korean battlefield. In the vast European and Asian continents, it is virtually evident that armed might cannot prevail over man-power in various localities while the former also cannot replace the latter in use everywhere as it may have been presumed in carrying out its war mission. And so in trying to ward

off the Western supremacy of fire arms, the Communist bloc has been emphasizing its shrewd maneuvers in political war against the naivete or negligence of the Western countries in this respect.

Following are three more items in political warfare concerning the strategical, ideological, and organizational aspects under which many Western powers are shown unfortunately pushed around by the treacherous Communists.

As viewed from the strategical stand point, the Russian and the Chinese Reds still are clamoring for "peaceful coexistence" though in different manners to suit their various purposes, and yet most of the Western politicians and intellectuals, being perplexed by the Red mealy-mouthed utterance, cannot help but fall into the Red trap. Even when the Soviets have later backed up their intimidation tactics by repeated boasts of their "cosmonauts" and explosions of "super nuclear bombs," some of the American and British politicians still entertain the illusion of making peace or dissolving of other knotty problems through the projected peace talks of the summit level. Even when the Chu-Mao gang on the Chinese mainland has intermittently yet violently promoted its "hate America" campaign, the Washington Government still sticks to the futile talks with the Red envoy in Warsaw. And then in such theaters as in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, etc., the Communists have at their initiative created the feverish situation of alternative "fighting and peace talks" repeated as in cycles. And that sort of Communist stratagem, as it was treacherously used on the China mainland, especially during 1945-48, has subjected the Western democracies to

the Red intrigue in the political war maneuvering.

Next, in respect of ideological manipulation, the Communist bloc has been the most skilful in making use of such terms as "nationalism," "democracy," "liberalism," etc., as its open sesame or talisman to bring about its ideological invasion. It has been well-known that communism is by nature blended with internationalism in contrast with nationalism; it is in principle bent on proletariat dictatorship in contrast with democracy; it is in practice indulged in totalitarian control in contrast with liberalism.

However, as related in the first section of this chapter, the Russian and the Chinese Communists have been most treacherously covering up their ugly faces when making infiltrative and subversive inroads into Middle East, North Africa, and Southeast Asian countries by acting as champions of nationalism, democracy and liberalism. Even now there are in many democratic countries such as Japan, South Vietnam and the Republic of Philippines, etc., numerous Communist agents or fellow travellers who have been directly or indirectly clamoring for adoption of democracy and liberalism true the Communist pattern. It is deplorable that many intellectuals and petit politicians in those countries are found still wanting of alertness in this regard.

Further, in the field of organizational warfare, most of the social structure in various democratic countries are being subjected to the infiltration of Communist agents. By analysis of the so-called "revolutionary stages" of the Russian Communists, we can readily apprehend that inter-

national Communism is by nature bound to deploy its organized elements into all democratic countries. They had roughly divided their "revolutionary works" into three stages: First, as from 1903 to February 1917, their objective was to overthrow the Czarism, with the remnant of conservatism in the Middle Ages also liquidated. As the backbone of their revolutionary forces was the proletarian class, they considered Russian peasants as their best affiliated reserves. Hence, they had tried to organize both the proletarians and peasants in Russia for their projected exploitation. And later in the second stage of their revolution, as from February 1917 to October of the same year, their objective was to wipe out the Czarist imperialism and so to withdraw themselves from the imperialistic war. Then and there the basic force of the Kremlinites was still dwelt upon the proletariat while their affiliated reserves were thus rallied from poor farmers together with proletarians in neighboring countries. From then on, the Soviet started its outward expansion. Undoubtedly, the Republic of China was then the main target of their invasion. Later came the third stage since the so-called "October Revolution," by which the Russian Communists had for their objectives consolidation of their proletariat dictatorship within the country and intensification of their "world revolution" steps without by clamoring for "knocking out all capitalist imperialism" on the globe. Their so-called "basic force" of revolution in this stage was the joining of the Russian proletariat dictatorship and the proletarian uprising campaign in various other countries. Their reserve forces were conscripted from the proletarian masses and petit

farmers of the industrialized countries, together with the "liberation movement" of their colonies and various weak or under-developed countries.

As viewed from the Communist strategy and their world-conquest plot, in conjunction with the pervading expansion of the Communist organization, it is conceivable that the Russian and the Chinese Reds have had their organized cells penetrated into different social levels of many democratic countries. Unfortunately, most of these countries seem neglecting in adoption of effective measures to resist the communist organizational invasion.

Further, in the psychological respect, as the first section of this chapter has pointed out, the Russian psychological stratagem against the free world still is revolving around the double-edged sword—temptation and intimidation. By the Communist dialectics, it seems only natural for the Kremlinites to use their double-dealing temptation as "thesis," their intimidation as "antithesis," and their deception coupled with blackmailing as "synthesis." All these are based on the principle of "unity of contradictions." Their repeated manipulation of such tricks has been carried out in their dealings not only with the Middle East, North Africa and Southeast Asian countries, directly or indirectly with considerable advancement, but also with many credulous politicians and naive publicists in America, Britain, France, and various other Western countries, by pulling their noses around the Red psywar tactics. The Russian double-talked "peaceful coexistence," "disarmament," etc., are on the one hand used as enticing smokescreens while on the other as the prelude to a series

of psywar offensive.

The Russian show of putting up "cosmonauts" and explosion of nuclear bombs had serve their purpose of intimidation, if only for a short period, by threatening the free world of holocaust. It is only deplorable to find that up to the present the Western democracies have made rare psywar offensive with initiative to deal the Communist bloc any effective blow.

Furthermore, as in the intelligence war, a greater part of the social, economic and political life of the Western democracies has been plagued by the espionage invasion and subversion of both the Russian and the Chinese Communists. As pointed out in the first section of this chapter, around 200 states and regions in the present world are penetrated by the cloak and dagger network of Soviet spies. Those who are alerted and taking up counter-intelligence measures are few, with the United States, Britain, and France playing the leading role among them yet, unfortunately, tipping usually at the losing end.

It might be true that the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigations in its collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency has been a model institution in waging the intelligence war against Red spies. However, it should also be noted that some American politicians also might have availed themselves, if only casually, with the so-called "executive privilege" to shape their policies diametrically in disregard of the FBI findings.

Still more lamentable is the counter-intelligence work of Britain. It has been scattering around various organizations, such as the Home Office, the Foreign Office, the

Colonial Office, the Supply Office, the Intelligence Bureau of the Navy and that of British Air Force, with their mission split into various fields without the effectual centralization of administration. And so in actual war against the Communist infiltration and subversion, their work has often been deplorably hamstrung.

The counter-intelligence work of France fared a little better than that of England. The Second Bureau of its Defense Ministry is in charge of the job for the central government, whereas the Fifth Bureau in the Headquarters of the General Staff is entrusted with the power to deal with the enemy's infiltration and subversion both at home and in colonial regions. It is reported that due to the lack of personnel and the hackneyed methods they have adopted, these two organs, though usually pursuing on the right track, can hardly carry out their missions to the fullest extent possible. It is, therefore, generally observed that both Britain and France are short in both trained personnel and techniques, together with appropriated funds, in their intelligence war against the Communist offensive, especially in the world-wide arena. That being the case, other Western democracies are found still further lagged behind in this field of hot struggle in the mis-dubbed "cold war."

6. It may further be remarked that a greater part of the social life of the free nations has also been harassed by the coordinated, though separately manipulated, attack of the "people's war" offensive of the Russian and the Chinese Reds. As pointed out previously, the Soviet "people's war" manipulations have always been interwoven

with the vast espionage network all over the globe. Meanwhile, the stress in this respect also has been laid on one focus which shows that since the inception of the so-called "third stage of the Russian world revolution," the Kremlin has dwelt its so-called "main reserve force" on the proletarian masses and petit farmers, together with those campaigners for liberation of all colonial regions and minority countries. Hence, the Red agents might have in such countries as those in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, together with Japan, Italy and France that have not yet outlawed the Communist party in each of them, openly keep contacts with the people respectively by use of the dialectic methods dictated by Moscow; and so they are always ready and well equipped with both funds and tools to switch on or off the "people's war" maneuver.

Up to the present, it seems conceivable that only the United States that has adopted an elaborate civil defense system is well prepared, though in a limited scope, to meet the challenge of the Communist mass war agitation. Other democratic countries are generally vulnerable to the Red maneuvers in this regard. This puzzling problem might have not much to do with the scientific application of the principles of mass psychical control though, of course, it is closely related to the strengthening of the civic organization within the country. Somehow, the Red agents practically can still hire many hoodlums and blind-folded youths in various countries to stage some sort of mass riots and sabotage for the benefit of their masters in the Kremlin. To do the least, they could usually start some

chain actions or reactions in rumormongering, mudslinging and many other vile under-ground activities through conspiracy of their fellow-travellers under their spell. They seem capable of carrying out the Judas' cow direction coupled with temptations or duresses, and the combination or alternative application of them all.

In summing up, it seems quite plain that there are many shortcomings in the positive measures of the democratic countries when coping with the Communist bloc in the political war arena. Therefore, it is in this regard that we must make further studies in order to secure better knowledge of such a critical issue.

III. The Present Situation of China's Political

War against International Communism

Under the enlightening guidance of President Chiang Kai-shek, the Republic of China has long been acquainting herself with the important role of political warfare and, meanwhile, well learned of the Russian political stratagems.

As it is pointed out in Section 6, Chapter 3, Part II, of "Soviet Russia in China":

In examining our basic policy against aggression, we should first study not the Russian Communists' military operational methods but their policy toward the free world and their political warfare, which usually precedes the commencement of hostilities. In my opinion, their biggest political weapon is their

basic tactic for World Revolution, namely, "peaceful coexistence." This should receive the democratic bloc's primary attention in discussing the Russian Communists' basic policy.....Such a political witchcraft is a product or heritage of Lenin's traditional war by proxy and zigzag strategy.

This penetrative exposure by President Chiang might well help the democratic camp in its political war operations against the Russian Communists. Following is a sketch of the general situation of such war of the Republic of China in the present stage.

Since its evacuation from mainland to Taiwan in 1949, the Government of China has been holding on firmly to the "anti-Communist and resist-Russia" slogan. This is a fixed national policy well adapted to the operation of its political strategy. In the past when on the mainland, most of the people were perplexed by the catchword whether the "anti-Communist" effort should be directed against both the Communist party and Communism in general. Especially it seemed ironical that when we talked about suppressing the Communist rebellion, we were refrained from discussing how to resist the Russian invasion. It was not until 1949 when we withdrew to Taiwan that the awkward situation has been changed. The same old slogan is endowed with a new meaning and turned out to be a clear-cut national policy, with its functions and ultimate purposes well defined. It has thus differentiated our friends from our enemies. And up to the present, such a simple yet forceful slogan has gradually become the common objective of all free, democratic coun-

tries throughout the world.

In the same chapter of "Soviet Russia in China," a proposition has also been offered to the United States regarding some practical measures to implement her "liberation policy": First is the strategy of detours, and second is indirect warfare, for these are superior to the U.S. "policy of containment," the "reprisal and deterrent policies," and the "policy of punitive action." It is therefore observed that the strategy of indirect warfare against Communism is what the Western nations should have adopted as the highest guiding principle in their policy of liberation.

For explanation, it is noted that in their attempted conquest of the Eurasian continent, the Russian Communists have been applying the strategy of detours from China mainland toward South Asia and the Middle East, and also from the Mid-East toward Europe and Africa. Today, in their deep thrust into the Middle East and their threat to Western Europe, the China mainland has already become their rear bastion. Meanwhile, they have also extended their tentacle to Cuba, thus threatening not only the security of Central and South America but also that of the United States. In these circumstances, in order to save the Middle East and to remove the threat to Western Europe as well as to safe-guard the security of America, the soundest strategy for the United States will be to attack the Red aggressor's rear bastion, by application of indirect warfare. As for the democratic countries urged to take up collective measures for their common good, the strategy of indirect warfare against the threatening Com-

munist invasion is what the Western nations should adopt as the indispensable principle in their policy of liberation on the one hand and in the fight for their own survival on the other.

Next, on the ideological front it is lamentable to recall, as President Chiang had pointed out in his speech made on Oct. 2, 1950, at the Yangmingshan Institute, that in the past years the failure in our campaign against the Communist banditry may also be attributed at least partly to a few lines of Communist slogans through their malicious propaganda in confusing the people. The Communist and their fellow travellers both at home and abroad had wildly smeared our devoted and faithful Kuomintang members then in public service, with such a simple yet deadly poisonous name-calling as "stubborn elements." It was regrettable then that some feeble-minded persons forfeited their original faith and revolutionary responsibility to such an extent even defected to the Communist camp simply because at the outset they wanted to avoid the Communist name-calling as of "stubborn elements" while they were lured into the Communist trap. For instance, they had thus advocated the abolition of the "Soldiers' Reading of Disciplinary Rules" and the "Regulations for KMT Members." With their spiritual armor disrupted, the officers and men in the armed forces treated both the disciplinary rules and KMT regulations as mere formalities without sincerity for observance while their faith also broke down. The deterioration of their political faith and morale had then resulted in our fiasco on the mainland.

The President also remarked that it may be advisable

to modify the said Reading of Disciplinary Rules and Regulations for KMT Members as a few words in each of them might be found incongruous with the changed situations after China had adopted the Constitution in 1946. Nevertheless, there was no reason in the post-war period for the Government to discard them completely. The then factual abolition of them was brought about simply because many KMT members may have been consciously or otherwise corrupted by the Communist propaganda. With their faith wavering and their conduct spoiled, the China mainland was forfeited to the Communists.

President Chiang had also once related his observation in this respect at the Seventh Plenary Session of KMT Representatives. He said: "In the past several years, I have neglected the study of political theories and the leadership of ideological warfare, simply because of busy direction in administrative and military operations. It is belatedly regrettable that such a negligence has constituted one of the mistakes in forfeiture of the mainland to the Communists." As remedial measures, the President, who is concurrently the Director-General of the Kuomintang, has in recent years exerted more positive leadership in waging the ideological war against Communism. And so various units under the KMT guidance, with their past bitter lessons vividly recalled, have been dedicated to disseminating the Three People's Principles and anti-Communist tenets to the armed forces as well as the masses of the people. It is evident that promising consequences have been secured especially from the education of the armed forces.

Since 1950, President Chiang has on various occasions published such works as "The Revolutionary Spirit," "The Righteous Morale of Our Nation," "The Fundamentals of Anti-Communist and Resist-Russia Campaign," and "The Basic Problems in Disposing of the Communist Ideology and Aggressive Methods," etc. All the teachings embodied in them might have produced the formidable spiritual power in the ideological war against Communism.

In regard to the organizational phase, we have spared no effort in recent years in the renovation and invigoration of the Nationalist Party as well as the armed forces and governmental machinery. President Chiang had since 1950 called for the implementation of the catchword "Organization First" which was substantiated by his exhortation in 1951 of the tenets for application to the potency of organizational exertion. Starting from the reformation of the Kuomintang, the program was followed up by reinstitution of the political system in the armed forces. These two steps are imperative in waging the organizational warfare against Communism, with considerable merits achieved from them.

As for the reformation of the party organization, although the result has not been very satisfactory, it has completely corrected the past errors in loosening of relationship between many members and their local cells, in slackening of the party discipline, and in neglecting of group action to meet emergency.

In regard to the strengthening of the political training in the armed forces, the battles in the Formosa Straits, especially those around the off-shore islands, for several

years well testify to the efficacy of the organizational effort. Meanwhile, the setting up of guerrilla units behind the enemy front, though having encountered many obstacles, has been nevertheless pushed on with strenuous exertion. As soon as our network in the enemy's rear is built up far and wide, the long-heralded counter-attack against the mainland will be facilitated immensely.

And then in the psywar execution, President Chiang has issued various directions for invigorating operations. He said: "What should we always remember is the tenet 'capturing the enemy's mind is of prime importance; capturing his city comes next.' Such a motto is applicable not only in the suppression of Communist bandits but also in the waging of all types of war. It is necessary to subject the enemy's mind to our close control, making it convinced of its being inferior and impotent, and then prior to the shooting war the enemy might have been conquered without the need of firing a shot. No matter how numerous soldiers the enemy may possess, they would be thoroughly defeated by our forces even devoid of numerical strength, the President said.

"It is true," President Chiang further pointed out, "in order to capture the enemy's mind, we must first strengthen our own mind; as in other words, in attempting to conquer the enemy's spirit, we must first invigorate our own spirit." This exhortation of our Chief of State was made as early as in June 1935 at the Generalissimo's outpost headquarters in Chengtu, but unfortunately it was not yet put into practice to the fullest extent possible.

It is conceivable that in recent years the Government

has been gradually stepping up the efforts in psychological warfare. Such works as the study of psywar strategies and theories, the compilation of textbooks and other educational materials related to this subject, the organization and training of psywar personnel, the improvement of psywar equipment as well as its techniques, and the strengthening of psywar defensive as well as its offensive forces, have all produced substantial results. Particularly commendable is the achievement of the front-line psywar tactical offensive and that of the air-dropping of leaflets, food parcels, etc.

In the field of intelligence warfare, the organizations concerned have strengthened their structure with unification of direction emphasized in accordance with the President's decree of 1949. It calls for "invigorating the organization, centralizing the leadership, separating the responsibilities, and strictly executing the reward or punishment in dealing with merits or demerits, so as to keep the personnel exerting their best through division of labor and cooperation of their activities. As in recent years the security and progress of Taiwan might have been attributed at least partly to the considerable achievement of the intelligence or counter-intelligence work.

It is undeniable that the past activities in the intelligence field were generally limited to its defensive phase. The trend for its developing into the offensive is one of prime importance. President Chiang has also given his instruction stressing the need of refining stratagem in the intelligence warfare instead of insisting upon quick results. He said: "Those who are in charge of intelligence

directorship must give their agents in the enemy's rear some flexible powers as to meet emergencies of various time and localities, whereas those agents on their hazardous mission must be able to decide upon their activities in conformity with the varied circumstances through the application of tactfulness and dexterity. The past errors generally on this line were brought about from over-anxiety to secure quick results, with one or two months set as the time required for getting intelligence reports. Since the Chinese Communists have set up the strict control over the mainland people, with brutal ways and means to cope with the activities of our agents, it is in fact very difficult for our agents to fulfil their missions in the limited time as prescribed. Under such circumstances, the intelligence workers must pay more attention to the refinement of stratagems rather than the quick result of their operations." It is likely that with the improvement of our methods as well as our stratagems in this regard, the intelligence war in its offensive phase will be greatly developed.

In regard to the people's war—a misnomer in the Communist jargon for mass riots, we had in the past deplorably neglected its significant bearings. And so the loftiness of the KMT party, officialdom, and military, when holding themselves apart from the masses, had given the Communists ample opportunity to fool and to agitate a portion of the people into their services.

Ever since the National Government evacuated to Taiwan in 1950, many new measures have been adopted to improve the organization of the people, with its move-

ment gradually guided toward solidarity and group action in the fight for realizing the national cause. The Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League and the Youth Anti-Communist and National Salvation Corps, first set up in 1950, have been exerting their best respectively in rallying the younger generation of China around their banners. The Land Reform measures, as implemented through the applications of 37.5% Land Rent Reduction Regulations and the "Land to the Tiller" project, together with the execution of Labor Insurance management and various other beneficial arrangements for fishermens and salt workers, etc., are the substantial works in facilitation of peasants' and laborers' movements. The CWAAL and the KMT's Women's Working Committee have been expanding their organizations and activities both at home and abroad with remarkable achievements. And so many civic bodies throughout Taiwan and the offshore islands including Penghu, Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu, have also been united in action in the cause of democracy and freedom while the Free China Relief Association, often backed up by all other civic bodies, has been extending its far-reaching works to the China mainland, particularly to refugees from the mainland. And then the Vocational Assistance Commission for Retired Servicemen has also been rendering invaluable services to help resettle thousands of veterans through reclamation of lands, reforestation, road-building, and other productive employments.

Generally speaking, since the 168th. meeting of the KMT's Central Reform Committee on July 9, 1951, with a resolution to promote the mass movement through free

services to be rendered to uplift the people's welfare, the Nationalist Party had through the network of its various local branches set up many service stations all over Taiwan, and then taken steps to develop their works. The party has thus won the goodwill of the masses and kept in close contact with them. However, this job so far has been limited to static sphere. There is the need of accelerated development as to organize the people in the fullest extent possible, and to direct them more actively in group action for the fulfilment of the higher national mission. Such an ideal state of mass movement has been nearly approached as in Kinmen and Matsu, especially when under the Communist frantic bombardment known as the "August 23" Incident of 1959; the close cooperation between the local people and the garrisons had reached the desirable peak. Henceforth, our effort to carry the people's war over the enemy's front line might be a prerequisite to the accomplishment of revolutionary tasks of China.

A Summary

On account of the aforesaid analysis, it is conceivable that the political warfare as carried on by the ROC's Government has attained a certain degree of efficacy, with forces built up on solid foundations. However, as by careful scrutiny there are found still many defects and loopholes in its operations.

Taking for example the strategic warfare, President Chiang has lamented over the slackening in adoption of efficient stratagem to deal the enemy a fatal blow at the

right moment—while being lenient to the Communists virtually is cruelty to the free people. And then in regard to the ideological warfare, the teaching of the Three People's Principles may still be found neglected not only among some sections of the common folks but also on certain levels of the civil servicemen. Those who are in charge of high cultural and political posts may be not well learned in the fundamental principles of China's revolution. And so in colleges, universities and high schools, only a limited number of the youth might be found as having actually accepted these principles and thus turned them out as ideological weapons against Communism. It is, therefore, deeply regrettable that some distorted version of liberty and democracy, as preached by many leftist intellectuals both at home and abroad, has considerably confused the people's mind which may need further clarification.

In respect of organizational warfare, there is still the need of strengthening the popular will in the election of representatives to various levels of legislative bodies. Meanwhile, it is undeniable that there are still many shortcomings in administrative affairs and indolence in social events, together with the looseness in cooperation among public functionaries. All such defects might have been due basically to the weakness in the related organizational field. In case the leading political party as the Kuomintang could actually exercise its authorities and enforce its disciplines over the political, economic, and social or educational institutions under its direction, all the abovesaid problems may have been solved more readily at their roots.

In regard to the psychological warfare, our radio

broadcasts and airdrops over the China mainland have been found wanting in quantity. Besides, our international publicity works actually need strengthening in both quantity and quality. When the writer visited many American libraries recently where periodicals and books of numerous countries are abundantly provided, with those from the Chinese Communist regime also profusely intermixed; but, regrettably, very few from the Republic of China—even nil in some of the U.S. public libraries!

Traditionally we always claim that the United States and the Republic of China hold excellent friendly ties, but our publicity works seem being shied away from the American continent. Then how can any one expect extending our information activities over the territories occupied by Soviet imperialists and Chinese Reds?

In respect of intelligence warfare, there is the need of further improving both the spiritual and the material treatment of our intelligence workers. As in the past, the general public still entertains some sort of prejudice unfavorable toward them; hence, a necessary condition for waging efficient intelligence war against the Communists is lacking because of slackness in cooperation between the general public and the workers.

Lastly, talking about the people's war, we cannot deny that there are lots of misgivings in store for us. As the dark side of China's traditional culture has exposed, the educational system has so far molded the younger generation on the same old pattern of "marshaling toward officialdom when having academic attainments." Therefore, regrettably many intellectuals thus brought up are in the

main rather indulged in the gaining of their own personal interests and status. The progress of such a trend eventually will further alienate the relationship of masses of the people. Although the popular bases as built up by the Nationalist Party have made some sort of development, it seems they are not yet deepened and widened enough.

In summing up, for the winning of a total victory in our anti-Communist struggle, we must simultaneously strengthen our efforts in the waging of strategic war, ideological war, organizational war, psychological war, intelligence war and people's war in their coordinating phases and various theatres.

Chapter Four

A Comparative Study of the Political Warfare

As Waged between the Republic of China

and Her Enemy, with the Way to Defeat the Latter

I. A Comparison of the Factors in Strategic Warfare

And the Way to Defeat Our Enemy

In regard to the waging of strategic war against our enemy, there are many innate differences between the two camps. In an attempt to map out ways and means to defeat our foes, we must make a preliminary comparison of many elements or factors involved:

First, in regard to the strategic pattern, there is our constructive line against the enemy's destructive line. Our revolutionary philosophy undoubtedly is based on the Three People's Principles. Dr. Sun Yat-sen has explicitly exhorted his followers, the paramount strategy in our national revolution is aimed at national reconstruction. And so President Chiang Kai-shek has in "The Fundamentals of Anti-Communist and Resist-Russia Struggle" candidly pointed out: The supreme strategy of the Kuomintang is dedicated to national reconstruction. The "Fundamentals of National Reconstruction" as ordained by the Father of Chinese Republic have definitely provided its substantial

contents consisting of such items as psychological reconstruction, political reconstruction, social reconstruction, and economic reconstruction.

When lecturing on the philosophical system of the Three People's Principles and the practical processes in its application, President Chiang has stressed ethical reconstruction as a necessary supplement.

The Second Article of Dr. Sun's "Outline of National Reconstruction" had also provided:

"The prime purpose of national reconstruction is improvement of people's livelihood. Hence, to meet the people's four cardinal needs as in food, clothing, house and transportation, the government must exert its best efforts in cooperation with those of the people to develop agriculture to replenish food for them; to build up the textile industry to fully supply them with clothes; to construct various types of houses on long-term planning for their comfortable residence; and to build up roads and canals for facilitating their transportation."

Through such provisions as aforesaid, the keynote in the process of national revolution, no matter what sort of political or military strategy is employed, is dedicated to the reconstruction for attaining an independent, autonomous, wealthy, strong and happy nation. It has been and still is the iron rule that all imperialists over the world are trying to destroy our opportunity for national reconstruction. Particularly, the Chinese Communists have been dead set against our constructive measures. For instance, they were whole-heartedly opposed to the projects as embodied in President Chiang's book "The Destiny of

China" published at the later stage of the Resistance War against Japanese invasion, 1937-45, because it presented many blue prints for our national reconstruction.

On the other hand, the basic strategy of both the Russian and the Chinese Communists in their subversion and aggressive wars is in fact devoted to destructive purposes. In the spiritual phase, their rectification campaign and brain-washing scheme are meant for demolition of the people's freedom of thinking. In the political phase, their proletariat dictatorship is aimed at abolition of state while advocating that the governing machine is a mere instrument of class hegemony. In the economic phase, their outrageous confiscation and robbery of all the private property of the people have practically destroyed the individual and social economy while their collective ownership has in fact resulted only in "collective poverty," with the so-called "communized ownership" turned out to be "communized bankruptcy"; and so the Communists wind up their application of communism by depriving the people of their property and forcing all of them to be slave-laborers.

Furthermore, in the phase of social evolution, the Chinese Communists clamp the commune system down on the people as to thoroughly undermine the decent family system of China. In the cultural phase, they promote the radical measure of "slighting the ancient and stressing the modern" with an education devoted to the training of "totally communistic and specialized in steep skill"; and so they are meant for discarding the traditional culture, ethics and morality of China.

Ultimately, the objective of the Communists is fixed

on world revolution which as they have been undertaking is tantamount to demolition of freedom, democracy, peace and all other welfare of the modern world. Since their methodology is focused on "struggle," the process of their construction, no matter how well they can gloss over, depends upon "struggle"; and even if they can achieve some measure of material reconstruction, the maintenance of such constructed works also depends upon "struggle." Struggle may originally be used as a sort of ways and means, but the Communists have treated it as the end in itself. As the inherent nature of Leninism is destructive, they can never stop the struggle process, and so they can never stop the process of destruction.

In regard to the watchword in our strategy as against that of the Communists, it is set as democracy versus totalitarianism, with freedom versus slavery. On our side, it is democracy with rational freedom for all of the people. In our discussion on such topics, there is only sincerity without any subterfuge or trickery. Because the inherent nature of the Three People's Principles is endowed with democracy and liberty, it is decidedly dedicated to the realization and practice of democracy and sovereignty of the entire people, by the entire people and for the entire people. Such democracy definitely is in contrast with its namesake merged either in individualism or in the principle of class struggle advocated by the Communists.

And then the liberty thus endowed by the popular democracy is the most reasonable freedom under the people's sovereignty, instead of its namesake either as indulged by individualistic usurpers or as restricted by class domination.

Our bugle call for democracy and liberty is tantamount to our determination to practice them in the most thorough-going way possible without any pretext for the carrying out of totalitarianism. Hence, in our general publicity for such, there is the characteristic of ancient motto of championing the "magnificent policy."

On the other hand, the Communist camp has on certain occasions loudly trumpeted on the enjoyment of democracy and liberty. It has thus utilized such clamoring to fool the ignorant and cheat the claue so as to win their support in its implementation of "divide and conquer" plots. Most Communists are used to treat the slogan for democracy and liberty as mere means to obtain their ends of dictatorship and slavery. In political system they deify the Communist leader whose tyranny is far surpassing that of an ancient despot. Since the ancient despotic rule might not need using despicable plots, the Communist dictatorship could be functioning only through the form of proletariat dictatorship geared upon incessant power struggle within and continuous aggressive acts beyond the Iron Curtain. The slavery under ancient feudal system may be plain yet limited as such, but the wholesale enslavement of the people under the Communist dictatorship is executed on the pretext of securing "interests for the people." Despite how well can the Red bigwigs use stratagems, their practice of totalitarianism and slavery has been generally recognized as a sort of iron-clad reality.

As Shown by Strategic Operations

In the trend of strategic operations, we have adopted offensive as against the enemy's defensive. It is not until up to the present that we have turned to secure the offensive position by forcing the Communists down to the defensive role.

Prior to 1950, the government of the Republic of China, chiefly for the implementation of its revolutionary measures, had been trying hard to do well in preparation for installation of the constitutional government through its prior two stages as of indispensable military government and party tutelage government. The three steps taken were necessary for the purposes of wiping out the stumbling blocks in the revolutionary path and of training the masses to practise their political rights under the Kuomintang tutelage, with the avowed schedule that the party rule shall be gradually turned to be popular democracy as soon as the new constitutional draft of May 5th, 1929 is duly approved by the national convention sometime before 1935.

However, due to the Communist riots and open rebellion around 1930 and the violent aggression of Japanese warlords in the mean time, the aforesaid KMT party rule had to be prolonged, for objectively it was impossible to hold the national convention at the critical juncture.

Then both the Russian and the Chinese Reds, supported by the fellow-travellers dangling around their political strings, had cried out loud against the KMT tutelage, on the pretext of clamoring for China to adopt "democratic

rule" and "liberty" together with many other sugar-coated slogans, to fool the credulous simpletons at home and abroad. Their joint clamors as such had for a long time constituted the offensive, with the Nationalist Government constantly taking the defensive position. By use of smearing campaigns, they tried to damage the government's prestige; by making false representations, they tried to uplift the Chinese Red's political status; and worse still, by the practice of infiltration and subversion, they had greatly undermined the strength of the government, together with its military and economic forces as well as social stability. It was eventually almost impossible for the National Government to take up effective measures for defense purpose. Later, it was evident that the China mainland was forfeited to the Communist invasion for one main cause and it was that in the political warfare the Nanking Government of the Republic of China had unfortunately limited itself in the adoption of passive, defensive strategy as later also involved in isolated position.

However, as in recent years the former critical position of the National Government of the Republic of China has been changed into an offensive trend. Ever since the Chu-Mao gang occupied the China mainland in 1949, what they had uttered noisily for the people to enjoy "democracy" through a "coalition government" with their former bed-fellows had in the past thirteen years turned out to be a sheer dictatorship of Communist bigwigs, with the people subjected to their strict control and persecution devoid of any liberty. They had formerly cheated the people with such sweet promises as "land reform to give land to the

tillers," to fool the peasants; as "labor management of factories," to fool the workers; as "joint benefits of capitalists and laborers," to fool the enterprisers. But now it is stark clear that all the Communist promises are mere dirty tricks. The adoption into execution of the commune system, as culmination of Communist tricks, coupled with robbery, slavery, slaughter, and all other types of bestialities, had deprived the people of all their interests. And so the Chinese Communists had fully exposed their ugly stratagems to the mainland people. Their dirty tricks have boomeranged without the need of a counter-attack. Their present position has definitely degraded itself into hundred percent passive and defensive abyss. In case the free world would stage the timely political counter-attack through application of a joint stratagem, the Peiping bogus regime cannot help but to get ruined for good.

Basing upon the aforesaid observation, in our strategic warfare against the Chinese Communists, it is obvious that the diametrical positions concerned involve our constructive force against the Communist destructive devilries, our practice of democratic rule with enjoyment of liberty against the Communist totalitarian tyranny and slavery, and our counter-attack position against the Communist defensive. As we stand on the right side, we also are taking up the successful position. And so in the strategic warfare there should be no question for us to defeat our enemy.

Two Ways to Carry out Our Strategy

In the implementation of our strategy henceforth, there are at least two ways open for adoption. One is pit directly against the Chu-Mao gang and the other covering the entire group of the mainland people. The former is to be carried out on the "tit for tat" principle.

In his lecture on "The Basic Problem Concerning Disposal of Communist Ideology and Tactics," President Chiang definitely pointed out: "In our struggle against the Chinese Reds, no matter whether it is in military, political or social field, regardless of whatever time and space, we must never entertain the illusion of getting compromise and cooperation with them." It is stark clear that all Communists are inhuman as abounding only of bestiality and servility. Just like treating treacherous animals, we cannot deal with the Chinese Reds by use of regular sentiment or common sense to pass judgment on their motives and actions, in any hope for turning to the better through peace talks, etc.

Meanwhile, there is the absolute necessity in always strengthening and widening our anti-Communist organizations to cope with the world-wide set-up of Red cells with their headquarters in Moscow, and their activities, either covert or overt. One effectual way to deal them a critical blow is by use of the "techniques of materialistic dialectics" as a measure of counter-attack. Such is what the Chinese proverb had said as a paradox: "It might be feasible to use one's 'sharpest spear' to attack his own 'hardest shield.'" Only by thus maneuvering may we hope

to plunge the Communist contradictions against their own contradictions, with reciprocal denials of them all till the end comes to their quantum theory in dialectics. Only by such an operation may we hope to thoroughly defeat the treacherous ways and means of materialistic dialectics on which all of the Communist sophistries and actions are based. And it is imperative that only by so doing we might be able to stem out the international Red Peril in order to attain permanent world peace with justice. This is the highest guiding principle in our strategic warfare against the Chinese Communists.

In the second phase concerning our war to win over the Chinese people on the mainland, we must base our actions on sincerity without "much ado" as the best technique. Since the Chu-Mao gang had lured the masses into its trap with sugar-coated pills which are the worst tyrannical crimes ever committed in Chinese history, such diabolical plots could not forever fool the people without being exposed and defeated. In our fight for the hearty support of the mainland people and so for victory over the Chinese Reds, we must resort to the application of sincerity in our policy to defeat the enemy's falsehood and chicanery. As the Three People's Principles and our political platforms, together with our national reconstructive programs, are all shaped in the interests of our country and our people as a whole, all the governing machines under the National Government of the Republic of China practically have no need of utilizing any stratagem to cheat the people into submission. What they should do to win over the people's allegiance is to clearly explain to them

the national revolutionary cause and to carry out the political programs accordingly to the fullest extent possible.

II. A Comparative Study on Ideological Tactics, with the Ways and Means to Defeat the Enemy

In the field of ideological conflict, it is apparent that there are separating walls of different origins. In our attempt to defeat the enemy in this regard, we must single out the weak points in their ideology, smite their faith and destroy its system and so to wipe it out for good. Meanwhile, we should also appreciate those strong points in our own ideology, consolidate the people's faith in it, and set up our ideological system so as to create the invincible force of the people through their faith in it in order to deal a decisive blow upon the enemy. Following is a comparative study in this respect.

First, as viewed from the motive in the ideological formation, it is a case of love versus hatred. The starting point of all speeches and actions of the National Government is love of mankind, whereas that of the Chinese and Russian Reds is hatred. The crystallization of our ideology is the "Three People's Principles," which exactly is based upon the magnanimous love of all human beings. In the Sixth Lecture on "Nationalism" Dr. Sun Yat-sen had said: The ancients applied the principle of love to government, saying, "Love the people as your children," and, "Be kind to all the people and love all creatures." The theory of universal love was used to embrace all duties, from which we can see how well they put kindness and love into effect.

From this passage we can clearly deduce how well has Dr. Sun emphasized the virtue of universal love. In response to the enquiry of a Russian on the motive of the Chinese revolution, Dr. Sun uprightly expressed that it is for the love of mankind. On the other hand, what the Russian revolution so called has undoubtedly been derived from hatred—at least against certain groups or classes of the people.

By expansion of our virtue of love, the Nationalism of Dr. Sun has its origin rooting in the love of our country and our nation including the oppressed minorities among the people; his Democracy, in the love for all the people including those politically oppressed in their former status; and his Principle of People's Livelihood, in the love for the society in general including any one or group of individuals denied the right of economic equality or freedom of legitimate pursuits. As the principle of universal love prevails all over the *San Min Chu I*, the Republic of China is thereby derived from and bounded upon such virtue of kindness and love.

On the other hand, the Russian and Chinese Communists have the fire of hatred always burning within and all around them. For instance, they advocate the abolition of state because they hate it as a tool for exploitation of certain classes of the people by the ruling class. They advocate also abolition of the capitalist class because they hate it as the exploiting class against the proletariat. They even propose to obliterate the agricultural class, because they hate it when considering it as a backward class. With the evil sentiment inherent in their political

conception and activities, they have strongly advocated the practice of class struggle, liquidation, massacre and international invasion. Their brutal ideology derived from hatred eventually will be defeated by the democratic force based on humanitarianism.

Next, in the study of the ultimate objective of ideologies, there is the opposite stand of mankind versus matter. As it is plain that in view of our attitude toward the world, either past or present, we have championed the importance of mankind and treated it as the center of all worldly affairs or matters. On the contrary, the enemy has laid his emphasis on matters. And so in contrasts, we have in ontology the theory of unity of spirit and matter against the Communist dialectical materialism; in regard to chronology we have the theory of people's livelihood as the central problem of history against the enemy's historical materialism; and then in respect of methodology, we firmly advocate the doctrine of cooperation against the enemy's class struggle with its unlimited craze for world-conquest.

The humanism related above actually is a necessity of the society in general. Since man is the master of the universe and the foundation of human world, all the matters on the earth and in the outer space must be subjected to the interests of human beings. In the first section, Chapter V, of "The Fundamentals of Anti-Communist, Resist-Russia Measures," President Chiang has thus remarked:

Mankind forms one essential part of the universe. Since the life of common animals is passively subjected to the control of natural laws, the life of human

beings, though on the one hand subjected to the regulation of the laws of nature, must be capable of conquering the nature and changing the natural environments by use of the laws of nature. When the common animals are ignorant of problems concerning their struggle for survival, mankind is on the contrary seeking ways and means to solve such problems. And so being classified as the intelligent mankind, we must survey the universe from the standpoint as such and to study and solve or resolve many problems related to our own survival and welfare.

President Chiang has thus reaffirmed his viewpoint that man should master the use of all matters in contrast with the illusion of dialectical materialism. He also said: "History marks the journey of mankind while the universe is merely a theater of human beings." Such theme exactly is attributable to the viewpoint of humanism.

The origin of Communist ideology is derived from the dialectical materialism of Marx and Lenin. Having totally denied the value of human nature, it has tried hard to destroy the sunny side of human nature. By retreating to the primitive fetishism, the Marxist followers mistake the world as constituted entirely by substantial matters with their forces reigning supreme. What they call "matter" may be varied in interpretation. Lenin had thus explained: "Matter exists beyond the realm of our conception, because, as independently subsisting, it attracts our sensitivity and so it appears as reflection of our sensation to the surroundings." By such a distortion, they have crammed into the term of "matter" practically all things in the natural

environment as well as in the human society including the man itself and part of the spiritual phase. Marx had earlier said: "Our conception and thinking (no matter whether they are superposing our sensibility or otherwise) are nothing but the production of our brains and sensitive organs in the material realm. In other words, matter is not the product of spirit, whereas spirit itself is the superb production of matters." By such a perversion, the Communists treat man merely as a type of matter with his spirit also submerged in it. And so they consider that by use of sheer material force it is possible to forge the human nature into premeditated shapes; and so, by use of material temptations, to deflect or disintegrate the human nature. If mankind is doomed to be enslaved by material force like a robot, what sort of a world is it?

Further, as viewed through the methodology of our ideological formation, there is the theory of cooperation against that of the enemy's struggle. The term "cooperation" as used here is derived from Dr. Sun's theme of "harmony" in human activities. In our thinking processes, the keynote is laid on dualism, with two opposite poles of any sort or two opposite sexes as of human beings destined to be mutually supplementary for existence. It is imperative that their activities, no matter how differential in shape, must tend to get harmonious through coordination or cooperation. Dr. Sun's "Principle of People's Livelihood" has in its Lecture One thus emphasized:

"Human Society makes progress, then, through the adjustment of major economic interests rather than the clash of interests. If most of the economic interests

in society can be harmonized, the majority of people will benefit and the society will progress. The reason why we want to make these adjustments is simply because of the living problem. From ancient times up to the present, man has had to exerted his energies in order to maintain his existence. And mankind's struggle for continuous existence has been the reason for society's unceasing development. This is the law of social progress."

The aforesaid law of social progress as stressed by Dr. Sun is rightly induced through the thinking process from the standpoint of necessary harmonization and cooperation of human activities. Such a process may also be called the way of social physiologist.

On the other hand, the Communist methodology in this respect is diametrically opposite to ours. Their materialistic dialectics plays up contradictions in society and stresses the opposition as irreconcilable, with its ending ultimately set in negation instead of desirable synthesis. Such is the pathologist view of social progress which is, however, liable to get stopped in social ruin. Basing upon this view to treat social problems, they then strongly advocate the necessity of "fighting them out," with the process of class struggle adopted as the primary way to solve all social problems. Such way actually is shaped through the use of far-fetched reasoning processes.

In the same passage of Dr. Sun, it is related that:

Class war is not the cause of social progress; it is a disease developed in the course of social progress. The cause of this disease is the inability (of certain

individuals or group of individuals) to subsist, and the result of the disease is war. What Marx gained through his studies of social problems was a knowledge of diseases in the course of social progress. Therefore, Marx can only be called a social pathologist; we cannot say that he is a social physiologist.

Since Marx can see only the dark side of social progress, it is obvious that his method in the study of social problems has been erroneous. While he ventured also in proposing class war to solve such problems, he had committed another blunder in his reasoning.

In summing up, our ideological war against the Chinese Communists must be waged as in principle by the use of love against hatred, the employment of humanism against materialism, the pitting of cooperation as our power against the enemy's bestial force of class struggle; and so this is the war of the Three People's Principles against Communism.

By use of love as the base to consolidate our ideological force, the democratic camp should be able to exert its immense power through harmonious cooperation in order to win over the allegiance of the troops and people shut behind the Bamboo Curtain. Since the enemy has stuck itself in the quagmire of hatred as its command post to direct its ideological operations, the situation has already brought up internal dissensions and grave conflicts which will eventually spell the Communist doom of collapse and perdition.

Meanwhile, as in terms of tactics, by the superb utility of human nature and employment of human wisdom,

we should be able to create and use our material forces to the best extent possible. On the contrary, since the enemy has in his fetishism worshipping trusted his destiny to material determinism, his tyrannical regime shall get rotten and perished following disintegration of the matter. Besides, our cooperative spirit will enable the democratic camp to create and consolidate a revolutionary power so tremendous and formidable as to deal the enemy a fatal blow as soon as the time is ripe.

On the other hand, since the Communists always are wrapped up by the air of mutual jealousy, hate, and war, the incessant power struggle among themselves definitely will lead them on to the suicidal commitment.

Meanwhile, since we can utilize human wisdom through development of human nature, it is possible for us to secure the utility of material forces in our employment. On the other hand, as the enemy trust their destiny to the manipulation of material forces in their worship of modernized fetishism, their tyrannical regime shall also be rotted away following the decaying course of materials.

Furthermore, since the democratic camp stresses the importance of cooperation, we are bound to consolidate our forces and form the invincible revolutionary power by coordination to deal the enemy a fatal blow; on the contrary, the enemy in their emphasis on the theory of power struggle shall collapse through reciprocal retaliation among themselves. It is predictable that we might eventually secure the final victory of our anti-Communist war. Nevertheless, in our prospect to quicken the course of such a victory, we must exert our efforts in ideological war as stated below:

1. Strengthening Our Ideological Armament

The so-called "ideological armament" here denotes that on the one hand we must build up our own spiritual defense line, while on the other we must set our ideological weapons capable of attacking the enemy. The former is to keep the enemy's ideological offensive at bay while the latter is necessary in destroying the Communist ideological line.

In regard to our ideological defense, we will have to strengthen it by use of the Three People's Principles, because these doctrines not only meet the need of mankind but also fit in the pattern of world ideological trend. With our faith well set in these principles which as stated above are the orthodox heritage of Chinese thought based on humanism, our ideological defense is invincible in face of the enemy's attack.

Meanwhile, the mainsprings of our ideological weapons are such as the First and Second Lectures of Dr. Sun's Principle of People's Livelihood in his criticism of Marxism and Leninism, as well as President Chiang's speeches refuting the same in the past thirty odd years. Among them the "Fundamentals of Anti-Communist and Resist-Russia Measures," "Some Basic Problems in Disposing of the Communist Ideology with the Methods Employed," and the "Soviet Russia in China," are most important. These speeches may well be called the atom bombs in our ideological arsenal.

Such weapons as spiritual nuclear bombs may possess

their decisive role if the current cold war is turned hot sooner or later. Every sensible person knows that the United States is in possession of a large quantity of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs with superior devastating power over the Communist bloc despite the bluff of the Kremlin. Should the communist bloc be so foolish or reckless as to plunge itself into atomic warfare against the democratic camp, there is the certainty that the former will be annihilated for good.

However, the totalitarian world under the Russian hegemony has been unusually shrewd in dealing with the Western democracies. It has by use of stalling tactics tried to avoid or to postpone the outbreak of a large-scale hot war against the West. Instead, it utilizes some sort of ideological infiltration to spearhead its crooked devices of division, neutralization and subversion in every nook available throughout the world. Such a tricky Red scheme must be defeated as early as possible. Basing upon the rich experiences accumulated in the anti-Communist war in the past 30 years, President Chiang has in his written works stated above exposed the Communist stratagems in their carrying out of respectively such infiltration, division and subversion plots against the free world, with the sweet song of neutrality and peaceful coexistence, etc., as their open sesame. The Chinese national leader has also pointed out the correct direction in which we must fight against the Communist cold war stratagems. His directives actually are the most modern ideological weapons against Communist aggression.

2. Strategical Operations in Our Ideological War against the Enemy

There is no doubt that our present ideological war against the Chinese Reds must be extended in depth charges. In dealing with the enemy's poisonous thoughts, we must by use of various forms of written or oral languages expose their falsehood and chicanery. One type of the most idealistic operations of our strategy is to nail down some most accurate atrocities of the Chu-Mao gang in contrast with their former sugar-coated lies, and so to expose the tricky operations of the Red dialectical witchcraft. For instance, they had cried out loud championing "workers as the boss of factories," but later what they actually practise is their totalitarian control over both workers and factories, with the severest exploitation of the workers' blood and sweat ever known on the earth. They had also induced peasants to stage the "land reform" by promising land for the peasants' cruel "struggle" against land-owners, but the Communists have soon condemned both the land and houses of the peasants and converted them to be the property of "people's commune," with the entire people treated as slave laborers. They had fooled the industrialist and businessman into "cooperation" by dubbing these enterprisers as "national capitalists," but they soon robbed all such capital goods and transformed all business firms to be joint "public-private concerns" pending "complete nationalization" in the Communist clutch. And since they had shrewdly hoodwinked the elements of so-called "The Democratic League" into conspiracy against the National

Government, on the pretext of setting up the "coalition government," what they have forged is none other than the Communist party dictatorship. These are all most accurate facts. Should we make a list of substantial events at present in contrast with the Communist false promises in the past, all the armed forces and people on the China mainland must be able to realize that they had been fooled most bestially; and then their former faith in the Communist propaganda will be changed most readily.

III. A Comparison of Organizational Operations And the Way to Defeat Our Enemy

In regard to organizational warfare, there are marked distinctions between the two different camps. Our political organization is based upon the natural law as an expression of human nature with all its superior qualities taken into consideration. On the other side, the Communist organization is based upon ruthless pressure like the assembly of birds or animals in pursuit of primitive interests, and so is liable to get collapsed through internal power struggle.

For the purpose of attaining victory over our enemy, we must definitely wield our superior force in the organizational war to crush the enemy on his weak spots so as to secure the absolute, overall victory. A comparison in this field of contest might be related as follows:

First, take the organizational principles for comparison. It is apparent that our political organization, either in war or in peace, is based on physiological principles while

that of the enemy is on mechanical theories. The former is apt to yield inexhaustible powers through the process of continuous development. In his message on "The Principles of Organization and Its Functions," President Chiang has pointed out: "As we are bound to strengthen our internal organization with its superior forces pit against the enemy, it is necessary that we adopt the physiological concept by application of the principles of division of labor, cooperation, balance and coordination, with the constituent elements of our organization getting rid of any friction, relaxation or mutual struggle, and thus devoid of any crack, interruption or disruption."

President Chiang also said: "I am always convinced that the highest form of material organization in the universe is none other than the organic entity of living things, with that of human beings topped the list. For the purpose of keeping abreast with the fight for 'survival of the fittest,' mankind must incessantly improve his organization as to get the best in shape and most in efficacy as possible. Hence the principle of physiological organization is the most reasonable standard of all theories related to material composition." As it is clear that many superior points are discernible in the physiological concept of the human world, the ground rules of the Nationalist Party of China are based upon the physiological principle as aforesaid.

On the other hand, the Communist organization is entirely based on mechanical theories. All that belong to mechanism are as a rule materialistic, stubborn and inanimate. The Communist organizational pattern might

well be called as basing upon the "pathological theory."

In the "Principles of Organization and Its Functions," President Chiang also pointed out: "The Three People's Principles are naturally the most rational doctrines in the world, particularly because the logical patterns embodied in them entirely follow the physiological system as differed from those of Communism submerged in pathology. Hence, the overall organizational activity of the Communist Party sets forth from the premises of contradictions, denials, cataclysms, etc. It treats one healthy person farfetchedly as one having suffered from diseases. When taking a penetrating view over the Communist party organization, its destiny will eventually be ended up in cataclysmic death through the fixed processes of numerous internal contradictions, intramural power struggles, and reciprocal denials or renunciations. In other words, following the dialectic pattern of thought, the Communist elements are bound to find fault with one another, contradict with one another's views and struggle against one another, repeatedly and persistently, even though when there is no need of all such troubles. And so their incessant struggles among themselves ultimately will lead to chaos and cataclysmic collapse."

The above quoted passage has exposed the "pathological" weakness of Communist organization. Its structure will definitely end up in total collapse without retrievability.

Next, let us take another comparison between the line-up of our organization and that of the enemy. Ours is concerned with the whole people, but that of the Communists is class-wise. The former is shaped in the in-

terests of the entire nation while the latter is limited to those of very small fractions of the nation. Judging by the trend of modern democratic politics, the class-wise line is absolutely wrong. Besides, the partial force as could be brought up and used by the latter eventually cannot keep the upper hand over the former. Accordingly, we must always pursue the total people's line. Undoubtedly, the Kuomintang is China's democratic party dedicated to the people's line. As Article III of the "Organic Rules of the Chinese Nationalist Party" has prescribed, "Our Party shall consolidate all those revolutionary youths and patriotic folks who have faith in *San Min Chu I* throughout the country as its constituent elements, jointly struggling in the interests of our nation and so also of the general masses of the people, as strongly opposed to class struggle." Such a prescription has definitely established that our party line is exactly the people's line. Meanwhile, it also has ordained that our goal of struggle is the materialization of interests of the whole nation and the general masses, defining explicitly that the party shall never work for the benefit of only a few or a portion of the people. And so the party line is the people's line in total.

On the contrary, the Communists have been avowedly following the class line because they are dead set in utilising the class struggle as their ways and means to seize political power without any sincerity to win any real or justifiable benefits for the subservient class or subordinate classes. For instance, Soviet Russians had in their so-called "First Stage" of revolution utilized the "proletarians" as their basic force to seize the political power.

and shrewdly rallied up Russian peasants as their reserves, so as to isolate the capitalist class including also liberals and former monarchists. Later in their "Second Stage" of revolution, they still utilized the proletariat as their cat's-paw, with peasants and the proletarians of neighboring countries as their reserves, so as to isolate the bourgeois democrats from the masses. And then in the "Third Stage," they cried out loud for "proletarian dictatorship," but the Russian political power had already been seized by the Communist bigwigs. The so-called "proletariat" secured nothing but the status of slave-laborers under the false label of "national heroes" or "model workers," etc.

The Chinese Chu-Mao gang has inherited the dirty tricks of the Russian Communists, seizing the power on the China mainland by following the same old Soviet party line. Mao Tse-tung and his gang have used such labels as "workers-peasants' Red army," "labors in charge of the household," and "joint dictatorship of various classes of the people," etc., all exactly on the same classwise line of Soviet Russia. Shrewdly they did utilize the class force as tools for usurping the political power. Nevertheless, as soon as the workers and peasants realize their former mistakes and revolt against the Communist dictatorship, the Chu-Mao gang as a minority among the masses of the people will be buried under the class strata in due course of events.

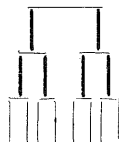
In respect of methods used in the formation of organizations, another comparison might also come to notice. Our method stresses the technique of conglomerating the like mind people for the same purpose, whereas the Communist way emphasizes controlling others by bestial and

brute force. The former is natural in snowballing its elements into a closely knitted ball (Fig. 1) like cells joined in a human body without any rough trace of conjunction. On the contrary, the latter as formulated in layers of control by bestial and brute force, no matter how shrewdly it may have been wrought out (as shown in Fig. 2), is liable to get collapsed when there are clashes or falling out of its parts. Between these two types of organizations, the superiority and the inferiority are easily discernible.

Fig. One



Fig. Two



Regarding the method of our getting conglomerated, Dr. Sun Yat-sen had in his Lecture Six of *Nationalism* given a substantial instruction. He said:

"If we want to restore our national standing, we must first revive our national spirit. As we want to revive our national spirit, we must fulfill two conditions. First, we must understand that we occupy today a most perilous position; and second, knowing our danger, we must utilize China's ancient social groups, as the family and the clan, and consolidate them to form a great national body. When this is accomplished and we have the strength of four hundred million people united to fight, no matter how low our present condition we should be able to lift it up. So, the capability of knowing and getting united together is the essential for reviving our nationalism...." Here the method under discussion of utilizing the

traditional civic bodies of China for further conglomeration is true to the human nature and natural law without the need of coercion. It might also be called the consolidation of the people's organizations through love and affinity without the need of arbitrary force. By use of this method, the Founder of Chinese Republic had first organized the Nationalist Party of China. In the process of such a task, even though confronted by considerable difficulties and frustrations, Dr. Sun had dedicated his untiring efforts to consolidating works along the same method as aforesaid; even when he might at last have to resort to more drastic steps, he would rally up the genuine revolutionary elements in the party for its peaceful re-organization, with a purge devoid of blood-shed due to power struggle.

On the other hand, the Communist method of "regimentation of the people" is the use of violent suppression and control in addition to chicanery. For expediting their control over the people, all Communists have tried to impose their brutal regulations as they are also meant to destroy all civic groups based on human love. They have promoted the "struggle campaign" by inciting and pitting the son against his own father, younger brother against his elder, wife against her husband, etc., so as to demolish the family system of China; they also promoted the struggle of tenant farmers against land-lords, workers against the enterprisers, apprentices against their tutors, etc., so as to split the society into conflicting cliques, with its former stability ruined; they also pitted the inferior official against his superior, the lower organ against its higher-ups, and hoodlums against the former National

Government on the mainland, so as to destroy the independent country, and converted it to be a Russian satellite. Having demolished all traditional systems and organizations, with the biased class-consciousness accentuated and instilled into the minds of the subjugated people, the Communists then tried to impose their brutal control over the fluid or even chaotic state of the people; but, of course, such a control could not last long. Because as a rule the greater the pressure, the stronger will be the resistance; the Communist tyrannical regime could never avoid the eventual destination of collapse. In the internal setup of the Chinese Reds, there also is the ironclad discipline of absolute control, with the brutal force mechanically prevailing in the coercive process. And so in the intramural power struggle in the Russian Communist party, the same as in the Chinese satellite, repeated purges and "rectification campaigns" have plunged its numerous members and even top-level cadres into the abyss of disgrace or death, imminently present or posthumous. Nikita Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi are, respectively, holding the sway of intramural struggle, but they too, like Molotov and Kao Kang, etc., are counting their days or even hours before getting liquidated in turn.

Considering that the Communist organization is capricious and ruthlessly brutal at work, our organizational war against the hoodlum group certainly will achieve the final, absolute victory by following the "physiological principle" and the genuine people's line in the process of conglomeration of the democratic forces, both at home and abroad.

IV. A Comparison of Psychological Operations And the Way to Defeat Our Enemy

In regard to the waging of psychological war, there are absolutely different points between the National Government of China and the Peiping regime. No matter whether they are concerning the attitude in actual conflict, the technique used in tactical maneuvers, or the facts involved in psywar operations, we are located in the positively superior situation as against the enemy's absolutely inferior position.

In the first section of Chapter Three in this book, we have analysed the psywar stratagems of both Soviet Russia and the Peiping regime and exposed them as centering around the use of temptation and intimidation tactics. For the implementation of such tactics, the Communists have been inevitably applying dirty and bestial ways and means to deal with their opponents, both real and potential, together with the common masses under their control. For the purpose of defeating them in the psywar battle ground, the following analytical works are related as in a comparative study.

In regard to the attitude shown in psywar operations, ours is honesty based upon truths. No matter whether it is involved in any earnest appeal or simple information, we have never resort to the use of beautiful lies or rubber cheques. Even if the common people may not be able at first to appreciate our sincerity, they eventually will in the long run honor our words as well as our deeds with

the understanding of our honesty based on truths. In the message of "The Essentials and Methods of Applying Initiative," President Chiang has quoted from Hu Lin-yih's saying to the effect that only by sincerity may we be able to defeat all hypocrisies in the world, and by use of truths to rout all falsehoods. Thereupon, he instructs the Chinese compatriots to appreciate realistically the essence of "arresting the dynamic force by use of static maneuvering" in such fields as military operation, political campaign, and personal moral cultivation, through the practice of "honesty" and "naivete." Here "honesty" and "naivete" are treated as virtues based on "truth."

In the message on "A Study of Techniques for Suppressing the Communist Bandits," President Chiang has said: "It is most urgent for us to make remedies to the weak points in our publicity works. Naturally our information service must be centering around the Three People's Principles, with adequate use of news release and educational techniques on the one hand and factual publicity of military disciplines, social events and political affairs on the other to increase the general morale of both the armed forces and the people and so to strengthen our spiritual power in war!" Here, the principle of developing factual publicity works portrays our genuine attitude in waging the psywar against our enemy.

On the contrary, the Communists have been all along bearing the attitude of employing falsehood toward all persons on all matters. They are experts on telling beautiful lies and issuing rubber cheques. They are used to loading poisons in capsules under sugar-coated covers.

with mealy-mouthed gesture to camouflage their darts at heart. Thus, the common people may be cheated at some time, but would never be fooled in the long run.

Again, in the directory entitled "A Study of Tactics against the Communist Rebellion As Our Top-Ranking Officers Must Apprehend," President Chiang pointed out: "No matter whether it is publicity work or organizational warfare, our armed forces could win the hearty support of the people only when we can present substantial achievements Therefore, we must henceforth show our love and care particularly to the people, especially to meet their needs as promptly as our logistic support can replenish us with all the material supplies. Absolutely we will not follow the Communist way of practising hypocrisy by giving only trivial benefits to the people."

Eventually the Chinese Reds have exposed their dirty hypocrisies, which they had used to lure many credulous soldiers and naive folks into their traps, through their own tyrannical atrocities in the later period. Falsehood could not pass the test of time in the long run.

Concerning the artistic mood in the psywar operation, we have been all along applying esthetic principles to the use of all necessary ways and means in mass communications. What we call "beauty" or "elegance" is not confined to the outward appearance of beauty in the operating tools and techniques. When we design a hand-bill, draw the illustration of a catchword, or print a pamphlet, there is no doubt that a certain standard of elegance be observed for its make-up. Nevertheless, such an artistic requirement should have for its basis the source of esthetical value.

This source consists of the following four factors; namely, that our mind is bright and upright, that our motive is pure and earnest, that our objective is long-wise and proper, and that our conduct is righteous and justifiable. And so with the four essentials jointly at work, the inner beauty in our psywar techniques might well be presented outward in the formalization of its artistic mood. As in daily life we talk about "artistization of warfare" and "artistization of living," so when applied to the psywar operation, the same principle is used by inference.

On the other side, the Communists are inherently denied the use of artistry in this field. Because their character is ugly, their mind dark and their means treacherous, what they have been employing in psywar techniques is none other than camouflage and distortion as to carry out their tactics of temptation or coercion, or both. For the purpose of carrying out the former, they perform such ugly gestures as flippancy of tongues well versed in telling lies, coupled with all sorts of fawning and false smiles; and then alternatively for the purpose of executing the latter, they would never hesitate in switching their actions or threats to commit struggles, liquidations, tortures and even massacre. Due to the fact that their countenance is terrible, actions savage and attempts dirty, all they utter and act are ugly to the bone. Even though their masks may be gentle and lies so sweet, they cannot cover up the ugly substance. As soon as their masks are ripped apart and lies or bluffs detected, what they may have achieved by chance in the psywar operation will eventually be null and void.

In regard to the substantial support of the psywar operation, we have for its back-ground the happy society and progressive livelihood. Taiwan as the bastion for our national reconstruction has been in the process of building up as a model province of China in accordance with the Three People's Principles for aggrandizement of the welfare of the entire people, both at home and abroad. Since the adoption and practice of the Labor Insurance System by the Government, our workers have been enjoying comfortable and content life; ever since the implementation of the "Land-to-the-Tiller" policy, all peasants alike have their own farms, with prosperity accruing day by day; in response to the economic development programs for cherishing private enterprises and encouraging investments, the industrial and all other business circles have been getting prosperous, with almost all blessings attainable through a planned economy; and, in the mean time, under the enlightening guidance of the government, educational and cultural institutions of all levels have been taking strides in the accelerated improvement of their programs and equipment, with the youths of different ages well fed and well cultivated, physically, morally as well as mentally. Although both the common folks and the armed forces on Taiwan, in ardent preparation for fighting back to the mainland, have pledged ourselves to lead the war-time austerity of daily life, our standard of living, by comparison with that of those people behind the Bamboo Curtain, may be so exalted as "the sky is separated from the earth." By use of all such facts as the subject matter in our psywar operations, we have the incomparable, con-

vincing power over the people and armed forces on the China mainland.

On the other hand, we can well apprehend how terribly painful is the people's life on the mainland under the Communist reign by terror. Since the Peiping regime has had confiscated all factories, big or small, through the witchcraft of "joint management by public and private enterprisers," it has thus turned all workers to be slave-laborers whose residual blood and sweat are subjected to further squeezed by Red cadres through their tricky agitations goading the laborers to exertion for "election of model workers" and "grappling the Red flag," etc. Their life is worse than that of an ox or horse under the relentless whip. As for the peasants who had at first enjoyed the possession of certain ration of land through the Communist "land reform" have nonetheless been plunged into the abyss of serfdom as their lands were soon condemned by the Communist regime through the implementation of such sweet-named policies as "agricultural productivity cooperatives" and "people's commune." The farmers are each compelled to work chalking up to 10 "labor units" everyday; otherwise, none of them can get the food ration. And then, even the Red armed men as in the former privileged class are subjected to exploitation by the Peiping regime. By imposition of such regulations as "The Revised Supply Standard of Daily Necessities for the Servicemen," it has not only cut down their rations but also imposed upon them the forced buying of "government bonds" or other "saving schemes." The supply of food and clothing for Red servicemen is quite a problem.

And so the shortage of food, clothing, housing and transportation for Red servicemen also is getting serious. And so the shortage of food, clothing, housing and transportation for the people behind the Bamboo Curtain has been a terrible headache for all of them. Under such a circumstance, the Communist psywar operation will be further hamstrung with reference to its supporting grounds in reality.

In summing up, our psywar operation against that of the Chinese Reds is one with truth against falsehood, esthetics against ugliness, just as one backed up by social bliss against that saturated with pains and terror of the people. Time is on our side. The longer the Communist reign of terror may by chance last, the more will be the exposure of psychical weak spots of the common folks and servicemen on the mainland. The foremost objective of our psywar operations henceforth will be one aimed at hitting the enemy's weak spots in the psychical realm, ruining the enemy's morale, and reducing their fighting strength, so as to facilitate the military counter-offensive of the Republic of China.

Meanwhile, the mission of our psychological warfare may be henceforth divided into two phases: In the defensive respect, it is necessary to build up the conviction of our armed forces to the effect that we are "ever victorious in war and irresistible in attacking." We should analyse those factors with which the enemy will inevitably be defeated and collapsed, so as to strengthen the aforesaid conviction of our servicemen. In addition, we must incessantly reinforce our own psychological defense by constantly bringing up the military morale and stabilizing

the people's mind.

Meanwhile, in the psychological offensive it is necessary to exploit the realistic discontent of the Red servicemen and common masses on the mainland in order to incite them to take up an allout anti-Communist movement. We must advise their officers and men to cast suspicions against their own leaders, with doubts on their military equipment. It is, after all, necessary to win over the heart and mind of the Red servicemen and the people in order to reach the goal of "securing their hearts before actually rounding them up in person, and possessing the people in fact before conquering the land."

Besides, we shall act through the adroit application of our diplomatic skills and international publicity works so as to strengthen our friendly allegiance and support in the world-wide political war front on the one hand; and to reduce the enemy's force, isolate their position, and thus expedite our counter-offensive on the other.

The aforesaid measures are indispensable as the ways and means to defeat our enemy in the psywar battle field.

V. A Comparison of Intelligence Operations with Ways and Means to Defeat the Enemy

President Chiang, when giving a lecture at the Yang Ming Shan Institute on April 2, 1950, had candidly pointed out: As we are anxious to defeat the Communist aggressors, the first condition we need is to outstrip them in intelligence operations. Thereupon, we must in the

defensive aspect strengthen at the outset our own security measures, at least to guard against leakage of our military situations; and then in the positive aspect, we must develop our espionage network on the China mainland and thus penetrate into the Red inner circle, together with other organizations, in order to probe and gather their secrets. Thus, we could prevent the enemy from detecting our classified matters while keeping their pulse under our thumbs." This guidance has practically pointed out the way to defeat the enemy in the intelligence strife.

The Chu-Mao gang has long been notorious for their shrewdness in manipulation of espionage tricks. Due to their utter cruelty and treachery in suppression of the people and armed forces under their control, they are liable to keep military secrets air-tight with many other situations shut behind the Iron Curtain. And so we must take great pains in collecting and sifting what our agents could have gleaned through loopholes behind the Iron Curtain.

Meanwhile, we must of course incessantly strengthen our security measures so as to keep the enemy from worming their ways or poking their feelers into our secrets. Therefore, our intelligence war against the Communists usually is very complicated and burdensome.

Both the Chinese Communists and Soviet Russians in the intelligence war have their strategy and tactics identical to their military intrigues. Their strategical principles and tactical patterns are all derived from deduction of "materialistic dialectics." Shrewdly they often play games with apparent retreat in order to making later thrusts. They usually camouflage, put up smokescreens,

and make feint attacks.

With reference to his ample and bitter experiences, President Chiang has also warned the democratic world in these words: "The Communist struggle for supremacy is based on certain policies which are, however, flexible as to meet the varied situations of their opponents. In the field of political war and intelligence war, they usually adopt the stratagem of playing false retreat by one step, or even a large-scale pull-out, simply for the purpose to gain two or more steps forward. If necessary, they might even feign surrender to us, with verbal attacks against their own party and many other bestial tricks to win our confidence in them. Some of them may keep dormancy in our organizations for a period of three or five or even more than ten to twenty years, waiting for the ripe moment to thrust out their ugly heads. For the purpose of gaining their aims, they may endure any sort of difficulties. Their outward loyalty to us serves only as some sort of smokescreen under which they inflict upon us many critical damages. Hence, any one who has to deal with the Communists either behind or beyond the Iron Curtain must particularly be aware of the stratagem of both sides." By such guidance we can readily apprehend that the Communist stratagem in intelligence warfare exactly is another phase of their military strategy.

In addition to the treachery of their strategy, the Communists also take great pains in manipulating their tactical movements. In this regard, President Chiang also has candidly observed: "The Chinese Communists learned their intelligence techniques from Soviet Russians. The

Russian specialty took its roots in the Czarist regime. Lenin overthrew the Czar, and yet he also followed the espionage tactics handed down by the Czar. He set up the "GPU" secret police to keep the vast, chiefly ignorant Russian masses under his thumb. Hence, the intelligence techniques of the Chinese Reds might be dated back as from the source, as having a history of more than one hundred years. When in 1924 the Chinese Reds infiltrated into the Nationalist Party by falsely pledging their loyalty, Soviet Russians had already taught them the crook intrigue of penetration and subversion in the intelligence field. Since then we have been waging the relentless intelligence war against the Red invaders till we suffered the serious defeat in 1949. Only by then most of our military and political staff members had come to realize that our intelligence techniques lagged far behind those of the Communists, and that thenceforth we must start anew our intelligence works."

Virtually, the techniques stated above are tactics in the intelligence warfare. Those employed by the Chinese Reds definitely were handed over by their master spies in Moscow. No matter how treacherous and diabolic as they are, we still have ways and means to vanquish them. Such measures may be briefly stated as follows:

First, in regard to the intelligence personnel, we have the superiority in the application of scientific administration against the Communist traditional, under-world gangsterism. The standards for the recruitment of our intelligence agents are:

- (1) Excellent elements in the masses of people,

- (2) Socialites endowed with superb ability,
- (3) Experts in certain lines of scientific skill, or
- (4) Distinguished college or military school graduates.

In view of such standards, we have placed high hopes in the selection of intelligence agents who are, nonetheless, subject to special trainings for perfection of their knowledge and skill.

In the training course named "The Mission and the Outline of Intelligence Works" President Chiang has pointed out: "The success of intelligence works depends upon not only trainings but also genius. Good trainings might show the way to learn principles, but the trainees must exert their own initiative by use of genius when following the principles. Only by thus may they promote their career with their works bringing up to effectual ends. Generally speaking, intelligence works are most difficult as involving great risks, often with the workers' life at stake. But if one is endowed with the firm revolutionary spirit, the more danger he may have encountered the better he would be able to exert his genius which might have been denied by the platitude of everyday life."

In case our intelligence work could attract the participation of numerous specialists, scholars and geniuses, we can certainly uplift its efficiency through the wielding of intellectual forces. The intelligence work of the United States, Britain, etc., has been closely following such an academic and scientific line for development, with their specialists and scholars taking pride in joining in such a combined war of nerves and cloak and dagger. And so they gladly contribute their knowledge and skill as to keep

such works pushing ahead both in width and depth.

On the contrary, the Chinese Communists have been accustomed to using hoodlums in their intelligence operations. By employing numerous rascals for espionage, their ways and means are replete with treachery and savagery true to the under-world practice. As, for example, Ku Shun-chang, who in 1927 made himself notorious under camouflage as a magician on the Bubbling Well Road in Shanghai, was a big rascal in the Communist fold. He gathered around him various types of hoodlums under the pretext as being his disciples and sent them out to terrorize the society by blackmailing, kidnapping, and frantic assassination to go along with their Communist way of espionage and terrorism. By and by, he expanded his networks in various cities throughout the country, intensifying their gruesome espionage works in coordination with the Communist ruthless campaign of liquidation, struggle, and slaughter. And so in the Red gangsterism, hoodlums in different localities were rallied around its banner for infiltration and subversion as to put the victimized communities under their control, with blackmail and even open extortions to raise funds for their under-world activities. Most recently, they also extend such devilish networks abroad. In addition to their traditional practise, the puppet Peiping regime has also engaged in such nefariously big trades as smuggling, counterfeiting—especially of American banknotes, narcotics trafficking, etc., in world-wide scale to finance their espionage, propaganda, infiltration and subversion campaign in foreign countries.

It is virtually predictable that as soon as our intel-

ligence and counter-espionage works follow the scientific development in cooperation with those of other democratic nations, we could definitely defeat the Communist gangsterism in this field both at home and abroad.

In regard to the efficiency in intelligence-gathering, we are gaining momentum because of pitting our democratic strength against the Communist brute force, with more and more friends coming to join our rank. And numerous people, regardless of trade, sex or age, who have suffered from the Communists' persecution and terrorism on the China mainland, eventually will make themselves available as members of our intelligence teams. Thus, our strength will be greatly increased through the vast team-work while in proportion the Red force will be mortally thwarted. Once we could break up the Communist brutish control over the people on the mainland, even just a part of it, all those freedom-fighters behind the Iron Curtain would defect to our side in the joint anti-Communist counter-attack. And so we will gain both democratic strength and numerical strength against the Chu-Mao gang.

In regard to the methods engaged in the intelligence warfare, we are using scientific techniques against the Communist witchcraft. In the past some twenty years, the Chu-Mao gang had its diabolical intelligence plots carried out through a series of acts. It consists of "brain-washing or paralyzing," disguise in appearance, strict control through unit organization, and psychical threat by use of brute force, etc. Most Red cadres are just like wicked sorcerers in smart dresses. They play hypnotism to make their victims puzzled, mystified or frenzied, yet

being docilely led by the nose, with sweet carrots dangling ahead and brutish whips rattling behind. There should be no doubt that many of them are jumping and howling around like madmen. Hence, it is established that the Communist espionage system has been built up through the use of witchcraft—occasionally coupled also with dirty sex traps. It looks terribly ugly, especially the ways and means they employ may be extremely diabolical. However, by careful examination we could definitely discover its weak spots which, just as the tricks of magicians, if once exposed, might not be worth a straw.

Due to the progress of modern age, the intelligence work has been proceeding into its scientific realm. Just as psychology that had formerly been treated as a mysterious subject of study, it was later stripped of its mystery as soon as it was turned into being a science. Most of the modern democratic countries have adopted scientific techniques in carrying out intelligence measures with marvelous results ensued or insurable. By use of radar, sonar, and electronic apparatus, etc., most of the detective works probing enemy's situation are thus greatly facilitated by scientific methods. The continuous improvement of them may unquestionably defeat the Communist witchcraft in this regard.

In summing up, it is predictable that the Republic of China might soon turn the table on the Communists in the field of intelligence operations since we have been following the line of academic pursuit against the enemy's gangsterism, rallying the massive support of the people against the enemy's deteriorating position, and employing scientific methods against the enemy's witchcraft.

VI. A Comparative Study of People's Warfare with Ways and Means to Defeat the Enemy

The objective of mass or people's warfare may best be explained in two phases. On the one hand, there is the need of consolidating the psychological trend of our own people and strengthening our popular organization so as to develop its potential power in the decisive war against our enemy for securing the final victory. On the other hand, there is simultaneously the need of winning over the heart of the people under the Communist control and disintegrating their social organization so as to facilitate our military counter-attack.

As Mencius had said: "Natural climate, regardless of how favorable, is inferior to topographical advantage during a war; and the latter, in turn, is inferior to harmonious coordination of the personnel involved." Here the coordination of the personnel in question means the well-formed cooperation between our armed forces and the common people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The power thus generated from such a harmonious coordination would be more reliable in war than any sort of climate and topographical advantage. By this illustration it is apparent that the mass force is very important in and around the battleground.

Prior to the shutting of the China mainland behind the Iron Curtain, Mao Tse-tung and company were well versed in exploiting the mass force of some credulous groups of the people. Hypocritically they rendered petit

favours and frivolous benefits to hoodwink naive persons and trap greedy ones. When hooked up or entrapped, those victims were led by the nose as Communist tools for the seizure of political power or, worse still, as cannon folders in the Red military venture. The loss of China mainland to the Communist occupation might, of course, be attributed to various factors, but one of them definitely was the undermining of such basic ground as the support of certain groups of the people. But now, as most of the mainland people are disillusioned after 13 years of the Communist reign by terror, they are bound to stage mass revolt against the Peiping regime. Time is ripe for the Republic of China to win over the mainland people in the current mass warfare with absolute victory well at hand. A critical analysis of the merits and demerits involved may be presented as follows:

In regard to treatment of the mainland people, we look upon them as a congenial entity, but the Communists exploit them as mere tools or slaves. They are in total our compatriots without any class difference or political discrimination. In his lectures on "Democracy," Dr. Sun Yat-sen had earlier pointed out, "Since the revolution of 1911 China has set up a democratic government, with the entire people holding the helm of the statecraft; and so the present politics might rightly be called the government by all of the people." He also said, "According to the theory of popular sovereignty, the four hundred million Chinese people shall be king as 'master of the nation'..." By inference we might readily comprehend that what we call the mass is the entire people that form the real

master of the country.

Later, in his lecture "Know the Age—the So-called Science and People's Age," President Chiang also remarked: "The present age is quite different from the previous in that the contest between various nations is being carried on not by a fraction of power of each of them, but by the all-out strength on each side of the entire people. And so the success or failure and progress or degress of any and all state affairs hinge on whether we can increase our people's strength and make use of it to the fullest extent possible, and, whether we can meet the need of the people in order to rally the supporting force of the masses. The modern age is not one for monopoly of knowledge or of financial capability; nor is it for satisfaction of the desire of a minority of the people as in the feudalism era; nor is it for a few heroes to fight alone to get success of the national task; then it is the age in which the people's wisdom or stupidity, strength or weakness, prosperity or depression, benefit or damage, in their totality shall determine the national destiny in its course of development, respectively. In other words, the current revolutionary task must be a fight for the people's cause, with the all-out participation of the masses——nothing should be separated from the proper position as of the people, by the people and for the people." Here the term "all-out strength of the people" or "actual force of the masses" emphasizes the totality of people concerned, not just a certain part or a certain class of it. And so the concept that national revolutionary task must be undertaken for the benefit of the whole people signifies the masses as

masters of the nation.

On the contrary, the term "people" as in the Chinese Communist hackneyed slogan means, strictly speaking, virtually not the common masses but those instigated elements in the proletarian class. Although the Mao regime had enlisted peasants as its reserve armed force, such a portion of the people could not represent the whole of the people. It had also stirred up workers and drafted farmers into service simply by treating them as tools for the use of seizing political powers. But soon after the Chu-Mao gang had snatched the political power over the mainland, these tools were degraded with their privileges deprived, and turned to be slave laborers of a few Communist bigwigs. Should those slave laborers be awakened up to the reality that besides being employed as tools they are liable to be cannon fodders in the Communist military ventures, they would revolt as masses against the Mao regime.

In the sense of mass movement, we treat it as an effort to serve the people for their own good. Dr. Sun had exhorted his followers to the effect that "Our mission is set for purpose of serving others, not of robbing others." Likewise, President Chiang also said, "Revolution denotes the necessity of exerting efforts in actual practice..... And revolution aims at rendering services to the people." By inference, the promotion of any mass movement must be dedicated to welfare of the people.

With reference to the actual condition in Taiwan, the "Land-to-the-Tiller" drive is one to serve the peasants, the Labor Insurance to serve the laborers, and the Youth

National Salvation Corps also is to serve the youths from different walks of life. On May 19, 1954, the Ministry of Interior promulgated the "Regulations Governing the Operation of Social Service" with such items to be carried out as: (1) cultural services including adult education, public library provision, musical and physical recreation, public lecture and discussion, athletic contest and literary exhibition, publication of periodicals, and distribution of newspapers etc.; (2) personnel services consisting of guidance for entrance examinations and vocational assistance, guidance for tourist sight-seeing, letter-reading and writing for the illiterate, information rendering, agency for purchasing or selling, mediation on disputes, and provision of public telephone booths, etc.; (3) daily living services embracing promotion of the New Life Movement, social mess hall, public clinic, handicraft training and employment, nursery for babies, epidemic-preventing and midwifery, custom reforming, health advice and public sanitation, mental-physical recreation, and moral guidance, etc.; (4) economic services such as cooperative management, agricultural instruction, rural industry development, small loan service, transportation of merchandise, agency for rents collection or payment, economic survey, etc. All those social service undertakings listed above are getting developed and expanded far and wide from cities and towns into rural districts, mountainous areas, and coastal fishery villages. With the progress of their promotion kept incessantly forward, the social welfare of the people might be greatly increased as to proceed into an ideal society of Great Harmony or Universal Happiness.

On the contrary, the objective of the Communists-dominated mass movement is exactly diametrically opposed to that of ours as stated above. Theirs is meant for exploitation of the people's blood and sweat to promote the Red devilish ends. They had earlier started in cities what they dubbed "people's reform" campaign which was aimed at depriving the industrial and commercial circles of their capitals; while in rural areas, their "land reform" campaign also aimed at depriving land-owners of their property rights. Recently, their so-called "grasping Red flag" drive in factories and mines is aimed at exploiting the remnant blood and sweat of laborers; their "great leap forward" movement, etc., squeezing the last drop of farmers' blood and sweat. Besides, their "three-turn against" drive and "five-turn against" campaign, "shock brigade," "night battle," "rectification reform," and "backyard blast furnace" drives had been successively, and sometimes also in overlapping intensity, squeezing the blood and sweat of the mainland people. Will the people endure, mentally and physically, for long all the hardships imposed on them by such types of "mass movement"? Certainly not, despite it is loaded with diabolical exploitations and iron grips over the people's property and life, etc.

In regard to the manners by which the masses are guided to join in any movement, the Republic of China has always been using the attitude of fraternal sincerity and congeniality. By treating the masses from different walks of life as kinsfolk in a family, there is no need for the social or government leaders to use sweet words to win the people's heart or hypocritical gestures and

petit favors to induce them. The public leadership is thus always managed through the channel of congeniality. As an old saying goes, "The penetration of sincerity might even break up the hardness as of metal and stone." Only by use of sincerity in the leadership role among the masses, may the people eventually line up with the government in the fighting for realization of our common cause.

On the contrary, the Communist leadership over the people is from beginning to end merged in trickeries. In a short moment cheating coupled by threats may have been more effective than sincerity; but in the long run it might definitely be exposed of its dirty tricks and resisted by the people.

In the past when on the mainland, we may have neglected to some extent the waging of the mass warfare, and so numerous groups of the people were fooled and trapped by the Communists. But now as the mainland people have had suffered enough of the Red trickeries, the so-called "united front," "three Red flags" and various other mass movement tricks have eventually come to an end.

Henceforth, in the waging of mass warfare what the Government and civic groups need to win the ultimate victory over the enemy simply is the consistent application of our traditional ways and means, with the people treated as the sovereign body of the country while the Government always is dedicated to the service and welfare of the people, leading them through such service in sincerity and congeniality.

In summing up, it is apparent that in the compara-

tive study of political warfare as waged between the opposing camps, as stated above, there are various marked differences. As these different points are drawn from our inductive study based on facts, this concluding remark might on the one hand cogently refute some ill-conceived criticism that our techniques in political warfare were "modelling on the pattern of our enemy"; and, on the other hand, clearly point out the practical way to vanquish the enemy. Those who are determined to study political warfare for later application should have the faith in the certainty of our final victory over the enemy.

Chapter Five

Application of Techniques in Political Warfare

I. General Principles for the Application of Polit-War Techniques

In the third section of Chapter One in this treatise, the importance of political warfare has been expounded theoretically as well as factually in considerable length. Chapter Two is entirely devoted to detailed exposure of the Russian and the Chinese Communists' aggression and rebellion, respectively, through the application of polit-war techniques. And Chapter Three has made further analysis of the actual conditions in which the relentless conflict has been kept on waging between the Republic of China and the puppet Peiping regime.

Most recently, Soviet Russia and its stooges have further stepped up their aggressive war in alternative cold and hot patterns, or both, against the democratic camp. Meanwhile, since the United States set up on September 15, 1961, a Political Warfare Committee in her State Department as a planning board to map out psywar and polit-war strategies, the Washington government has been carrying on such a strenuous yet defensive war against

international communism through the specialized organ for its technical operation.

Under the enlightened leadership of President Chiang, the Republic of China has at the earliest stage uncovered the political intrigues of the Communist bloc, together with apprehension of the important meaning of political warfare. However, in the implementation of stratagems in this regard, we had been lagged behind in the sense of thoroughness or consistency. Therefore, there is the need of making effectual remedies through application of substantial measures. In this regard, there are at least two formulas pending discussion: one in general and the other in particular cases.

First, concerning the application of polit-war techniques, the process must be set comprehensively upon the coordination of all such factors related to ideology, stratagem, organization, psychology, intelligence and mass movement. And then in its actual implementation there are such lines as pertaining to strategy, tactics, and pacification to be observed. They are stated as follows:

1. The Strategical Application Political warfare in its strategical implementation deals with the overall strategy of the nation as one of its integral parts. And so its execution must be coordinated with the overall strategy. The gist for such coordination must be referred to the national objective, national policy and political programs, with the domestic and foreign situations and international events also taken into consideration. For instance, President Chiang's Double Tenth Message of 1957 had promised the enjoyment of Six Freedoms and Three Guarantees

to the people and armed forces on the China mainland. And then in the third section of Chapter Three, Part III of "Soviet Russia in China," he also advocates the advisability of stirring up the nationalistic movement of all Asian peoples to fight for independence and freedom, particularly that of stirring up the anti-Communist revolutionary campaign behind the Iron Curtain in conjunction with the former, so as to substitute a local war in East Asia for a global war and to fight a limited war with conventional weapons instead of a holocaust war with thermonuclear weapons. Such a Far Eastern war of national revolution against Communist aggression points a way to the defeat of the Soviet bloc and to the lifting of the Iron Curtain without a world-wide conflict. This can be achieved even without the direct involvement of Western democracies. Such a formula depicts some phases of the strategical application of China's political warfare at its current stage.

2. The Tactical Application The target of polit-war in its tactical maneuvering is the enemy's armed forces and the people in the war zone, together with its surroundings. All actions in this phase are directed toward supporting the military operation. In the sense of space, they have to deal with some specific sphere; and in time, to deal with separate stages. For instance, in a certain district behind the Iron Curtain our objective is the stirring up of people's armed revolt against the Peiping regime. And later in our fighting back to the mainland, we will have to promote in a certain war zone the type of polit-war with military operation for its center of actions.

These are related to the tactical implementation of political stratagems.

3. The Pacifying Application Some sort of appeasing application of political stratagem is to be carried out in the newly recovered district, aiming at induction of true allegiance and close cooperation of the local people as to consolidate our gain on the one hand and to expedite our continued military operations on the other. For example, in our counter-attacking processes we must implement ways and means to appease the people in such recovered areas as giving them food and other necessities of life in conjunction with the executing of political measures to suit the war-time conditions while, on the one hand, making steps to restore the local administrative organs and, on the other, mobilizing the local manpower and material forces to meet the needs of further military operations.

The aforesaid three measures are directed toward the object in the operation of political warfare. As regarding the organization for carrying out such measures, there is the "politburo" in Soviet Russia, whereas in the United States, there has been in recent years the newly established Political Warfare Committee in the State Department. There is yet no fixed plan as to assign such an important job to a certain organ in the Republic of China. The writer is convinced that the Supreme National Defense Council should be entrusted with this task. Whether a bureau or a committee must be set up for the assignment in the defense council is an urgent problem to be solved.

After all, there are two ultimate objectives to be attained through the operation of political warfare; one is

to strengthen our own force and the other is to annihilate the enemy. As to how to reach these goals, some ways and means are discussed in the following sections.

II. The Use of Political Stratagems

Like the armed warfare, the use of political stratagem must be directed toward certain objectives. Its ultimate aim must be on the one hand set upon the formulation of an over-all, coordinated plan of political program and military strategy, through comprehensive and careful consideration, to facilitate the application of national policy in strengthening the national security; while, on the other, set upon alluring the enemy into bewilderment in their overall planning and so making political errors and strategic mistakes, with continued puzzles in action, defeatism in mode and eventual paralysis throughout their body and soul. In the mean time, the operation of our stratagem must be so overwhelming as to perplex the enemy by surprise attacks, to upset them and mislead them into desperate decentralization of their forces in commitment of tactical blunders. All these are to be achieved with the objective of annihilation of the enemy.

For the attainment of the aforesaid goal, there is the need of formulation of separate operational plans in this field as marked by short-term, medium-term, and long-range projects, with which different types of political warfare might be definitely shaped and steadily carried out. Its application consists of the use of such measures as suitably planned concerning the ways and means to put

the enemy's ideology or actions under our close control. Hence, all the related measures must be directed toward the fulfillment of the mission as its focus. Since any military action might be subjected to face varied conditions; with its mission liable to get changed or modified, the task to be performed by use of stratagems must also be flexible to suit the varied circumstances. And so when certain military action is set as the main operation against the enemy, the polit-war maneuvering should be directed to support the military offensive.

The use of stratagem on our side is set against the plots of international Communism, with the Chu-Mao gang as our main target. It is apparent that the overall stratagem of the Chinese Reds virtually is but one part and parcel of the Soviet intrigue bent on world-conquest. Within the framework of such intrigues of international Communism, the Chinese Reds then could have only a little initiative for their scheming. Any sort of ideological difference or tactical deviation as the Mao regime may have practised in appearance is but a passing phase in the maneuvering of the overall Soviet stratagem. Confronting such a gigantic bloc of aggressive plotting, the Republic of China has set upon herself the heavy responsibility to fight for the sake of the entire democratic camp as well as that of her own survival and victory. At the present stage, the task of China's operational stratagem may be itemized as follows:

- 1 Exposure is made for ripping up the basis of the Comintern stratagem as pertaining to the "materialistic dialectics." Basing upon the so-called "theory of synthesis of

contradictions," the Communists emphasize the perpetuity of contradictions as a watchword to promote their intrigue of "divide and conquer." Basing upon their "theory of reciprocal change of quality and quantity," with its inevitability also stressed, they are devoted to the intrigue of infiltration. And basing upon the "theory of negation to the negation," they are used to incite subversion of the proletariat against its own government on the false presentation of proleterian dictatorship as being the logical order of negation to the negation—as negation to the capitalist hegemony.

2. Exposure also is made on the coordinated intrigues of Soviet Russia and Chinese Reds in a series of infiltration, subversion and open revolt against the Republic of China while their stratagem was applied through the intrigue of "peaceful coexistence" as the backbone of their aggression. When defeated in the military field, they begged or pleaded for peace. But as soon as their armed power was built up, they violated peace talks or even agreements and started anew their armed revolt or open invasion. Besides, exactly when they were sitting across the peace conference table, they were busily preparing for the next armed blitzkrieg. This also is what they called the application of dialectics portrayed as "synthesis of contradictions" and "shifting of identical positions."

3. Exposure is made on the Red projected "Neutralism" as but an application of the Comintern tactics in collusion with the fallacy of "peaceful coexistence" while the slogan of "peaceful coexistence" is but a mere smokescreen; their neutralism tactics are the substantial body of their peace

offensive to be followed up by armed invasion. The Chicom's incursion into Indian northern borderland in 1962 is another burning example of their repeated assurance of "peaceful coexistence" with Jawaharrral Nehru and the allured observance of "neutralism" of India.

4. Exposure is made on the "United Front" tactics of Soviet Russia and its tool, the Comintern, as its main formula to carry out its aggressive plots. Such type of aggressive actions falls within the category of stratagem operation. Soviet Russia had repeatedly used such plots to subvert the Nationalist Party and the Government of the Republic of China. We must widely and consistently publicize all our bitter experiences in this regard to the free world so as to warn other countries against being victimized by the Communist plot.

5. Exposure is made on the Comintern "isolation tactics" in military operation as one type of political stratagem. It is used to undermine anti-aggression alliances among free nations and always try to isolate the United States and her allies from one another through the application of "divide and conquer" tactics. All such Red maneuvers derive their fountain-head from isolation stratagem.

6. Exposure also is made on the Comintern clamor for "nationalism" as a venomous slogan used to drive a wedge between the Western democracies and the nationalistic aspiring countries. What the Communist jargon stands for "Nationalism" is utilized to sabotage the legitimate government of such member of the free world. And what they have clamored as "socialism" is utilized to subvert the original system of the social order within each of the

democratic countries. The Red sabotage is an indispensable step leading to the subversion.

7. Meanwhile, as in the positive phase of our political warfare, we must on the bases of the peace-loving characteristic of the Chinese people and of the exertion of efforts in our traditional support to international justice, adopt practical measures to uplift the friendship and cooperation between China and her allies. Besides, we should, through the operation of people-to-people diplomatic service and other friendly actions, consistently give advice or warnings to many fence-sitting nations as to prevent them from falling further into the Communist trap.

8. We must also exert our utmost efforts to maintain the prestige of the United Nations by cementing the solidarity of our allies and other friendly nations, and to win over neutral countries as many as possible, so as to uphold the legitimate seat of China in the world body in the high interest of the existence of the United Nations in consonant with that of our own. It is, therefore, imperative for us to inform all UN member-states of the venomous proposition of "two-China" formula, refuting it as a Communist plot to sabotage the United Nations as well as the free world. If the Chinese Reds could sneak into the world organization, such an unfortunate event might sound the funeral bell of the United Nations.

9. There is within the Nationalist Party of China the further need of strengthening the solidarity of its members, so as to consolidate its core of leadership in order to rally up all the people both at home and abroad. This is a necessary step to thoroughly wipe out any and all diverse

opinions and prejudices among the rank and file in order to guard them against the creeping attack of Communist infiltration and division tactics.

10. A further step should be taken as to consolidate all the minority parties and patriots both at home and abroad to formulate a firm and strong anti-Communist resist-Russia line to fight for the realization of national recovery.

11. By expanding our stratagem operations over the China mainland, we must expose the Chicom's heinous stratagems in the set-up of "coalition government" to ensnare such political cliques as the "Democratic League" on the mainland. Meanwhile, we must warn the mainland people against the Red tricky maneuvering of "land reform and allotment" which was used to fool the peasants into joining their rank; against the false manipulation of "workers to be the boss" to fool the laborers; against the diabolical pretense of "joint benefit for the laborer and the capitalist" to ensnare the industrialists and businessmen into forfeiting their interests, etc. All the said Communist dirty tricks might be exposed and proved with all the terrible realities under the Red shadow on the mainland. This might be done to rip open the Red mask in order to arouse the mainland people into action against the Mao regime through massive uprisings.

The aforesaid eleven measures in the polit-war operation must be put into action for fulfillment of their intended mission. For the sake of further clarification, the following two phases are presented in expounding the difference between political operations and strategic opera-

tions:

1. Political Operations The stratagem warfare pertaining to political offensive must be planned with reference to the national cause and the national policy, in conjunction with the overall political situation of the free world, so as to make some effective blows upon the enemy's political stratagem. In point of space, the operation is national and even global in its range; and in point of time, it is long-term and therefore persistent in scope. The authority of its planning and execution belongs to the Chief of State, with the National Policy Advisors serving as his primary consultants. Its targets are varied as being fixed upon the enemies in different directions, together with their satellites and the so-called "non-aligned" countries. Its diversified mission may be related as follows:

(1) Exposing the true intent of the Comintern-projected "world revolution," with concrete evidence to show what it termed "peaceful coexistence" is but a smokescreen under which it has been feverishly preparing for armed aggression even during the cold war stage. The participation of the Soviet imperialist in the United Nations Organization decidedly is not aimed at upholding of world peace or international justice, but rather at sabotaging the international relationship with the keynote of "divide and conquer," so as to split the world into two main camps while trying to grasp the hegemony for the Soviet bloc in order to subvert the democratic camp through the aid of so-called "non-aligned" countries under the Communist coercion or inducement.

(2) Emphasizing the fact that the Communist dicta-

torship is nothing but an ugly monster brought up through the cross bleeding of oligarchy and mob rule, which might be proved by such atrocities and bestial maneuverings against the people as occurred in Russia, on the China mainland, and in any and all Soviet satellites. Furthermore, it is necessary to use every possible ways and means to have our agents infiltrated into the Red camp, to spread the slogan of the need for destroying the new privileged class, so as to wipe out the Red reign of terror through the people's revolution.

(3) Collecting such substantial evidence to show that any and all Communist dictatorial regimes have been guilty of the party monopoly of economic interests, which is far more diabolical than the exploitation and even slavery of the feudalistic ruling class. It is therefore feasible to push ahead such a campaign as to arouse all those enslaved and exploited multitude of the people behind the Iron Curtain to start the anti-slavery and anti-exploitation movement in order to crush the Communist economic system from within.

(4) Keeping all democratic countries in the free world well informed of the need for preventing the infiltration of the Comintern elements. There also is the need for denouncing the Communist party in every country as an illegal organization, and so through effective publicity works spreading the "quarantine campaign" against Communist bloc members in order to put them under close surveillance and necessary checks.

(5) Actively promoting the people's anti-Communist organizations, both regional and global, so as to incessantly

expand their influence. It might be practical, through the activity of such organizations, jointly or separately, to deal the Iron Curtain countries some well-planned, fatal blows to fulfill the anti-aggression mission at its root.

(6) Basing upon our own national policy, it is imperative to step up all such reconstruction works as in political, economic, social and cultural fields in the interests of the people. This measure is necessary for strengthening our own national security as the basis to carry out our political offensive against the Soviet bloc.

(7) Invigorating our political propaganda over the peoples behind the Iron Curtain by informing them of our accomplishments in various constructive works in uplifting of the people's welfare. Our aim is to arouse those peoples under the Red yoke to denouncing the related Red regimes and thus defecting to the democratic camp.

For the purpose of reaching the aforesaid goals through political offensive, the government of the Republic of China will have to strengthen such activities as follows:

- a. Official diplomatic works and people-to-people diplomatic relations,
- b. Political reform and reconstruction,
- c. Economic reform and development,
- d. Social reform and progress,
- e. Expansion of publicity works and their influence,
- f. Winning of the friendship and cooperation of the "non-aligned" countries,
- g. Infiltration of our agents into Communist countries to foment and stir up people's revolution against the Red regime.

2. Strategic Operations Concerning the stratagem warfare pertaining to strategic offensive, it is necessary to project an overall, long-term strategy with reference on the one hand to the military situation of our country together with those of our allies, while on the other to the military affairs, particularly the burning ambitions of the Communist bloc. The authority of shaping and applying this strategy belongs to the Commander-in-Chief of this nation, with the Chief of General Staff serving as his Chief Aid-de-Camp and the Strategy Advisory Committee as his highest consultatory organization. The targets of such strategic offensive are diversified as the military organs, personnel, groups and the rank and file behind the Iron Curtain are varied. Its diversified missions and objectives may be related as follows:

(1) In the enemy's rear, stirring up armed revolt of the people and military coup, it is to quicken the arrival of the opportunity for our military counter-attack against the mainland.

(2) Exposing the Russian world-conquest plot, as evidenced by its overall strategy and the pattern of its operation which is definitely set on the detour as from Asia toward Europe, this vital point is necessary for the common interests of the democratic camp to rectify the mistaken "Europe first" concept of some Western democracies.

(3) Intensifying the alertness of the Western democracies by pointing out the fact that since Soviet Russia has persistently laid emphasis on political warfare, through which it has clamped down the Iron Curtain upon several

countries and victimized the peoples in succession, this measure is urgently needed for application as to convince the West that since Moscow is used to paralyze, or at least freeze, the Western concept of "armament supremacy." The democratic camp must jointly learn how to defeat the Communist political offensive in the cold war, and act accordingly prior to the waging of any hot war.

(4) Branding the Chu-Mao gang as the pioneer of Russian invasion of the West, with sufficient reserve forces at its command if undefeated in time, it is appropriate to persuade the Western democracies that in an attempt to stem the fierce onslaught of the new Red imperialism, they must first destroy the armed forces of the Peiping regime. In this regard, the United States, as China's ally, should fully appreciate the military mission in the proposed counter-attack against the mainland, and thus strengthen her support to the military action of our anti-Communist forces..

(5) Organizing the regional anti-Communist military alliance with our neighboring countries, the Republic of China, with this step well prepared, might be able to rally up a massive counter-offensive against the Peiping regime whenever the Chu-Mao gang launches an armed invasion of any one of our allies.

(6) By use of the supreme wisdom in waging the stratagem war, we should be able to defeat the enemy in majority by our minority in arms, and win practically without bloodshed.

(7) Prior to execution of an armed conflict, in the midst of it, and at its conclusion, it is imperative, as

through stratagem warfare, to direct and plan such five varieties of politwar tactics as in ideological, organizational, psychological, intelligence and mass agitation fields.

For the purpose of fulfilling the aforesaid missions, those functionaries concerned must diligently promote the following activities:

(1) When holding conference with delegates of allied powers, present adequate resolutions with explanations;

(2) When military missions are exchanged with neighboring states or other friendly powers, make the best of such event through exchange of expert opinions;

(3) When opportune moments are well in the perspective, make joint declarations with some allied powers;

(4) Seizing always the initiative, keep good contact with the working units and the personnel in the enemy rear and give them adequate instructions; and

(5) Always getting alert in anticipation of the opportunity for a massive counter-attack, pursue the ways and means for furtherance of the political warfare.

The stratagem warfare related to policies and strategies of a nation is widely diversified in the field of actions. The five points presented above merely are a very small fraction of it. The sketch here is meant to arouse the study interest of the general masses to intensify the all-out war against the Russian and Chinese Communists' political intrigues.

III. Operative Measures in Ideological Warfare

There are, of course, some basic objectives in the

waging of ideological war against the enemy. Its highest aim may be divided into two parts: In the first place, for the purpose of strengthening our own national security, there is the need of establishing our own highest ideological system so as to centralize the people's will in conformity with the national policy to reinforce the nation's spiritual armament; and in the meantime, the need of dealing timely blows upon the enemy's false thoughts or vicious propaganda in order to disarm their spiritual forces, cut down their fighting power so as to rout them through their mental collapse.

There is every possibility to wipe out the enemy in the battle field of ideological warfare. When the total war is being waged with the armed forces as its central theme, the ultimate objective of the war of nerves is to keep it consonant with the military mission in order to carry out the national policy and reach the national goal with the least bloodshed possible.

For the purpose of facilitating the achievement of the goal of ideological war, there is the constant need of shaping various individual plans to prescribe its missions. The execution of such plans must follow concrete steps regarding the contents, forms or formulas, and ways and means to be used in different phases of the war so as to closely subject the enemy's thoughts or actions to our strict control. Hence, all actions taken in this respect must be revolving around the focus as to expedite the accomplishment of missions in the war of nerves. Due to the fact that the conditions under which the war is being waged may be varied, with the

responsibilities assigned to the war units also diversified, the missions prescribed for such units should be flexible in nature.

The present ideological war against the Communists is being waged with political principles versus political witchcraft as in the application of Three People's Principles to defeat Marxism-Leninism. In other words, we must employ the Nationalism to conquer the Red imperialism, the Democracy as preached in the Three People's Principles to overwhelm the Communist totalitarianism, and the Principle of People's Livelihood to rout the Communist theory of "state monopoly of property." The works to be done at the present stage may be related as follows:

1. Inculcating the spirit and thought of the Three People's Principles into the mind of the whole nation so as to cultivate the earnest faith of the people and transform such faith into political force to fight in one accord for realization of the said principles;

2. Reinforcing the ideological strength of the people and the armed forces by use of the essence of the Three People's Principles so as to pitting Nationalism against imperialism, with Democracy against totalitarianism and the Principle of People's Livelihood against Communism;

3. Expounding the contents of the Three People's Principles as consonant with the international democratic trend, the national requirements and the people's will or wishes: Nationalism is aimed at securing the equality of national status in the modern world and meeting the desire of international peace with justice, Democracy is aimed at securing the equality of political status of the entire

people in conformity with the principle of government by the people; and then the Principle of People's Livelihood is aimed at securing the equality of economic status of the people in response to their demand for living in peace and freedom from wants;

4. Emphasizing the guarantee for application of the Three People's Principles as they have been adopted by the Constitution of the Republic of China and therefore incorporated as the fixed fundamental of our national aim and national policy;

5. Thoroughly denouncing the falsehood of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism by condemning their "world revolution" concept as one type of neo-imperialism in succession to the defunct colonialism, their proletarian dictatorship as mob reign by terror much worse than feudalism, and their Communist monopoly of economic interests as a deadly foe to free economy dedicated to equal distribution of national wealth;

6. Thoroughly exposing the Communist slogan "peaceful coexistence" as a dialectic manipulation designed to camouflage their preparation for a hot war in alternating with the cold war, and their "coalition government," "democracy," together with "patriotism" as mere stratagems used to seize the power for Communist dictatorship in order to submerge the country under the Red deluge, and the Red utopia painted by them in perspective as a mere hallucination maliciously created to fool those enslaved and exploited the people under their control;

7. Condemning Marxism-Leninism as contrary to human nature, national requirements and people's will or

wishes so as to agitate the people behind the Iron Curtain to discard it with Mao regime's spiritual force disarmed while the anti-atrocity movement might be thus stirred up by the people with many of them defecting to the democratic camp;

8. Stressing the fact that it is necessary to knock out Marxism-Leninism as a prerequisite to wipe out the reign by terror of the Peiping regime since all the Chu-Mao gang's tyranny is based on such a diabolical doctrine;

9. Splitting the Communist camp by further dividing its cliques as so-called "leftist," "rightist" and "rectificationist" through persuasion or enticement so as to plunge its ideological front into utter confusion with its reign by terror also paralysed;

10. Using every and all ways and means feasible for ideological offensive in such military operating zones as to disrupt the Communist ideological control in order to incite the people and armed groups to desert the Red camp, and so also to win them over to fight for the common cause; and

11. Splitting the relationship between Moscow and Peiping through the crack of ideological difference, so as to set up barriers between them with deepening of mutual suspicion and hatred.

The above are eleven main items involved as a collective mission of ideological warfare to be fulfilled by the Republic of China. With them made clear, it is now necessary to proceed on discussing its operational phases, such as strategical, tactical, and consolidatory, related as follows:

1. Strategical Phase

The planning for strategical operation in ideological warfare must be tackled in view of its objective as determined by its vast range of engagements in both time and space, and so also in harmony with planning of the overall national strategy. The authority of projecting and directing in this regard belongs to the highest cultural and educational organs in the country. As in terms of general administrative organs, it is attributed to the Ministry of Education; in military organs, to the Department of General Political Affairs in the Ministry of National Defense; and then in civic bodies, to the academic or literary organizations of nation-wide scale. During the war time, the coordination of all important tasks among the organs concerned should be entrusted to a specific unit within the Supreme Command, or else to a committee jointly participated by the official organs concerned and the qualified civic bodies. The target in this warfare is somewhat variable as divergent opportunities and circumstances may dictate, with its focus set on the enemy's armed forces, entire people, or the war theatre in part or in full.

In conformity with the national strategy, the ideological war also has its objectives as stated in the following five items:

- (1) Supporting and propagating the national policy and its ultimate aims during the war-time, with the ideological background of such clearly stated;

- (2) Extending aids to all those political offensive activities such as infiltration, division and sabotage against

the Communist gang, with quick and effective commentaries always ready at its command;

(3) Constantly dealing critical blows upon those Cultural refuses directly or indirectly employed by the Communists; and giving persuasions to those individualistic, liberal, or any other type of law-less egg-heads, both at home and abroad, to stop their foolish harping on such tunes as "democracy," "peace," or "freedom" so as to refrain themselves from being sold themselves out to the Communist gang as its sugar-coated ideology smugglers or champions, for this action is necessary to protect the genuine enjoyment of social as well as national freedom, democracy, and peace with justice;

(4) Consistently undermining the enemy's ideology in various phases, spoiling their sentiments, and switching their political faith, so as to disperse their forces, both spiritual and material; and

(5) Widely propagating our political, social and economic thoughts as truly conforming with democratic trend, international justice, and human needs, so as to win more understanding and support of our allies and friendly nations including even the so-called "non-aligned" countries.

Accordingly, those organizations engaged in the ideological warfare must, for effectively fulfilling their missions as stated above, first of all provide themselves each with efficient working staffs, adequate mechanical equipment, and the most effectual communication media available. Meanwhile, they should incessantly expand their international publicity works, with consistently renovated and

coordinating programs among them under a unified command or steering committee to keep them always in alertness and progress. In this regard, all such news releases or comments publicized merely in Chinese language are not enough. To be effective on the international level, they must be made also in various kinds of foreign languages such as English, French, Japanese, Arabic, and Malay, etc.

As for the instruments employed in the ideological war, five main items are briefly discussed as follows:

(1) **Academic Works:** All such cultural publications as related to philosophy, political science, economics, sociology, history, jurisprudence, etc., having their contents consistent with the Three People's Principles and our national policy;

(2) **Literary Works:** All such literary or artistic works as poems, songs, novels and stories, dramas, paintings, calligraphy, handiworks, etc.;

(3) **News Information:** All types of modern informative activities made through news despatches, pictorials, periodicals, special features, etc., being put forth to disseminate information both far and wide, at home and abroad;

(4) **Audio-Visual Presentations:** Another type of modern communication media necessary to further propagate information now under accelerated provision as found in the radio network and television system being actively engaged in the dissemination of all constructive works conforming to the Three People's Principles; and

(5) **Popular Readings:** Folk songs and ballads, folk dance, local dramas, etc., when getting renovated, may also be feasible as media to further bringing up the national

spirit of the people against the Communist ideological invasion.

2. As Involving in Tactical Operations

The ideological war planning as related to its tactical operations should be made with reference to the actual conditions in the war zone and the spiritual need or mental vacuum of the people and armed forces behind the Iron Curtain. Such a planning, together with its adoption and execution, usually is entrusted to the Political Affairs Division of the Highest Command in the war zone, which, in such phases of tactical operations, must necessarily enlist the coordinated assistance of the local political committee and loyal cultural groups in the war area. The targets for such operations are the enemy's armed forces and people on the spot and in its neighboring areas.

Briefly, there are five main objectives to be achieved in the tactical operations, stated as follows:

(1) Undermining the thoughts of Red armed forces and frustrating their morale, so as to molest their combat efficiency;

(2) Switching the people's concept behind the Iron Curtain and driving a wedge between them and the Red regime, so as to deprive the Red armed units of any assistance of the civilians;

(3) Inculcating the true understanding on the minds of both armed and common folks on the mainland, so as to make them recognize that our fighting back to the mainland is inevitable for their liberation from the Red

reign of terror, for their relief from starvation and death, and for achieving of many other righteous national causes;

(4) Giving ideological offensive support whenever it is needed to the front line commander in tactical maneuvering; and

(5) Using persuasive manner to convince the enemy to turn against the Peiping regime, dispel their belligerence, and gradually make them conscious of criminal offense even in harboring such antagonism against us.

The psywar units in the war area, for the purpose of realizing the aforesaid objectives, must use the following media:

(1) By use of cannons, airplanes and some task force equipment to project, air-drop or scatter pamphlets related to ideological wrestle behind the enemy line;

(2) By use of loudspeakers on tactical sports;

(3) By use of radio broadcasts;

(4) By use of air-dropping measures to send liberally booklets, pocket magazines, and surrender passes behind the enemy line, preferably attached with such attractive items as forged enemy's bank-notes, cartoons, or even candies, etc.

3. The Appeasing Operation

This type of psywar activities is used to consolidate the fruit of ideological offensive in the newly recovered district so as to support the military commander in his execution of laws, mandates and judicial judgments over the people. The authority to plan and carry out such a mission also belongs to the Political Affairs Department under

the supreme Command in the war zone, in coordination with local political units organized by the political officers of the military government and aligned cultural groups. The target of such appeasing operations is the newly defected armed units and people in the war theatre.

The objectives for the afore-said operations are related as follows;

(1) Purifying any and all ideological poisons as might have been left over by the enemy in the recovered area, so as to extirpate the root for enemy's come-back;

(2) Promoting the educational work in full, so as to stabilize the people's faith in the Three People's Principles and allegiance to the Government in order to help the people in the recovered district to re-establish their local government and restore the social order as promptly as possible;

(3) Winning over those wavering people in the newly recovered area, so as to keep them loyal to us, body and soul, toward effective cooperation in our military advancement;

(4) Helping the aligned people in their re-establishing of newspaper publication and other press enterprises, so as to reactivate their cultural and educational programs on the right track.

For the purpose of realizing the afore-said objectives, there is the need of using such media as follows:

- a. Newspapers,
- b. Literary articles, feature stories, commentary, magazines, and other publications,
- c. Radio broadcasts,
- d. Educational lectures, and

e. Moving pictures and stage plays.

The above-stated points under discussion are merely guiding principles for ideological operations. As for the general procedure for carrying out such operations, there is always the need of effectively bringing our mass communication materials to the target through powerful media, winning or establishing its centripetal faith, and so diverting the ideology as well as the sentiment of the armed forces and people behind the Iron Curtain from the enemy line. For the sake of conciseness, other tactical maneuverings concerned are therefore skipped.

IV. The Organizational Operations

The ultimate objective of organizational warfare may be divided into two parts: First, on our side there is the mission of strengthening the relationship and coordination of the activities of such organizations pertaining to political, economic, social, and military affairs, both substantial and spiritual, so as to, passively, guard them against the enemy's infiltration and, positively, concentrate their forces to deal the enemy a fatal blow. This is what Sun Tzu had devised as "to conquer the world by use of all-out efforts." The gist of it is to strengthening one's own security through organizational operations.

Secondly, in the fight against our enemy there is the primary task of making infiltration, sabotage and subversion within the Communist camp as to paralyse its political, economic, social and military organizations which then might be eventually railroaded toward its suicidal

collapse. This is what we meant by dislocating and annihilating the enemy through organizational operations. The ultimate aim is none other than fusing them with the military action to materialize the national policy and its highest objective.

The present organizational line of the Republic of China is being pushed along the over-all popular line which is the most effective weapon to defeat the Russian and Chinese Reds' privileged class line. The former's organizational measure is getting strengthened all the time through hearty cooperation of the people, which is the best weapon to demolish the Communist reign by terror. Even when treating the military operation as the center of conflicts, the organizational war, with our active line and measure as stated above in contrast with those of the enemy, should be waged to fulfill the following missions:

1. Under the general principle of maintaining international peace and Asian security, its mission on the one hand is to uplift the justice of the United Nations Organization and forever guard it against being communized; and on the other, to strengthen the cooperation in such political, economic and military phases with China's friendly countries as to promote international or inter-continental alliance among them.

2. Under the foremost premise of upholding our national interests and survival and national recovery, there is the need of consolidating the forces of patriotic Chinese people, both at home and abroad, regardless of party alignments yet with one anti-Communist vow in common, so as to strength the anti-Communist and resist Russia

front.

3. Meanwhile, as in actual functioning there is another mission in the strengthening of such relationship as between the government and the civic bodies in order to fuse them into one overall, solid entity, with the political power well set on sound basis and administrative programs carried out smoothly.

4. Basing upon the principle of economic democracy, a broad platform is aimed at strengthening the federal organization of various types of industrial and commercial enterprises, and further, keeping the relations of labor and management always harmonized as solidified in one body, with Red agents forever banned and condemned.

5. Another phase of cementing job is to constantly invigorate the organization of the armed forces through coordinating the relations between the officers and men, between the military and the civilian, as well as those among the armed forces, in the harmonious mood of "officers and men as a solid body," with the "military and civilian merged as a family."

6. Then in the offensive there should be the penetration of our agents into the political, economic and social circles behind the Iron Curtain to push on the sabotaging or subverting activities so as to make the China mainland boil up with discontent and disorder.

7. It might be practical for our agents to make frequent inroads into the Red armed units and thus disrupt the relation between their officers and men as well as that of the Red cadres and the common folk.

8. By use of every possible ways and means, there

should be the task of dividing the tie between the Moscow and the Peiping regime, stirring up the mainland people's rancor against both Russia and the Red gang in order to start their anti-Communist resist-Russia movement.

9. Finally, it also is feasible for the free world to work directly or indirectly in conjunction with Free China's consistent endeavor in breaking apart the relations between those Red satellite cliques, together with Red appeasers, and the Chu-Mao gang, so as to dissolve what they called the "democratic united front" and expose the ugly inside of their "coalition government."

For the purpose of fulfilling the varied missions of organizational warfare as aforesaid, its operational phases may be divided into the following three items:

1. Strategic Operations: The planning of organizational warfare must be able to meet the demand of long-term and wide-range objectives in the conflict and keep it coordinating with implementation of the overall military stratagem. The authority for such planning and execution belongs to the highest level in the national administration. As in the civil government, it is ascribed to the Ministry of Interior; on the military side, to the General Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense; and in the society at large, to the federal civic organization of nation-wide scale. The coordinating function among them during war-time is entrusted to a specific unit under the Supreme Command or to some form of discussion meeting designed for the same purpose. The operational targets are varied as the enemy and its allies, the overall system of the enemy's military and political set-ups, as covering the

entire war theatre.

In this regard, our objectives may be stated in the following categories:

(1) By securing more and more support of the United Nations member-states to the upholding of international justice in general and to the protection of China's right of representation in particular, we must never let the UNO getting molested or infiltrated by the Chinese Reds, so as to maintain the prestige and integrity of the world body.

(2) As in Asia we should incessantly strengthen the cooperation of friendly nations and form the anti-Communist military alliance whenever possible in order to expand it into an inter-continental military set-up, so as to win more allies to fight for the same cause.

(3) Internally, it is indispensable for the formation of a strong and firm organization with the government and the people, both at home and abroad, merged into one solid body to fight in one accord for realization of the same cause.

(4) Externally, it also is necessary to give aid and abet to the mainland people to liberate themselves from the control of international communism.

(5) Meanwhile, it eventually is necessary to extend aid and abet to the mainland people for delivering themselves from the Red reign of terror.

(6) In the mean time, there is the need of setting all Communist affiliated parties or cliques and Red appeasers free from their entanglement with the Red tentacles.

(7) And then it also is imperative to win over those

overseas Chinese who have been lured into the Red trap.

The commanding post in organizational operations, for the purpose of reaching the aforesaid goals, must consistently expand the following activities:

(1) Holding various types of conference on different occasions with representatives or delegates of the people, both at home and abroad, to accelerate the anti-Communist campaign;

(2) Promoting international cooperation with allied countries in different fields through diplomatic routes;

(3) Expanding the civilian anti-Communist organizations on international level through the people-to-people intercourse; and

(4) Developing the espionage network on the China mainland to push on its infiltration and subversion activities;

2. Tactical Operations: The planning of tactical operations in organizational warfare must take into consideration of extending its support to the military action in the war zone, with the war situation and the actual need of organizational endeavor well in view. The authority of such plannings and execution is entrusted to the Political Affairs Department under the front-line supreme commander, in conjunction with the administrative committee and civic bodies in that war area. The targets of their operations are none other than the military and the civilian on the enemy's front and its neighbourhood.

In this respect, the objectives are related as follows:

(1) Disrupting the relations between the enemy's armed units and the civic bodies so as to isolate the former

from the latter;

(2) Developing the anti-Communist organizations in the enemy's rear so as to push the pincer attack from both within and without against the enemy;

(3) Cutting up the ties of the officers and men in the enemy's camp and between the military and party cadres so as to ruin the Red armed forces mentally and morally;

(4) Always getting ready to extend support to the tactical commanding officers whenever and wherever it is needed; and

(5) winning defection of the people behind the Iron Curtain to be in our service through the penetrating activities of our religious, professional and clan organizations in the war theatre.

3. Organizational Operations: For the purpose of realizing the foregoing objectives, the organizational operation units must widely spread their following activities:

(1) Developing anti-Communist under-ground organizations through accelerating the organizational activities;

(2) Stirring up the defection movement on the enemy's front through engineering of the anti-Communist elements in the opponent's camp; and

(3) Expanding the organizational activities in the war area through the congenial call of religious, clan, professional and other social units.

The Appeasement Operation

Pacifying action in war area is meant for consolidating the result of hitherto organizational operations and ex-

tending support to commanding officers in their need of replenishing man-power and material supplies. The authority of such planning and execution of pacification operations is entrusted also to the Political Affairs Department under the supreme command in the war theatre, in conjunction with the military government and the local federation of civic bodies in our service. The target of such an operation generally is the armed units and people in the newly recovered area.

The objectives for this operation are stated as follows:

(1) Mopping up all remnant, illegal, underground set-ups of the enemy in the newly recovered area, so as to root up all potential sources of trouble;

(2) Sponsoring the restoration of the local self-government to the people, so as to reinstitute the social order;

(3) Giving aid and abet to the local religious, professional and other civic bodies, so as to establish their legal status.

For the purpose of achieving the aforesaid goals, the organizational operation in the pacification area must tackle the following problems:

(1) How to promote the census checkup and other surveillance works,

(2) How to thoroughly register residents and travellers together with their callings of activities, and

(3) How to keep the liaison officers in various working units to make the best out of their activities, with suitable personnel readily available.

The fore-going discussion covers only some plain

principles governing the organizational operation, with detailed matters withheld for the need of meeting differentiated conditions in various localities under diverse circumstances in the war zone.

V. The Psychological Operations

Two main objectives are involved in the psychological warfare: One is the strengthening of self-security and the other is the ruining of the enemy through their psychical collapse. By strengthening the psychical factor of our own armed forces and invigorating their fighting morale, it is possible to boost up their fighting capability despite many setbacks and renew their battle prowess regardless of frustrations. On the other hand, by hitting hard on the weak spots of the enemy's nerve center and molesting their fighting will, it is possible to switch the mind of the enemy's armed forces and pare down or paralyse their fighting power.

In strategical operation the psywar planning must, of course, be feasible and then in tactical operations, subordinating itself to the military action so as to make the best out of such operations.

Ordinarily, the psychological warfare of any country must be, in its practical as well as theoretical application, global by nature with all the friends, allies, and enemies together with potential enemies, and even the so-called non-aligned or fence-straddling states or groups and many noted individuals throughout the ever-changing world taken into consideration for the planning and execution of present and future actions. Here, due to the limit of our discussion

volume, the psywar operation is directed in its simple formula primarily to cope with the psywar situation of the Russian and Chinese Reds.

As at present, the Republic of China's psywar operation against the Communist bloc is based upon the principle of pitting our sincerity against the enemy's falsehood, presenting beauty and benevolence in contrast with the opponent's ugliness and wickedness, with our state of welfare against the enemy's reign by terror coupled with man-made calamities. Theoretically speaking, we are situated absolutely on the upper-hand side. Despite the enemy's vigorous propaganda endowed with temptations and threats, their falsehood, ugliness and pains inflicted upon the people behind the Iron Curtain are their weak spots in psywar operations. Hence, by hitting hard upon such weak spots, with their fatal points well punched, their psychological defense line is bound to get collapsed beyond recovery. The ROC's psywar missions are related as follows:

1. With reference to historical events, it is feasible to convince the general public that all tyrannical regimes are doomed to collapse and all traitors are bound to get perished, so as to strengthen the faith of the people at home and abroad, as well as our armed forces, in the eventual victory of our anti-Communist revolution.

2. By exposing the atrocities and crimes of the enemy and categorically revealing the critical factors that might doom the Red regimes to failure and perdition, it is feasible to strengthen the fighting morale of our people and armed forces.

3. By use of psychological, reconstructive measures, it

is possible to consolidate the military will and wish, stabilize the people's mind, and reinforce the psywar defense.

4. By exploiting the mainland people's discontent with the actual condition and their rancor against the Communist tyrannical rule, it is practicable to stir up their consistent revolutionary movement.

5. By making effective calls upon the Red armed forces to the bestiality of their leaders and futility of their military equipment, it is possible to create suspicion and confusion in their minds.

6. By persuading the Red armed forces quickly to save themselves and their folks from perishing as mere cannon fodders or just hungry slave-laborers of the despotic Red regime, it is possible to guide them to get escape from the mainland or to rebel against the Chu-Mao gang, and defect to the free world whenever there is the chance.

7. Generally speaking, there are ample ways and means to win over the hearts of the people and armed forces behind the Iron Curtain so as to facilitate our military counter-offensive at the ripe moment.

In view of the fore-going psywar missions, there are three main items listed under the psywar operations such as follows:

1. Strategic Operations: In conformity with the broad and long-term objective as set in the overall anti-Communist struggle, the psywar strategic operations must be planned accordingly to achieve their designated missions. The authority of their planning and execution belongs to the national supreme military command or a specific organization. In the war time, it might be entrusted to a

designated section in the supreme headquarters or a committee established for the specific purpose. The target of such operations consists of the entire armed forces and people, both behind and beyond the Iron Curtain, or else flexibly limited to the whole war theatre.

The psywar strategical objectives may be briefly stated as follows:

(1) Explaining and propagating as well as supporting the national policy during the war time, with its aims in general and goals in particular also well expounded;

(2) Calling upon the democratic world in general and many allies of our country in particular to clamp down economic sanctions and other non-military suppressions upon the Russian and Chinese Communists;

(3) Dealing crucial blows repeatedly upon the people's servility and the military slavery behind the Iron Curtain, so as to frustrate their morale and working efficiency;

(4) Driving various types of wedges into the relations of Moscow and Peiping regimes by stressing the differences, deviations, antagonisms and even belligerency as involving their internal racial, ideological, political, economic, social and other respects in reciprocal order, so as to split the relations of these two regimes further apart;

(5) Winning over the spiritual support, and if possible also substantial aid in action, of neutral or non-aligned countries as many as possible through convincing persuasions;

(6) Extending spiritual or moral, and if possible

also material support to the freedom-fighters behind the Iron Curtain;

(7) Supplying material as well as spiritual support to the tactical psywar operations on the frontline.

The organ in charge of psywar operations, for the purpose of achieving the aforesaid objectives, must use such ways and means as stated below to fight the enemy:

- a. The radio network under its unified command,
- b. Printed matters available for air-dropping on the mainland,
- c. Novel articles or daily necessities suitable for smuggling into the mainland, and
- d. The gossip or rumor offensive as might be most efficiently accentuated at critical moments.

2. The Tactical Operation: The psywar activity employed to support the front-line military actions is its tactical operation. Both its planning and implementation must be suitable to the situation of the battlefield with reference to the psywar conditions of both belligerent parties. The authority of such planning and execution belongs to the psywar section in the Political Affairs Department under the supreme command in the war area. Its targets are the armed forces and the people on the opponent side or in its adjacent districts yet all most likely in fluid state. Its objectives are related as follows:

(1) Hitting hard upon the morale and combat capacity of the Red armed forces;

(2) Publicizing such messages through loud speakers, radio broadcasts, and printed matters as to direct the

people and Red combatants to surrender themselves in due time to our camp, with signals, pass words or other necessary actions prescribed, so as to expedite our military push;

(3) Timely supplying detailed intelligence reports to the headquarters, especially on such weak topographical spots on both sides to support the strategical psywar operations as also for reference in the shaping of overall strategy;

(4) Sending timely intelligence reports to the allied armed units in the same war zone to expedite their psywar offensive as well as military thrust;

(5) Giving direct and specified supports to the field commanders to meet their calls any time as promptly as possible;

(6) Impressing the mind and soul of the Red armed forces with the clear understanding that our military action is righteously meant for their own liberation as well as salvation of the Chinese nation;

(7) Convincing the enemy with such eloquent advice as to make them repentant with antagonistic motive gradually nullified even if not yet turned over for surrender. For the purpose of realizing the aforesaid objectives, the psywar operation units on the war front must use such ways and means as listed below:

- a. Utilizing cannons, airplanes and some task force to project, airdrop, or spread handbills through other channels all over the enemy's line and its rear;
- b. Liberally using loud speakers;
- c. Employing radio broadcasts; and

- d. Air-dropping through planes or balloons such printed matters as tabloids, pamphlets and novel articles with great attraction.

3. The Pacifying Operation: This type of psywar activities should be aimed at consolidating the results of former psywar operations and extending both spiritual and material supports to the field commander as promptly as they are called for. The authority for planning and executing all such jobs also belongs to the psywar section of the Political Affairs Department under the supreme command of the war zone. Their targets are the defected people and armed forces in the newly recovered districts. Their objectives consist of the following items:

- (1) Safeguarding the transportation lines in the recovered districts so as to support the fighting forces in their push ahead with their exertions concentrated on regular service,

- (2) Winning over the effective cooperation of the people in recovered districts,

- (3) Suppressing rumor and false information,

- (4) Extending aids to the preparation for rehabilitation and reconstruction in the war-torn area,

- (5) Giving any needed cooperation in the job for wiping out any aggressive or rebellious thought or sentiment tinted by Red imperialism or traitorous gangsterism and, instead, setting up the faith of the people in our government,

- (6) Making investigations and individual enquiries or public polls on the sentimental reaction or response of the people toward our armed forces,

(7) Ascertaining the nature of intelligence supply for the use of furthering the psywar pacifying operations, and

(8) Aiding and abetting the reconstruction of such enterprises as publishing of journals and books as well as radio broadcastings, etc., in furtherance of mass communications.

For the purpose of securing the aforesaid abjectives, the psywar units in the newly recovered area must utilize such tools as listed below:

- a. Radio broadcasts,
- b. Newspapers,
- c. Loud-speakers,
- d. Booklets, pamphlets, placards, official notices, magazines, pictorials and other printed matters, and
- e. Moving pictures and stage plays.

In summing up, the gist of psywar operations in this field should be pursuing the line of converting the political faith of the masses in the recovered and neighboring districts, controlling their mind and emotion as well as physical actions, and pacifying their heart and soul with convincing statements so as to defeat the enemy through the use of psychological weapons.

Since the common people on the China mainland have been most deplorably enslaved and starved by the Communists as hovering on the brink of death with eager expectation for liberation, their sorrowful condition as such might have opened the way for easy psywar offensive of the democratic front. But then to win them over there are two most effective means which should be used along

with pure psychological weapons, namely, food and clothes —plenty of them. As the army "walk on their bellies," it is most likely that we could readily win the heart of the mainland people through feeding their mouths, with clothes putting on their semi-frozen bodies during cold winter.

VI. The Intelligence Warfare Operations

The general objective of intelligence operations in war time may be roughly divided into two main points:

First, by use of any and all overt and covert methods to make constantly thorough comprehension of the situations of our own national affairs, to prevent any type of enemy's infiltration, and to exert our own greatest possible efforts in developing and wielding our own spiritual, mental and material forces, so as to safe-guard our own national security and welfare, such is one basic objective primarily needed to be attained for self-preservation.

Secondly, by use of all wisdoms and ways and means available to gain thorough and constant apprehension of the enemy's condition in their changing moods, to put their plots duly under close surveillance and their actions under strict checking, and so also to sweep away all stumbling blocks in the path of our revolutionary task in order to reach the goal of achieving the final victory possibly without the need of very much bloodshed, such is the positive objective in intelligence operation for the purpose of annihilating the enemy through the best management of military affairs.

Both the Russian and the Chinese Communists are shrewd upstarts relying upon the use of dirty intelligence operations. In spite of the fact that they had in this field followed the gangster line and used the witchcraft, they have nonetheless subjected numerous naive masses to their employment or enslavement. For sometime their espionage tricks had been successful.

But now the world situation is changed. Due to the Chinese Reds' reign of terror, with the entrapped people hovering on the brink of starvation, utter pain and death, what the Chu-Mao gang had used to seize the power over the mainland people will be utter failure. Hence, the Republic of China in her intelligence war-waging has turned from the inferior position to the superior trend as from the passive to the initiative stage and from the isolated minority to the overwhelming majority stand.

Following is a list of eleven items of our missions to be fulfilled by intelligence operations:

1. Expansion of security measures and related publicity works to deepen the political apprehension of the masses, uplift their political alertness, and cultivate the security consciousness with its practice prevailing over every corner and nook of the land,

2. Counter-attack against the Red espionage by the use of all security personnel and their organized network to push through all types of investigation and detecting works, to collect all related materials both at home and abroad to the fullest extent possible, and to uncover any and all suspicious clues by tracking them down persistently in order to thoroughly wipe out Red spies;

3. Strengthening of the watch over the ideological security and loyalty investigation of public servicemen as well as those of the common folk, with suppression and adequate punishment meted out to all such publications, speeches and pictorials that might possibly endanger the national security or violate the state interests;

4. Thorough checking and supervision over the security practice of all public organizations in order to improve it with the related basic concept constantly getting renovated and underground Red agents completely rounded up;

5. Counter espionage to be developed through penetration of our agents into the enemy's fold, with undercover snares dexterously spread and smokescreens well raised, so as to carry out their missions by use of the best knowledge and techniques available;

6. Underground cells to get shape in dots and lines behind the Iron Curtain, with front organizations built up and expanded under the single, straight line leadership of numerous, almighty agents working in tight secrecy;

7. Besieging rings to be made around some strategic spots such as transportation junctures and Red productive or communication centers, Red military or political organization, barracks and schools or civic bodies on the mainland as main targets of our espionage activities;

8. Qualified agents to be sent continuously in disguise into some desolate areas behind the Iron Curtain to set up guerrilla bases or other new lines of development;

9. Contacts to be made with Red cadres through various ways and means such as participation of our agents as "legitimate members" of some civic organizations

or mass meetings on the mainland, with friendly ties or social relations built up gradually through indirect approaches;

10. Many underground cells of our agents to be set up within Red military and political or economic organizations through the help of inside strings, with then the "legitimate organs" utilized as smokescreens for our underground activities and with the "official capacity" of such organs used as safeguards of our agents; and

11. Underground radio stations to be set up in mountainous areas or some well covered locations in big cities on the vast mainland through our capable agents, with the help of defected natives who can present themselves to the public in some sort of legitimate status.

The aforesaid missions may also be further classified with some identified as counter-espionage and others likened to offensive espionage. For the purpose of accomplishing such missions, three types of their operations might be differentiated as pertaining to strategical, tactical and pacifying natures as stated below:

1. Strategical Operations: The intelligence war in its strategical phase must also be closely coordinated with the vast and long-range objective of the all-out struggle, and then it must be tightly fitted into the pattern of the overall military strategy. The authority for its planning and execution belongs to the intelligence agency of the national supreme command. The targets of its multiple works roughly are Red agents and their fellow travellers worming their ways or keeping dormancy in and around this island bastion of Free China, some marked Red espionage

networks in foreign countries together with their ring leaders, and then the multitudinous armed units, political organizations, economic set-ups, cultural and civic bodies, as well as the vast masses of the people in both the enemy's front line and the rear districts.

The strategical objective in intelligence war may be related as follows:

(1) Safeguarding the long-range security of our anti-Communist bastions by strictly preventing the trickle infiltration of Red agents;

(2) Banning in advance in a large measure the development of Communist united front organizations together with their activities on Taiwan as carried through their utilization of Taiwanese Reds, Japanese Reds and other foreign secret agents;

(3) Expanding the intelligence operation to overseas Chinese communities in foreign countries, with its centers set up especially in Russia and its satellites as well as in some pro-Communist countries, so as to carry out the ever vigilant mission by close cooperation of such centers to hit the core of Red organs in any place and at any time whenever feasible;

(4) Aiming at securing ultimately great achievements devoid of any rash actions by planting our agents in the enemy's rear with devoted cherishing of strength and development through long-term dormancy, waiting patiently and maneuvering dexterously like the angling of a big fish;

(5) Making all possible designs to subject many strategical spots on the mainland to our control, especially

such transportation focuses available for the landing of our armed forces in the eventual counter attack;

(6) Trying every possible ways and means to set up collusive underground cells preferably within some highest Red organs so as to keep them firmly cultivated though in dormancy till the time is ripe for a decisive coup de grace;

(7) Planting intelligence depots separately whenever possible in such political cliques on the mainland as the "Democratic League," the "Democratic Revolutionary Party," the "Democratic Reconstruction Party," and the "Democratic Progressive Party", etc., by use of their "legitimate" existence or "coexistence" with the Chicom party to camouflage the survival and development of our agents;

(8) Maintaining the legal status of our agents behind the Iron Curtain in pursuit of properly regular professions with endurance of hardships by adapting to the Red regulations, systems and living habits so as to wait patiently in long dormancy till the time is ripe for coup de grace against the Red regime; and

(9) Seeking cracks or loopholes on the Communist-held mainland to set up intelligence cells in such remote places as high mountains or lake jungles, with some monasteries, schools or desolate farms available for use as shelters of our agents and their movement centers.

For the purpose of accomplishing the aforesaid objectives, the intelligence agency concerned must positively proceed on the activities listed below:

(1) Our agents should be deliberately deployed on careful plans and considerate arrangement;

(2) They should be adequately supplied with radio sets and related equipment;

(3) Important strategic spots be put under direct control of the central agency;

(4) They be supplied clandestinely with such needed weapons as propaganda materials and other articles; and

(5) They be kept well-informed and closely cooperating with various other agencies available in the carrying out of their assigned missions.

2. The Tactical Operation: The tactical phase of intelligence warfare concerns itself with the objective of giving direct support to the military operation in the war area. Its planning and implementation must be adapted to the changing or changeable condition in the related region and the fluid situations as varying between our own forces and the enemy's. The authority for planning and execution of such tactical operations is entrusted to the intelligence section in the field commander's headquarters. Their targets are the armed forces, people and spies on the opposite side.

Seven objectives to be accomplished by tactical intelligence operations are listed as follows:

(1) Strictly keeping all of the military secrets on our side,

(2) Thoroughly exploring and securing the military secrets, intended movement and other plots of the Red gang so as to subject them to our counter-actions;

(3) Deliberately leaking false intelligence reports to the enemy so as to lure them into committing blunders in tactical operations;

(4) Boldly penetrating into the enemy's rear and actively carrying out sabotage measures such as joining in the "armed anti-Communist uprisings" in response to the movement of our tactical vanguards;

(5) Spreading rumor offensive to meet the needs of our own tactical operation so as to frustrate the enemy's morale and popular support;

(6) Making bold raids behind the opponent's line and in due time raising havocs to disrupt the enemy's logistic support; and

(7) Employing every possible ways and means to lure some leading figures in the enemy's camp to surrender themselves to our side.

For the purpose of accomplishing the aforesaid tactical intelligence feats, such techniques and tools as listed below may be indispensable:

(1) Modern communication equipment and the most advanced communicating skill available,

(2) Explosive destruction behind the enemy line, and

(3) Well designed false or tricky intelligence reports.

3. The Pacifying Operation: The intelligence operation as used in newly recovered districts is devoted to safeguarding the security of the area while extending helping hands to facilitate the military government in its task for reconstruction of the local self-government. The objectives of such operation may be briefly listed as follows:

(1) Thoroughly wiping out any remnant Red spies, examining the turn-coat Red cadres or captives, carrying out the people's self-confession campaign in order to bring about the census scrutiny,

(2) Absolutely safeguarding the secret of the numerical strength, deployment, attempted venture and all other related matters of our own armed forces,

(3) Closely keeping the secret of the movement, the quantity and variety of strategic materials, and the means or routes for their transportation,

(4) Strictly watching over the security of our own air, naval, and other military bases, arsenals, power plants, and other key points of strategic importance;

(5) Assiduously pushing on the infiltration network on the mainland, with active penetration for detecting Chicom's situation, securing gists in the direction of their movement, and strengthening the survey over the plots and activities, if any, of the Communist bloc, jointly or separately, in the newly recovered districts;

(6) Diligently investigating, uncovering and promptly confiscating any and all material supplies and arms that may have been cached away by the evacuated Red forces or their stooges, and then making use of them as to prevent the Reds from smuggling them out or holding them;

(7) Making careful and prompt examinations over prisoners of captured or surrendered Red servicemen, and turning them over to our service as well as possible; and

(8) Closely watching over any symptom of riots in newly recovered districts and probing into any possible source of trouble so as to prevent any rioting fomented by Red spies or saboteurs.

For the purpose of achieving the aforesaid objectives, the intelligence organ in newly recovered districts must carry out the following active measures:

- (1) Sponsoring the census-checking drive,
- (2) Carrying out the joint guarantee and joint liability regulations,
- (3) Strengthening the surveillance over Communist situations, overt and covert,
- (4) Controlling Red captives with strict disciplinary measures, and
- (5) Reinforcing all types of security administration.

In summing up, it is plain that the intelligence operation during wartime is a serious struggle of wisdoms and scientific knowledge with modern weapons used in the utmost care possible; it also is the synthetic maneuver of various types of belligerent actions against the enemy.

For the purpose of attaining the predicted results from such an operation as to secure the ultimate victory of a total war, we must adopt all those experiences and techniques available, both ancient and modern, at home and abroad, and fuse them in use wisely at the right moment and in the right place under certain circumstances.

VII. The Mass War Operations

The masses of the people form the basis of political power in this modern world. With them on our side there is the power; without them, the power will be in danger. During peace time no government can last long without the people's support. While a government is confronted with internal rebellion and external aggression, it is a time of war. And then this is the critical time in which there is also the war for winning the allegiance and all-

out support of the masses.

The ultimate objective for waging the people's war is on the one hand securely catching hold of the psychical support of our own people and utilising the massive strength, under the general administration in the total war, to thoroughly carry out our national policy as to incessantly reinforce the national security; while on the other hand there is also the task of splitting the people's allegiance from the enemy, winning the people's support behind the opponent's front so as to pare down the enemy's fighting power in order to ruin the enemy. Such a broad objective may also be treated as one involved with political stratagems.

For the purpose of accomplishing the aforesaid objective, the government must, in following the guiding principles of the national policy, prescribe the ways and means to be applied to suit the changing situations as involved between the war parties, with those of the so-called neutral countries also taken into consideration, in carrying out operations on various battle fronts. Despite the fact that our arch enemy Russian imperialists and Chicom bandits have been well versed in tricks [of inciting and domineering over the people, we can still defeat them by adopting the counter-measures listed below:

1. Relieving the people from pains or difficulties by improving their living conditions and uplifting the standard of their living, with their welfare greatly enhanced and their sense of brotherhood deeply cultivated through actual practice of the Principle of People's Livelihood;

2. Adequately sponsoring the establishment and activ-

ities of civic bodies, with such close relations incessantly cemented between the governing machine and the people's organizations on the one hand while among the civic bodies themselves on the other in observing Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of Democracy;

3. Universally promoting the service campaign for benefits of the people, with which the ruling party and the government might tend to secure the people's whole-hearted support through close contacts and friendly relations thus established;

4. Keeping the people well informed of the terrible crimes of the Communists, especially their reign of terror on the China mainland with such brutalities in persecuting and enslaving the peasants, workers, businessmen and other people in different walks of life behind the Iron curtain categorically and constantly exposed so as to warn all the free people at home and abroad against the infiltration of Red spies and their propaganda or other tricks;

5. Universally promoting the unemployment insurance and other relief measures whenever there is the need for them to stabilize the social order;

6. Extending the appropriate political call on the people behind the Iron Curtain, with such concrete evidence as to satisfy their hopes for attaining the relief from the Red yoke in order to win their centripetal force toward us;

7. Stirring up the mainland people's motive against the Red tyranny as a prelude to their armed revolt in succession;

8. Making bugle calls against the tyrannical and traitorous Peiping regime by listing its calamitous crimes

such as its man-made hunger and disastrous aggression against South Korea and India, so as to strengthen the mainland people's determination to "down with their deadly enemy"; and

9. Despatching capable agents to penetrate the enemy's rear, contact certain groups of the people by extending sympathies to their terrible life in order to organize them for taking up mass movements.

The foregoing nine types of actions of course are not exclusive by nature. Many others might readily be added as the circumstances may warrant. Categorically treated, the first five types are operated as aiming at invigoration of our own national security while the last four for the purpose of annihilating the enemy. For expediting smooth operations of the same, they may also be separately listed as under strategical, tactical and pacifying items:

1. The Strategical Operation: The people's war, as being waged in conformity with the long-term and wide-range objective of the anti-Communist struggle and, in the mean time, also in coordination with the strategic arrangement of the overall military action, might be looked upon as its strategical operation. The authority for its planning and direction must be entrusted to the mass movement organ in the Political Affairs Department under the national supreme command. Its target for action is the entire people at home and abroad as well as those behind the Iron Curtain. Its objectives may be listed as follows:

(1) Enabling the people at home to get used to the war-time living and extend continued support to the national emergency policy;

(2) Keeping the people's anti-Communist fire always widely burning in their hearts so as to lead them on supporting the national mobilization regulations to the fullest extent possible;

(3) Exhorting the people to carry out the government's regulations and orders for all-out suppression of Red espionage and sabotage, so as to completely achieve the stability of social order and progress;

(4) Strengthening the ties between the government and the people so as to consolidate the basis of the former with increasing benefits accrued to the latter;

(5) Instigating desertion of the mainland people from the bogus Peiping regime so as to make the entire masses falling apart from the Red reign of terror;

(6) Capturing the mainland people's allegiance and turning it over to our government;

(7) Winning over the support of the mainland people and making use of it through integrating them into our mass organization in the enemy's rear;

(8) Thoroughly getting hold of the enemy's situations and accelerating our espionage operations through close contacts with the people behind the enemy's front; and

(9) When the time is ripe stirring up the mainland people's massive revolt against the Peiping regime.

For the purpose of achieving the aforesaid objectives, the organ in charge of such strategical operations must carry out the activities listed as follows:

(1) Pushing through the implementation of all key policies salutary to the people's livelihood;

(2) Strengthening all service organizations to enhance

the people's welfare;

(3) Universalizing the social education;

(4) Invigorating the mass relations through our agents behind the enemy's front; and

(5) Making all preparations necessary for mass revolt in the enemy's rear.

2. The Tactical Operation: The people's war in its tactical maneuvering has for its objective extending direct support to the military action in the battle field. Its planning and execution must be capable of meeting the war situation which is liable to change with many factors unfolding between the belligerent parties. The authority of such planning and execution is entrusted to the mass movement organ in the Political Affairs Department under the supreme command in the war zone, in coordination with the local military government. Its target is the people in the war zone and its adjacent area, with objectives listed as follows:

(1) Directing the front-line people to support our military action, with the unreserved faith in such action as one indispensable for their own liberation from the Red yoke;

(2) Guiding the masses to actively supplying us with accurate intelligence reports;

(3) Keeping the people always moving to our side instead of the Communist side;

(4) Instructing the people to make all necessary arrangements to facilitate our tactical operations;

(5) Stirring up the mass revolt behind the enemy's front, so as to keep the Red armed forces under harassing

attacks;

(6) Inducing the masses to take custody of the local strategic goods, so as to reserve them for use of our forces or else to destroy them so as to deprive the Red forces of using them; and

(7) Aiding and abetting the masses to overthrow the local Red regime through revolts in order to deprive the Red armed forces of the political support.

For the purpose of achieving the aforesaid objectives, the tactical operation in the people's war must employ the following ways and means:

(1) The front line psywar activities be geared up with winning the masses for their keynote;

(2) The intelligence work in the enemy's rear be fused with the local mass movement;

(3) Various kinds of weapons and ammunitions be kept supplying to the mass in time;

(4) Other war equipment be brought to the loyal masses; and

(5) Necessary information and reference materials for improving of military tactics be supplied to the masses from time to time.

3. The Pacifying Operation. The pacifying operation in the people's war should be so stressed as to consolidate the results achieved in the past and to develop them as the basis for reconstruction of the political order in the newly recovered area. Its functions are meant on the one hand for supporting our military action in its forward push while on the other for expediting the political work in its further development. Its objectives may be summed up as

Chapter Six Concluding Remarks

1. Concept of Political Warfare Clarified

In Chapters II and III of this treatise, there was considerable exposure of such ugly plots of the Russian imperialists and the Chinese Communists, with which they had stressed the importance of political warfare, as evidenced by presentation of facts concerning how they had employed stratagem operations in furtherance of invasions and rebellions, respectively.

Nevertheless, the concept and the techniques of political warfare never were the invention of Communist aggressors. What we hold to be the true meaning, together with its ultimate objectives, is of course different from that of our arch enemy. And we are not following the enemy's steps in waging the political war against them.

What we want to make clear here is that both the concept and various techniques of political warfare have been the Chinese heritage of several thousand years standing which have earlier also won hearty endorsement and frequent application of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President Chiang Kai-shek. A few points in this regard may be presented here for explanation.

First, there is the fact that ancient China had long

cherished the concept of political warfare. An old saying had it that "best generals should stress the use of stratagems instead of sheer courage." Good stratagem is indeed the preferential prerequisite to win practically most of the wars. Sun Tsu (c. 514-469 B.C.), the best military strategist during the Spring-Autumn Era of China, had in Chapter Three of his "Military Classics" clearly indicated: "The one who is well-versed in military affairs shall conquer the enemy without the need of waging a bloodshed war; capture the opponent's city without the trouble of staging an armed attack; destroy the belligerent state without the necessity of a prolonged war." Sun Tzu's best choice to win the war primarily is not the armed conflict but rather the use of adequate stratagems. And so he also emphasized, "The foremost military force relies upon the use of superior strategy." In the same vein he explained, "To conquer your enemy when facing the whole world of hostility, one must secure the perfect strategy and so his military force shall not be stuck in a quagmire while achieving the victory in full with the least sacrifice possible. This is the cardinal principle of stratagem offensive." Here Sun Tzu had put in black and white the keynote of an earliest doctrine of political warfare in China.

Next, ancient Chinese were accustomed to the difference between "contest by wisdom" and "wrestle by physical prowess." The former denotes a struggle by use of ideological power. The earliest ideological war in China was taken up most distinctively by Confucius and Mencius. As in the Spring-Autumn Era, the orthodox ideology handed

down from Emperors Yao (c. 2357-2256 B.C.) and Shun (c. 2255-2206 B.C.) through Kings Yu (2205-2198 B.C. in reign), Tang (1766-1752 B.C.), Wen (a posthumous title without actually ascending to the throne), and Wu (1122-1114 B.C.) and later by the Duke of Chow had then gradually diversified with conflicting schools vying for supremacy. One of the marked trends was a type of hypocrites who in speeches and actions practised pretense or deception to gain their own selfish ends. One named Shao Cheng-mao was the distinguished representative of this type. It was said that Confucius (551-479 B.C.) had the righteous indignation against hypocrites. As soon as he took up the post of Minister of Justice in the State of Lu, he promptly put Shao Cheng-mao to death. This sort of putting out the weed by uprooting it still is admirable in the present age!

Later in the Warring-State Era (c. 403-221 B.C.), some schools of reactionary ideology took more concrete shapes. Mencius (371-288 B.C.), facing the chaotic thoughts of many schools, entertained the bitter resentment against Yang Chu, who preached egoism, and Moti, who expounded the doctrine of universal love to its extreme, together with various sophisticators. Hence, Mencius had openly declared war against them. Such instances might be held as the most remarkable example of ideological war in ancient China.

Sun Tzu in the first chapter of his famed writing had laid down the explicit principle with his military science merged with his political philosophy by stressing: "What we call *Tao* or the highest policy in government as

well as in military affairs denotes the foremost ways and means by which the ruler or commander-in-chief shall win the popular will of the people in one accord, and so they might share the same fate of life or death without the fear of risking dangers in war." Here this passage indicates the necessity of internal solidarity of the government and people, with utmost care paid to the organizational efforts of a nation when facing the imminent danger of war or especially so during the war time. Definitely, the ancient Chinese had emphasized the need of spiritual solidarity of the nation. And yet except the governmental organ and military force that had followed certain organizational patterns, the common people may not have stuck to the practice of certain forms of political organizations. Therefore, Sun Tzu stressed the possibility of winning the defection of the people of belligerent states by showing them kindness and affection, so as to undermine the enemy's organization. Such is a sketch of some keynotes in organizational warfare in ancient China.

An old saying has it that "A group will may form the security as of a fortress." It denotes the possibility of strengthening a state's defense through the build-up of psychical power of the people. The ancient military classics also emphasized: "The best policy lies in the attack upon the heart of the enemy: next comes the assault upon the enemy's city." By this there is the significant meaning for the war of nerves. The war for winning of hearts is the keynote for ancient China's psychological warfare.

Sun Tzu had also remarked: "Enlightened ruler and superior general who can win the war through military

action with distinguished merits achieve the feat chiefly relying upon their fore-thoughts. Such fore-thoughts must not be shaped by recourse to ghosts or gods; nor resort to historical facts; nor appeal to past experiences; but must be secured through enquiries upon persons who are well-versed in the enemy's situations." In an attempt to apprehend the enemy's situations, one must use most capable spies available. And so such use of spies reveals one phase of ancient China's intelligence warfare.

"The Great Learning" of the Confucian School has said: "Having first the people and then one may possess land, with land secured one may have wealth, and then with material wealth at hand one may use it on good purpose." This motto stresses the view that "people" is more important than "territories" in war time. Mencius accordingly said: "One who can win the empire must first win over the people." The doctrine of winning the people depicts the keynote of the people's warfare.

With reference to the foregoing passages, though brief as they may seem, yet with the factual support as beyond doubt, it is evident that ancient China had discovered the significance of political warfare in various phases.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his devotion to the national revolution by which he had led the people to overthrow the despotic Manchu regime and kick out Yuan Shih-kai, had undoubtedly resorted to the use of political stratagems. He had written the Three Principles of the People, with candid criticisms extended in the Principle of People's Livelihood against the Marxism. This is then the most remarkable instance of ideological war. At the outset of

calling for national revolution, Dr. Sun had organized the "Tung Meng Hui," the association of common allegiance, which was later transformed into the enlarged organization of the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party of China. Such undertakings were definitely taken up for waging of organizational warfare.

Dr. Sun had in December 1924 talked to many key KMT members that "The Nationalist way in fighting for the national cause must take in also publicity works in addition to military affairs." He ascribed the success in the Wuchang Uprising of 1911 chiefly to the success of publicity activities. Actually, this sort of fight for the man's mind is one phase of psychological warfare. Dr. Sun also related how he in his long revolutionary process had toured around the lower valley of Yangtze River to survey the political, social and economic situations. That was one of his ventures in collecting materials concerning the opponent's conditions for appraisal, with judgment's passed on them. Later by his will of 1925, he had solemnly instructed his followers: "It is absolutely necessary to arouse the people to join in the fight for realization of the national cause." This bequeathed teaching of the great leader exhorts the KMT members to lay emphasis on the people's warfare. And so it is justifiable to observe that the Founder of the Republic of China had consistently stressed the necessity of pushing on development of political warfare as the crucial fight for realization of his "Three Principles of the People"; and it is candidly right to remark that the success in the Wuchang Uprising and the later victory in getting rid of Yuan Shih-kai's reac-

tionary monarchical move were the fruits of political warfare in China in the early 20th century.

President Chiang, in his capacity as the greatest successor to Dr. Sun's revolutionary leadership, has also accomplished the mastering of the strategy and tactics of political warfare. He has not only coined the Chinese term of "political warfare" but also in his lectures related to the principles of political warfare clearly defined its contents as consisting of the "Six Types of Major Warfares." And then "Soviet Russia in China," which crystallizes his past experiences in political struggle against the Communists, has made further expounding on its meanings with factual illustrations.

In the past it is lamentable that many ranking officials and military officers of China did not wholly appreciate President Chiang's enlightening instructions in the field of political warfare and so the frustration of our national revolution on the China mainland was attributable to such critical negligence of our task. With the bitter lessons burning in our mind, we are bound to heighten our political alertness and strengthen the work in waging the political struggle against Communism in order to win the final victory in our anti-Communist war. Most recently there are some naive persons who have unfortunately stuck their ancient viewpoint to the old world situations and cry out loud their prejudicial whims as to assert that the projected counter-attack against the China mainland is "beyond the hope." Some of our foreign friends have also expressed their concern over the possibility of our fighting back to the mainland. In fact, their views are

biased because they are completely mistaken in appraising the Communist puppet Peiping regime as well as in misunderstanding the virtual strength of the Republic of China as in the former case, it is over-estimation while the latter, under-estimation.

It is true that in appearance the Chinese Communists have under their superficial control in numerical strength such as territorial areas, population, and the number of armed forces much greater than those of the Republic of China. And so one may tend to ask how can we stage the much heralded counter-attack against the mainland as we are inferior in numerical strength?

It may seem undeniable that in the replenishing of material supplies and logistic support, together with modern military techniques, for our counter-attack crusading, we have to make recourse to the help of our allies and friendly nations, especially the United States of America, that, as she virtually is, has been situated "in the same boat" with Free China—for actually the Republic of China is fighting also for the United States in defense of her national security on the Pacific front.

2. The Use of Moral Force in Polit-War Operations

Nevertheless, one more point must also be clarified here. And that is, even though armed strength is important in modern warfare, what we rely upon for staging the counter-attack as main forces is not purely the military might. In other words, we should also resort to the superb moral force in political warfare. Meanwhile, the initial

theatre of our counter-attacking might be located on the mainland instead of the Taiwan Straits. Hence, President Chiang has also repeatedly announced that our projected counter-attack against the Chinese Communists will "not sheerly rely upon armed might but rather upon our political principles." It is therefore established that we shall "look upon the China mainland as the main theatre of war while the Taiwan Straits as its supporting ground."

In appearance and in numerical strength, it is conceivable that the Chinese Communists are much bigger than us. But such sort of bigness does not necessarily mean also greatness in fighting force. The Chicom's weakness in fighting force, despite their overwhelming bulk of numerical strength, has been repeatedly evidenced by the fiasco in their attempted invasions of the offshore islands such as Kinmen and Matsu located in the Taiwan Straits.

Even if the enemy's vastness in number is real and substantial, it is nevertheless true that in any colossal body politic there are definitely some weak spots. Even if the Chicom's colossal build-up is identical to the iron-clad Achilles of the Greek legend, with "bronze-like muscles and iron-like bones all over his body immunized from attack by earthly weapons," there are yet certain weak spots liable to get mortal blows. The weak spots on Achilles were at his heels. Just by one thrust of a steel needle at one of his heels, it will finish—and it did finish—him for good.

What might readily be identified as the Achilles' heel of the Red giant on China mainland? It is the popular will of the Chinese people.

What might be looked upon as our steel pin to fight the Red monster?

It is our weapons used in political warfare. By carrying out effective political strife in its positive phase, we can aim at the Chicom's weak spots with a mortal thrust of our steel pins. And so to finish the Chicom's reign of terror by a lightning strike should be a matter of course beyond any shadow of doubt.

Now in Asia the doctrine of political warfare has been highly championed by President Chiang. It really is a great learning with vast and profound implications. Here is but a sketch of the general principles in this great learning. Further studies on it should be made in pursuit of the contents of "Six Types of Major Warfares" in theories and current world events stated side by side in coordinated series. That may contribute its valuable share to the great task of our counter-attack against the Communist gang, with recovery of the mainland and reconstruction of a new Republic of China thereon for our ultimate objective.

Three Slogans for Reference

Finally, it seems appropriate in concluding this treatise to present three slogans for reference of those who are interested in studying and applying the principles of political warfare.

1. In the planning for strategic political warfare, reconstruction is preferred to destruction:

As related above, Dr. Sun and President Chiang have

emphasized the KMT supreme strategy as none other than one aiming at reconstruction of the Republic of China. Of course, any type of war might be liable to yield destructive results which usually are unavoidable. What the key note indicates here is that in the planning of polit-war strategies there should be always this watchword to be observed—reconstruction is preferred to destruction. Any unavoidable destruction also is meant for opening the way of reconstruction. As at present the most important thing for our country is continued reconstruction in its accelerated paces. We have to apply this gist to the build-up of military force; to the strengthening of political affairs; and so also to the invigorating of our party affairs. Once the counter attack bugle is sounded over the mainland, we will have to deal mortally destructive blows upon our enemy. And yet the aim of such massive destructions still is at restoration of the human dignity and the happy family to our compatriots on the mainland, with the ultimate objective of reconstructing a new, strong and wealthy Republic of China on the ruins left by the Chinese Communists.

2. In the planning for tactical political warfare, offensive is preferred to defensive:

In the tactical operation of military action, the most important gist is the quick catch-hold of initiative offensive, while defensive is but a temporary gesture for the purpose of waiting for the right moment to release the subsequent attack. In tactical operations in polit-war, there are naturally the necessary maneuvers on offensive and defensive grounds. As this type of war is prone to be waged

through clashes of wisdom instead of armed might, it emphasizes the technique of camouflage and detour actions in addition to the deployment of vanguards and rear-guards, the catch-hold of low tide and high tide of opportunities, and the development of indirect front lines. And so the adoption of defensive tactics or even retreat in feint may have formed important techniques in polit-war maneuverings.

Nevertheless, the iron rule in military actions still holds true that defensive, no matter how it is justified as an important step, is but a passing phase while its objective still is set for counter-offensive. And then the best defense in polit-war probably is the positive attack. The ultimate aim in such defense is none other than annihilation of the enemy by aptly dealing him a mortal blow. Particularly since we have retreated to this island bastion of China, any further retreat is not only unjustifiable in tactical maneuvers but also impossible in physical limitation. Therefore, prior to the military actions for the long heralded counter-attack against the mainland, it is indispensable that all the personnel, strategy and tactical maneuvering, together with the ways and means employed in the polit-war must be endowed with the courageous and firm attitude and armed with the positive and offensive weapons, with brave warriors to man the post and adequate financial support to push on their active works, so as to deal the decisive blow upon our enemy at the ripe time; that is, we must extend the political offensive directly all over the mainland with the heart of the Chinese Communists included as our direct target of

attack; and indirectly, we must also expand the political offensive through propaganda and diplomatic activities all over the world as to isolate the Chicoms on the one hand and to win more friends and allies for our nation on the other.

3. In the battle field of political warfare, the contest of wisdom is preferred to the clash of armed might:

It is true that in military actions there are various forms of heated combat with bloodshedding, but in the polit-war engagement there are also what we call hot combats in their critical moments. The former deals chiefly with probing, contact, shooting and hand-to-hand wrestling, but the latter deals generally with propaganda, organization, investigation, and service. Polit-war then must be directed under the guidance of resorting to wisdoms, knowledge and skill. In fact, it is in principle the clash of wisdoms between two camps or among a multitude of belligerent and neutral countries. With superior wisdom, knowledge and skill at their command, many warriors in this battlefield may hope to win even though situated in numerical inferiority.

As at present, most of the warriors in our polit-war camp have possessed high-grade wisdom and knowledge. And yet unfortunately when applied to the actual operation, these weapons frequently are liable to get hamstrung by traditional formulas, official red tapes, personal prejudices, and individual shrotecomings, etc., etc., with their efficiency greatly cut down or reciprocally set off. And then, if we could not win the victory in the political field, we were as when on the mainland defeated also in the mili-

tary battleground. That sort of bitter experience should always be remembered as a lesson in our present fight for recovery of the mainland through the waging of political war prior to the military actions against the Communists.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for us to use the key to open the wisdom door, break down all the ill chains entangling around it so as to wield the force of wisdom to the greatest extent possible. With the righteousness on our side and paramount morale in our camp, we should be able to defeat the enemy through the use of our superb wisdoms, knowledge and skill in the battle field of political warfare.