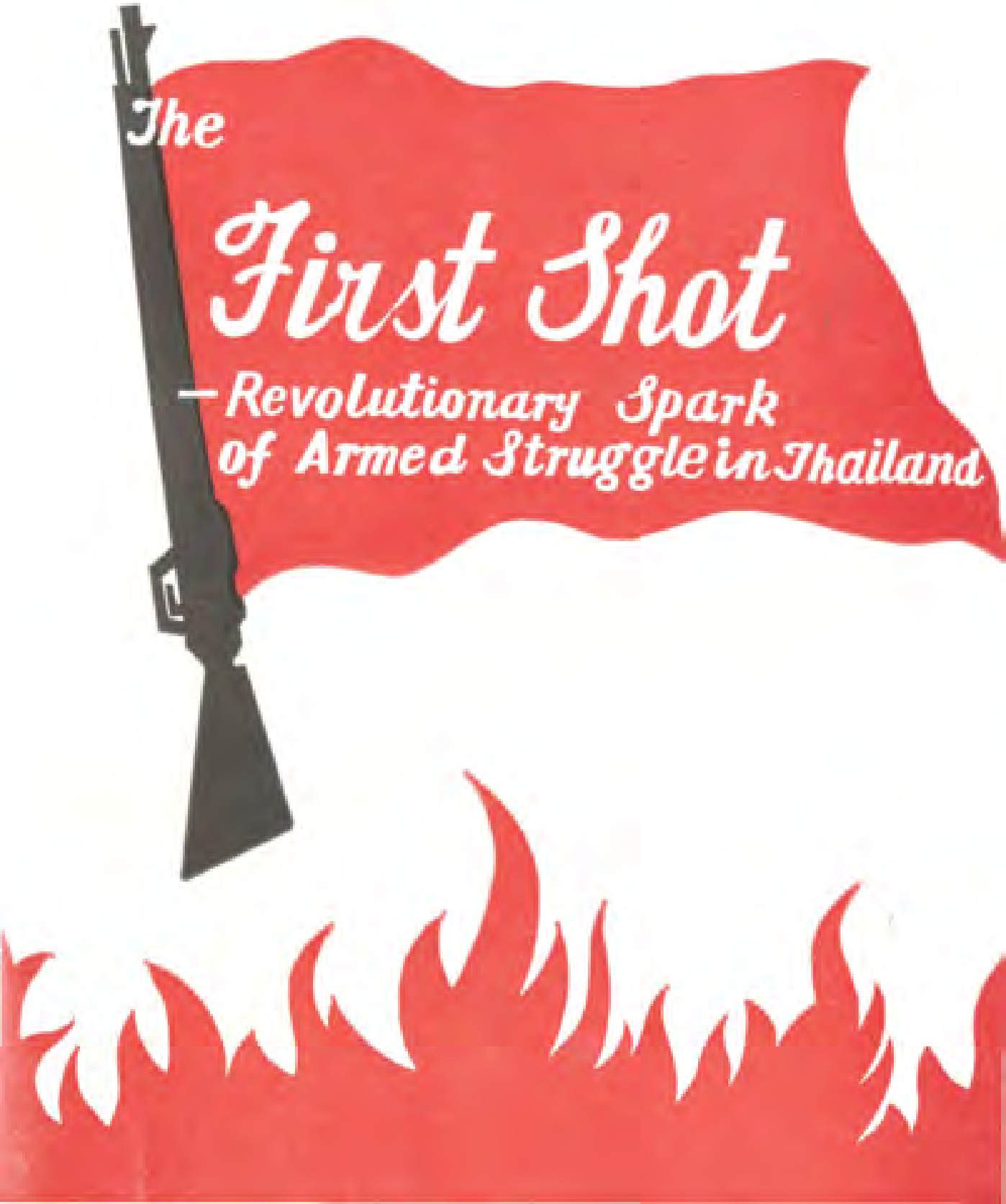
The
First Shot
—Revolutionary Spark
of Armed Struggle in Thailand

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THE FIRST SHOT

— Revolutionary Spark of Armed Struggle in Thailand

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THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY SHOT FIRED IN THAILAND

Report Made by Lt. Col. Bhayome Chulanond, Representative Abroad of the Patriotic Front of Thailand at a Rally Sponsored by Friends from Arab Countries, Africa, Latin America and Asia on August 7, 1967, Celebrating the 2nd Anniversary of the First Resounding Revolutionary Shot Fired in Thailand

First of all, I would like to invite all comrades and friends present here to joint me in wishing our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, Chairman Mao a long life, and a long, long life to him!

We also wish Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms good health, and always in good health!

I wish to thank our Arab and African comrades for giving me this opportunity today to speak on the Thai people's armed struggle for independence, that is, the guerrilla war in Thailand, as August 7 this year is the 2nd anniversary of the outbreak of the Thai people's armed struggle.

Two years ago, on August 7, the revolutionary shots fired by the people's armed forces echoed through the fields of the Nong-hee village, Na-kae district, Nakorn Phanom province in Northeast Thailand. A number of oppressors were hit immediately. A police sergeant marching at the front was killed. A police colonel, leader of the team, was seriously wounded and disabled. The rest of the reactionary policemen who used to intimidate, oppress, persecute and kill people everywhere were then thrown into a panic, utterly put to rout and sought safety in flight. After this incident, the enemy dispatched hundreds of parachute police commandoes by helicopters to the scene and sealed the area off. However, in their search, they could find nothing except the vastness of the field stained with the blood of their followers while the people's armed forces had disappeared with no sign whatsoever left behind them. The August 7 incident has opened a new page in the history of the Thai people's revolution and served as a curtain-raiser for a people's war in Thailand which has already achieved an initial brilliant victory. The blood-debt owed by the U.S.-Thanom clique to the people was then partially paid.

Since then, the U.S. imperialists and their lackey the Thanom-Praphas fascist clique have resorted still more to their counter-revolutionary dual tactics in undermining the people's struggle. On the one hand, they employ so-called "psychological warfare", that is, the method of systematically deceiving the people mainly by the high sounding word "development". For instance, they have established "community development teams", formed "mobile development teams", "mobile public relation teams", "mobile health teams", "anti-malaria mobile teams" and they have mobilized reactionary monks to form "Buddist Missions" to preach to the people to stop their struggle, etc. They have

set up a village development net-work in every province. Particularly, in the provinces where the patriotic democratic movement have been making rapid progress, they have increased the number of "development villages", and are planning to establish strategic hamlets like those in South Vietnam as concentration camps for the people. The enemy have already driven into strategic hamlets the people from small villages at the foot of Mount Pu Pan, which they consider as the base areas of the people's armed forces. These villages are either fenced with barbed wire or enclosed by highways. According to the theory of "separating fish from water", they prevent the masses from contacting the armed forces, restrict individual freedom, forbid them to leave their villages or to go out at night, control the distribution of medicine, limit the supply of food for every family, issue identity cards, keep brake of the people's movements and forbid them to take food out of the village. In some villages, the peasants are ordered to have their paddy husked in the enemy-controlled places. In the Northeast, the number of such strategic villages has increased to one hundred.

Another form is armed suppression by the army, the police and the "Home Defence Volunteers". The enemy collect information about the activities of the people from their so-called psychological workers who are actually spies. They also use the army and police forces, "Home Defence Volunteers" and aircraft to patrol and reconnoitre where the people's armed forces are located. After such reconnaissances, the enemy, in a vain attempt to wipe out the people's armed forces, usually begin its mopping-up operation with "encirclement and suppression" as the main form. If they fail to find the object they want to destroy, they carry out the policy of three atrocities — burn all, kill all,

loot all to those whom they suspect of supporting the people's armed forces.

The geographical position of Thailand is within the tropics. The cultivated land and virgin forests each cover about half of its total area and the rainy season lasts as long as six months. In some regions such as the South, there is rain-fall almost throughout the year. During the rainy season, the low-lying area or the cultivated land will become water-logged, to the disadvantage of operations by the troops trained in the bourgeois way under the conscription and mercenary system as well as to the disadvantage of operations by the mechanized forces armed with heavy artillery, armoured cars, tanks, etc. Therefore, the time for the enemy to carry out their "encirclement and suppression" campaigns can only be in the dry season. They make plans and mobilize their armed forces for the "encirclement and suppression" during the five to six months between the end of the year and the harvest season in early next year. After the first battle on August 7, 1965 in Nong-hee village, Na-kae district, Nakorn Phanom province, that was from the end of 1965 to the beginning of 1966, the enemy carried out successive "encirclement and suppression" campaigns in the Northeast and the South in a planned way, which they called "large-scale encirclement and suppression"; especially in the Northeast, the enemy launched such campaigns against what they believed to be the three base areas of the people's armed forces.

The first campaign started between December 26, 1965 and January 2, 1966 in a place near the Ponetoon village at the foot of Mount Pu Pan, Na-kae district, Nakorn Phanom province. The enemy used about two thousand troops and policemen, but they were defeated from the very beginning and suffered heavy causalties.

The second campaign started in December 1965 and ended on May 25, 1966. In the course of the time, the enemy forces went to suppress the people in the region of Sawangdaendin district, Sakol Nakorn province on the other side of Mount Pu Pan for three times. Of the two thousand troops, policemen and the "Home Defence Volunteers" used in the battles by the enemy, more than one hundred and fifty troops and policemen were killed, among them more than ten were officers.

The third campaign was launched from July 17, 1966 to August 4, in Loengnoktha district, Ubol province. The enemy used three thousand troops in this campaign and their casualties were heavy.

The enemy suffered defeat in all these three successive campaigns. Far from being able to stamp out the main forces of the people's armed forces, the enemy were routed by the people's armed forces who applied the guerrilla tactics of concentrating their forces to ambush the scattered enemy. Due to the fact that the army and police lacked experience of fighting in the forests and their poor morale, they often found themselves shoot each other by mistake. Thus all the three encirclement and suppression campaigns in the Northeast ended in complete fiascoes.

During the same period, the enemy also sent troops to the South to carry out encirclement and suppression campaigns in the area between Suratthani and Nakorn Srithamrat provinces and between Phatalung and Trang provinces, which also ended in failure because they could not find the people's armed forces.

As the people's armed forces in Kanchanaburi, Rajburi, Phetburi and Prachaup Kirikhan provinces of the central region became more and more active, on January 20, 1967 the enemy once again launched encirclement and suppression

campaigns in Rajburi and Phetburi provinces. Instead of annihilating the people's armed forces there, part of the enemy's forces were ambushed in Khaoyoi district, Phetburi province.

To sum up, in the past two years all the encirclement and suppression campaigns carried out by the enemy met with complete failure, especailly after the failure of the three campaigns in the Northeast, the balance of military strength is even more in favour of the people's armed forces. The people's armed forces summed up their experiances in the use of the tactics in these campaigns by which they succeeded to preserve their own main forces and put the enemy in a defensive position. Since then, the people's armed forces have been in a position of having the initiative to attack the enemy in various ways, such as 1) ambush; 2) raid on enemy's posts or camps; 3) destruction of communication lines and putting out of action transport convoys; 4) blockade of villages for propaganda activities.

1. Ambush

A. During the enemy's encirclement and suppression campaigns, the people's armed forces concentrated their main forces for ambush attacks on small units of the enemy's armed forces.

B. Ambush attacks on the enemy's convoys of army and police forces, arms and ammunition. For example:

In the Northeast: (1) On June 11, 1966, on the bridge of Huie Kanleuang, only 5 km. away from the town of Na-kae district, Nakorn Phanom province, the people's armed forces there made an ambush attack on the convoy of a mixed punitive and suppression corp composed of civilians, policemen and soldiers. The result was that 4 soldiers and 3 policemen were killed, 2 enemy's trucks were destroyed.

(2) On November 11, 1966, the people's armed forces of Nong-ee-nam village, Ranu commune, Nakorn Phanom province, after gaining successive victories, launched an ambush attack on a convoy of 30 army trucks, the last 4 of them were destroyed. Another attack was launched that night, in which about 150 enemies were either killed or wounded.

C. Ambush attacks were also made on enemy's army and police forces which were dispatched to suppress the people. For example:

In the South: In early July, 1967, the people's armed forces of Betong district, Yala province made a successful surprise attack on the enemy. In the course of fighting, 15 man of the joined armed police force of Thailand and "Malaysia" were put out of action, among them 10 were killed, 5 seriously wounded.

In the North: On May 8, 1967, under the leadership of the district magistrate and the chief of the local police station, the enemy's police and civilian carried out a brutal suppression of Meo nationals in the mountainous region in Thoeng district of Chiengrai province. But the people's armed forces of the Meo Nationality staged an ambush attack on the enemy, in which one enemy was killed, 2 seriously wounded, 3 captured, and 10 missing. Later, from May 9 to 12, the US-Thanom clique dispatched by helicopters several hundred frontier policemen and security policemen from Thoeng, Chieng-khong and Chiengkham districts headed by the governor of Chiengrai province and the district magistrates and under the direct command of 3 Americna army officers to carry out a suppression campaign in that region. They surrounded the village, wantonly looted the people, burned down houses, barbarously seized and killed the people. But the minority nationals, united as one,

heroically fought back with home-made weapons. They took the initiative and launched well-prepared offensives against the enemy who were panic-stricken. In the fighting from 8 to 12, the people's armed forces launched 6 ambush attacks and one surprise attack on the enemy's stronghold, 27 of the enemy were killed, including a police officer. Over 20 were wounded, 11 were taken prisoners and a great quantity of arms and equipments were captured.

In the Central Region: On August 1, this year, the people's armed forces of Kuiburi district, Prachaup Kirikhan province, made an ambush on the reactionary army and police forces which were in the midst of a suppression campaign against the people. The people's armed forces threw hand-grenades at the jeep, and machinegunned them. 5 reactionary policemen and members of the "special combat troops" in the jeep were killed, 5 were wounded, and the deputy police commander of Prachaup Kirikhan province was also killed, and one enemy jeep was destroyed. When the enemy learned of this attack, they dispatched reinforcement which was also ambushed by the people's armed forces. According to preliminary reports, the number of the enemy killed increased to 9 and over 10 were wounded.

2. To attack the enemy's strongholds, that is, the attack the police stations and small enemy soldier units.

In late March and early May 1966 after successfully defeating the enemy's mopping-up operation at Nongbua-Lamphu district, Udorn province in the Northeast, in which the U.S. Air-Commando Unit took part, the people's armed forces again attacked the district police station on June 28, 1966. They skilfully and courageously stormed into the police station, killed 6 policemen and wounded more than 10 others.

On May 5, 1967, the people's armed forces in the central region attacked a police stronghold in Paktho district, Rajburi province, seriously wounded 3 policemen (Paktho district of Rajburi province is only about 120 km. from Bangkok).

According to incomplete statistics the people's armed forces attacked the enemy's strongholds 67 times from January to June 1967.

3. Destruction of communication lines and transport convoys, that is to burn and blow up bridges and railways.

As revealed by the puppet Vice-Premier Praphas, between January to March this year, five bridges were burned down along the strategic highways.

On March 28 this year, the director of the Express Transport Organisation said that because of the activities of the Communists it was often very difficult to transport weapons to the U.S. bases in the Northeast.

4. To surround villages and carry out propaganda or what is known as armed propaganda.

Armed propaganda in essence means to expose U.S. imperialist aggression and the traitorous acts of the Thanom-Praphas clique, to lay bare their embezzlement and corruption and openly to point out the way for the people. All these are done under the protection of the people's armed forces so as to prevent harassments on attacks by the reactionaries. At the same time cultural performances such as folksongs and other programmes are put on for the people. This is warmly welcomed by the villagers. Such armed propaganda work is being carried out in more and more places.

In some places, while carrying out this kind of propaganda, the people's armed forces have also to do some other kind of mass work. For instance, at the request of

the people, they punished those local despots and traitorous spies who have brought great sufferings to the people. Sometimes, the people handed over to the people's armed forces for execution the most villainous ones they had sentenced.

In the Northeast, 86 such propagandas were carried out by the people's armed forces in the first half of 1967.

Following are the different stages gone through by the people's armed struggle in the past two years:

1. In 1965, armed struggle in self-defence.

2. From late 1965 to early 1966, armed struggle with some offensives.

3. From late 1966 to early 1967, armed struggle with offensives, but when conditions are ripe, initiative is taken to launch attacks, such as assaulting police stations, sentry posts and village police strongholds, destroying communication lines and transport convoys.

The Growth of the People's Armed Forces

1. The people's armed forces are growing stronger and stronger.

Chief of Staff of "The Communist Suppression Operation Command" admitted on July 15, 1967 that in the Northeast alone the people's armed forces grew very fast in strength and now had 2,000 men. He also said that the people's armed forces there had some ten thousand supporters and he confessed that it had called more than ten thousand troops to bring the five hundred-odd villages in the Northeast under control.

The Governor of Sakol Nakorn province made a statement which was published in the June 5 issue of "*Washington Post*" to the effect that of the seven hundred villages

in his province, only seventy were supposed to be safe while in the remaining ninety percent of the territory communists were in operation.

In July this year, the Governor of Ubol province told the press that in his province there were four districts where communists were active and that there were even villages where all people had turned communists.

2. The guerrilla warfare in the mountainous areas and forests has developed into a combined warfare waged in the mountainous areas and over the plains.

In the Northeast especially, several large-scale guerrilla operations on the plains took place. Some thickly-populated big villages and several other villages adjacent to the city have been turned into areas where the enemies cannot stay settled.

According to a *Reuter* news dispatch from Sakol Nakorn province on May 19, 1967, ten villages lying just fifteen kilometres away from the provincial capital became communist-controlled areas, where just four months ago government officials had still been able to go in and out freely, but they could no longer do so today. If they wanted to go there, they had to have their army and police force with them and to engage in fierce battles.

In Central Thailand, guerrilla warfare has been spreading to Rajburi, Phetburi and Prachaup Kirikhan provinces, only 100-200 kilometers from Bangkok.

The Enemy Are Scared

1. Thanom ordered a news black-out about the victories of the people.

On November 21, 1966, Thanom restricted the press to publish news from governmental sources only with regard

to the activities of the people's armed forces, for the reason that "lest the news published should offer advantage to the Communists but disadvantage to our side." But, while the people are neither credulous nor interested in the news from the reactionary sources, they are interested in the news broadcast by "the People's Voice of Thailand", organ of the Thai revolutionaries, and Radio Peking. They also pass on news of victories among themselves. The ruling class's own newspapermen do not believe the news released by Thanom either. They make all kinds of comments on the failures of the suppression campaigns against the people.

2. The government's ten to one "tactics".

Thanom told the press on Februry 6 this year: "The terrorists adopt tactics similar to that of Viet Cong, that is, one of their men can fight against five of the government's. They have clearly deployed their forces in the forest, especially in the area of Mount Pu Pan. It is a hide-out for them, a most difficult spot for us to mop up." Thanom also told the press three months later on May 9 that, "The Communist Suppression Operation Command" has very few men. It should have a force ten times bigger than the number of the communist terrorists."

3. The poor morale of the enemy's troops and policemen.

In a "mopping-up" operation in Ponetoom village, Na-kae district, Nakorn Phanom province, in early January last year, many enemy's soldiers and policemen took off their uniforms, exchanged them and their weapons for civilian clothes and ran away in disguise. With the same method another batch of soldiers and policemen deserted the army in May last year. The enemy troops and police are in such a demoralized state that whenever they hear an unusual sound they think the people's armed forces are

coming and they will hurriedly open fire. As a result, they have often fired upon themselves, fighting among themselves, sometimes they even go on fighting like that for a whole night.

The Achievements in Battle

According to incomplete statistics, in the first half of this year, the people's armed forces carried out 284 missions including 139 battles, 59 attacks on the enemy's strougholds and 86 blockades of villages for propaganda purposes; In these operations at least 258 enemies were wiped out.

In the 23 months from August 1965 to June 1967, the people's armed forces fought 463 battles and wiped out over 890 enemies, including a number of American soldiers.

On the 12th of July 1967, the U.S.-Thanom's "The Communist Suppression Operation Command" admitted in its carefully "filtered" news release that from December 1965 to June 1967, the people's armed forces launched 343 attacks against the troops and police of the U.S.-Thanom clique, of which 308 attacks in the Northeast, 30 in the South, 2 in the central region and 3 in the North. During the same period the people's armed forces also surrounded villages to conduct propaganda. Such activities amount to 183 times in the Northeast alone.

Area where the People's Armed Forces Are Active

The areas where the people's armed forces are active have been expanded and the number of battles has increased.

1. During the half year from the 7th of August 1965 to the end of that year, the people's armed forces carried out activities in 6 provinces; 2 in the Northeast, 4 in the South, and fought 29 battles.

2. In 1966, activities of the people's armed forces were extended to 13 provinces: 6 in the Northeast, 5 in the South, 2 in the central region and fought 150 battles.

3. In the first half of 1967, 284 battles took place, almost doubling the number of battles fought in the whole year of 1966. In the meantime, the theatre for operation expanded to 2 provinces in the central region and 2 provinces in the North.

At present, out of the total 71 provinces, the people's armed forces are active in 23 provinces in the Northeast, the South, the central region and the North.

Occupation of Territory

On March 13, 1967, Thanom, the puppet Premier, admitted that the people's armed forces were actually in a position to occupy territory in many parts of the country.

The People's Fighters

The people's armed forces enjoy widespread support from the broad masses of the people. Men and women, young and old, willingly take part in the armed struggle. They realize that revolutionary work is difficult and that those who take part in it must face persecution and death, but it is still far better to do this than to endure the cruel

oppression and enslavement by the national traitors and the U.S. imperialists.

Following are two of the numerous examples:

Ari is a brave woman squad leader about 25 years old. She was born in a poor peasant family. The first time that she took part in a combat was in late 1965. During that combat, she was surrounded by several enemies. Due to her cleverness and courage, she managed to escape from the hands of the enemy. From this experience she saw clearly the nature of the enemy, that is to say, they are paper tigers. During her second combat, she and another fighter were surrounded by 12 enemies. She misled them by making them think that she was going to escape from the south, but actually she cut through the enemy's encirclement in the north. Both of them came out safely though the enemy did their best to pursue them. Sometime later, one day Ari led her squad to ambush the enemy. When the enemy squad was as close as 15 metres from her, she gave the order and they concentrated their fire upon the enemy. During this operation, 4 enemies were killed, 2 wounded and 6 rifles captured while her unit suffered no loss at all. After this battle, the local armed forces and people called the woman squad leader a "two-gun woman fighter".

To cite another example. On one occasion, 50 enemy soldiers and policemen encircled the people's armed forces from all sides. A people's fighter Moon and one of his comrades-in-arms decided to hold up the enemy so as to enable the rest of their unit to break through the enemy's encirclement. Moon and his companion had only one home-made rifle and a pistol, but they persisted in the fighting and successfully detained the enemy. When they ran out of ammunition, they jumped upon the enemy without any

hesitation, and fought with bare hands. At last both of them heroically fell on the battle ground. During this battle, two enemies were killed and ten wounded. Having witnessed such heroism of the people's fighters, the enemy troops and police became even more scared of them.

The Upsurge of Guerrilla Warfare

From the brief account I have given above, we can see that it is neither fortuitous nor mysterious that the guerrilla war in Thailand started with bare hands and has rapidly grown from small to big scale, and from weak to strong force. It is the logical outcome of the social conditions of a colony and semi-colony. When Thailand was a colony, the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the reactionary national traitors, naturally was making rapid progress. It was due to the patriotism of the Thai people and their aspiration for national liberation from the status of colony and semi-colony. During World War II, the history of Japanese imperialist occupation of Thailand is also the history of the Thai people's struggle against imperialists. The prevailing ideology and political line for national independence of that time impelled the establishment of various organizations by the patriotic people. The patriotic national bourgeois elements and persons belonging to the upper social strata also organized a bourgeois-styled armed forces called "Free Thai". This organization had the backing of U.S. and British imperialism which at that time had contradictions with Japanese imperialism.

On the other hand, applying the experience of China's war of resistance to Japanese aggression, that is, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Communist Party of Thailand led

workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie to go ahead to mobilize and organize the masses. A people's armed force was then organized, which assaulted the enemy in the South and took over some Japanese army barracks. The Thai people's armed struggle ended with the surrender of Japanese imperialism on August 16, 1945. But towards the end of 1947, the clique of warlords, who were once the puppets of Japanese imperialism and later enjoyed the support of U.S. imperialism, overthrew the somewhat democratic government by a coup d'état. Hence the forces of U.S. imperialism stepped into the shoes of British imperialism which was still trying to stage a comeback and reoccupy Thailand. The high tide of the struggle against U.S. imperialism came with the aggression and interference of U.S. imperialism.

The victory of China's revolution in 1949, especially the booming of the salvo in the capture of Nanking by the Chinese People's Liberation army, brought Mao Tse-tung's thought to Thailand. Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung appeared openly in Thailand, such as **"On New Democracy"**, **"On Coalition Government"**, **"The Present Situation And Our Tasks"** and others, and in this way, Marxism-Leninism was brought to the revolutionary and patriotic Thai people, pointing out to them the road for national democratic revolution in a colonial or semi-colonial society to liberate their motherland from the rule of imperialism, and the bureaucrat comprador class who are lackeys of the imperialists as well as representatives of feudalists. The thought of Mao Tse-tung on **"encirclement of city from countryside"** and **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** was clearly grasped in the struggle in Thailand.

In 1952, the Communist Party of Thailand summed up its experience and pointed out that **the road for national**

independence called for "intensified mobilization of millions of the masses for independence and democracy", that "the countryside provided the basis of our strength" and that "the peasants must be supported in their ownership of the land and the overwhelming majority of the people must be mobilized to fight arduously and to the last against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for independence and democracy." Since then, those patriotic and democratic-minded revolutionaries aspiring to national independence have overcome all kinds of difficulties and gone to the country-side in a continuous procession.

In 1958 the U.S. imperialists supported their Thai puppets to stage a coup d'état and making use of this situation a martial law was proclaimed, which is still in force today. This order by the so-called "Revolutionary Group" has given itself a power transcending all laws, including the power meting out capital punishment. Innocent people were shot dead without a sentence of a court. Patriotic and democratic-minded people and progressive statesmen were arrested by the hundred each time, their number has totalled several thousands. The enemy's suppression extended from the cities to the countryside, especially from 1961 to 1962, many people's heroes and revolutionaries were killed. The angry fire of the people's hatred is burning unprecedentedly all round the fascist reactionaries and their master — U.S. imperialism.

In 1961, during an upsurge in the new stage of the revolution, the Communist Party of Thailand with regard to the work among the peasants pointed out: **"To intensify the mobilization and organization of the masses to wage a final struggle against the enemy,"** and **"The work on the peasantry is most important for the Party now."** The Party also pointed out: **"There are 20,300,000 peasants in the**

countryside among whom 19,100,000 are poor peasants, farm labourers and middle peasants, which constitite the basic forces. If the peasantry remains politically unawakened and unorganized and standing outside the struggle the patriotic democratic united front will be a weak and unconsolidated one, and the enemy will continue to plunder the wealth of the country and oppress the people. On the contrary, if the peasantry become politically awakened and organized and rise up to struggle, then after the establishment of the worker-and-peasant alliance, the patriotic and democratic united front will become strong and consolidated and the enemy will be destroyed."

In this period, the cadres sent to the countryside worked on the basis of the struggle against Japanese imperialism at the end of the Second World War and the U.S. imperialist intervention and occupation of Thailand in 1947. Anyway, as I have briefly reported above, imperialism and its running dogs, the reactionary forces and local despots intensified their persecution and oppression of the innocent, patriotic and revolutionary people since 1947, particularly in the countryside. This forced many people to leave their homes and hide in the mountains and forests, hoping to stay away from the white terror, thus, bringing about a change of the social conditions in some places, especially in the villages of the Northeast. The people have been divided into two categories, that is, the "Forest Men" and the "Villagers". The former are the main object of the revolutionaries and patriots who went to the countryside to organize the people.

Following that, the people began their struggle against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes. They began with the lower form, i.e. legal struggle, such as struggles against the system of forced labour, the use of iden-

tification cards, against increased land tax, against the seizing of land to build military bases, against the slashing of prices of agricultural produce and the impossibility of selling goods, against usury, heavy rent, extortions and the abusing of power, etc. These struggles have been extensively carried out.

Under the leadership of the Party and the revolutionary mass organizations the activities of mobilizing, organizing and educating the broad masses in the countryside, together with all kinds of legal struggles by the people themselves shook the local reactionaries and the contradictions among them became sharper. The enemy began to tighten its control and persecute even more cruelly than before the revolutionaries in the countryside.

Being cruelly suppressed by U.S. imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes, the politically conscious people have drawn on the experience and lessons of the neighbouring peoples in Vietnam, Laos, Malaya and Burma and have come to realize the necessity of taking up arms in self-defence. They feel that since the enemy oppress us by force, we must also take up arms to defend ourselves and win national independence by armed struggle.

Meanwhile, in order to unite and lead the masses in a nationwide struggle, many revolutionary mass organizations have been founded one after another. For example, the Independence Movement of Thailand was formed on November 1, 1964; the Patriotic Front of Thailand on January 1, 1965; the Patriotic Workers' Federation of Thailand on May 1, 1965; the Patriotic youth Organization of Thailand on February 15, 1966. Now, all these above-mentioned patriotic organizations have already joined the Patriotic Front of Thailand so as to wage struggle to drive

out the U.S. imperialist aggressors and overthrow the traitorious regime.

It was by this widespread demand of the awakened masses that the self-defence armed forces were organized. Since then clashes have become quite unavoidable between the people's self-defence forces and the reactionary army and police which are out to arrest, suppress and massacre the people. Therefore, we regard the first battle we fought with the enemy on August 7, 1965 as the turning point of a new phase in the annals of the Thai revolution. That is why we are now meeting here to mark this day.

Before I conclude my speech, permit me to give you a brief account of the U.S. imperialists' military aggression and control of Thailand as well as the revisionists' interference and sabotage of our country.

U.S. imperialism sent five thousand of its troops on May 17, 1962 to station in Thailand, stepping up its effort to turn the country into its colony of a new type. In the meantime, the more U.S. imperialism escalated its war in Vietnam, the more vigorous was the struggle of the Thai people, as result more U.S. imperialist reinforcements were sent to Thailand and the building and expanding of military bases and installations there was speeded up. Up to now the number of American troops sent to Thailand amounts to over sixty thousand and they are stationed at more than sixty places throughout the country, namely at various air bases, naval bases, ground force barracks, radar stations, rocket-launching sites and so forth.

Now a few words about the air bases built by U.S. imperialism in Thailand:

In the Northeast: Air bases have been built in Korat province, Ubol province, Loengnoktha district of Ubol province, Udorn province, Khonkaen province and Muk-

dahan district of Nakorn Phanom province. These air-fields have ten thousand feet runways. With the exception of the one in Khonkaen all the other air-fields are constantly used by U.S. imperialism in its aggression against Vietnam and Laos. As to the Khonkaen air-field, its runway is being extended and reinforced for B-52 heavy bombers.

Apart from its use as an air base, the airfield in Korat has also a rocket-launching site and a huge armoury. Besides, the general logistical headquarters is also located there, which provides supplies and ammunition sufficient for 125,000 to 160,000 men.

Stationed at the airfields in Korat and Ubol provinces, are about 10,000 American troops each, while the airfield in Udorn has at least 5,800. Loengnoktha district is a military base of the aggressive SEATO bloc, where Britain, Australia and New Zealand all have their troops stationed there.

In Central Thailand: Americans have established military bases in Don Muang (Bangkok), Utapao and Takli, utilizing these bases for the bombing of Vietnam.

Some 10,000 men of the American air force are stationed at the Takli air base.

It should be noticed that the military base in Utapao is for B-52 heavy bombers, and at the same time it has a deep-water dock where vessels of 10,000 tonnage can anchor. Apart from all this, it has more than 70 dug-outs in the mountains for storing weapons and black powder. More than 10,000 American troops are stationed at this military base, and this figure does not include the 60,000 mentioned above. What is more, this base also serves as a huge logistical base having networks of highways and railways linking it with the air base at Korat in the Northeast.

On top of all this, U.S. imperialism also has 28 reserve airfields scattered all over the country. There are altogether more than 400 American airplanes of various types which are kept at these military bases in Thailand. In the whole of Thailand, U.S. imperialism has established 11 ground force barracks, 4 rocket-launching sites, 2 radar stations and 10 naval bases or depots.

At present the Soviet modern revisionists, who have diplomatic relations with the Thai traitorous regime, are intensifying their efforts to work even more closely with it than ever before. For instance, they invited a Thai cultural delegation to visit Buddhist establishments in the Soviet Union; they invited the wife of a veteran anti-communist to visit their social welfare undertakings; they invited anti-communist reactionary writers annd journalists to visit Moscow. They gave the reactionary ruling class of Thailand a copy of their reactionary film, "Cinderella" spreading the absurdities of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition" with the aim of surrendering to imperialism and hoodwinking the masses. The activities carried out by Soviet revisionism helped imperialism and the reactionary ruling class to delude the Thai people. What is more, according to the latest information, the Soviet modern revisionists in complicity with U.S. imperialism and the reactionary ruling clique of Thailand have organized traitors and dregs of the society to undermine by all sorts of dirty means the revolutionary struggle of the Thai people and with their support these scoundrels organized their reactionary armed forces to oppose the people's armed forces.

Imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist clique are the common enemies of the oppressed and exploited peoples of

the whole world, including the people of Thailand. So in opposing imperialism we must oppose revisionism.

In their struggle for independence, apart from receiving guidance from the above-mentioned Mao Tse-tung's thought and the experience of the Chinese people's revolution, the Thai people also sum up the experiences from their own struggle, draw lessons from the rich experiences gained in the struggle by our friendly neighbours such as Vietnam, Laos, Burma and Malaya (including Singapore) and brothers of other countries. By fighting a people's war, the armed forces of the Thai people will defeat U.S. imperialism, drive it out of Thailand and hit so hard at the traitorous clique as to bury them completely. And at the same time we will smash into smithereens "the three peace" modern revisionist line. The victory of the Thai people's struggle for independence is part of the victory of all the national-independence movements.

The present international situation is characterized by a revolutionary upsurge. The oppressed people of the whole world have generally adopted the form of armed struggle for their own liberation. In Asia, the raging fire of people's war is burning in Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Malaya (including Singapore), the Philippines, North Kalimantan, Indonesia and India; in the Arab countries, the people of Palestine and the occupied South Yemen are also waging a people's war; in Africa, a people's war is being launched by the people of the Congo (Kinshasa), Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe etc.; in Latin America, the people of Venezuella, Colombia, Peru, Guatemala and other countries are doing the same, while in the home of the chief imperialist — the United States, the American people are now taking up arms in a fierce struggle against tyranny. This struggle has spread to more than 90 cities in 28 states. The Thai people

regard the victories of the armed struggle of the peoples in various countries as their own. The Thai people will actively support our brothers in various countries preparing for armed struggle. Let us go forward hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder along the broad road to independence, democracy and liberation illuminated by the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung! Victory belongs to the peoples of the whole world.

Long live the victory of people's war!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

People's War Is the Most Sacred Weapon for the Oppressed People

— Speech of Mme Quinim Pholsena,

President of the Laotian Women's Federation

Mr. Chairman,

Dear friends,

As a Laotian, I have the pleasure of hearing this report on the armed struggle of the Thai brothers. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the African and Arab study groups and Comrade Kheir who have organized this significant report. It has enabled us to have a clear understanding of the people's war in Thailand.

I have learned, from Mr. Bhayome's report, that the Thai brothers have scored great victories in people's war and made contributions to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the reaction of Thailand. U.S. imperialism and the Thai reactionaries have been frightened out of their lives, but the peace-loving people of the world are rejoicing over these victories. The Laotian people take them as victories of their own and the Laotian brothers at the front

are tremendously inspired to fight even more actively and courageously.

The brilliant victories gained by the fraternal Thai people have proved that the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung on people's war is most correct and effective. Wherever it is applied there is victory. The same effect has been achieved in Thailand, Laos and all other places where there is struggle against U.S. imperialism. Recently, under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat, the Laotian people have won magnificent victories. For instance, the people's guerrillas blew up 12 enemy aeroplanes in 20 minutes at the Luang Prabang airfield which is only 3 kilometres away from the Royal Residence. There are many other examples of war of annihilation. All this fully illustrates that people's war is the most sacred weapon for the oppressed people.

It is my firm belief that the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung on people's war will spread over the whole world with each passing day and will bring about the extinction of the system of exploitation of man by man.

Finally, may greater successes to the Thai brothers in their struggle and an increasing development of people's war in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!

Long live the victory of people's war!

Mutual Support —Fighting Unity

— Speech of P. V. Sarma (Malaya)

Dear Comrade Chairman,

Comrade Bhayome Chulanond,

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Before I begin, let me wish the Great Teacher and Leader of world revolution, Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of all oppressed nations and peoples a long life, a long long life.

And to his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao, the best of health for all time.

On behalf of the people of Malaya (including Singapore), and especially on behalf of our national liberation fighters who are fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the Thai patriotic armed forces and people in the Malaya-Thai border region against our common enemies, I have great pleasure in extending our militant salute to the revolutionary Thai people through their Representative abroad, Comrade Bhayome Chulanond.

This evening's meeting has a special significance. Firstly, it is a meeting to celebrate the 2nd Anniversary when the

Thai people, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, began to apply the teaching that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** Secondly, we have heard a fine account of how, within the short space of two years, the armed struggle has developed especially in the northeast, central and southern Thailand where, under the leadership of the Front, several guerrilla bases have been established.

The recent splendid victories in the central part of the country are very encouraging, but the expansion of the armed struggle in the southern part has much significance for us, the Malayan people. Thailand and Malaya are neighbours. The armed struggles of our two peoples are in mutual support and it gives me great pleasure to report here that, because of our good neighbourly relations, we have expanded our guerrilla zones in the border region, and our bases there are more consolidated.

We are also greatly pleased to record here that the Office of the Representative Abroad of the Thailand Patriotic Front and the Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League in China are also neighbours and have established the closest co-operation.

We are certain that, with the development of our struggle in all fields, and especially in the field of armed struggle, against our common enemies, the U.S. and British imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and the Rahman-Lee Kuan Yew and Sarit-Thanom puppet cliques the militant friendship and solidarity between our two peoples will be continuously consolidated.

We are absolutely certain that our fighting unity will grow from strength to strength because the revolutionary peoples of our two countries are guided by Marxist-Leninist Parties holding high the great red banner of the all-con-

quering thought of Mao Tse-tung, and because our revolutionary peoples firmly stand on the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

We take this opportunity, too, to express our wholehearted support for the Manifesto and the Six-Point Programme of the Patriotic Front of Thailand for an independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous Thailand.

I would also like to express our thanks to our organisers, the African and Arab study groups for holding this excellent meeting which has not only enlightened us on the situation in Thailand, but fortified our faith in Chairman Mao's teaching that: **"No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement"**

The people of Malaya (including Singapore) support the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people, especially their armed struggles, and we say that there should be more Vietnams in these continents With a final word of unstinted support for the new and emergent anti-U.S. struggles of the Arab peoples, particularly for the armed liberation of Palestine, and the black American people's armed struggle against the world's most vicious beast U.S. imperialism in its own heartland, let me shout

Down with imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction!

Long live the patriotic armed struggle of the Thai people for national liberation!

Long live the close comradeship-in-arms of the Malayan and Thai peoples!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher and leader of world revolution, a long, long life to him!

We Are More Powerful

— Speech of Minn Latt Yekhaun (Burma)

comrade Chairman,

comrade Bhayome Chulanond,

Dear Comrades and Friends:

I am very happy to bring to this meeting the most sincere sentiments of respect, friendship and solidarity held by the people of Burma towards the heroic and revolutionary fighters of Thailand and to their Patriotic Front. Today, on the second anniversary of the commencement of the people's armed struggle against the ruling forces of Thailand, our comrade, Bhayome Chulanond, has given us a very comprehensive picture of the situation in his country. It is a lecture which has helped us to understand even more the just and correct cause of our comrades in Thailand.

The people of Burma and their revolutionary forces who are waging a protracted war against the reactionary Burmese government are greatly encouraged and elated to hear that the sparks of the Thai revolution had been ignited in the northeastern regions and in the south just across our borders. We follow with eager interest the ability of our Thailand comrades to rapidly extend their operation areas and to raise their fighting capacities in so short a period. These successes themselves are ample proof

that the people of Thailand can no longer tolerate the extreme exploitation and oppression of the reactionaries and their imperialist masters. They have resolutely adopted the correct policy of **"daring to use revolutionary violence to firmly combat and defeat counter-revolutionary violence" in order to "put a complete end to the suffering of the people and to save the country,"** as the Communist Party of Thailand puts it.

By waging this revolutionary, patriotic armed struggle the people of Thailand are also making a great contribution of international significance. With the assistance of the domestic traitors, the U.S. imperialists have been busy changing Thailand into an unsinkable aircraft carrier from which their bombers can take off to destroy Vietnam and Laos. They are making this country their military base from which their troops can be dispatched to any region in the East. They have opened their secret service agencies in this land to carry out subversive activities against the Southeast Asian peoples. It is in their plans to turn Thailand into a spring-board from which they could attack People's China, the centre of the world revolution. The U.S. imperialists had all along considered Thailand a safe spot for them. Thus when the patriots of Thailand fired the first shots of the revolution under the Pu Pan Mountains, imperialists and their lackeys discovered that they were sitting right on a volcano. Our Thai comrades have shown the world that there is not a single country in Southeast Asia where U.S. imperialism can "wallow" its filthy body in.

The forces at present in power at Bangkok under orders from U.S. imperialists are actively fighting against the revolution in Southeast Asia. Speaking for Burma we can also recall that when the tide of the armed struggle led

by the Communist Party sharply ascended in 1948-50, the Bangkok government collaborated with the U.S. and the Kuomintang to send the Chiang Kai-shek bandits into our country through northern Thailand to occupy a large area of Burmese territory. Also today, the U.S. imperialists, besides directly helping Ne Win to suppress the revolution, are trying to build up as reserve puppets, certain counter-revolutionary groups, which should substitute Ne Win in case he is overthrown by the people. In this conspiracy also the reactionary Thanom-Praphas clique is deeply involved. We are also aware of the intrigues of these traitors against the Malayan, Cambodian and other peoples of Southeast Asia.

Such a reactionary government that acts counter to the revolutionary tide must surely fall. Our comrades, the patriots of Thailand, who are taking up arms against this regime will certainly triumph.

The U.S. imperialists are getting more and more entangled in Southeast Asia, supporting the reactionaries like Nguyen Cao-Ky of Vietnam and Ne Win of Burma, the Nasution-Suharto clique of Indonesia and the Thanom-Praphas puppets of Thailand. They are sending to our region more and more troops to operate directly against the revolutionary forces. But from a long term point of view, the peoples of Southeast Asia are more powerful than the enemy are. We are in a position to trap as many enemy troops the U.S. can send to us and to annihilate them completely. By doing so we will not only be liberating our countries but shall also be contributing towards the cause of the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We in Southeast Asia can accomplish this duty because we have the sympathy of the progressive peoples the world

over. And we also have the support of People's China, the land of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Down with imperialism and modern revisionism!

Down with the Thanom-Praphas clique!

Victory to the heroic patriots of Thailand!

Long live the solidarity between the revolutionary peoples of Burma and Thailand!

Long live the solidarity between the Communist Party of Burma and the Communist Party of Thailand!

Long live the guiding light of the revolutionaries of the world, the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

The Only Correct Road for National Liberation

— Speech of I. Isa (Indonesia)

Dear Friends,

To-day we are commemmorating the 2nd anniversary of the taking-up of arms by the people of Thailand under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand. We, Indonesian people, who are now fighting against the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, regard the struggle of the heroic people of Thailand as our own struggle. We regard the enemy of the Thai people, i.e. the U.S. puppet regime of Thanom-Praphas, as our own enemy.

When two years ago the people of Thailand, took up arms and launched the glorious armed struggle to overthrow the reactionary regime, they have taken the only correct road for national liberation. The development of the armed struggle in Thailand, the many victories achieved by the people of Thailand in scores of battles and ambushes, completely proved the correctness of the theses of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist in our era, that:

"Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reac-

tionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people win political power."

The people of Thailand, following the teachings of Chairman Mao, grasped the truth that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".** The flames of the people's war are now raging in Asia, Africa, and in Latin America. The people of Thailand, South Vietnam, Laos, Malaya, Burma, India by taking up arms and launch an armed struggle have given a fine and a very good example to the peoples of other countries, including to the Indonesian people, who now under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party are taking up arms to overthrow the reactionary fascist regime of Suharto-Nasution.

Friends,

"The peaceful road", "the parliamentary road", as preached by Khrushchov of the Soviet Union as well as the Khrushchov of China, has gone banckrupt. It is a black counter-revolutionary road. It is opposed and rejected by the people of Thailand and by other revolutionary peoples. Having had a most serious experience and serious setback, the Indonesian people also rejected and condemn this so-called "peaceful road". We are now also taking the road the great Chinese people was taking, the road the people of Thailand is now taking, the road the peoples of Burma, Malaya, Vietnam, India are taking.

The peoples of Thailand and Indonesia have a common destiny. We, Indonesian people are resolved to strengthen the solidarity of our people with the people of Thailand.

As running dogs of U.S. imperialism and collaborators of Soviet modern revisionism, the Suharto-Nasution and Thanom-Praphas reactionary regimes are collaborating with each other to suppress our peoples. The modern revisionists headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin of the Soviet Union are

giving them a helping hand. So, both our peoples: Thiland and Indonesia, are fighting a common enemy.

We are fully confident that the people of Thailand under the leadership of the Patriotic Front of Thailand and the Communist Party of Thailand holding high the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, and persisting in the glorious people's war, persisting in the tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary Thanom-Praphas regime, will win final victory.

Long Live the heroic people of Thailand!

Long live the glorious people's war!

Long live the Patriotic Front of Thailand!

Long live the Communist Party of Thailand!

Driving the Final Nail in the Coffin of Imperialism and Modern Revisionism

— Speech of Basim Hakim (Palestine)

Comrades and friends:

In the name of the Arab study group and in the name of the Palestinian Arab people, I greet the 2nd anniversary of the taking-up arms by the heroic Thai people to launch a sacred people's war against imperialism, colonialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

The heroic people of Thailand have a glorious history of struggle, and they are continuing to prove that they are able to liberate themselves from the shackles imposed upon them. It is sure that they will break the chain and cast all imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries to the dustbin of history.

Comrades, the Arab people have recently passed through a severe crisis caused by the collaboration of the Soviet modern revisionism together with the U.S. imperialism who sold the interests of the Arab people at the cheap price and compelled the Arab states to stop their just war against imperialism and its dirty tool (Israel). The Soviet

modern revisionists have betrayed our Arab people's hope in liberation; they have undermined the struggle of a people who stood up as one man to defend their freedom, independence and to liberate their usurped land. Kosygin has fed himself at the table of Johnson on the flesh of our people. And he drank to intoxication from the blood of our heroic people. He sold our people to the butchers. But his hopes are all gone with the wind and his arrow missed the target. Because whatever setbacks our people meet, they will not cow them to firmly stand and fight for the cause.

Our people have learned a lesson at the cost of blood from the treachery of the Soviet leading clique in the Kremlin. And the blood of our heroes will not be shed in vain, and the debt of blood must be repayed in blood. We would like to tell you, you imperialists and revisionists, we are going to avenge you, we are not going to eat your flesh, drink your blood and the blood of your masters the American imperialists, but we are going to trample you underfoot and to throw you to the mad dogs. Our people will continue the struggle until the end to win victory. In spite of all obstacles put in their way by the imperialists and revisionists, they will definitely be victorious, and we are sure that Arab Palistine will be liberated. Comrades, now we are living in the era of people's war, the era of rebellion, the era of the victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung which is the guiding light for all the people fighting for liberation, independence and national sovereignty.

The people of Thailand today are erupting the volcanoes of their anger against imperialism and reaction; their unshakable stand in the struggle against these aggressive forces is a great support for all the people. It is a support for the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people who are crushing the head of the serpent. It is a support for the

Afro-Asian, Latin-American fighting people. The Thai people's struggle under the wise leadership of the Communist Party and on the basis of the close alliance between the workers and the revolutionary people will be definitely crowned with final success.

From this platform, we revolutionary Arabs declare that we offer you our unconditional support in your struggle for your freedom and independence. Our revolutionary Arab people and all the Afro-Asian people will stand all the time by your side offering you our support and assistance, thus driving the final nail in the coffin of imperialism and modern revisionism. We wish your forward march will always continue and victory belongs to the people.

The victory will definitely belong to the people of Thailand!

U.S. imperialism will definitely be defeated!

Down with Soviet modern revisionism!

Long live the struggle of the Thai people!

Long live the struggle of the Palestinian people!

Long live the militant solidarity between the Arab people and the Thai people!

The Struggle of the People of Thailand for Liberation Is Our Struggle

— Speech of Thureya Nassor (Africa)

Comrades and friends,

On behalf of the African study group, I convey to you all our revolutionary greetings. The fact that we, together with our Arab comrades, have taken the initiative to organize this militant meeting in solidarity with the revolutionary fighters of Thailand, shows our unreserved support to their armed struggle for the complete liberation of their country. Here, once more I would like to confirm our position. The struggle of the people of Thailand for liberation is our own struggle, the struggle of the people of Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Afro-American people and all the struggles of the people for liberation are our own struggles. Every blow at the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries in Asia or Latin America or anywhere else strengthens our own struggle in Africa and contributes to the victory of our people.

Today, the situation in Africa is excellent. Armed struggle for liberation has spread in many places and the

broad masses of the people are seeing through all the machinations and intrigues of the U.S. imperialists, their accomplices and the reactionaries and defeating them one after the other. Our African people are learning fast from the experience of the great people of China and the greatest Marxist-Leninist teacher of our time Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

"Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power."

Comrades and friends:

Let us closely unite, help each other in our common struggle to defeat our common enemies.

Long live the invinsible thought of Mao Tse Tung!

Long Live the struggle of the peoples of the world!

Message of Support

We revolutionaries from 27 countries working in Peking have held a solemn meeting on the occasion of the second year for the taking up of arms by the people of Thailand, to express our firm unshakable solidarity and full support to their just armed struggle for the liberation of their motherland.

We resolutely condemn U.S. imperialism for turning Thailand into a new-type colony, dispatching large numbers of troops to occupy Thailand, completely trampling underfoot her independence and sovereignty, fostering and backing the Thanom fascist traitorous clique to oppress the Thai people and suppress the national democratic movement and even take a direct part in suppressing and massacring the Thai people.

We resolutely condemn U.S. imperialism for making use of Thailand as a base for aggression against Vietnam and Laos and as a threat to the neighbouring countries, for carrying out its plan to expand its war in Indo-China and bringing great disaster to Thailand, Southeast Asia and the countries of the world.

We strongly condemn the Soviet modern revisionists for their interference in the people's revolutionary armed struggle by resorting to underhand and dirty means. On the one hand they did their best to support the reactionary ruling class in Thailand, while on the other they backed

up and helped organize traitorous groups and bad elements in society so as to divert the people's attention from their just cause and deceive them. They worked desperately to sabotage the revolution and armed struggle of the Thai people.

We resolutely condemn the Thanom puppet government for selling out Thailand to U.S. imperialism, perpetrating barbarous fascist rule, depriving the people of their rights of freedom, suppressing and slaughtering the patriotic and democracy-loving people of Thailand in collusion with the United States, arresting the people and throwing them into prisons and concentration camps, and bringing utter poverty and suffering to the people of the whole country.

We strongly condemn the Thanom traitorous government for allowing the United States to use Thailand as a military base for its aggression in the Southeast Asian region as well as an air base for B-52 bombers and other aircraft to bomb Vietnam and Laos; for dispatching Thai troops to South Korea, South Vietnam and Laos as cannon-fodder and scape-goats of the United States; for suppressing the struggle for genuine independence waged by the people of Malaya (including Singapore) in collusion with the Rahman-Lee Kuan Yew clique, for suppressing the Indonesian people in collaboration with the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique; for suppressing the Burmese people in collusion with the Ne Win reactionary clique; for taking part in the aggressive block of SEATO and carrying out intervention and aggression against the countries in this region.

We resolutely support the Thai people in their patriotic struggle and their struggle for democracy, particularly their armed struggle. We extend warm support to and are

inspired by the armed struggle of the Thai people which has grown from strength to strength and won continuous victories under the leadership and correct orientation of the Communist Party of Thailand and the Patriotic Front of Thailand. The Thai people are carrying out their struggle under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought which stipulates that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** And **"Revolutions and revolutionary war are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power."**

We must unite and closely cooperate with each other in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism, our common enemies. The struggle and victories of the Thai people and the struggles and victories of our own people are helping, supporting, giving encouragement to each other. To achieve final victory, we should all the more promote revolutionary friendship among us, establish close contacts and further militant solidarity.

Long live the victory of the people's war!

Long live the armed struggle of the Thai people!

Long live the unity of all the peoples of the world!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher and great leader of the world's people! A long life to him!

Revolutionaries from 27 Countries
Working in Peking.

Peking, August 7, 1967.

Holding High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, the Thai People's Armed Forces Are Marching Forward Victoriously

By Comrade Nida
At the Seminar for a Study of Chairman Mao's Theories on People's War
August 12-17, 1967 in Peking.

Chairman,

Comrades and friends,

First of all, let us sincerely wish a long, long life to our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao!

Let us also wish an eternally good health to Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao!

Here, I must thank the foreign experts bureau for availing me the opportunity to speak on the situation of the

Thai people's armed struggle. As for me, I still leave much to be desired in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. I must learn more from your experiences. I would like to take this opportunity to exchange opinions with all of you on the question of how the Thai people's armed forces hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

When the first shot was fired at Nong-hee village, Nakae district, Nakorn Phanom Province on August 7, 1965, the war was waged against the Thanom-Praphas reactionary traitorous clique and its master, U.S. imperialism. It declared to the whole world that the Thai people could no longer tolerate the enslavement by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and that they could no longer tolerate the extremely cruel oppression and exploitation imposed on them.

Speaking of the outbreak of the people's war in Thailand as is pointed out in the statement of the Communist Party of Thailand issued on the 24th anniversary of its founding, **"the lesson which the people learned with their blood in long, bitter struggles teaches us that, to fight the reactionary ruling class that has been armed to the teeth, the people must have armed forces of their own. Without their own armed forces, the people would not be able to defeat the enemy; they would find themselves under the butcher's knive of the enemy. The way of people's revolution can only be that of seizing political power through people's armed struggle. Only by daring to use revolutionary violence to resolutely resist and defeat counter-revolutionary violence can the people be thoroughly relieved of their sufferings and the nation be saved."** Just as Chairman Mao says: **As the enemy is now sharpening their swords we must sharpen ours too.**

The founding of the Thai people's armed forces resulted from the fact that the Thai proletarian vanguard went deep into the rural areas to organize and lead the broad masses of the peasants to wage armed struggle. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the very soul of the Thai people's armed forces who follow the principle of establishing rural base areas, using them to encircle the cities and eventually seize the whole nation's political power.

The Thai people's armed forces grow from nil to existence, from small to big. The revolutionary sparks of Na-kae district have kindled flames throughout the northeastern, southern, central and northern parts of Thailand. The major reason why the Thai people's armed forces can exist and develop is that, since the very day of their founding, the Thai people's armed forces have always pursued the brilliant military thinking of Mao Tse-tung as their guiding principle, given prominence to proletarian politics and regarded political and ideological work as their life-blood.

It should be attributed to the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought—the highest level of Marxism-Leninism of our era that our fighters can raise their class consciousness under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand.

1. The Thai people's armed forces are much concerned with the ideological work for every soldier. Cultural and political education are given to soldiers in a variety of forms. Soldiers raise their class consciousness and political awareness and remould their world outlook by way of "pouring out grievances" (that is, by recounting the wrongs done to the labouring people by the old society and by the reactionaries), thus establishing a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. So, in the people's armed forces, there have emerged a great number of "four-good armed work teams", "four-good arm-

ed propaganda teams" and "five-good soldiers". (The four goods are: 1. good in political ideology, 2. good in fulfilling tasks, 3. good in military training, 4. good in life management. The five-goods are: 1. good in political ideology, 2. good in combat, 3. good in discipline and style of life, 4. good in labour and 5. good in study.) The soldiers who are good at studying Mao Tse-tung's works can recite from memory the three-constantly-read articles and creatively study and apply them in their daily life. We educate all our soldiers to establish the fighting spirit of arduous struggle and of being not afraid of hardship and death on all battle-fields.

2. **After each counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" or each battle, the Thai people's armed forces see to it that they sum up the experience they have gained in combat in accordance with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching of "learning warfare through warfare" so as to raise our level.** We have learned that the better we grasp and apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking on military matters, the greater victories we will win in battle.

3. **The Thai people's armed forces have strict organization and discipline.** They observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. Our fighters must be able to fight, carry on production and do mass work.

4. **The Thai people's armed forces maintain fish-and-water ties with the masses of the people.** The masses render vigorous support in sending their sons and brothers to the army, supplying food grains to the army and keeping the people's armed forces well-informed. Although some places are blockaded by the enemy, the people's armed forces can persist in the struggle against the blockade, because they have the masses. The enemy try in a thousand and one

ways to separate the people from their armed forces. Nevertheless, the masses call the people's armed forces the "forest troops" and maintain that the "forest troops" are good. They say that their sons and brothers will be safer after they have been sent to the "forest troops". In particular, the girls can avoid being trampled upon by the Thanom traitorous lackeys.

The Thai people's armed forces take political work as the life-blood of all work. Therefore, the morale of the fighters is incomparably higher than that of the enemy troops. Although the U.S. imperialist-Thanom clique are armed to the teeth with modern weapons, the moment they join a battle, they will show the true colours of a paper tiger. When the enemy troops lack morale they flee helter-skelter. When their master orders them to suppress the "forest troops", they excuse themselves from doing so and say, "If we go, we will certainly be killed". However, nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the people's army have a high morale and fight tenaciously in the battlefield. The fighters never surrender even if they are arrested and tortured by the enemy. This is an important factor for the political superiority on the part of the Thai people's armed forces.

As for the question of local political power, the Thai people's armed forces attach importance to the establishing of local political power. At present, there are some areas where the enemy cannot enter and carry on activities. In some villages, the people's armed forces prevail at night, while the enemy gains the upper hand in the daytime. In some other villages, the people's armed forces dominate both in the daytime and at night. There are some villages where the enemy dare not enter, because they are afraid of being hit by bullets fired by the "forest troops" with pin-point accuracy.

Now, I'll tell you something about how the Thai people's armed forces apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in the battles. The people's war in Thailand is guided by Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking on military matters as he has elucidated in his work **"On Protracted War".** That is to say, the enemy has a comparatively stable political power and its strength is comparatively stronger than ours. As for the people's armed forces, they have grown from nil to existence, from small to big and from weak to strong. At present at the initial stage of guerrilla warfare, the people's armed forces are comparatively weaker than the enemy.

Therefore, we abide by Chairman Mao Tse-tung's following teachings as the basic principles of our military thinking at the present stage: **"Our strategy is 'pit one against ten' and our tactics are 'pit ten against one' "; We, the people's armed forces should "make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective."** At the same time, the people's armed forces should maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the masses, ties which are as close as those between fish and water. Since the people's armed forces began to carry on guerrilla warfare, these basic principles of military thinking have frustrated the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns one after another. For example, Praphas, puppet vice-premier, commander-in-chief of suppressing the communists, and reactionary warlord chieftain, told pressmen in a crestfallen mood, "it is not difficult to mop up the communists, only if we know exactly where the communists are. If they have a thousand men there, we send five thousand to encircle them and wipe them out. However, what we can find very hard or impossible to accomplish today is that when our troops are sent there, the communists have run away

altogether with only the citizens left. How can we carry out the suppression?"

Each time the enemy launch the "encirclement and suppression" campaign, they would meet with defeat and at the same time suffer losses. This is due to the fact that the people's armed forces apply the tactics of **"pitting ten against one"** and also of **"injuring all a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one"**.

The people's armed forces armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought concentrate their superior forces to launch sudden attacks on the enemy's dispersed forces and destroy them one by one, at the same time deflate the arrogance of the enemy's troops and police forces and their headquarter.

On the tactics of guerrilla warfare, there is **Chairman Mao Tse-tung's 16-character proverb** which is creatively applied by the people and is put into very simple words as **"you advance, we retreat; you camp, we harass; you tire, we attack; you retire, we pursue."**

The guerrilla warfare fought in accordance with this 16-character proverb not only harasses the enemy troops and police forces and the reactionary "Home Defence Volunteers", but also constantly inflicts losses upon the enemy.

On July 14 this year, the commander of the First Mixed Forces of Civilians, Policemen and Soldiers which is responsible for the suppression campaign in the provinces of Nakorn Phanom and Sakol Nakorn said painfully to the newspaper reporters, "the communists have actively applied the tactics of Mao Tse-tung's 16-character proverb. Often they launch attacks at night, during meal time or in the week-end when we are having a rest." Then he continued, "these people in small detachments of 5-10 men launch attacks in mountain areas and in border regions between districts and between provinces, they make chaos and it is

hard to tell the target of their attack. So we have to concentrate more than two thousand men of our main forces in the provincial capital, ready to fight day and night."

The people's armed forces follow Chairman Mao's teaching "Strategically, we should despise all enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously," which is applicable both politically and militarily. So each time before they carry a military action, the people's armed forces must make all-round preparations ideologically and militarily. They must know their own subjective force and the enemy's objective force, the masses' state of affairs and the terrain of that area where the fight is to take place. They must repeatedly go over and get familiar with the tactics to be employed in every military action. They must see to it that every soldier be armed with sufficient weapons, bullets, food and other equipment. Operational plans must be submitted to the soldiers for full democratic discussion. Just as Chairman Mao teaches us, **"know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat."**

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that we must annihilate the **"effective strength of the enemy"** and that **"wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction,"** the people's armed forces of Thailand encourage its fighters to do hard training in the use of weapons, bows and arrows, in marksmanship and hand-grenade throwing, so that they can become more adept and flexible to use them. While in shooting or hand-grenade throwing, great accuracy is required. That is why, since the founding of the people's armed forces there have emerged a great number of sharpshooters and hand-grenade throwers who can use hand

grenades with great flexibility to wipe out large numbers of enemies.

In the rear service, the people's armed forces also follow Chairman Mao's teaching of **"regeneration through self reliance"** and try to seize as many weapons and munitions as possible from the enemy. So even in the enemy's news reports, one often finds such news as "military and police stronghold raided by the people's armed forces; weapons, guns, munitions and radio transmitters seized." The people's armed forces collect most of the food grains they need, as a result of the fact that while carrying on fighting, they also engage themselves in production. Thailand is a tropical country, and in the woods of its mountains there grow a great variety of eatable wild plants; birds and animals can be found everywhere up and below the sky, underground, in water and up the trees—all this provides a favourable condition for the people's armed forces deep in the woods to keep on and persist in their fight. Yet on the other hand, among these things there are some plants that are poisonous. People who eat them may suffer from chronic disease or be poisoned to death. However, as the people's armed forces come from the people, learn from the people when coming across problems and serve them, they can distinguish the eatable wild plants from those that are poisonous. While engaging in production in various parts of the country and storing up food, they also assign a number of fighters to the job of catching fish, hunting and looking for bamboo shoots and potatoes. What is more, the poor peasants of Thailand live a very simple and plain life. Given rice, salt and hot pepper, they can keep life on. Other non-staple food can be found in the woods. Therefore, the necessary food can be bought from the masses of the people. However the masses in various parts of the country also often contri-

bute part of their food in support of the people's armed forces.

As the armed forces of the Thai people have mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought on people's war, they have won successive victories and smashed many encirclement and suppression campaigns by the enemy. They maintained their initiative by employing the tactics of ambushes, of attacking the enemy's strongholds and destroying their transport and communication lines. They mobilized and organized the masses by means of armed propaganda. Over the last two years, they have scored brilliant victories. According to the latest incomplete statistics, the people's armed forces had the initiative almost in all the more than five hundred battles they fouht with the enemy, wiping out over a thousand enemy soldiers and policemen, including enemy of the colonel rank and a number of U.S. soldiers, and capturing twenty-six.

August the first is the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. On that day, news of victory came from Thailand. The Thai people's armed forces moved to Yangchum village and carried out actions there. When the enemy heard this, they went to the village for suppression. Having learnt the situation from the people, the people's armed forces left the village at once and ambushed the enemy on the way. They strafed and threw hand-grenades towards the enemy, killing the deputy police commander of Prachaup province and a number of policemen and destroying an enemy car, winning a glorious victory.

The tactics that the Thai people's armed forces use are —when we can wipe out the enemy, we do so; when we cannot, we move away. So when the enemy dispatched 400 troops to the village as reinforcement, they could find

the people's armed forces nowhere. The death of the deputy police commander of Prachaup province greatly irritated Praphas, commander-in-chief for the suppression of communists. The news was published in all the newspapers in Thailand. This victory is a great encouragement to the Thai people. News also came that on the third and sixth of this month, battles were also fought at Kuiburi district. The Thai people's armed forces effectively applied Chairman Mao's tactics to a attack the enemy in commemoration of August the first.

At present, out of the 71 provinces the people's armed forces are active in the vast areas of 25 provinces, in the northeastern, southern, central and northern parts of Thailand.

Here, let me give you two or three examples to show that even if you have learned only a little of Mao Tse-tung's thought, but if you can really master and use what little you have learned, you will get immediate results.

For instance: Fighter Sung is a poor peasant of 35. After he joined the people's armed forces and received a short-term political and military training there, he came to realize that there is a difference in nature between the reactionary army which oppress the people, and people's armed forces. He also realized that there are three big tasks for the people's army: fighting, mass work and production. In fighting, he remembered that **to destroy the enemy means to preserve oneself and that only by destroying the enemy's effective strength, can the people's armed forces grow and develop.** This is Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching in the military field, which is widely employed by the Thai people's armed forces.

The day for testing the application of Mao Tse-tung's thought came at last. The reactionary police led by spies

in the village were searching everywhere for the bases of the people's armed forces. Fighter Sung, who was then on guard, discovered the enemy first. He hid himself at once and sent his comrade to warn those encamped. What he firmly bore in mind was **"to destroy the enemy means to preserve oneself", "(we) must destroy the enemy's effective strength", "wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; . . ."** He took aim and fired as the enemy came near. He fired four bullets in succession, the first hitting the spy. Three were killed, one wounded. The rest of the enemy ran for their lives in pell-mell. For this fighter Sung was called "sharp shooter".

The second example: "a noble life, a glorious death".

It is an indispensable work for the people's armed forces to organize the masses to study at a proper place in the forest. But there must be armed forces to be on guard to ensure the masses' safety against enemy attacks. Once, twelve people were at study, three were on duty. It so happened that twelve reactionary policemen came and surrounded the study group. The three comrades on guard fired at the enemy, so that those at study could put away their documents and get prepared to break through. As the encirclement tightened, Comrade Shatien who was one of the three on guard, got wounded. What he was thinking of then was not himself, but his comrades. He asked the other two comrades to go and help the masses to withdraw, while he himself stayed on to fight and stop the enemy. The masses were safely evacuated, but he himself died for the people, he died a glorious death.

Nuanta — a girl who is honourably known as the daughter of Comrade Krong*

Nuanta is the daughter of a peasant, only sixteen years old. But with the tortures of a hard life and her ragged

clothes she looks as if she were thirty. She was born in Sawangdaendin district, Sakol Nakorn province. At first she could not very well understand when her neighbours told her that the misery of the peasantry was caused by the exploitation of U.S. imperialism and the Thanom government and that to put an end to the misery it was necessary to fight, to drive out the U.S. bandits and to overthrow the traitors. Later, a combined detachment of several battalions of U.S. and Thai troops and police was sent to her village for a mopping-up campaign. Her brothers were arrested and beaten up. The houses of her relatives were burnt down. A number of villagers were persecuted by the U.S. and Thanom reactionaries. She herself had to seek refuge in a forest as she was unable to go on living in the village. After studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary theory Nuanta became firmer. She hated the enemy and began to understand what used to be beyond her comprehension. With the rising of her political consciousness, she realised that without the people's armed forces, the people have nothing. Consequently she joined the people's army, actively and responsibly accomplishing tasks assigned to her by her leader. She learnt to read and write, to do propaganda among the masses and mobilize the masses. Within a short period of time she made rapid progress. On learning that she was to take part in exterminating a traitor in the village she rejoiced beyond word and asked to be make a sniper. That evening, with the firing of three shots the hateful spy was killed! The crack shot who accomplished this task was no other than Nuanta, who has henceforth been called Comrade Krong's daughter. Now, Comrade Krong's daughters such as Nuanta are emerging everywhere in northeast Thailand, where the flames of people's war are ablaze.

With the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung held high in every field of work the armed forces of the Thai people have rapidly grown. It is especially the influence of China's proletarian cultural revolution that has made the Thai people's armed forces pay greater attention to and lay more stress on the creative study and application of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the remoulding of world outlook by the fighters in their efforts to become staunch red fighters and prevent the emergence of revisionism in the Thai people's armed forces. Therefore, we offer our most resolute support for the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. We are firmly convinced that China as a base for the world revolution will never change its political colour and will grow ever stronger.

The initial victories scored by the Thai people's armed forces not only testify to the fact that U.S. imperialism and the Thanom-Praphas puppet government are paper tigers, but also to the fact that the Thai people are confident in thoroughly defeating them. Just as is pointed out in the statement of the Communist Party of Thailand issued on the 24th anniversary of its founding, **"At present, the enemy forces are temporarily superior to ours. Therefore, our struggle will have to go through a difficult, sacrificial, long-term and tortuous course. We must actively rely on and mobilise all the forces of the people to take part in this struggle."** We, the Thai people, therefore, must exploit the excellent situation both at home and abroad, intensify our efforts to expand the patriotic forces against the U.S. and the domestic reactionaries, modestly learn from the fraternal countries' rich experience in armed struggles, and thoroughly defeat U.S. imperialism, the Thanom-Praphas clique and modern revisionism through people's war.

The Thai people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's path of armed struggle and people's war.

Finally let us all shout:

Long live the victory of people's war!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the armed struggle of the Thai people!

Long live China's great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the militant solidarity of the world people!

Long live the great teacher of the world revolution, Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

* * *

I suggest to the seminar that a message saluting Chairman Mao, the teacher of the world's revolutionary people, in the name of the seminar be adopted to express our infinite love to Chairman Mao and our determination to stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

*Comrade Krong Jundawong was a revolutionary hero of Thailand who was killed by the Sarit-Thanom fascist clique on May 31, 1961. He was born in Sawangdaendin district, Sakol Nakorn province, one of the regions in Thailand where guerrilla actions are extensively carried out.