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SUPPORT THE PEOPLE

OF VIET NAM,

DEFEAT

U.S. AGGRESSORS

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DEFEAT
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

While intensifying its aggression in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is step by step expanding the war to north Viet Nam.

Since February 1965 the Government of the People's Republic of China has issued several statements and leaders of the Party, government and people's organizations have made important speeches in which they strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for expanding the aggressive war against Viet Nam and express firm support of the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

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STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(February 9, 1965)

U.S. imperialism has once again stretched its claws of aggression into the territory of China's brother and neighbour, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On February 7 and 8, U.S. air units repeatedly bombed and strafed peaceful towns and villages in the area of Dong Hoi Town and a number of other localities in Quang Binh Province and in the Vinh Linh area of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The heroic people in north Viet Nam resolutely fought back and shot down or damaged quite a number of the invading U.S. aircraft. On February 8, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement solemnly proclaiming its peace-loving and just stand of resistance to aggression. The Chinese Government firmly supports this stand.

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the 650 million Chinese people sternly condemn this piratical action taken by the Johnson Administration of the United States in expanding the war beyond south Viet Nam.

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the 650 million Chinese people warmly hail the

brilliant successes of the fraternal Vietnamese people in administering counter-blows to the U.S. aggressors.

The latest U.S. air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the wake of the Bac Bo Gulf incident of August 1964 constitute another undisguised war provocation of the United States in its deliberate attempt to expand the war beyond south Viet Nam. The pretext cited by the United States is utterly absurd. On February 7, the south Vietnamese people's armed forces launched attacks on the U.S. aggressors in the Pleiku area and, as admitted by the U.S. Defence Secretary himself, destroyed or damaged 20 U.S. aircraft and killed seven and wounded 109 U.S. aggressive troops. A chieftain of the U.S. aggressors lamented: "This is bad, very bad." However, the people throughout the world say: This is good, very good. Since the U.S. aggressors have come from thousands of miles away to south Viet Nam to slaughter the innocent people there every day, why can't the south Vietnamese people give tit-for-tat in dealing with the aggressors? The U.S. imperialists will never succeed in their attempt to use air strikes against north Viet Nam as a means to frighten the south Vietnamese people into not offending the U.S. aggressors.

The U.S. Government asserts that it seeks no wider war beyond south Viet Nam, that its latest action is only a retaliation and that whether or not there will be a wider war lies entirely with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. That is an out-and-out lie. In point of fact, the United States has already embarked on the course of expanding the war beyond south Viet Nam. The question now is whether or not it will continue along this course. This does not lie with anyone else; it lies

solely with the U.S. Government itself. Since the United States has, in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements of 1954, made further attacks on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam from the military bases and aircraft carriers serving its armed aggression in south Viet Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has gained the right of action to fight against U.S. aggression, and all the other countries upholding the Geneva agreements have gained the right of action to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its fight against aggression. As to how this right will be exercised, that is our affair. The situation is continuing to develop. But one thing is certain, that is, if the United States should insist on expanding its war of aggression beyond south Viet Nam, the result will only be its submergence in the ocean of the peoples of Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the Far East who are closing in on it, thus bringing about its speedier and more disastrous defeat.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp and all the other socialist countries have the unshirkable international obligation to support and assist it with actual deeds.

China is a signatory to the 1954 Geneva agreements. China and Viet Nam are neighbours closely related like the lips and teeth. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are the closest of brothers. Aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China; the 650 million Chinese people will definitely not stand idly by and are well prepared in this respect. The Government of the People's Republic of China calls upon all the peace-

loving countries and people of the world to unite and take every possible action to support and assist the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

Defeat to the U.S. aggressors!

Victory to the Vietnamese people!

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(February 13, 1965)

On February 11, the United States again sent out more than 150 aircraft which frenziedly strafed and bombed the Vinh Linh, Dong Hoi and Nghe An areas in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Nine of the planes were shot down and many others were damaged by the Vietnamese People's Army. This was the third air attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam launched within one week by the Johnson Administration of the United States. The U.S. Government is now trying step by step to spread its war of aggression from south to north Viet Nam. A war crisis is threatening the peoples of Indo-China and all Southeast Asia.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on February 11 strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for its acts of war and calling on the Vietnamese people to increase still further their vigilance and combat readiness and stand determined to defeat all acts of aggression by the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the 650 million Chinese people warmly congratulate the Vietnamese people on their latest brilliant victory, and resolutely and unreservedly support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The pretexts of the United States for its war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are utterly absurd. This was so in previous cases and is particularly so this time.

As the whole world knows, the pretext upon which the United States made its air attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5, 1964, was a sheer ghost tale. As regards the latest air attacks, the U.S. aggressors claimed that they had to "retaliate" on north Viet Nam because they had suffered beatings in the south. This is an even more glaring example of gangster's logic, confounding right and wrong. The war in south Viet Nam was provoked by the United States. When France withdrew its forces in pursuance of the 1954 Geneva agreements, the U.S. aggressors immediately stepped in. U.S. imperialism and its puppets in south Viet Nam have stopped at nothing in their oppression of the south Vietnamese people, and this inevitably evokes vigorous resistance from the latter. Special warfare is an invention of General Maxwell Taylor, the present U.S. ambassador to south Viet Nam, who is now personally stepping up the conduct of such a war there. What is special warfare after all? To put it bluntly, it means a policy of killing all, looting all and burning all applied with modern weapons against the south Vietnamese people; it means massacre, terrorism and atrocities. Now the U.S. aggressors have the effrontery to charge the south Vietnamese people's armed forces with "terrorist" acts against them at Qui Nhon. This is indeed the height of impudence. Do they really think that the Vietnamese people can forget the colossal debts in blood incurred over the past decade by U.S.

imperialism and its puppet cliques in south Viet Nam who killed nearly 200,000, wounded or maimed more than 700,000 and imprisoned 500,000 south Vietnamese people? It is precisely the special warfare of the United States that has taught the south Vietnamese people to follow their present course in dealing with the U.S. aggressors. To use a Chinese saying, this is punishment which they well deserve.

The United States was already violating the Geneva agreements in their totality when it launched its war of aggression in south Viet Nam. And now it has gone a step further in wrecking the Geneva agreements by making war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the pretext that it has suffered beatings in south Viet Nam.

While professing that it "desires to avoid spreading the conflict", the U.S. Government is in fact trying step by step to expand the war in Indo-China. The U.S. Government is simply day-dreaming to imagine that it could overawe the Vietnamese people by raiding the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam with a few planes. As long as the U.S. aggressors refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam, the south Vietnamese people will not cease dealing blows at them. Such blows will definitely become all the heavier and not otherwise. The United States will certainly not be allowed to get away unpunished for its war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Now that the U.S. bandit chieftain Lyndon B. Johnson has twice personally directed aircraft of the south Vietnamese puppets to bomb the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the latter has secured the right to take the

initiative in dealing counter-blows to the south Vietnamese puppets.

The U.S. Government should be reminded that it is the United States which has invaded south Viet Nam in violation of the Geneva agreements and which has now further taken the lead in breaking up the line of demarcation between south and north Viet Nam. Do they seriously think that they alone are allowed to do so while others are not? The war will not develop in accordance with a law of their own liking. They boast of the power of their naval and air forces, asserting that once these forces are put into action, people will be frightened and will beg for peace. Their hope lies in making people afraid of them. But they will become utterly helpless when the people resisting aggression, instead of being afraid of them, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. They have been taught a lesson on this score in the Korean war. Do they want to have the lesson repeated in Indo-China?

The Chinese people have never entertained any illusions about U.S. imperialism. The Chinese Government has long ago declared that aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by the United States means aggression against China, and that the Chinese people have long been prepared and know how to aid the people of Viet Nam and Indo-China in driving out the U.S. aggressors.

The Chinese Government and people now call on all people of the world opposing U.S. imperialism and all the peoples in the socialist camp to unite and take every possible and truly effective measure to support and assist the people of Viet Nam and Indo-China in their just struggle so as to bring complete defeat to the U.S. aggressors.

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(March 4, 1965)

On March 2, the air forces of the United States and her puppets in south Viet Nam again frenziedly bombed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on an unprecedented scale. The heroic Vietnamese army and people dealt head-on blows to the invading enemy planes, shooting down 11 and damaging many others. On March 3, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement to the world, strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for this extremely grave act of war. The Chinese Government and people fully support this solemn statement by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They sternly denounce the fresh war provocation of the Johnson Administration of the United States and warmly hail the brilliant victory of the great Vietnamese people in their counter-blows against the U.S. aggressors.

The U.S. imperialists headed by Lyndon B. Johnson are a band of gangsters whose evil doings know no limits. Not long ago, while carrying out bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on three successive occasions, the Johnson Administration was still calling them mere "retaliatory actions" or isolated strikes. This

time, the Johnson Administration has further revealed its gangster's features. It flagrantly declared that this was the first of a series of fresh air raids "for the purpose of replying to continuous aggressive acts across the 17th Parallel coming from the north".

The U.S. Government has invented an absurd pretext to launch its naked aggression. On February 27, the U.S. State Department published a so-called White Paper in which it tried to smear the armed struggle of the south Vietnamese people as "a campaign inspired, directed, supplied and controlled" by Hanoi. But the facts cannot be distorted. As the whole world knows, it is the United States that has obstructed the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and long kept the 30 million Vietnamese people, who are of the same flesh and blood, divided into two parts; it is the United States that has imposed a puppet regime on the south Vietnamese people and subjected them to ruthless exploitation and oppression; it is the suppression and slaughter of the south Vietnamese people perpetrated by the United States and its puppet regime in south Viet Nam that have aroused the people there to struggle and resistance. When the puppet regime fails, the United States sends in her own armed forces. It is the U.S. armed intervention and aggression that have aroused the south Vietnamese people to more resolute resistance and struggle. Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother were killed. Nguyen Khanh was ousted. The puppets in south Viet Nam are being replaced one after another in an endless chain. The reactionary U.S. rule in south Viet Nam is so unpopular that nobody can possibly believe that the armed struggle of the south Vietnamese people is a so-

called campaign sponsored by Hanoi, and not the inevitable result of this reactionary rule.

Lies can never cover up the truth. The fact is that the United States has found herself in an ever worsening situation in her special war against the south Vietnamese people, and the casualties inflicted on the U.S. aggressors are mounting. To fight on in the same old fashion? They will only come to the end of a blind alley. To pack up and go home? They are not reconciled to this. The United States finds it hard to extricate herself from the dilemma in south Viet Nam. In order to save itself from defeat there, the Johnson Administration is now vainly trying to force the south Vietnamese people to stop fighting by the blackmail of expanding the war. But as the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam pointed out in its March 3 statement, "the U.S. Government hopes that piratical air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam can save the U.S. and puppet troops from defeat and from their present impasse in south Viet Nam. That is sheer illusion. The more brazen their attacks on north Viet Nam, the greater will be the hatred of the south Vietnamese people who will fight them still more resolutely, will deal them still more telling blows and will certainly win final victory." This is absolutely true.

We must tell the U.S. aggressors in all seriousness that the meagre strength of your air force can cow nobody. Didn't you employ, and aren't you employing, this air force against the Liberation Army of South Viet Nam and the patriotic Laotian armed forces? What is the result? Can it be that what proves ineffective in south Viet Nam will possibly become effective when you apply it to north Viet Nam? Didn't you make a display of what you called naval and air superiority against the Demo-

cratic People's Republic of Korea? What was the result? Have you already forgotten it? You fancy that once you have bombed north Viet Nam, the people in the south will be brought to their knees, and so will the entire Vietnamese people. No such thing will ever happen. What you can do at most is to turn north Viet Nam into another south Viet Nam, and Indo-China or even all Southeast Asia into a second Korea. As you have proved to be no match for the 14 million people in south Viet Nam, how can you be a match for the entire Vietnamese people!

The colonialists, imperialists and all reactionaries have always relied on one kind of weapon or another to intimidate people. In the 18th and 19th centuries, they relied on a few gunboats to make a show of force before the people of the world. But before long the gunboat policy of the imperialists went bankrupt, and the gunboat could no longer frighten people. The aeroplane made its appearance in the 20th century, and they tried to rely on the air force. Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo had all tried it but failed without exception. The people of the world have become more awakened than ever. The revolutionary movements of the people all over the world are surging forward. More and more people have come to realize that it is man, and not weapons, that decides the outcome of a war. The gunboat is a paper tiger; the aeroplane is a paper tiger; and the atom bomb is likewise a paper tiger. In these circumstances, it is indeed ridiculous for the U.S. imperialists to try to rely on what they call naval and air superiority in prosecuting their policy of aggression. The United States has only meagre armed forces at her disposal; not to speak of her using only air and naval forces, what can the United States do

even if she were to throw in all her ground forces? They may come in, but will not be able to get out. The defeat of the U.S. imperialists is a foregone conclusion.

Of course, the U.S. Government has something else in mind. The American press is bluntly saying that the U.S. Government wants to negotiate from the "position of strength". The U.S. Government attempts to bring about honourable peace negotiations by bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. What it calls honourable peace negotiations is nothing but an attempt to make the Vietnamese people stop fighting and tolerate continued U.S. aggression in Viet Nam. This is mere wishful thinking. Viet Nam will not agree, nor will any of the countries which truly uphold the Geneva agreements. Unless one is bent on selling out the interests of the Vietnamese people, how can one bow to the U.S. war blackmail? There is indeed an honourable way out for the United States, that is, to admit her mistakes without delay and immediately stop her armed intervention and aggression in Viet Nam and immediately withdraw all her armed forces from south Viet Nam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreements. This is the only way for the United States to save face, and there is no other way out. If, failing that, the United States should persist in the present course, then the more she expands her aggression, the more will she lose face until she is totally defeated in the war and completely loses face, and until she is utterly discredited and becomes completely bankrupt.

The U.S. Government must not set itself against the wrong opponents. You can find no one here who will tremble before your war blackmail or kneel down in capitulation. The Chinese people do not lack experience

in dealing with the United States. Whatever the U.S. imperialists may do, the Chinese people are prepared and know how to deal with them. You will have to pay all the debts in blood you owe the Vietnamese people. The 650 million Chinese people firmly support their brothers the Vietnamese people and will carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism to the end.

The great heroic Vietnamese people will win!
The vicious U.S. imperialists will be defeated!

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(March 12, 1965)

On March 8 and 9, the Johnson Administration of the United States flagrantly dispatched 3,500 marines to south Viet Nam. After making four air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam within one month, the U.S. imperialists have thrown their ground forces into the war in south Viet Nam. This is a grave move to further expand the war in Indo-China.

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued statements on March 9 and 10 respectively, strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for this fresh act of aggression and war provocation. The Chinese Government and people give firm and unreserved support to the just stand of the heroic Vietnamese people in defence of their great motherland.

By dispatching its ground forces to south Viet Nam, the United States has torn to shreds the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China, and particularly on Viet Nam. The United States wantonly trampled the Geneva agreements underfoot long ago. Nevertheless, it tried hard previously to pretend that it was not against the Geneva agreements. It sent into south Viet Nam large quantities

of military equipment and matériel and tens of thousands of military personnel. But it asserted that these personnel were "advisers" or "instructors", that they did not take part in the combat and that it was the south Vietnamese who were engaged in the fighting. Now all these masks are torn off by its own action. The prohibition of the entry of foreign troops into Viet Nam lies at the very foundation of the Geneva agreements. By marching U.S. combat troops swaggeringly into south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has done what both the Eisenhower and the Kennedy Administrations had all along wanted to do but dared not. It has completely torn up the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam with its own hands. The facts have once again proved that Lyndon Johnson is in no way a "sensible" man but the most vicious ring-leader of the U.S. gangsters.

The dispatch of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam is a declaration of the bankruptcy of the so-called special warfare which was so much vaunted by U.S. imperialism over the last few years. Ever since the United States came to grief in the Korean war, the strategists of U.S. imperialism have been racking their brains to seek a way to suppress national-liberation movements without losing American lives. They advanced all sorts of formulas and finally invented the so-called special warfare in which the Americans would provide weapons while local people would provide the cannon-fodder. The United States would have to invest some men too, but not in large numbers, who would mainly serve as "advisers" or "instructors" to the mercenaries. For the last three years and more, it has been experimenting with this so-called special warfare in south Viet Nam. But the result is that the mercenaries have not lived up

to expectations and casualties among U.S. military personnel have been mounting, while the South Vietnamese Liberation Army is growing stronger and stronger. The United States disclaimed any direct part in the war, but in fact it constantly had to swallow the bitter fruits of war. Why not then simply throw its ground forces directly into the war of aggression? Thus, in a dilemma, the Johnson Administration has made its new decision. Since Da Nang is not safe, 3,500 marines have to be sent there. But neither is Pleiku safe, and reinforcements have to be sent there too. And what about Qui Nhon, Binh Gia, An Lao, Bien Hoa, and other places? Are they safe? No village or town, no forest or road, in the whole of south Viet Nam is safe for the U.S. aggressors. It is obviously not enough just to throw in 3,500 men. At any rate, the "special warfare" with its main reliance on mercenaries has gone bankrupt. The landing of U.S. marines points to the fact that the United States has embarked willy-nilly on the path of a war of the Korean type.

The entry of U.S. ground forces in the war will never cow the heroic south Vietnamese people. In its statement of March 9, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation declared:

The acts of the U.S. imperialists can in no way hamper the development of the revolutionary movement in south Viet Nam. The south Vietnamese people are resolved to achieve their fundamental aspirations which are independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They are resolved to drive the U.S. imperialists out of the Vietnamese territory, overthrow the puppet regime and set up a national democratic coalition government.

The situation in south Viet Nam can stabilize only when the aspirations of the south Vietnamese people are realized.

The U.S. aggressors must get out of south Viet Nam. The U.S.-sponsored puppet regime in south Viet Nam must be overthrown. The Chinese people firmly support this just and revolutionary stand of the south Vietnamese people.

The dispatch of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam will inevitably further educate the south Vietnamese people and the entire Vietnamese people by way of negative example. The south Vietnamese people will see more clearly that the question of south Viet Nam is, in essence, one of U.S. imperialist oppression and aggression. Only a handful of traitors to the Vietnamese nation follow the U.S. aggressors heart and soul. In these circumstances, more people in south Viet Nam will awake and will take up arms and wage a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. aggressors whose evil doings know no bounds. How can 3,500 men save the aggressors from defeat in the war? The more they send in, the longer will be their death-rolls. The result cannot be otherwise.

The dispatch of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam has further blocked the way to a political settlement of the Viet Nam question. The Johnson Administration has the impudence to assert that "political channels are open". What is the political channel for the settlement of the question of Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China? It is to act in accordance with the Geneva agreements. In its statement of March 10, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam demanded "that

the U.S. Government strictly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, stop immediately the aggressive war in south Viet Nam and all acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, withdraw all U.S. troops and war equipment from south Viet Nam, and let the south Vietnamese people settle their own internal affairs themselves". The Chinese Government resolutely supports the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The United States must immediately stop its aggression and provocations against Viet Nam. U.S. armed forces must be completely withdrawn from Viet Nam. This is the channel, and the only channel, for a political settlement of the Viet Nam question. The United States will not succeed in its attempt to secure the right of hanging on in Viet Nam by sending reinforcements to south Viet Nam and extending its aggression in Viet Nam. If it has any desire for a political settlement, it should withdraw its troops. Every soldier who has been sent in must get out, and not a single one will be allowed to remain.

The Johnson Administration of the United States must be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising from its expansion of the war in Indo-China. A few U.S. warships, several hundred U.S. planes and some tens of thousands of U.S. ground forces can by no means frighten the Vietnamese people. The expansion of U.S. aggression can only serve to give the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and all countries upholding the Geneva agreements the right to take the initiative in dealing counter-blows. In the last few days, the U.S. press has been loudly clamouring that, in the Vietnamese war, there would no longer be any "sanctuary" such as existed during the Korean war and that the United States

would engage in "hot pursuit" of those giving support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people. In plain language, this means that it would bomb China. Let us tell the U.S. aggressors that the Chinese people are not afraid of such stuff. We have never built our security on U.S. benevolence—that it might forgo aggression. We are prepared. The Chinese people will firmly and unswervingly take all possible measures to support the people of Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China in carrying the struggle against the U.S. aggressors through to the very end. Anyhow, you have only so much armed strength at your disposal, and for all your clamouring, the means you can resort to are but that many. You may act in your way and we will act in our way. But this much is certain: the course of war will not follow your subjective wishes. And the final outcome of the struggle can only be the ousting of the U.S. aggressors from Viet Nam, from Indo-China and from the whole of Southeast Asia.

CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH AT TIRANA MASS MEETING

(March 29, 1965)

At a mass meeting of welcome in Tirana, Albania, Chou En-lai, head of the Chinese Party and government delegation, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council of China, strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its crime of expanding its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and repeatedly bombing the northern part of Viet Nam. He solemnly reaffirmed: "The Chinese people resolutely respond to the recent statement and appeal of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and will give the south Vietnamese people all necessary material assistance including weapons and all other war materials. We are also prepared to send our personnel to fight alongside the south Vietnamese people whenever they deem it necessary."

Chou En-lai warmly praised the Albanian people for the many splendid successes they had achieved in national construction and international struggles. He highly valued the correct leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. He also highly praised the great, long-tested friendship and militant unity between the Parties, governments and peoples of China and Albania.

After dealing with the excellent revolutionary situation of the contemporary world, he said that today U.S. imperialism is becoming more frantic in its deathbed struggle. Openly making itself the enemy of the people of the whole world, it is rallying the reactionary forces of all countries around it. All peoples and nations who want revolution and liberation, all countries and people who want to struggle for independence and for safeguarding their sovereignty, all countries and people who want to defend world peace, cannot but direct the main spearhead of their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Chou En-lai sharply denounced U.S. imperialism for its aggressive acts of reviving Japanese militarism, stepping up the transformation of West Germany into a hotbed of new war in Europe, using Israel to threaten the independence and security of the Arab countries and intensifying its efforts to subjugate the Congo (Leopoldville) by armed suppression and political trickery.

He stressed: "The situation in south Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China has reached a more critical stage than before. U.S. imperialism is increasingly spreading the flames of war in Indo-China by completely scrapping the Geneva agreements, launching direct attacks on south Viet Nam and continually bombing north Viet Nam. U.S. imperialism is the aggressor whose hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese people. However, it slanders them as aggressors. It has even openly cried that if the Vietnamese people do not submit, it will continue indefinitely its reckless action. This is out-and-out gangster's logic. This is the most shameless provocation against the Vietnamese people and other Indo-Chinese peoples. It is also a most rabid challenge to the peoples of the socialist countries and all peoples

and countries that uphold the Geneva agreements and cherish peace."

He said: "U.S. imperialism is in a dilemma and is going down a blind alley in south Viet Nam. To save itself from defeat, it has taken the adventurous step of expanding the war while at the same time pretending to be willing to hold 'peace talks', in an attempt to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees by war blackmail. This is sheer wishful thinking. To put it bluntly, the United States is trying to make people accept as a fait accompli its complete scrapping of the Geneva agreements and to make the Vietnamese people stop fighting, tolerate the savage aggression by the U.S. pirates and even allow U.S. imperialism to hang on legitimately in south Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people will not agree to this, nor will the countries and people who genuinely uphold the Geneva agreements and uphold peace in Indo-China and the whole world. How can one permit U.S. imperialism to fight whenever it pleases and to call a halt whenever it wants to, if one is not deliberately betraying the interests of the Vietnamese people? How can one insist that the Vietnamese people bow to the bayonets and bombs of the U.S. aggressors? The Yugoslav Tito clique is busy running round peddling so-called 'peace talks'. In reality it wants the Vietnamese people to capitulate to the U.S. aggressors. This once again exposes the role of the Tito clique as a special detachment in the service of U.S. imperialism."

He continued: "As far as the United States is concerned, the only way to restore peace in south Viet Nam is to stop its aggression and withdraw all its armed forces from south Viet Nam. There is no other way. The Viet-

name people will not stop their struggle against U.S. aggression, as long as the United States does not stop its aggression against Viet Nam and does not pull out its troops from south Viet Nam. No force on earth can prevent the Vietnamese people from winning final victory in their just struggle."

Chou En-lai declared: "In the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the people of the world share weal and woe. The people of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving people of the world side with the Vietnamese people. The 650 million Chinese people have always regarded the south Vietnamese people's struggle as their own, and considered it their sacred international obligation to support the just cause of the south Vietnamese people. We have solemnly declared that the Chinese people resolutely respond to the recent statement and appeal of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and will give the south Vietnamese people all necessary material assistance including weapons and all other war materials. We are also prepared to send our personnel to fight alongside the south Vietnamese people whenever the south Vietnamese people deem it necessary. The Chinese people are resolved to assist the south Vietnamese people in carrying through to the end their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for the liberation of south Viet Nam, the defence of north Viet Nam and the reunification of their fatherland."

He said: "U.S. imperialism, with the Johnson Administration as its representative, is the biggest prop of all the reactionary forces in the world and the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world. Peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism is absolutely impossible. Does one

oppose U.S. imperialism or not? Does one oppose it in earnest or by pretence? This is the main criterion for distinguishing between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, and it is also a basic question in the struggle against modern revisionism."

Chou En-lai said: "At a time when U.S. imperialism is stepping up its aggression against Viet Nam and when the international communist movement must close its ranks to oppose the enemy, the successors to Khrushchovism convened the March meeting in Moscow. This was an extremely serious step to effect an open split in the international communist movement. Strategically, this action itself greatly helped U.S. imperialism no matter how much empty verbiage the successors to Khrushchovism may pour out about unity against imperialism. The convening of the schismatic meeting further exposed the true features of the successors to Khrushchovism. This helps people recognize more closely that the struggle against Khrushchovian revisionism is far from being ended.

"At present, the most pressing task before the Marxist-Leninists and the people of the countries of the socialist camp is to unite all forces that can be united to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to oppose the reactionaries of various countries, and to strive for the victory of the struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. For the struggle to be successful and international proletarian unity to be more consolidated, it is essential to continue to show up the true colours of the modern revisionists, to help those who do not understand the true situation to understand it, to help those wavering on the revolutionary road to

advance with the revolutionary people. It is essential to isolate as much as possible the modern revisionists who are acting as accomplices for imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries and to carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism."

**SPEECHES BY PENG CHEN AND LIU NING-I
AT PEKING MASS RALLY IN SUPPORT
OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AGAINST
U.S. IMPERIALIST ARMED AGGRESSION**

(February 10, 1965)

**Speech by Peng Chen, Member of
the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of
the Chinese Communist Party and Mayor of Peking**

Comrades and friends:

More than 3 million people in our capital have staged massive demonstrations during the past three days, and now we are gathered here in this grand rally to voice protest against the U.S. bandits for their war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to express staunch support to the Vietnamese people in their righteous struggle against U.S. aggression.

As everybody knows, a few days ago U.S. air units repeatedly bombed and strafed peaceful towns and villages in north Viet Nam. The heroic Vietnamese people resolutely hit back at the U.S. bandits who committed these outrages of aggression. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on February 8 sternly condemning the U.S. bandits for their renewed war provocations. The Chinese Government issued a statement on February 9 expressing firm sup-

port to the just stand of the Vietnamese Government. The entire Chinese people certainly will take concrete action to give firm support to the Vietnamese people in their righteous struggle against U.S. aggression and in defence of their motherland.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and China are brothers in weal or woe. U.S. imperialism's latest war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were provocations against the 650 million Chinese people and against the people of the whole world. U.S. imperialism bombed Viet Nam on the plea of "protecting the U.S. forces in south Viet Nam" and described its aggressive air raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as "retaliatory attacks". All these shameless lies serve all the more to expose its gangster's features. The U.S. bandits never allow themselves to be restricted by national boundaries or treaties in committing acts of aggression, and whenever they feel the need, they will just go ahead and do whatever they like. The U.S. forces' latest move of extending their war of aggression in Viet Nam has provided a further proof clearly revealing that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of the whole world. So long as moribund U.S. imperialism has still one last breath, it will continue to commit outrages; and to continue to follow the course of "trouble-making, failure, trouble-making again and failure again" is its inevitable future and fate. Confronted with such a bandit, we, the peoples of the socialist camp, the oppressed nations and peoples as well as all the peace-loving countries and people of the world must persevere in unremitting struggles in order to secure and safeguard peace. We are fully confident that so long as we carry the struggle through to the end we will certainly win final victory.

The latest events have once again demonstrated that all aggressors are only paper tigers. U.S. imperialism is such a paper tiger now being beaten everywhere in the world. It has got the beatings on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Long ago on the Korean battlefield it learnt how it felt to be beaten up. It has since gained similar experience in Cuba, the Congo, Laos and other countries. And now the Vietnamese people have poked a big hole in this paper tiger. The U.S. forces' latest attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam serves to expose still further the nature of this paper tiger and can in no way save it from its inevitable defeat and doom.

The Chinese Government and people will by no means stand idly by with regard to U.S. imperialist outrageous bombing and strafing of the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The entire Chinese people are determined to intensify their efforts and increase their preparedness on all fronts so as to support Viet Nam's fight against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression and to repulse their war provocations.

The U.S. aggressors must get out of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and all places under its occupation!

**Speech by Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central
Committee of the Chinese Communist Party
and President of All-China Federation of
Trade Unions**

Comrades and friends:

On February 7 and 8, U.S. imperialism again flagrantly launched armed aggression against the Democratic

Republic of Viet Nam. The heroic Vietnamese army and people rose in valiant action, shot down 12 of the invading U.S. bandit aircraft and damaged many others. The Vietnamese People's Army has registered a perfect hit, an excellent hit. This brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people is a head-on blow to the U.S. bandits, and an enormous encouragement to the people of the world. On February 7 the South Vietnamese Liberation Army scored a big victory in a raid on the U.S. aggressive forces' air base at Pleiku, killing and wounding 234 U.S. aggressors and destroying and damaging 31 U.S. aircraft. On behalf of the Chinese people, I extend warm congratulations to the brotherly Vietnamese people and pay the highest tribute to the heroic Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese People's Army and the South Vietnamese Liberation Army.

The bombing and strafing of Quang Binh Province and the Vinh Linh area of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam ordered by the Johnson Administration was another undisguised act to extend the war. This was a frenzied provocation directed at the Vietnamese people, at the Indo-Chinese people and at the people all over the world. We Chinese people fully support our government's statement of yesterday which gave expression to the staunch will and infinite resolve of the 650 million Chinese people in their firm support of their Vietnamese brothers. The Chinese people strongly condemn the colossal crimes of U.S. imperialism and are determined to do whatever is within their power to give firm support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and in defence of their motherland.

The fresh U.S. imperialist armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was meticulously

designed; it was another serious act in executing its plan for extending the war beyond south Viet Nam. In recent years, in order to save itself from the fiasco in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism, while intensifying the "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, has all along been deliberately planning to spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China. On August 5 of last year, U.S. imperialism fabricated the so-called Bac Bo Gulf incident and flagrantly launched a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus taking the first step in extending the war in Indo-China. After that, U.S. imperialism successively launched more than 20 air raids and naval attacks on the territory and the coasts of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The recent bombing of Viet Nam shows that U.S. imperialism is determined to continue to follow the hopeless course of extending the war in Indo-China. Any pretext which U.S. imperialism may create for its act of aggression is futile and can never serve to cover up its bandit features. The U.S. imperialists will never succeed in their attempt to intimidate the Vietnamese people by making air raids on north Viet Nam.

The fact that the U.S. aggressors took a further step encroaching on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has given the latter the initiative and the right of action to fight against the U.S. imperialist aggression. Particularly on February 8, the south Vietnamese puppet air units brazenly violated the Geneva agreements and participated in the military action against north Viet Nam. This has given the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam the right to deliver blows to the offensive of the south Vietnamese puppet troops. It is the affair of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as to how it will

exercise these rights. However, the forces of aggression of U.S. imperialism and the south Vietnamese puppet troops are henceforth for ever placed in a passive position.

After creating the incident, U.S. imperialism asserts ostentatiously that it "seeks no wider war" and clamours that whether or not its "retaliatory attacks" will be continued lies with north Viet Nam. We want to ask U.S. imperialism: You have again and again made armed provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; what is it if not "seeking a wider war"? Can it be that you have not committed aggression against Viet Nam but have suffered aggression from Viet Nam when you have committed murder and arson and engaged yourself in bombing and strafing on Vietnamese soil? The people of the world will never be taken in by such equivocations of yours. Since you have committed countless colossal crimes, you must get ready for stern punishment. The Vietnamese people and the revolutionary people of the world will never let you get away with it.

Comrades and friends! The fresh crimes of aggression committed by U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam laid bare once again the warlike features of the Johnson Administration. Apart from deliberately scheming to extend the war from south Viet Nam to north Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration is internationalizing the war in south Viet Nam, dispatching a great number of air units to carry out direct armed aggression in Laos and, in collusion with its puppets in south Viet Nam, making ceaseless military provocations against Cambodia in its energetic effort to extend the war in Indo-China. Moreover, it is stepping up its aggression, intervention and subversion all over the world. It has successively sent nuclear submarines to Japanese

ports in an attempt to drag Japan into its war adventures. It has sent nuclear submarines carrying Polaris missiles to the Western Pacific to menace the security of China and other Asian countries. It has conspired with Britain on "Malaysia" to make provocations and threats against Indonesia. It is slaughtering the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) and keeps on making new schemes of aggression against that country. It persists in being hostile to Cuba, bombs Cuban territory and tries to suppress by every means the national-democratic revolution of Latin America. It has stepped up its plan to give nuclear weapons to the West German militarists through the proposed multilateral nuclear force, thus posing a threat to Europe and the socialist countries. These sanguinary facts show that U.S. imperialism is the most frenzied aggressor known in history and the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world. All the people of the world who want to make revolution, to win liberation, to safeguard national independence, to strengthen socialism and to defend world peace must close their ranks and carry on a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Now the revolutionary storm against U.S. imperialism is sweeping the whole world. It is purely day-dreaming and hoping for the impossible on the part of the U.S. imperialists to attempt to save themselves from defeat in Indo-China through war adventures. The more extensively the U.S. imperialists stretch their hands and the greater war adventures they embark on, the stronger resistance they will provoke from the peoples of Indo-China and the whole world, the further they will make the peoples all over the world tighten the nooses round their necks, and the sooner they will meet their doom.

Today, united even more closely in their fight against U.S. imperialist aggression, the great Vietnamese people are determined to fight against U.S. imperialism to the end and pledged to defend their fatherland at any cost. Such a heroic people can never be cowed, nor overwhelmed. We can say with confidence that should the U.S. imperialists dare to go their way and persist in spreading the flames of war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people who have the glorious militant tradition of Dien Bien Phu will certainly be able to completely and thoroughly wipe out the U.S. aggressors on Viet Nam soil. The U.S. imperialists will certainly suffer even more shameful defeats.

Comrades and friends! The Vietnamese people's struggle is an important component part of the anti-U.S. struggle of the world's people. All the revolutionary people of the world are duty-bound to give resolute support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

As the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp, it is the unshirkable internationalist duty of all the socialist countries to give it all necessary support and assistance in terms of concrete action.

China and Viet Nam are neighbours closely related like lips and teeth. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers in weal or woe. At this solemn rally we once again sternly warn U.S. imperialism that its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is aggression against China; the 650 million Chinese people will definitely not stand idly by without lending a helping hand. We always mean what we say and do what we promise. We are ready. If the U.S. imperialists insist on going their way, we know full well how to cope with them. Now Lyndon B. Johnson has announced the

sending of a missile unit to south Viet Nam and is clamouring to toughen their "fight". We are closely watching the developments and are ready at any time to join our Vietnamese brothers in dealing resolute counter-blows to the U.S. aggressors.

The peoples of the socialist camp unite, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America unite, all the peace-loving countries and people of the world unite, to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and wage a resolute struggle to smash thoroughly the U.S. imperialist scheme of extending the war in Indo-China and to defend world peace.

U.S. imperialism, get out of south Viet Nam! Get out of Indo-China! Get out of south Korea! Get out of Japan! Get out of Taiwan! Get out of Asia, Africa and Latin America! Get out of all the places it occupies!

Long live the great solidarity and comradeship-in-arms of the peoples of China and Viet Nam!

Victory to the great Vietnamese people!

Down with U.S. imperialism!

**CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER
CHEN YI'S REPLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER
XUAN THUY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM**

(March 23, 1965)

Comrade Xuan Thuy,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,
Hanoi

Comrade Minister:

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 22 in which you exposed the crimes of the U.S. imperialists in stepping up their aggression in south Viet Nam and extending the war to north Viet Nam, expressed the Vietnamese people's determination to defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and called on the Co-Chairmen and other participating nations of the 1954 Geneva Conference as well as the governments of all countries and all peace-loving people to stop U.S. aggression and preserve peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government and people fully support the righteous stand and just demand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Disregarding repeated warnings from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the strong

opposition of many peace-loving countries and people, U.S. imperialism is expanding its war of aggression in south Viet Nam step by step. The United States has introduced into the south Vietnamese battlefield its marines, various types of combat aircraft and cannon-fodder provided by its lackeys in south Korea and other countries and has brutally used poison gas against the south Vietnamese people. Since February 7, U.S. air and naval units have been bombing and strafing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam with increasing frequency and widening the range of their attacks. On March 26, U.S. aircraft even bombed Bach Long Vi Island which is north of the 20th Parallel. These rampant and lawless acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism constitute a serious threat to peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

U.S. imperialism has suffered one defeat after another on the south Vietnamese battlefield. Its special warfare has gone completely bankrupt. Like a cornered dog, it is seeking a way out by adventurously expanding the war and by military bluff. Big and little chieftains of the Johnson Administration have been clamouring that "there are no limits to" extension of their bombings on north Viet Nam and that their so-called "pressure stops at the point when the enemy gives in". This is the height of madness. U.S. imperialism fancies that if only it ferociously applies all its blackmailing tricks, the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples will be cowed, and the United States will thereby be saved from defeat in south Viet Nam. This is indeed miserable and ludicrous day-dreaming.

As you pointed out in your letter, "the more hysterical their attempts to demonstrate their force, the more the U.S. imperialists will prove themselves to be in a weak position and short of arguments. Having unmasked

themselves as cruel aggressors, they will arouse the people of south Viet Nam and of our whole country to still greater hatred, increase the indignation of the world's people and expose themselves to heavier and more humiliating defeats."

China is Viet Nam's fraternal neighbour and a participant of the Geneva Conference. The entire Chinese people are deeply angered at the way U.S. imperialism rudely tramples the Geneva agreements underfoot and recklessly commits aggression against Viet Nam. We strongly condemn the piratical behaviour of the Johnson Administration. We pay our highest tribute to the Vietnamese people who are at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. China and Viet Nam are closely related like the lips and the teeth and share each other's security and danger. To help the fraternal Vietnamese people resist U.S. aggression is the Chinese people's sacred internationalist duty. We firmly support the March 22 statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The Chinese people will exert every effort to send the heroic south Vietnamese people the necessary material aid, including arms and all other war matériel, and stand ready to dispatch their men to fight shoulder to shoulder with the south Vietnamese people whenever the latter so require. No matter what U.S. imperialism may do next, the Chinese people will unswervingly stand by the entire Vietnamese people and carry through to the end the struggle to defeat the unspeakably vicious U.S. aggressors.

May the great Vietnamese people win still more and greater victories in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Please accept, Comrade Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Chen Yi
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the People's Republic of China*

March 23, 1965

U.S. AGGRESSORS MUST BE PUNISHED

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(February 9, 1965)

On February 7, at Johnson's personal command, the U.S. Air Force unscrupulously launched a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, bombing and strafing places in Quang Binh Province and other areas. This is a naked act of war on the part of the U.S. Government and an open challenge to peace in Indo-China, Asia and the whole world. As pointed out by the Government of the D.R.V. in its February 8 statement, this air attack is "a new and utterly grave act of war by the United States against the D.R.V., an extremely gross violation of international law and the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, an intolerable provocation against the world's people".

The armed forces and people of the D.R.V. have struck heavy blows at the invading U.S. air pirates; in two days they shot down 13 U.S. aircraft and damaged many others. This has served as a severe punishment to U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the armed forces and people of the D.R.V. on this major victory of theirs gained in dealing counter-blows against U.S. aggression. They also pay high tribute to the units of the Vietnamese People's Army vigilantly guarding

the territory, air space and territorial waters of their motherland.

The U.S. policy of extending the Indo-China war and the actual steps to do so were predetermined long ago. The "Bac Bo Gulf incidents" were mere fabrications and became a laughing-stock. Washington nevertheless at that time cooked up "details" of D.R.V. "attacks" on U.S. warships and used them as a pretext for extending the war and for attacks on that country. This time Johnson simply came out without any disguise, stripping off all subterfuge and discarding all pretexts.

There are reasons for the Johnson Administration's recklessness. The people's armed forces in south Viet Nam are growing in strength so fast that they are sure to win every battle they fight. This gives Johnson and his ilk sleepless nights. The White House panjandrums and Pentagon brasshats have received a shock with every battle—the great victories scored by the south Vietnamese people's forces at Bien Hoa, at An Lao, at Binh Gia and now the great victory at Pleiku. They get a hiding today, and do not know where they will get another one tomorrow. On the battlefield in south Viet Nam the U.S.-puppet clique is at its wits' end and is exposed to attacks from all sides, and in the rear in Saigon there seems to be no end to the infighting and scramble for power. One farce is followed by another: the "young Turks" stage coups and Nguyen Khanh has ousted Tran Van Huong. Washington is now finding it ever more difficult to keep the situation under control. This endless strife among the lackeys in Saigon is mainly due to the continued success of the south Vietnamese people's struggle and the fact that the tottering U.S.-

puppet regime may fall at any moment. In the circumstances it is absolutely impossible to stabilize the situation.

In the face of defeats at the fronts and chaos in the rear, U.S. imperialism is not, however, reconciled to the idea of quitting south Viet Nam. Of late, the United States has been working with great pains to spread the flames of war, hoping to avoid its doom in south Viet Nam by staking the future on the extension of its military adventures. The "Bac Bo Gulf incidents" were the first steps taken towards "escalation" in Indo-China; they were followed by direct armed intervention in Laos on a large scale. Lately, the United States even instigated the Pak Jung Hi clique in south Korea to dispatch over 2,000 puppet troops to south Viet Nam in an attempt to "internationalize" the war there. The February 7 bombing of the D.R.V. is yet another premeditated move to extend the Indo-China war. Isn't all this as plain as a pikestaff?

The war moves of the U.S. Government have once again played the role of teaching by negative example. Johnson has come out to give us a lecture: U.S. imperialism will not give up even though it is having a hard time in south Viet Nam. This once again teaches the people of the world a lesson: the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will not change; the closer its doomsday, the more desperately does it fight, even to the point of leaping over a wall like a desperate dog. This is the U.S. imperialist logic that will remain in force till its doom. The peoples of Viet Nam, of Indo-China and of all lands, and the revolutionary people all over the world have learnt in practice that, in dealing with U.S. imperialism, which is aggressive by nature, the only way to check its aggression, safeguard national sovereignty and

independence and preserve world peace is to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, to pay it back in its own coin, by peaceful means or by force, whichever it may resort to. Anyone who thinks that U.S. imperialism will give up in adversity, that the Johnson Administration is peace-loving, sensible and realistic, is actually rendering service to U.S. imperialism.

As a result of bombing the D.R.V., the U.S. aggressors owe the Vietnamese people another debt in blood. A debt has to be repaid and the greater the debt incurred the greater will be the repayment. The people of the whole of Viet Nam will not allow the U.S. aggressors to get away with it.

The Chinese Government has made its solemn announcement long ago: aggression against the D.R.V. means aggression against the People's Republic of China. Its statement of February 9 once again made clear this serious stand of the Chinese people. The Chinese people mean what they say. We want to warn U.S. imperialism: you are really overestimating yourself if you hope to extend the war on the strength of the meagre armed forces you now have in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the Far East. To tell you the truth, we are waiting for you in battle array. If you insist on imposing a war on us, then you are sure to receive heavy counter-blows!

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S GANGSTER TALK

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(February 10, 1965)

U.S. imperialist savage bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a crime of stark aggression against a sovereign state. It is a crude violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and international law and an open challenge to peace in Southeast Asia, Asia and the whole world. This criminal act of U.S. imperialism has now provoked the people of the world to anger and protestation.

Nevertheless, the Johnson Administration has racked its brains to invent all sorts of "arguments" in an effort to justify this aggression.

There is nothing very strange about imperialism trying to defend its aggressive acts. But the Johnson Administration's "arguments" are so poor that it has made itself a laughing-stock.

"Argument" one: this U.S. war move is described as "retaliatory attacks".

What right has U.S. imperialism to talk about "retaliation"? The United States is the aggressor. In south Viet Nam, it has slaughtered thousands upon thousands of people, levelled numerous villages and destroyed a countless amount of property. It owes a huge debt in

blood to the south Vietnamese people who have every right to punish the U.S. aggressors. The heavy blows they received at Bien Hoa, An Lao, Binh Gia and Pleiku were punishments the U.S. imperialists deserve. So long as a single American soldier remains in south Viet Nam, the people there will not cease, even for a day, shooting their bullets of revenge. Speaking of retaliation, the U.S. aggressors have no such right whatsoever; this right belongs to the people of south Viet Nam, the Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba and all other countries and peoples suffering U.S. aggression. What has happened at present is not that these countries, which are the victims of aggression, have sent aircraft to bomb the United States but, on the contrary, it is the United States which has sent aircraft to bomb the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The "retaliation" which Washington talks about is outright gangster talk.

Why did U.S. imperialism bomb the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam when it was beaten in south Viet Nam? According to the Johnson Administration, this happened because the south Vietnamese people's armed struggle to resist U.S. aggression is "ordered and directed and master-minded directly from Hanoi". This is the second "argument".

As a man sows, so shall he reap. Since U.S. imperialism has launched aggression against south Viet Nam, it is bound to cause the people there to fight back. Their armed struggle has been forced on them by the United States, from whom they have learnt to fight and from whom they have obtained weapons and ammunition. If the struggle of an oppressed nation to resist aggression is said to be master-minded by forces from without, then we should like to ask who ordered and master-minded

that War of Independence against Britain led by George Washington? It seems that Johnson, McNamara and their kind have completely forgotten their forefathers and American history which is less than two hundred years old. It will be completely futile for them to try and find in the Pleiku jungles "orders and master-minding" from outside.

The third "argument" is that "this is a test of the will" for the United States, and that was the reason why the United States carried out air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and why it "could not fail to respond".

The south Vietnamese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world have been well acquainted with the "will" of the United States for a long time. Washington wants to hang on in south Viet Nam, turn this area into a colony and make it a base for suppressing the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia and a bridgehead for attacking the socialist camp. The revolutionary people have not the slightest doubt about this aspect of the U.S. "will". However, the U.S. "will" has another aspect. This is expressed by the fact that Washington bullies the weak and trembles before the strong and that it fears the revolutionary people who take up arms and is afraid of tit-for-tat struggles. Since such "will" has been tested in Korea, Cuba and the Congo (Leopoldville), and in south Viet Nam, too, what is the use of yet another "test"?

The fourth "argument" is that unless the United States launched attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, it would mean that "we [the United States] want to pull out from Viet Nam" and be regarded as "weak" and "the paper tiger that the Chinese Reds say".

Frankly speaking, whether the U.S. aggressors get out of south Viet Nam does not depend upon their willingness. The Yankees have to quit, sooner or later. Of all the alternatives, clearing out is the best policy. It would be wiser for them to pack up and go. Otherwise south Viet Nam will become their graveyard. When it comes to being a paper tiger, they have already revealed themselves for what they really are in south Viet Nam. The more desperately the Johnson Administration tries to change this image of the United States in the people's minds, the more it will reveal its ugly countenance.

Following its attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism played the same old trick and wrote to the U.N. Security Council, saying that it reserved the right to bring the question concerning the situation in Viet Nam to the Security Council. The Johnson Administration thinks that once it files its case with the United Nations, its act of aggression will become legitimate. This sleight-of-hand, however, will only once again expose the United Nations for what it is.

The Johnson Administration itself is well aware that all these "arguments" cannot hold water, nor will they convince anybody. The ill-famed United Nations cannot become a sanctuary for the U.S. aggressors. That is why the United States, in order to avoid being condemned by world public opinion, is trying its utmost to spread the idea that it "seeks no wider war" and its war moves are "limited".

What does the Johnson Administration mean by "limited"? Washington fabricated several "Bac Bo Gulf incidents" and repeatedly launched attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, but each time it said

that the action was "limited". It also said that its actions were "limited" when it extended the war into Laos by carrying out direct armed intervention in that country, and when it continuously unleashed provocations and aggression in the border areas of Cambodia. It is clear to everyone that the result of these "limited" actions is that the Johnson Administration has been escalating the war in Indo-China and plunging the whole of that peninsula and Southeast Asia into its aggressive adventures. Is it not poppycock therefore that, in the face of these stark facts, the Johnson Administration should prattle that "we seek no wider war"? When we prick the bubble of the Johnson Administration's propaganda about "limited" actions, we see that one of its aims is to force the people to accept its extension of war in Indo-China as a fait accompli.

How far will the Johnson Administration venture in extending the war in Indo-China? This question may well be answered by itself. But, once it has embarked on this risky path, U.S. imperialism, as a belligerent, will never be able to control and decide the time, place or scale of this war as it likes. Choosing Indo-China or Southeast Asia as the theatre of war is extremely unfavourable to Washington. It should realize that aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China and against the entire socialist camp. It is the unshirkable international obligation of the Chinese people and of all the socialist countries to support and aid the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by actual deeds. We mean what we say. If U.S. imperialism persists in spreading the flames of war and forces a war on us, then we shall have no other choice but to be resolved to take it on to the end. At such

a time, the revolutionary flames will be raging throughout Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia and there will not even be any burying-ground for U.S. imperialism.

After launching aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Johnson had the effrontery to bluster that the United States "is prepared to take up any challenge and pay any price to make certain that freedom does not perish", and he wanted others never again to make "grave mistakes in miscalculating" with regard to the United States. This hectoring, however, will not frighten anyone. The people of Viet Nam, Indo-China and China have had experience in combating U.S. imperialism. As the Chinese saying goes: "We do not know each other without a test of strength." We have long since seen through U.S. imperialism as being only outwardly strong while actually weak. Have the U.S. imperialists really no idea of the fix they will be in to think of starting a war when they have deployed such meagre forces along the long arc extending from south Korea to Indo-China?

The situation is excellent today for the south Vietnamese people in their national-liberation struggle. U.S. imperialism has already been seriously mauled and its days in south Viet Nam are numbered. In its February 9 statement, the Chinese Government declared: "The U.S. imperialists will never succeed in their attempt to use air strikes against north Viet Nam as a means to frighten the south Vietnamese people into not offending the U.S. aggressors." No matter what desperate struggles U.S. imperialism may resort to, the heroic south Vietnamese people will intensify their efforts and deal telling blows to the U.S. aggressors till final victory is won in their struggle for national liberation.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION IN A DILEMMA

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(February 19, 1965)

The war of aggression by the United States in south Viet Nam has become a noose around its neck. To get out of it, U.S. imperialism is trying to take the line of expanding the war in Indo-China. But contrary to its expectations, it finds the noose getting tighter and tighter.

U.S. imperialism has repeatedly attacked the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, adopting a swash-buckling posture as if it would not hesitate to risk a bigger war. In point of fact, it is outwardly strong but inwardly brittle; it is weak and jittery despite its fearful appearance.

The *New York Times* reported that an atmosphere of uneasiness and anxiety prevailed in Washington in the last few days. It pointed out that "escalation of the war in Viet Nam, such as took place last week, has led the United States to the entrance of a one-way street", that is, "a major war" in Southeast Asia. Walter Lippmann, a Wall Street ideaman, hastily warned Johnson against repeating the error of Truman. Everybody now knows what a miserable end the Truman Administration came to in the Korean war. The impending total defeat of its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and the prospect of receiving another lesson similar to that in Korea have

thrown Washington into a dilemma and unending anxiety.

Because it cannot go on as it has in south Viet Nam any longer, the Johnson Administration is anxious to try escalating the war in Indo-China. For years, the United States has been fighting a "special war" in south Viet Nam. Far from winning, it is now at a loss as to how to go on with it. Even General Maxwell Taylor, author of "special warfare", had to admit that he knew of "no ground rules" governing this type of war.

What are rules? Rules are a reflection of the process of development of objective things independent of man's will. People gain initiative only when they grasp the rules of things. When U.S. imperialism unleashed "special warfare" in south Viet Nam it evidently thought that half of Viet Nam was no match for the number one imperialist power. It never expected that as soon as it intruded into south Viet Nam it would be encircled by the people as though falling into a vast sea and in danger of being drowned. It is not the rules of "special warfare" but those of the people's war that operate there. The people of south Viet Nam have fully exploited the unlimited potentialities of a people's war and beaten the U.S. aggressors black and blue. The "Staley-Taylor Plan", the "heliborne tactics", the "strategic hamlets", "limited retaliation" and what not have all gone with the wind. Even the personal command of the war by Maxwell Taylor, whom Washington considers its "best man", is of no avail. Brave, alert and quick, the south Viet Nam liberation forces have, within the short space of three and a half months, inflicted six bitter defeats on the U.S. aggressors.

That U.S. imperialism will lose the war is now a foregone conclusion. Each extra day it stays in south Viet

Nam means another day's trouncing. Its ultimate failure is inevitable.

U.S. imperialism places its hope of retrieving its defeat in south Viet Nam on the venture of escalating the war in Indo-China. Again its move is the wrong one. The United States and its south Vietnamese quislings have committed war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and taken the lead in breaking the demarcation line between south and north Viet Nam, thus giving the D.R.V. the right and the initiative to hit back in self-defence, and giving China and all other countries which uphold the Geneva agreements the right to aid the D.R.V. in resisting U.S. aggression. In other words, U.S. imperialism has placed the ends of the noose around its neck in the hands of the south Vietnamese people, the D.R.V., China and all other countries which uphold the Geneva agreements.

It is now asserted in Washington that China's intentions are still not clear. Does Johnson want to find out China's true intentions? As a matter of fact they are very clear. So long as you are willing to hand us one end of the noose, we are sure to seize it tightly. How far you go is your own affair. But if you think that the war can be made to develop as you wish, that is a matter you cannot decide.

U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to intimidate us, saying that it has naval and air superiority and aren't you afraid of this?

But what is that naval and air superiority? It is only a few hundred warships and several thousand aircraft. If U.S. nuclear blackmail has failed to cow people, how can its naval and air superiority ever succeed in doing so? To be frank, no matter how many warships and aircraft the United States may possess, they will not enable

it to dominate the world. Far from being afraid of them, the revolutionary people in every land are able to make them rush about from one part of the world to another. The more the United States over-reaches itself, the more vulnerable it will become. It will find itself beaten everywhere, and its being driven from pillar to post all over the world will be more clearly seen.

In so far as the south Vietnamese battlefield is concerned, the United States indeed has naval and air superiority. But what has become of it? The U.S. air force bases in south Viet Nam are now in constant danger of being attacked. In a single raid on the Bien Hoa airfield the south Viet Nam liberation forces destroyed or damaged 59 U.S. planes. The B-57 long-range bombers which remained had to take refuge in the Philippines.

In view of the insecurity of the air force bases, three more aircraft carriers have been brought in. But even if all 12 U.S. aircraft carriers in the Pacific are deployed in this area it would only mean 12 more airfields on the sea. What can a few more aircraft carriers do since the outcome of the war in south Viet Nam has to be decided on land?

U.S. naval and air superiority hasn't been able to do much even in south Viet Nam. How then can it be relied on to expand the war? The United States is indeed over-reaching itself in trying to do such a thing.

Though the Johnson Administration wants to expand the war in Indo-China, it has great difficulty because it lacks the necessary means. Its war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have once again served to arouse the opposition of the people of the world to U.S. imperialism.

At home, the political awareness of the American people has greatly increased. Demonstrations against the Johnson Administration's expansion of the war have taken place one after another and assumed unprecedented proportions. Inside U.S. ruling circles and even within the Democratic Party there are persons who are worried that such a move by Johnson would invite big trouble.

Some days ago a few of the allies and satellites of the United States were beating the drums for it but they are now as quiet as cicadas in late autumn. Throughout this wide world, the Johnson Administration cannot find a single true follower except its own shadow.

The Johnson Administration is neither willing to accept defeat nor bold enough to face the consequences of an extended war, and so it is in a tight spot. This is the real background to the constant talk in Washington about so-called negotiations from positions of strength.

The aim of the Johnson Administration is quite clear — to get at the conference table what it could not get on the battlefield. It wants to bind the south Viet Nam liberation forces hand and foot, and strengthen the positions of the U.S. forces and the puppet regime so as to get a breathing spell. Isn't it too much wishful thinking on Johnson's part to hope to grab back at the conference table what it has lost on the battlefield? Can anything ever be so easy for the United States? Peace in Viet Nam can be readily achieved, but it can only be after the U.S. aggressors have withdrawn from south Viet Nam and certainly not before. The United States must stop its aggression and intervention in Indo-China and let the Indo-Chinese peoples settle their own problems.

The days of U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam are numbered. Sooner or later it will be kicked out or wiped

out. We have long ago advised the U.S. imperialists: It's better for you to quit early. We shall bid you farewell if you go; if you choose to stay, you are welcome too. For, in the latter case, the people of south Viet Nam will continue to engage you in battle and obtain an endless supply of weapons free of charge; you teachers by negative example will continue to serve a useful purpose by educating and mobilizing the people of various countries. What's bad about that? To stay or get out is for you to decide.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S WAR BLACKMAIL

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(March 1, 1965)

The Johnson Administration is in a dilemma on the question of south Viet Nam. What will its next move be?

Will it beat a retreat in face of the difficulties? Like the proverbial diehard who "does not shed tears until he sees his own coffin", the U.S. aggressors will not stay their hands in south Viet Nam until they are completely wiped out or thrown out.

The facts before us right now once again prove this.

1. The United States has used its air force directly in attacking the south Vietnamese liberation forces. Following this, the U.S. press deliberately let loose a flood of propaganda saying that this indicated a tougher attitude on the part of the United States.

2. U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara said that U.S. combat aircraft, weapons and troops would be directly committed in south Viet Nam "whenever necessary".

3. Plots for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam continue unabated. Puppet air force commander of south Viet Nam Nguyen Cao Ky revealed that the U.S. and puppet air forces planned to make their fourth raid on the D.R.V. on February 19, but they had to call it off because of the coup d'etat in Saigon.

4. U.S. military commentator Hanson Baldwin was even more outspoken. He proposed that the United States get ready to send 200,000-1,000,000 troops to Viet Nam to fight a Korean-type war.

The so-called U.S. "special warfare" essentially means building a native mercenary army, supplied with U.S. money and guns, to put down the local people's revolutionary movement. This is what the United States is doing in south Viet Nam. It has sent more than 20,000 military personnel to control and direct the puppet south Vietnamese troops and it has actually participated in the massacre of the south Vietnamese people. In the past it still disguised its military personnel as "advisers". But now, the United States has come out into the open and used its air force directly in attacking the south Vietnamese liberation forces. "The United States Government is abandoning the pretense," as one British newspaper put it. This move is another new step to intensify the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

The strange thing is that after committing such a heinous crime the U.S. aggressors have made no effort to hide it. Instead, they have made a big noise about it so that no one can fail to take notice. Even stranger is the fact that what they are trying to do — as revealed by McNamara, what they have planned to do but have not done — as disclosed by Nguyen Cao Ky and what they want to do but probably dare not do — as hinted at by Baldwin, were all told to their opponent. What is the reason for this?

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on February 25: "Political channels have been and are open." "If that [assault] is relieved and removed, then things can begin to move."

Thus the truth of the matter has become clear. The Johnson Administration is attempting to use the action of gradually expanding the war, as well as the threat to escalate it even more, as a means to force the Vietnamese people to submit and accept the terms dictated by Washington. The Johnson Administration is also attempting to take advantage of the fear of a big war among certain people and of the so-called formulas for peace negotiations, advanced by various people for a variety of motives, as a way of putting pressure on the Vietnamese people to abandon their just struggle and tolerate brutal U.S. aggression.

It seems that the Johnson Administration is entirely ignorant of the awakening of the world's people.

The United States is the aggressor. It is the United States which has intruded into south Viet Nam to commit murder and arson, wrecked the 1954 Geneva agreements, and thus imposed the war on the south Vietnamese people. The aggressor has no right to ask its victims to stop their resistance unless it gets out of south Viet Nam. More and more people have come to understand this.

The United States is the defeated. Its three air strikes against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have failed to improve in the slightest its difficult situation in south Viet Nam. On the contrary, they have only aroused the militant anger of the 30 million Vietnamese people who are dealing the U.S. aggressors heavier blows than ever. No matter what, the United States' defeat is certain. In the past, people did not quite understand this. But now more and more have realized it; even within the U.S. ruling groups some are beginning to wake up to this fact.

But the Johnson Administration does not dare face the reality of defeat. Suddenly it puts on an air as if it

could blackmail others by threats of war. It seems to be saying: Aren't you going to let me save face? I'm prepared to fight a Korean-type war in Viet Nam and even extend the war beyond Indo-China. Are you afraid of this or aren't you? Why don't you find some way to let me climb down?

This is outright war blackmail. It is out-and-out gangsterism. One should not underestimate the mania of U.S. imperialism which may take risks in desperation. But in no case should one submit to U.S. imperialist war blackmail. The socialist countries should not do so. Certainly, all the world's people, who cherish justice, will also increasingly realize that to accommodate U.S. imperialism will only increase its arrogance.

Viet Nam has committed no aggression against the United States. It is the latter which has sent its armed forces from thousands of miles away to carry out aggression in Viet Nam. It is up to those who have got themselves into trouble to get themselves out of it. The United States must withdraw all its armed forces from south Viet Nam. Once this is done, the south Vietnamese people will settle their own problems. Otherwise, any arrangement which may appear fair on the surface will only mean encouraging U.S. aggression, accommodating Washington, giving it a breathing spell and being taken in by its stalling tactics.

In the face of the current situation in Indo-China, the task confronting the people of the world is to broaden and deepen further the movement supporting the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression. People of the countries in the socialist camp, people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all people of the world who

oppose U.S. imperialism: unite and take all possible and effective measures to support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people with concrete actions and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors!

**PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, RISE TO AID THE SOUTH
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND DEFEAT
THE U.S. AGGRESSORS**

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(March 25, 1965)

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation issued a most stirring and inspiring statement on March 22. It is a just denunciation of U.S. imperialism, a message expressing the determination of the 14 million south Vietnamese people to fight on until final victory, to drive out the U.S. aggressors, liberate south Viet Nam and defend north Viet Nam. It is a clarion call to the people throughout the world to rise in support of the south Vietnamese people and defeat U.S. imperialism.

The 650 million Chinese people have always regarded the struggle of the south Vietnamese people as their own struggle and support for the just cause of the south Vietnamese people as their sacred international duty. We now solemnly declare that we Chinese people respond with resolution to the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and will join the people of the world in sending all necessary material aid, including arms and all other war materials, to the heroic south Vietnamese people who are fighting fearlessly. At the same

time, we are ready to send our own men, when the south Vietnamese people deem it necessary, to fight together with them to wipe out the U.S. aggressors.

As the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has pointed out in its statement, the U.S. imperialists are the most impudent saboteurs of the Geneva agreements, the most dangerous war provocateurs and aggressors and the sworn enemy of the people of Viet Nam, Indo-China and the rest of the world. For more than ten years, the United States has been engaged in wanton aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam and turned the reactionary regime there into its puppet. It has spent more than 4,000 million dollars and committed hundreds of thousands of tons of munitions and tens of thousands of military personnel to the "special war" there. It has razed to the ground countless villages and townships, massacred and tortured the people and converted south Viet Nam into a vast prison and execution ground. It indulges in the wild dream of reducing south Viet Nam into a colony and subjugating its people for ever.

To achieve their own liberation and attain independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in south Viet Nam, the south Vietnamese people have risen up to resist the U.S. aggressors. They are fighting a just war of liberation. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, formed in the flames of the struggle, is the militant organization of the 14 million south Vietnamese people and their sole representative. Under its leadership, the south Vietnamese people have performed glorious deeds and won great victories in the people's war. At the present time, more than three quarters of the land and over eight million of the people in south Viet Nam have been liberated. The United States has met with serious

failure in its plan to enslave south Viet Nam and its "special war" has gone bankrupt. U.S. imperialism is in desperate straits in south Viet Nam.

U.S. imperialism which has suffered one defeat after another on the south Viet Nam battlefield is engaged in a frenzied, reckless struggle. It is sending more and more combat troops to south Viet Nam, including missile units, marines, B-57 strategic bombers, as well as mercenaries from south Korea, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, the Philippines, Australia and Malaya. It has used every modern weapon of war except the atom bomb, and it has even inhumanly resorted to the use of poison gas. It is step by step extending the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and has been continuously bombing peaceful towns in north Viet Nam. U.S. imperialism vainly hopes by escalating the war to force the south Vietnamese people to stop fighting, but it will never succeed in this. The south Vietnamese people will never lay down their arms until the last American soldier quits their land.

In its statement, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has given a clear and definite answer to U.S. imperialism's shameless war blackmail:

All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in south Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender south Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 mil-

lion south Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice.

This just stand taken by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation gives expression to the great determination of the south Vietnamese people to spare no sacrifices to carry the war of resistance through to the end, drive out the U.S. aggressors, liberate south Viet Nam, defend north Viet Nam and reunify their fatherland.

In view of the fact that U.S. imperialism is intensifying aggression in south Viet Nam and has torn to shreds the Geneva agreements, the sons and daughters of south Viet Nam who regrouped to the north in observance of the ceasefire agreement have every right to return to their native places to take up arms once again to defend their own homes and families. The people of the whole world also have every right to support the people of south Viet Nam with every means possible until they win final victory.

In their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, the south Vietnamese people are fighting not only for their own interests but also for the interests of the people of all the Indo-Chinese states and of Asia and the whole world. With their own blood the people of south Viet Nam have been supporting the people of the socialist countries and defending peace in Asia and world peace. Now the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has declared that it is ready to accept all assistance to the south Vietnamese people, both moral and material aid, including weapons and all other war materials from all the socialist countries, the nationalist countries as well as all international organizations and peace-loving peoples the world over. It has also pointed out that if the U.S.

imperialists continue to commit their combat troops and those of their satellites to south Viet Nam and continue to extend the war to north Viet Nam and Laos, it will call on the people of various countries to send their young men and army men to south Viet Nam to fight alongside the south Vietnamese people to annihilate the common enemy.

This request of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is entirely justified. The people of the socialist countries and peace-loving peoples of the world have the unshirkable duty to give all-out support and assistance to the south Vietnamese people in their heroic fight.

U.S. imperialism's venture in escalating the war in Indo-China is a grave attack on peace in Asia and world peace. At this critical moment, the people of the whole world should swing into action and resolutely stand on the side of the south Vietnamese people to wage a joint struggle to drive the U.S. aggressors out of south Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China. Peace in Asia and throughout the world can be preserved only by thoroughly smashing U.S. imperialism's criminal plan to escalate the war in Indo-China.

CONDEMN THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION FOR ITS HEINOUS CRIMES

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(March 25, 1965)

The ferocious U.S. Johnson Administration, which has already incurred countless blood debts, is committing a new and monstrous crime in using poison gas in its war of aggression against south Viet Nam. The government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has strongly condemned this barbarity of U.S. imperialism, and called upon progressive people all over the world to mobilize broad public opinion to stay the savage hand of U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese people are filled with indignation at this inhuman act of the Johnson Administration, and join the peoples of the world in resolutely condemning this latest war crime of the U.S. imperialists.

The use of poison gas in war is strictly forbidden by international law. Since the "Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare" was signed in 1925, no country has dared to defy world public opinion and use poison gas in war openly or on a large scale. But the Johnson Administration has not only shamelessly admitted using gas in south Viet Nam before

the whole world but has declared that it will continue to do so in the future. The U.S. military spokesman in south Viet Nam went so far as to state that the U.S. was "experimenting" with gas warfare in south Viet Nam. What callous effrontery!

In its war of aggression against south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has directly employed the U.S. air force and ground troops, repeatedly bombed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and done what the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations did not dare to do. Now in using poison gas it is doing what even Hitler did not dare to do. Facts prove that Lyndon Johnson, chief-tain of the U.S. imperialist gangsters, is the most brutal war criminal of our time.

To escape the condemnation of the world and justify its crime the Johnson Administration has tried its utmost to make up various excuses. First, it says that it does not consider its use in south Viet Nam of "the nauseous gases a violation of the terms of a 1925 protocol on gas warfare". But this 1925 Geneva Protocol clearly prohibits the use in war of "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of all other analogous liquids, materials or devices". It is futile for the U.S. to try to evade its criminal responsibility. Secondly, it says the poison gas used by the U.S. "is a non-lethal type of gas". Such nonsense, however, does not even convince the British newspaper *The Times* which said, "Much of world opinion will not stop and listen to the American assurances that the gas being used in Vietnam is not lethal." Thirdly, it says that the U.S. uses poison gas "in tactical situations where the communist Vietcong have mingled with innocent south Vietnamese civilians" and that this is "more humane" than subjecting them to firepower.

This means that the U.S. used poison gas not only against combat personnel but also to kill unarmed innocent people including the old, the weak, women and children. After committing such an intolerable crime, the U.S. talks glibly about being "humane". What despicable hypocrisy this is!

The U.S. imperialists have committed more crimes in their aggression against south Viet Nam than could ever be written down. For ten years, in carrying out their policy of wholesale burning, looting, and killing, the U.S. imperialists and their puppet clique have levelled countless villages to the ground, destroyed thousands of monasteries, cathedrals and temples, killed nearly 170,000 people, wounded and disabled about 800,000 more, confined over 400,000 people within more than a thousand prisons and driven over 5,000,000 people into "prosperity zones" and "strategic hamlets" which are in reality concentration camps under another name. And napalm bombs, most cruel weapons of destruction, have been widely used by U.S. imperialism against the people of south Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Now, before these blood debts have been settled, it has begun to use poison gas, a practice which is condemned by the people of the whole world. This has further exposed the evil nature of U.S. imperialism and strengthened the hatred of the people of the world against their common enemy.

The use of poison gas by the Johnson Administration in south Viet Nam is an act of despair. It shows that the United States has lost all faith in its "special warfare", its "naval and air superiority" and its ground forces. But there is no doubt that even gas warfare cannot save the United States from defeat. We remember that U.S.

imperialism resorted to bacteriological warfare on the Korean battlefield in an attempt to turn the tide in its favour. But the result was a heavier defeat for the U.S. and the angry condemnation of the whole world for its war crime. The use of poison gas will only arouse in the people of south Viet Nam an even deeper hatred for U.S. imperialism, which will receive heavier blows from them and suffer a more overwhelming defeat.

The U.S. imperialists have laid down a serious challenge to human civilization and justice in using poison gas in their war of aggression against south Viet Nam. Lyndon Johnson will not escape the punishment he deserves for this monstrous war crime.

SUPPORT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO U.S. AGGRESSION

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(March 29, 1965)

U.S. President Lyndon Johnson made a statement on March 25 in which he talked about continued military aggression against Viet Nam. He also energetically flourished the olive branch, saying that his country "will never be second" in seeking "honourable negotiation" and "honourable peace". Why all these peace gestures so suddenly, by a fiend who is feverishly spreading the flames of war in Indo-China?

This is because by publishing on March 22 a statement expressing its determination to fight the war of resistance through to the end, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation delivered a stunning blow at the Johnson Administration which is keen on its escalation adventure. The 17 million people in the northern part of Viet Nam, too, have declared in unmistakable terms that with their compatriots in the south they are determined to fight to a finish. The Vietnamese people, both of the north and the south, their fighting spirit high, have been hitting the U.S. aggressors one hard blow after another. Nearly two months have elapsed since the Johnson Administration took the serious move of escalating the war by repeated

bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, but the United States has found itself in an ever more difficult position.

This is because the Chinese people, the Korean people and the revolutionary peoples throughout the world, warmly responding to the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, are firmly supporting it. A powerful movement to aid the south Vietnamese people in their resistance to U.S. aggression is now swiftly unfolding on a world-wide scale like rolling thunder.

This is because the moves of the Johnson Administration to expand the war, its cry for expanding the war still further, its war crimes of using gas and napalm bombs in the south Vietnamese theatre of war have provoked the people of the whole world to growing opposition and angry protests. They have also caused anxiety among its allies. The masses of American people, too, are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the Johnson Administration is pushing the United States towards the abyss of war. They are rising in protest demonstrations.

The situation as related above has landed the Johnson Administration in a fix both at home and abroad. It is in this situation that Johnson has found it necessary to come out himself to put up a peace smokescreen in the vain hope of pacifying people both at home and abroad, covering up the reality of U.S. aggression and seeking an escape from the censure of world public opinion.

"Towards an honourable peace," Johnson said. He added that for this he was ready to go anywhere at any time, and meet with anyone. This sounds very nice. But, what does he mean by his "honourable peace"?

Johnson has repeated in his statement that what his country is seeking is "a settlement . . . based on an end

of communist aggression" and that the "aggression from the north must be stopped". This means, as the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* points out, that the people in south Viet Nam should lay down their arms, that the people of the north should stop helping their own compatriots and that they should surrender.

The people of south Viet Nam have been shedding blood and fighting this bitter war for more than a decade. They have already liberated over three quarters of their land and two-thirds of the population from the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. On that part of south Vietnamese territory which remains to be liberated, the puppet group is falling to pieces while the U.S. aggressors are exposed to attack everywhere, not knowing what to do or what may happen next. The Johnson Administration has been hopelessly defeated in south Viet Nam. Yet it hopes to force the people of south Viet Nam who are gaining victory after victory to knuckle under by resorting to blackmail — escalation of war. This is simply ridiculous!

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has earlier stated:

The U.S. scheme to send to south Viet Nam more combat troops of the navy, ground and air forces of the U.S. and its satellites, to conduct air strikes against north Viet Nam and the Kingdom of Laos in an attempt to gain a "position of strength" and compel the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the south Vietnamese people to sell out their fatherland in some negotiation with the U.S., is definitely only a daydream of men politically crazy and militarily adventurist.

This firm stand of the people of south Viet Nam has won the warm support of the people in the north. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front in its March 27 statement said clearly:

Our people cherish genuine independence and lasting peace, but we are resolved not to be duped by the U.S. imperialists' fallacious allegations and will certainly smash all their wicked schemes.

In his statement, Johnson added:

We have said many times — to all who are interested in our principles for honourable negotiation — that we seek no more than a return to the essentials of the agreements of 1954.

This is a despicable fraud. Just imagine that he has the effrontery to say it!

The whole world knows that it is U.S. imperialism which has been the ringleader in wrecking the 1954 Geneva agreements. In defiance of their provisions guaranteeing the sovereignty, independence, unification, and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, it has been committing unbridled aggression against south Viet Nam, even to the point of unleashing "special war" there. Ignoring their provisions prohibiting the introduction of military personnel and troops as well as all weapons and munitions into Viet Nam, it first dispatched tens of thousands of U.S. military personnel and large quantities of war matériel into south Viet Nam and then openly brought U.S. combat ground forces into the region. What is more serious, it has been repeatedly bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Geneva agreements are applicable equally to the southern and northern parts

of Viet Nam. But after tearing up the Geneva agreements in the southern part, the United States has turned around and moved against the northern part. To save itself from defeat in the southern part, it is attempting to pressure the northern part into submission. U.S. action has thus torn the Geneva agreements into shreds.

In these circumstances, if negotiation and a return to the Geneva agreements are to be attempted, the United States must immediately cease its aggression against Viet Nam and withdraw all its armed forces. Only then can one speak of a return to the Geneva agreements and a "political settlement" on the basis of the agreements. Otherwise, all talks about "a return to the Geneva agreements", "peaceful negotiations" and "political settlement" are a sham and a fraud. This has found clear and resolute expression in the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation:

All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in south Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender south Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 million south Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice.

The world's people have seen with increasing clarity that there will be peace in Viet Nam and Indo-China only when the United States has withdrawn all its aggressive troops from south Viet Nam. The demand for the with-

drawal of these troops has become a target of the common struggle of the people around the globe to safeguard peace in Indo-China, Asia and the world.

Johnson has openly asserted in his statement that the United States will carry on its military action for as long as is required if his conditions for peace are not accepted. This gives the game away. Johnson has made a very good self-exposure — brushing away the smokescreen of the so-called "honourable peace" with his own hands. It turns out that he is resorting to war blackmail in all its nakedness.

But can Johnson by such a display of truculence overawe the more than 30 million heroic people of Viet Nam? The people in both south and north Viet Nam have long since made up their minds to fight the U.S. invaders to the finish.

As a responsible officer of the South Viet Nam Liberation Forces' Command aptly said:

We had foreseen how things would happen. Our people and liberation forces have already adopted a clear-cut attitude: If we feared the U.S. imperialists, we would not have fought them. Now that we're fighting them, we'll fight to the bitter end. If it is a special war, we'll fight it. If it is an escalated special war, we'll fight it. If it is a local war, we'll fight it too. We'll fight for five or even 20 more years, till complete victory.

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, too, solemnly declared in a statement that it fully endorsed the unshakable stand of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to carry to the end the war of resistance against the United States and for national salvation. "This," the statement

said, "is also the common and unswerving stand of our entire people."

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers who have gone through storm and stress in a protracted common fight. The 650 million people of China will never tolerate the U.S. imperialists' killing and burning in Viet Nam. We are fully aware that U.S. imperialism, while forcibly occupying south Viet Nam and raiding north Viet Nam, is taking China as its next target of invasion. The Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle is a tremendous support to the Chinese people. Their struggle is also ours. Only by driving out the U.S. aggressors from south Viet Nam can there be peace in Viet Nam, in Indo-China and Asia. And only so can China's peace and security be ensured. To aid the Vietnamese people is the sacred internationalist duty of the Chinese people.

We have already declared that the Chinese people respond with resolution to the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and will send to the south Vietnamese people all necessary aid including arms and all other war materials. At the same time we are ready to send our own men, whenever the south Vietnamese people deem it necessary, to fight together with them to wipe out the U.S. aggressors. As long as the U.S. imperialists refuse to get out of south Viet Nam, we will never cease supporting the people there in their struggle against U.S. aggression. As long as the United States chooses to fight on, our support to the Vietnamese people will continue until their final victory.

The statement issued by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, a stirring document imbued with heroism, has travelled rapidly across the length and

breadth of China. In face of the U.S. imperialists' colossal crimes of massacre and persecution of the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people feel as if they themselves were being afflicted and are filled with righteous indignation. Meanwhile, they are elated and inspired by the resounding victories won by the intrepid and embattled Vietnamese people; and their fighting will is being uplifted by the determination of the Vietnamese army and people to choose death before slavery and to fight their resistance war to the end.

Let us fully display the spirit of proletarian internationalism, make all preparations, and press forward with the struggle to help the Vietnamese people defeat the U.S. aggressors!

A GREAT VICTORY AND THE DETERMINATION TO WIN

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(April 5, 1965)

In two days on April 3 and 4, the heroic people and armed forces of Viet Nam brought down 57 enemy planes and damaged many others. These successive feats of arms have inflicted an even heavier blow on U.S. imperialism, which is enlarging its aggression against north Viet Nam. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the heroic people and armed forces of Viet Nam on their great victory. We send our high respects and sincere regards to all who took part in the fighting — to the anti-aircraft units, to the air force, the navy, the army, to the people's security forces, to the self-defence militia corps and the local inhabitants. You have put up a good fight, you have shown wonderful marksmanship, and you have hit the enemy hard.

On April 4 the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on the U.S. imperialist move to expand further its aggression against that country. The statement says that these new U.S. acts of aggression which began on April 3 have been committed deeper inside D.R.V. territory than previous ones; they are premeditated and most dangerous. The

D.R.V. Foreign Ministry sternly warned the U.S. Government and demanded that the United States must stop all acts of aggression and war against north Viet Nam, immediately withdraw the 7th Fleet from the South China Sea, stop the war of aggression, pull out from south Viet Nam all troops and arms both of itself and of its satellites, respect and carry out strictly the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam. The Chinese Government and people fully support this statement and once again strongly denounce and protest against this dangerous and deliberate move of U.S. imperialism to escalate the war and spread its flames to north Viet Nam.

The Johnson Administration recently called Taylor back from Saigon. Johnson, ringleader of the American gangsters, has held a series of tense meetings with senior U.S. officials and officers and also called a meeting of the National Security Council. Faced with defeat in south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has planned further steps to intensify its escalation ventures. On April 3 the U.S. air brigands began penetrating deeper into D.R.V. territory by raiding Thanh Hoa Province — this is a new step taken by the Johnson Administration to expand its war of aggression.

This move by the Johnson Administration to enlarge the war is a grave challenge to the 30 million Vietnamese people, to the socialist countries, and to all peace-loving peoples and countries the world over. U.S. imperialism has fully exposed its recklessness — the greater is its failure, the more desperate is its last-ditch struggle. It is wagering still heavier stakes — its stepped-up war of aggression in south Viet Nam and its wanton air raids on a still larger scale against north Viet Nam — in the vain hope of turning the tide. But for U.S. imperialism

this is only a daydream. All its frenzied war moves, instead of saving it from defeat, will inevitably court still heavier blows and hasten its total collapse.

Things are clear enough: when the U.S. air brigands extended the range of their raids to Thanh Hoa Province, 47 of the 57 U.S. planes shot down in these two days were brought down there. The heroic people and armed forces of Viet Nam, displaying a dauntless will to fight and to win and in response to the call of President Ho Chi Minh, are now launching an emulation drive "to defeat the U.S. aggressive robbers with determination". Inspired and prompted by his powerful call, Viet Nam's anti-aircraft units, its three services, its people's security forces, its self-defence militia corps, its people all over the country, have displayed revolutionary heroism. They are fighting with increasing valour, daring to struggle and make sacrifices, daring to win. They are inflicting severe punishment on the U.S. air brigands and are fighting determinedly in order to fulfil their glorious historic task of resolutely defending the socialist north, energetically supporting the liberation revolution in the south, and, finally, of bringing about the reunification of their motherland. The Vietnamese people are sure to go on fighting more fiercely, for still greater victories.

While venturing on the expansion of its war of aggression against Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its military provocations against China. Any such provocations against us, however, cannot get away without due punishment. On April 3 the Chinese People's Liberation Army Air Force shot down another unmanned high altitude reconnaissance plane of U.S. imperialism over central-south China, second of this type of spy plane

downed in three days. This victory has inspired the whole nation; it also shows that firmly carrying out Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Lin Piao's orders, the P.L.A. is highly vigilant at all times, combat-ready and determined to wipe out any enemy who dares to invade us.

The struggle against U.S. escalation of the war in Indo-China and to defeat the U.S. aggressors has already bound the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples closely together. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is our struggle and their victory is our victory. The Chinese people swear that they will stand by the 30 million Vietnamese people and fight to the end to defeat the all-evil U.S. aggressors.

支援越南人民，打败美国侵略者

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