

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE

OF VIET NAM,

DEFEAT

U.S. AGGRESSORS

IV

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DEFEAT
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This volume contains documents and articles up to June 5, 1965, in support of the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

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**STATEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA**

(May 21, 1965)

The Johnson Administration of the United States has recently resorted to the subterfuge of a "temporary suspension of air attacks". It furtively intimated that there would be no air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for a period beginning from May 12. In less than a week, it hurriedly resumed the bombings. **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on May 18, pointing out that the United States had in fact never ceased its acts of war against Viet Nam and that, in declaring the "temporary suspension of air attacks", the United States was trying to sell its threadbare swindle of an "unconditional ceasefire" and "unconditional discussions" and to further extend its aggressive war against Viet Nam. This conclusion is perfectly correct.**

This U.S. trick clearly indicates that the United States is behaving ridiculously and disgustingly in a situation in which advance and retreat are equally difficult for it. It imagined at first that its bombings would immediately make people sue for peace and prevail on them to negotiate. But its barbarous bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam had been going on for more than

three months without accomplishing anything. The heroic Vietnamese people have never wavered in the least. Unanimous in their hatred against the enemy, they grew stronger and stronger in the course of fighting. Then the United States thought that people would be tearfully grateful when it suspended its bombings and that it could bring about negotiations and achieve what it had failed to achieve by bombing. This, of course, was wishful thinking.

The gangster logic of the United States is: "I'll bomb you if you resist; I may stop for a while, but then if you don't surrender I'll resume my bombing." **Both bombing and the "temporary suspension" of bombing are forms of war blackmail. The Vietnamese people will never knuckle under to any war blackmail. Neither bombing nor suspension of bombing can help the United States which is caught in a real dilemma.** In fact, the Johnson Administration lost the initiative from the very first day it began its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Like a man who has put a noose around his own neck, it will only find the noose getting tighter and tighter, without any possibility of its being loosened.

The root cause of the Viet Nam question is very clear. It is U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and its resort to the bombing of north Viet Nam when its aggression in the south bogged down. The bombing of north Viet Nam by the United States is closely related to its aggression in south Viet Nam. The Viet Nam question cannot possibly be settled without eliminating the root cause, which is U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam. Therefore, the road to a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question in strict accordance with the Geneva agreements can only be

opened by firmly supporting the four-point proposition put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 8 and the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation of March 22. That is to say, the United States must stop all its acts of aggression in Viet Nam, withdraw all its armed forces in south Viet Nam, recognize the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as the only legal representative of the south Vietnamese people, and acknowledge that south Vietnamese affairs must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves and that the reunification of Viet Nam must be resolved by the north and south Vietnamese people themselves.

Some people do not condemn U.S. aggression and do not demand the withdrawal of the U.S. forces of aggression from south Viet Nam, but merely ask the United States to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They think that if only the United States stopped its bombings, all would be well. Their tune echoes the U.S. trick of "temporary suspension of air attacks" and in fact serves the U.S. plot of an "unconditional ceasefire" and "unconditional discussions".

The United States may play this trick of "temporary suspension of air attacks" again. And those who serve the United States in its political intrigues may also continue their activities. But, no matter what tricks the United States plays, it will not be able to deceive the Vietnamese people. The more it plays such tricks, the more clearly will the people of the world recognize the ugly features of U.S. imperialism and its collaborators and the more resolutely will they support the Vietnamese people in carrying through their just struggle against the U.S. aggressor to the end.

In the last few days, U.S. air forces have become particularly unbridled in their raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We must point out that the United States will never achieve its aim by any new military adventures, but will inevitably meet with still stronger counter-blows. The Vietnamese people are prepared, so are the Chinese people. No matter how desperately he struggles, the U.S. aggressor is doomed to failure.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S ACT OF PIRACY

Renmin Ribao Observer

(May 2, 1965)

U.S. President Lyndon Johnson issued an executive order on April 24, arbitrarily designating Viet Nam and the waters adjacent to it as "an area in which armed forces of the United States are and have been engaged in combat". This "combat zone", defined in the form of law with its limits given in exact terms of latitude and longitude, actually covers the whole of Viet Nam, a large expanse of the high seas and even some of China's territorial waters. This is a serious move by U.S. imperialism to continue expanding the war of aggression in Viet Nam and to heighten the tension in Indo-China and Asia. It is an act of piracy in flagrant violation of international law.

This piratical order by Johnson is another open provocation by U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Since the Honolulu conference, the U.S. aggressors have quickened their pace of escalating the war. On April 26, U.S. Defence Secretary Robert S. McNamara openly declared that it would be possible for U.S. forces to "interdict infiltration by sea by putting in effect a sea patrol across the [17th] Parallel and

extending it into the international waterways and this we are doing”.

On April 28, an American military spokesman announced that the U.S. Seventh Fleet would intercept “any suspicious vessels”. It is thus clear that the announcement of designating a “combat zone” along the Vietnamese coast and on the high seas is a premeditated step towards a general blockade of the Vietnamese coast.

Johnson’s order reveals once again the U.S. imperialist intention to carry on and expand its war of aggression in Viet Nam. Nobody can imagine that the United States has designated this “combat zone” for purposes of peace. The opposite is the case. The order is a new and dangerous step by U.S. imperialism in its escalation of the war of aggression in Viet Nam. Nevertheless, only a few days after this piratical move, the same Johnson prated again about the “sincerity” for peace and “restraint” of the United States and asked the whole world to “test” it. But these theatricals are entirely superfluous. The U.S. aggressors are daily intensifying their aggressive war in south Viet Nam and expanding their wanton bombing of north Viet Nam, and now there is this outrageous order for a “combat zone”. The undeniable fact is that the flames of the war of U.S. aggression in Viet Nam are spreading, not subsiding. All the lies that the United States “is ready to bring about a peaceful settlement”, that it “will not weary in the search for peace”, which Johnson and his ilk repeat day in and day out, become utterly nonsensical and will not stand up to a moment’s refutation. Through the “window of peace” opened by Johnson, one sees the scene of an intensified war.

The Johnson Administration, by its aggressive acts, has once again revealed itself before the world as an out-and-out international pirate. It has extended its war of aggression from south Viet Nam to the north, from ground to air, and from off the coast of south Viet Nam to the high seas. In the eyes of this international brigand, any international agreement can be violated and scrapped at will if it stands in its way; the high seas can be regarded as its own to meet its needs of aggression and expansion; and its armed forces can be moved into the territorial land, waters and air of any sovereign state whenever it so chooses. This is sheer lawlessness and piracy. Yet of late U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk had the cheek to talk in public about the “deep interest” of the United States in the “growth of international law” and in the upholding of the “territorial integrity” of any state. This is effrontery unparalleled.

Johnson’s order also constitutes a menace to China’s security and an encroachment on China’s sovereignty. This “combat zone” flagrantly defined by U.S. imperialism extends to the very door of China and even includes part of Chinese territorial waters in the vicinity of China’s Hsisha Islands. We solemnly declare: China will brook no infringement by anyone on its territorial waters or air space. Anyone who disregards this will have to shoulder the responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

In designating the “combat zone”, the Johnson Administration has also a domestic purpose. It wants to create a war atmosphere in the United States so as to squeeze more money out of the American people and make them contribute more cannon-fodder. A big problem confronting the Johnson Administration is that the

American people strongly oppose the aggressive war in Viet Nam and that the U.S. officers and men are becoming increasingly war-weary. Those fighting in south Viet Nam are anxious to go home while those serving in the United States and other places are not willing to go to Viet Nam. In these circumstances, Johnson has issued a presidential order which specifically provides that American servicemen sent to the Viet Nam "combat zone" are to have their pay and allowances exempt from taxation. Obviously, this is material incentive for more American youth to serve as cannon-fodder. But neither deceit nor coercion and bribery can drive the young people to south Viet Nam to die for the Wall Street bosses.

Step by step, the Johnson Administration is climbing the ladder of war escalation in Indo-China. Its attempt to find a way out by war blackmail will never succeed. It can climb up the ladder but it will not possibly find the steps to get down. The higher it climbs, the harder will be the fall. And fall the U.S. aggressors certainly will — crashing to smithereens from the top of the ladder.

UNRIVALLED POWER OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR

— In Commemoration of the 11th Anniversary of
the Great Victory at Dien Bien Phu

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(May 7, 1965)

Eleven years ago, on May 7, the heroic Vietnamese people and their army, under the wise leadership of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, won a great, world-shaking victory in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. This victory was a tremendous contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Southeast Asia and world peace because, being a decisive blow to the U.S.-backed French invaders, it helped bring forth the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements. It was not just a victory of the Vietnamese people but of the Asian people and all oppressed nations in the world as well.

Today, eleven years later, U.S. imperialism, replacing the old colonialists and savagely trampling the Geneva agreements under foot, has imposed another colonial war on the people of south Viet Nam and is spreading the flames of war to the north. Peace in Southeast Asia and the world is being seriously endangered.

With a long and glorious tradition of fighting imperialist aggression, the Vietnamese people are now striking hard at the U.S. aggressors; they are doing this in a highly militant spirit and with a strong determination to fight and win. Today, great victories have been won by the people in the south, where the rule of U.S. aggressors and their flunkys has been toppled in four-fifths of the area and the liberated areas now form an unbroken stretch embracing a population of 10 million. As a result, cities like Saigon and the U.S. aggressors' military bases have been surrounded and have become isolated islands. In the last few months, the armed forces and civilians in the north have brought down hundreds of U.S. planes, dealing heavy blows to the Johnson Administration's policy of war blackmail. An excellent situation exists in the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. Suffering blows at the hands of the Vietnamese people, the U.S. aggressors are now in a most miserable situation. Today they themselves must have perceived looming ahead of them the horrible shadow of Dien Bien Phu, where French colonial forces were completely routed. The U.S. aggressors are sure to lose and the Vietnamese people are sure to win — this is now a foregone conclusion.

Both the Battle of Dien Bien Phu eleven years ago and the current Vietnamese situation show the unrivalled power of a people's war.

The Vietnamese people are certain to defeat the U.S. aggressors. The basic reason for this is that they are fighting a revolutionary war against aggression, a war waged by the whole people. It is a cause of the people themselves who, united as one, rise in arms and put up a life-and-death struggle against the aggressors; this peo-

ple's war, in which every one is a soldier, every household a bulwark and every village a battlefield, is like a vast sea that overwhelms and drowns the enemy. When commenting on China's War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "It must be remembered that the war will be fought in China. This means that the Japanese will be entirely surrounded by a hostile Chinese people."¹ This is the kind of situation which faced the Japanese militarists invading China, the French colonialists in Viet Nam eleven years ago and now U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam. It is this kind of people's war which imperialism fears.

The brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people has inspired all oppressed peoples and nations with the determination to fight. But, confronted by this excellent situation prevailing in the Vietnamese people's war, the modern revisionists are worried to death. Since their stand is in opposition to that of the people, they have no faith in the strength of the masses and, therefore, do not believe that victory will go to a people's war. They examine things with a metaphysical approach: how can the poorly armed people of south Viet Nam defeat the U.S. aggressors using up-to-date equipment?

True, U.S. imperialism possesses a gigantic war machine while the people of south Viet Nam use weapons as primitive as bows and arrows. The important point, however, is that this is not a war which the Vietnamese people have gone to the United States to fight but one started by the U.S. aggressors who have intruded into Viet Nam. Taking the world situation as a whole, be-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *On Protracted War*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 13.

cause the United States is engaged in aggression everywhere on the globe, its armed forces are dispersed, it has an extended battlefront, and thus it finds itself in a fix. Taking the situation in south Viet Nam, even if the United States throws in a large amount of armed forces and military equipment, it has to face 14 million south Vietnamese people who are united in common hatred against the enemy. Therefore, the relative strength of the enemy and the people cannot be measured only in terms of the quality of weapons. More importantly, the balance of forces is subject to change. With correct leadership and persistence in struggle, the people's strength will grow as they fight so that the balance of forces will gradually change—imperialism changing from a favourable to an unfavourable position and the people the other way round. This is something the imperialists do not understand, nor do the modern revisionists, but it has been borne out by the great victory at Dien Bien Phu 11 years ago and again by the brilliant victories the south Vietnamese people have been winning today.

U.S. imperialism is of course not reconciled to the change in the balance of forces between the two sides on the battlefield of Viet Nam. It dispatches one aircraft carrier after another to the Western Pacific and sends a hundred aircraft to carry out concentrated bombing. Having lost their superiority on land, the U.S. aggressors brag of their "air and naval superiority". But no matter how many warships and aeroplanes U.S. imperialism may use, the people's revolutionary war has its own way of fighting. You may seize cities while we occupy the countryside. You may dig yourselves in while we move about and fight. You may count on your up-to-date

weapons while we rely on the politically awakened masses. It can be boiled down to this: you fight in your way and we in ours. And this was how the Chinese people won final victory in their revolutionary war, and it will be how the Vietnamese people win final victory in their revolutionary war. The so-called naval and air superiority which U.S. imperialism boasts about can by no means save it from defeat.

Finding its "naval and air superiority" on the verge of being completely lost, U.S. imperialism puts its stakes on its worthless soldiers. Battalion after battalion of marines and paratroopers are being poured into Da Nang, Vung Tau, Bien Hoa—and more will be sent to other isolated "islands". France learned the lesson from the Battle of Dien Bien Phu: it acknowledged defeat, withdrew voluntarily and, having taken the initiative, got an honourable peace. But U.S. imperialism is going about things in exactly the opposite way, not only refusing to acknowledge defeat and withdraw but even delivering more cannon-fodder to south Viet Nam. This is really like digging one's own grave.

The south Vietnamese people have accumulated rich experience in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and have raised the art of the people's revolutionary war to a new level. Just as Premier Pham Van Dong has said:

In the course of the patriotic war, the army and civilian population of the south have built up from scratch a formidable force which is capable of fighting and defeating an enemy several times stronger and equipped with all types of aircraft and naval craft, armoured cars, automatic rifles, heavy artillery, na-

palm bombs, poisonous chemicals and even toxic gas. The form of struggle they take is new and unique, marking the development of the people's patriotic war to a new high.

The people of the south will certainly carry on their fighting and with the support of the people of the north, the Chinese people, the people of the socialist countries and people all over the world, they will fight to the end, fight on until there is not a single American soldier on Vietnamese soil.

The people of the world can wait and see the verdict of history — the U.S. aggressors will suffer the same fate as the French colonialists at Dien Bien Phu.

EXPOSE THE ESSENCE OF INDIA'S "NEW PROPOSAL"

Renmin Ribao Observer

(May 9, 1965)

The U.S. aggressors have suffered military, political and moral defeats on the Viet Nam question. They have got themselves out on a limb. However, instead of retreating in the face of difficulties, they have embarked on the adventurist course of frenziedly extending the war of aggression. The countries and people in Asia and Africa who oppose imperialism and uphold justice, starting from the position of safeguarding the common interests of the Asian and African peoples and defending peace, condemn U.S. aggression against Viet Nam and demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops. This is the common will and strong demand of the Asian and African peoples. The Indian authorities alone betray the interests of the Asian and African peoples and take upon themselves the dirty task of helping U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

On April 24, Indian President Radhakrishnan put forward a "new proposal" for the solution of the Viet Nam question. The proposal is unique in that its main content calls for the "cessation of hostilities in both parts of Viet Nam" and the establishment of an "Afro-Asian force" to

be sent to Viet Nam to "police" and "maintain" the so-called "boundaries". These, the Indian President said, "may be thought as necessary steps for the restoration of peace and stability in this area".

A glance at the background of this "new proposal" and the reactions it has evoked gives one food for thought. Five days before it was made public, the Indian President discussed the Southeast Asian situation with the British Prime Minister Wilson who just a short while ago returned from a visit to Washington. On his way back to India from London, Radhakrishnan also held talks with the Soviet leaders in Moscow on the Viet Nam question. As soon as this "new proposal" was made public, it received praise from the United States. An AP dispatch from New Delhi on the same day said: "Radhakrishnan's speech went considerably beyond . . . the line taken consistently by Indian officials in recent weeks." A dispatch from Washington printed in the *Hindustan Times* reported that the U.S. State Department showed "considerable interest" in the proposal. Following this, the U.S. President's special envoy Henry Cabot Lodge went to New Delhi to hold talks with the Indian authorities. Anyone who follows the Viet Nam situation closely will not find it difficult to see what is really behind India's "new proposal" and whose interest it really serves.

The Indian President's "new proposal", taking "cessation of hostilities in both parts of Viet Nam" as its starting point, is preposterous in the extreme. India dare not say a single word about U.S. efforts to step up its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and extend the war in Viet Nam. It simply trails behind Johnson and shouts about Vietnamese people committing aggression against Vietnamese people. In the words of Indian Prime Min-

ister Shastri on April 25, this means "to stop hostilities and raids from north Viet Nam". But the people throughout the world know that the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are fighting a war of aggression in south Viet Nam while the 14 million people of south Viet Nam are resisting that aggression. Because of this, what is called for is a halt to U.S. aggression and not the "cessation of hostilities in both parts of Viet Nam" as asserted in general terms. Is it possible for the Vietnamese people to end their struggle against aggression and for peace and stability to be restored in Viet Nam before U.S. imperialism stops its aggression and withdraws all its aggressive troops from Viet Nam?

The "new proposal" of the Indian Government is clearly a new plot to use the Asian and African countries to serve U.S. aggression against Viet Nam. This "new proposal" is silent on U.S. imperialism's crime of aggression and its violation of the Geneva agreements, and nowhere does it mention the independence, sovereignty, reunification and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. Instead it talks absurdly about cessation of hostilities in the southern and northern parts of Viet Nam. This is deliberately designed to absolve the United States of its crime of aggression and undermine the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Doesn't the Indian Government feel that it has gone too far and thus completely revealed itself as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism?

India's "new proposal" calls for formation of an "Afro-Asian force" to be sent to Viet Nam. One cannot help asking: What is India up to? The grave question in Viet Nam now is that the United States has torn up the Geneva agreements, obstructed the reunification of

Viet Nam, carried out aggression in south Viet Nam and spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam. If the Indian authorities have the slightest concern for the solution of the Viet Nam question they should join the people all over the world in condemning and checking the U.S. crime of aggression. However, India's "new proposal" turns a blind eye to the Johnson Administration's obstruction of the reunification of Viet Nam and its aggression in Viet Nam; instead, the Indian Government is obsessively interested in introducing foreign troops into Viet Nam to "police" and "maintain" the so-called "boundaries" between the two parts of Viet Nam. Isn't this, in essence, helping the U.S. aggressors to occupy south Viet Nam and perpetuate the division of Viet Nam?

A review of the past helps one to understand the present. The United States has more than once used the troops of other countries to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, and India has been one of its accomplices in this respect. India has left an ignominious record in the Congo (Leopoldville); several thousand Indian troops, flaunting the colours of the "United Nations force", helped the United States to seize that country and suppress the revolutionary struggle of its people. Now that the U.N. flag has become too notorious, the Indian President and his collaborators vainly hope to recruit troops from certain Asian-African countries under the name of an "Afro-Asian force" to "police" and "maintain" the "boundaries" of Viet Nam but actually to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the south Vietnamese people.

The Indian President has gone so far as to describe the temporary demarcation line on the 17th Parallel in Viet Nam as a "boundary". This allegation represents

outright violation of the Geneva agreements. It is clearly stated in the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference that the military demarcation line in Viet Nam "should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary". This is because Viet Nam is one country and its people have the right to reunify it. To perpetuate the division of Viet Nam and continue its occupation of south Viet Nam, the United States has openly set its sights on establishing an "independent south Viet Nam". And now the Indian Government puts forward the proposal to "police" and "maintain" the "boundaries", and "maintain the present boundaries as long as desired". Does this differ in any way from the U.S. proposition?

Speaking frankly, India's help to the United States on the Viet Nam question does not start from today. There is no need here to trace it back far. Even after the United States had spread the flames of war in south Viet Nam to the north and had carried out successive air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Indian Government, in its two statements issued on February 8 and 25 respectively, kept its mouth tight shut about the U.S. crime of aggression. But on the other hand, with ulterior motives, it alleged that in Viet Nam there was "interference from many quarters" and in order to confuse right with wrong, tried hard to place U.S. armed aggression on a par with the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. After Johnson's peace fraud had been exposed, the New Delhi authorities worked hand in glove with the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and engaged in a flurry of activities, trying to sell Johnson's wares of "uncondition-

al discussions" in the name of "non-alignment" and "neutrality".

Recently, the United States has also attempted to put over the trick of using an international conference on Cambodia to induce the Vietnamese people to submit. In order not to be the second in giving support, the Indian authorities have more than once voiced their "earnest hope" for the convocation of such a conference and declared India's readiness to "play its part and render every assistance" in this regard. How well they keep in step and sing in tune!

It should also be pointed out that India has undertaken certain obligations in regard to the Viet Nam question. As a member and Chairman of the International Commission on Viet Nam, India has the unshirkable duty to ensure implementation of the Geneva agreements. However, although the command of the Vietnamese People's Army has repeatedly and over many years asked the International Commission to take action to check the U.S. aggression and war provocations in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements, the International Commission has never done anything about it. The root cause of this state of affairs is that the Indian representative, the Chairman of the International Commission, has never done anything to check U.S. crimes of violating and sabotaging the Geneva agreements and extending the war in Viet Nam; instead it has shielded and connived at these U.S. crimes in every possible way. Such being the case, what right has India got to flaunt its views on the Viet Nam question?

This so-called "new proposal" of the Indian Government to restore peace and stability once again reveals its

betrayal of the stand of the Asian and African countries in opposing imperialism and colonialism and supporting the national-liberation movement. We are convinced that the Asian and African countries will see through this Indian scheme and will not fall into its trap.

WHAT IS JOHNSON'S REAL AIM?

Renmin Ribao Commentator

(May 18, 1965)

On May 13, U.S. President Johnson made another speech on the Viet Nam question. Though this speech for the most part harped on such old tunes as "unconditional discussions" and "economic assistance", it was, in fact, mainly directed against China. Johnson slandered China by accusing her of desiring "domination over all of Asia". He said: "Communist China apparently desires the war to continue. . . . Their target is not merely South Vietnam. It is Asia." One would be naive indeed to think Johnson believes that this speech can turn things upside down, U.S. imperialism can be changed from a criminal guilty of aggression into a saviour of the people of Asia and China can be made into an aggressor.

Who has occupied south Korea? Who has gained control over Japan and occupied Okinawa? Who has established military bases in the Philippines? Who has stationed troops in Thailand? Who has interfered in the internal affairs of the Laos? Who has encroached upon the territory of Cambodia? Who has ganged up with Britain to knock together "Malaysia" and threaten Indonesia? Who has created Israel to provoke the Arab

people? And who has occupied China's territory of Taiwan? It is none other than the U.S. imperialists!

We would like to ask: How can it be that the United States, which has come thousands of miles to Asia to commit robbery, murder and arson, is not an aggressor against Asia and does not desire "domination over all of Asia"? China has not got a single soldier in any of her neighbouring countries. She has not occupied an inch of their land. In fact, a large stretch of her own territory is still occupied by the United States. How can one say that China is an aggressor against Asia and desires "domination over all of Asia"? Moreover, how can it be that U.S. imperialism, which has been slaughtering the people of several Asian countries for many years with bombs, shells and bullets, is not an aggressor against Asia and does not desire "domination over all of Asia"? China is a friendly neighbour of these countries, opposes U.S. aggression and supports their patriotic struggle against the United States. How can one justifiably argue that China is an aggressor against Asia and desires "domination over all of Asia"? Doesn't Johnson know better than anybody else what evil deeds U.S. imperialism is perpetrating?

Who has unleashed the "special war" in south Viet Nam? Who has extended this aggressive war to north Viet Nam? Who has sent marines, paratroopers, missile units and coast guards into south Viet Nam? Who has been constantly clamouring about the need to intensify efforts in south Viet Nam? It is none other than the U.S. imperialists!

Can one say that the Johnson Administration, which has dispatched as many as 50,000 troops to Viet Nam and is advocating "escalation" of the war and expanding it step by step, does not "desire the war to continue"? Can

one say China, who has not a single soldier in Viet Nam and maintains that all U.S. troops be withdrawn from Viet Nam and the Viet Nam question be settled peacefully, "desires the war to continue"? Are not these facts also patently clear to the Johnson Administration, the maker of the Staley-Taylor Plan, the McNamara-Nguyen Khanh Plan and the plan for bombing military targets and cities in north Viet Nam?

Calumny cannot cover up truth, and lies are no substitute for facts. Johnson's lies and attacks on China are not worth refuting. But it is necessary to read between his lines.

Everybody knows that the Johnson Administration's troops and weapons can subdue neither the armed forces and the people of south Viet Nam nor the people of north Viet Nam who are determined to fight back and win. The U.S. aggressors have been badly battered in the people's war in south Viet Nam and have fallen into a predicament. As a result, Johnson has begun to use the logic of the bandit by openly declaring his intention to bring about "negotiations" through bombing. He has said that since north Viet Nam has "invaded" south Viet Nam, it is necessary to make north Viet Nam realize through bombing that "continuation of war, without talks, means only damage without conquest". But Johnson has misjudged his opponents; the heroic Vietnamese people have not been intimidated or cowed into submission by bombing. U.S. air attacks on north Viet Nam have failed to bring about any "negotiations". Instead, they have added fuel to the hatred of the Vietnamese people who have dealt heavy blows at the U.S. air marauders, exploding the myth of their much vaunted "air superiority".

So Johnson is now attempting to find a solution to the Viet Nam question by threatening the Chinese people. He has said China desires the continuation of the war because it wants to dominate Asia. Is he trying the same trick as he did on north Viet Nam — to create a pretext to spread the flames of war to China so as to force this country to stop supporting the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. patriotic struggle? This evil intention of U.S. imperialism is now becoming perfectly clear.

We have stated time and again in unequivocal terms the Chinese people's stand in supporting the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. In fact, it is the Vietnamese people who first help the Chinese people. They are giving effective assistance by fighting in the front-line against U.S. imperialism and by pinning down, weakening and striking at the U.S. aggressive bandits. The Vietnamese people are resolved to carry through to the end their great patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression. The Chinese people are also resolved to carry through to the end their struggle to aid Viet Nam in resisting U.S. aggression. Their position is firm and unshakeable at all times and in all circumstances, no matter what wild slanders and attacks Johnson and his ilk may employ against China.

We must also tell Johnson plainly that Viet Nam is not the only country we support. Our support will be given to any part of the world where there is a revolution. We consider it our unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty to support the revolutionary struggles of other peoples. No threat from U.S. imperialism can stop us from doing this.

Time has changed when imperialism could lord over what it liked. There is nothing in the world to justify that U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are allowed to suppress the peoples' revolutionary struggles wherever they like, while the peoples who have won their revolution and all other peoples and nations who are still under oppression are forbidden to support and help one another. It is the common cause of all peace-loving countries and peoples to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression, maintain the sovereignty and independence of their countries and safeguard world peace. The U.S. imperialists' attempt to crush them one by one will never succeed.

The Vietnamese newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, pointed out in a commentary by Observer that Johnson's speech exposed him as a coward who has resorted to slander by accusing China of intending to dominate all of Asia. In playing this despicable trick, he was obviously trying to divide the socialist countries. But he has made a mistake. His hostility towards China only proves she is a tenacious fighter in the struggle against imperialism and for peace throughout Asia and the world. Observer concluded that all the fraternal socialist countries are supporting the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, and U.S. imperialism's schemes to divide the socialist countries will come to naught.

The interests of the Chinese people coincide with those of the Vietnamese and other peoples of Asia, while U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war are diametrically opposed to them. It is the common task of the Asian peoples to oust the U.S. aggressors from Viet

Nam, Indo-China and from Asia as a whole by joint efforts. No matter how Johnson may spread rumours, slander, sow discord and dissension or resort to intimidation, he can never achieve anything except reveal the baseness and insidiousness of U.S. imperialism.

"A DRAMATIC CHANGE"

Renmin Ribao Observer

(June 1, 1965)

The Johnson Administration is stepping up efforts to send more and more U.S. troops to Viet Nam. It appears that it really wants to escalate the war of aggression against Viet Nam into a Korean-type local war.

What is the proof of this? Did Rusk not say in his May 26 statement that "there has not been any dramatic change in the situation" in south Viet Nam? In reality the statement was only a smokescreen.

Let's look at the following facts and see if Rusk's words are true.

Large numbers of U.S. troops have already been sent to south Viet Nam and the number is growing. They have risen from 23,000 at the end of last year to more than 50,000 today. Some reports say that in the next few months they will be increased to 75,000. Other reports claim that they will go up to 100,000, 200,000, 300,000 or even 500,000. To perpetuate its occupation of south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has been compelled to make American troops bear the brunt of the battle. The aggressive U.S. troops which landed at Da Nang and Chu Lai in south Viet Nam have already launched many attacks on the liberated areas and even

have mounted "scorched-earth offensives". The U.S. Seventh Fleet has also taken a direct part in these offensives and bombarded liberated areas along the coast.

In order to internationalize the war of aggression against Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration is now getting more and more troops of its satellites into the morass. A battalion of Australian reinforcements is on the way. New Zealand has announced that it will send one battery of artillery. Thailand and south Korea are ready to provide more cannon-fodder and the Philippine authorities say they will send ground forces. The United States has also asked military representatives of the SEATO bloc countries to draft plans for participating in the war in Viet Nam.

U.S. air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are moving further north; U.S. aeroplanes have intruded more frequently over areas north of the 20th Parallel and cold-bloodedly bombed crowded residential areas, and they have intruded over the suburbs of Hanoi several times. There have also been repeated clamours for attacking Vietnamese industrial areas and the communication lines between China and Viet Nam. These U.S. planes not only come from south Viet Nam and aircraft carriers but also from Thailand. They have not only broadened the scope of their raids on the southern and northern parts of Viet Nam but have also heavily attacked the Laotian liberated areas. By these military moves the United States has not only completely broken the provisional military demarcation line on the 17th Parallel, as stipulated by the Geneva agreements, but has also smashed across the borders between Laos, Viet Nam and Thailand and turned this region into a battlefield where the United States runs amuck.

At the same time, the United States raises a hue and cry that D.R.V. regular troops are entering south Viet Nam and talks about massive concentrations of Chinese troops on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Obviously the United States is creating a pretext for extending the war. Washington has already let it be known that U.S. generals are no longer afraid of fighting a war on the Asian mainland.

Is all this not a dramatic change? And is it not an indication that the Johnson Administration wants to have a big go in south Viet Nam, further extend the war of aggression against north Viet Nam, and is preparing to extend the war from Indo-China to Southeast Asia and even to China?

In the face of this dramatic change, it is necessary to tell the U.S. aggressors in unmistakable and crystal-clear language:

Since the United States has sent large numbers of troops to make inroads into south Viet Nam, all the Vietnamese people, including those in the north, have secured the right to exert their utmost to hit back at the U.S. aggressors. Since the U.S. aggressors are bombing north Viet Nam round the clock, then the provisional military demarcation line at the 17th Parallel no longer exists and the people of north Viet Nam have no further restrictions whatsoever in assisting their compatriots in the south.

Since the United States, in defiance of the Chinese people's many warnings, has not only sent large numbers of its own troops but also has mustered troops of its satellite countries to invade Viet Nam, China's fraternal neighbour, the Chinese people have secured the right to

do all in their power to aid the Vietnamese people in hitting back at the U.S. aggressors.

While U.S. and puppet planes are breaking through the 17th Parallel day and night, the United States nevertheless hopes to have the 17th Parallel as a line to prevent the people in north Viet Nam from assisting their brothers in the south. What ridiculous wishful thinking! The United States raises a hue and cry about north Viet Nam sending men to the south. Why all the fuss? The United States is stepping up aggression against Viet Nam, trying at any cost to convert south Viet Nam into its colony; why shouldn't the people of north Viet Nam have the right to assist their own flesh and blood?

The people of north Viet Nam always have the right to do this. Now that the U.S. aggressors are sending military reinforcements by the thousands, the people of north Viet Nam all the more have the right to do so. The Vietnamese magazine *Hoc Tap* has put it very well:

It is the sacred obligation of the people of the north to give vigorous support in every way to our compatriots in the south fighting for liberation.

It adds:

The Vietnamese nation is a single entity. Viet Nam is a unified country. By no means can any of the Vietnamese people tolerate U.S. imperialist aggression against any part of their beloved fatherland and they are fully entitled to help each other in killing the enemy and saving the country.

While steadily expanding aggression in Viet Nam, the United States wants China to stand idly by. This is also ridiculous wishful thinking. The United States raises

a howl about how China is assisting Viet Nam. Why all the fuss? The United States, all the way from the other side of the ocean, has sent troops to China's neighbouring country, threatening China's security daily. Why shouldn't socialist China give all-out support to socialist, fraternal Viet Nam?

China has long since had the right to do this. China is duty-bound to uphold the Geneva agreements and has the obligation to aid the Vietnamese people. No threats or intimidation on the part of U.S. imperialism can stop this. Now that U.S. imperialism is sending large numbers of reinforcements to south Viet Nam, expanding air raids in the north, and more and more seriously threatening China's security, the Chinese people all the more have the right to take every additional measure that is necessary.

We are fully aware of the seriousness of the U.S. imperialist manoeuvres to intensify aggression in Viet Nam. The 30 million Vietnamese people and the 650 million Chinese people, who share each other's hardships and hate the same enemy, are determined to fight to the end to throw the U.S. aggressors out of Viet Nam!

ON THE WAR SITUATION IN SOUTH VIET NAM

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(June 5, 1965)

In May, in co-ordination with local units and militia-men, the South Viet Nam Liberation Army launched widespread offensives. News of victories came from everywhere—from the 17th Parallel to Cape Ca Mau, from Saigon, heart of the enemy-occupied area, to the ports defended by U.S. marines, and from all communication lines.

During the battle at Hai Yen, the Liberation Army knocked the enemy troops under the command of Nguyen Lac Hoa out of action and destroyed the reactionary political and military centre in this special district on the Ca Mau Peninsula.

The Liberation Army won a big victory at Ba Ra. Concentrating superior forces, it captured Ba Ra, capital of Phuoc Long Province, at one swoop. During the engagements that followed, close to 1,400 enemy troops were put out of action and the network of "strategic hamlets" which stretched to 40 kilometres, and which the enemy had gone to great pains to keep going, was overrun.

In the areas surrounding Saigon, the Liberation Army ambushed the enemy in quick succession and at lightning

speed; it laid mines on a large scale and repeatedly destroyed the convoys of U.S.-puppet troops. Every battle was fought in about 15 or 20 minutes. When the enemy's planes rushed reinforcements to the spot, the Liberation Army had already cleared the battleground and had triumphantly moved elsewhere.

The enemy strongpoints on the Mekong Delta and in Quang Nam, Quang Tri, Binh Dinh and Phu Yen Provinces in the central part of Viet Nam were subjected to surprise attacks and encirclement on an extensive scale. The liberation armed forces and people of south Viet Nam who were active against enemy communication lines blasted bridges and destroyed roads, thus cutting enemy links section by section.

During the attack on Thanh Son, the Liberation Army broke through strong U.S. marine fortifications, forced its way into enemy positions and dealt these U.S. pirates heavy blows. In bayonet charges lasting 20 minutes, 45 marines were killed. This was the first brilliant victory won by the Liberation Army over the U.S. marines.

In Quang Ngai Province, the Liberation Army fought a magnificent battle in encircling a city and defeating enemy reinforcements. In addition to its powerful attack on Ba Gia, it wiped out three battalions of enemy reinforcements. Before this battle ended the Liberation Army had mounted a new offensive near Pleiku, and won all four battles from the enemy.

The May offensive by the South Viet Nam Liberation Army began a glorious page in the history of the liberation war in south Viet Nam, a glorious page in people's war.

This offensive shows that the Liberation Army has strengthened its fighting power as never before and is

capable of concentrating superior forces to destroy large numbers of enemy effectives. The United States has fondly hoped that with American troops taking over the defence of the strongpoints along the coast the puppet troops could be used to attack the liberated areas. This door-step delivery is welcomed as it provides the opportunity for giving them a sound thrashing. Serious punishment has been inflicted on the 1st and 2nd divisions of the puppet troops during the Quang Ngai campaign.

This offensive demonstrates the high skill of the Liberation Army in tactical command. It integrates and makes flexible use of the various forms of battle—ambush, surprise attack, storming enemy positions, laying siege to cities and hitting at enemy reinforcements. Regular troops, local units and militiamen co-ordinated with each other in the fighting. Brave and with great determination and intense mobility, they hit the enemy hard in quick action and did it accurately and methodically. The enemy was so harassed and mauled that he could barely stagger to his feet before he was floored again.

This offensive makes it clear that the initiative is in the hands of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army and the enemy is entirely in a passive position. Recently, in addition to air attacks on north Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors have thrown in still greater stakes in south Viet Nam in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. "Saturation bombing", a sea blockade, and the sending of more and more ground forces have all been resorted to. Following these desperate efforts, a U.S. military spokesman early in May declared in the "most optimistic" terms that the "pendulum" in the U.S. war in south Viet Nam "has swung towards victory". But the U.S. aggressors rejoiced much too soon. Scarcely had their "opti-

mistic" words escaped their lips than they were given repeated slaps in the face. The approaching monsoon season all the more throws the U.S. aggressors into panic, as a still bigger defeat awaits them.

The imperialists always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the people's strength. On the battlefield in south Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors have been on the defensive and are being beaten; they are truly on the horns of a dilemma. The process of Washington's step-by-step extension of the war in south Viet Nam is a process of becoming more and more strategically defensive and getting more and more bogged down. Since the Saigon quislings and puppet troops cannot be relied on to stamp out the guerrilla warfare waged by the south Vietnamese people, the United States fought "special warfare" and increased the number of American "advisors" from a few hundred in 1960 to 23,000 at the end of 1964. Since aggression in south Viet Nam alone was of no avail, Washington spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam and carried out cold-blooded air raids against it. Because several months of bombing were still of no avail it sent more and more troops to south Viet Nam. Three thousand today, five thousand tomorrow, and the number has increased to more than 50,000. This is still not enough, and Taylor is going back to Washington again to beg for reinforcements.

This is the Johnson-McNamara strategy of "escalation". Although this strategy has its adventurist aspect in that the war is getting bigger and bigger, it nevertheless has its weak side in that the executor of this strategy has to feel his way forward step by step, afraid of the dire consequences of his moves; jittery and improvising, he finds it difficult either to advance or to retreat. This reveals

the fatal weakness of U.S. imperialism which appears to be strong but is actually weak.

The Johnson Administration, trying another new move, has now invented the "ink blot" strategy. This strategy holds that with their backs to the sea, and holding a few bases for aggression along the coast in such places as Da Nang and Chu Lai, U.S. troops can thereby be left a route for escape when they cannot hold on in face of the powerful offensives of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army; and since they are able to escape by sea they may be saved from a second Dien Bien Phu. This strategy also holds that the United States will be able to gradually spread out its armed forces in the same process as that of "ink on blotting paper", build a perimeter defence and then relieve the main force of the puppet troops defending the ports and strongholds for attacking the liberated areas. It is on five such "ink blots" that the ground forces which the United States has sent to south Viet Nam are deployed. Washington claims that by this strategy the south Viet Nam liberation forces can be defeated.

In reality, the "ink blot" strategy remains one in which the United States is in a passive position and exposes itself to assault. The tens of thousands of U.S. troops, who are not an impressive number in any case, have to be spread thin in a number of places and set up defences ring by ring. The chicken-hearted American soldiers who take refuge in the "ink blots" are so nervous and fearful that a slight stirring of the grass or a gust of wind is enough to make them jittery. American soldiers being killed by their own men is no rare occurrence. During the battle for Thanh Son, the South Viet Nam Liberation Army thrust its way into the defensive circle of an "ink

blot". A company of U.S. marines who defended the place were either killed or wounded and the rest took to their heels to save their skin. During the Quang Ngai campaign, the Liberation Army laid siege to a city and trounced the enemy reinforcements. The main force of the puppet troops which had been relieved from their defensive duties at Da Nang and Chu Lai was wiped out, and the nearby U.S. marines did not come to their rescue. Trembling with fear daily and hourly, the U.S. aggressors are being attacked in south Viet Nam whether they dig in or come out into the open.

In his well-known article "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan", Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Any army which, losing the initiative, is forced into a passive position and ceases to be free, faces the danger of defeat or extermination."¹ The aggressive U.S. army on the battlefield of south Viet Nam is just such an army which has lost the initiative and is in a passive position and exposes itself to attack.

The liberation armed forces and people of south Viet Nam are the victors while U.S. imperialism is the defeated. The former are strong and hold the initiative whereas the latter is weak and reduced to a passive position. This is the basic characteristic of the present war situation in south Viet Nam.

No matter how ferocious the U.S. aggressors are, and no matter how desperately they struggle, they cannot be saved from ultimate defeat in south Viet Nam. Referring to the 50,000 aggressive U.S. troops in south Viet Nam, a high-ranking U.S. military man sadly remarked that they

were but "a finger in the dike" against the rising number of "Viet Cong". One may ask: how many such "fingers" can the United States afford to send to south Viet Nam? No matter how many, they cannot stem the rising tide of the south Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle.

The U.S. aggressors are certain to drown in the vast ocean of the south Vietnamese people's war.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1963, p. 14.

支援越南人民，打败美国侵略者
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