

PEKING REVIEW

16

April 16, 1965

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Spring Upsurge in Farming

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SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

English Language Edition

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

April 16, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 16

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• *Renmin Ribao* on April 12 denounced the intrusion of U.S. aircraft into China's air space over Hainan Island. It warned the Johnson Administration that it would have to bear all the consequences resulting from such provocations.

• Commenting on Lyndon Johnson's April 7 speech on the situation in Viet Nam, *Renmin Ribao* published an article by Observer on April 11 exposing Johnson's talk about "unconditional discussions" as "a big swindle."

• The nation's leading newspapers frontpaged President Ho Chi Minh's answers to *Akahata's* correspondent in Hanoi in which he declared: To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam.

In an editorial on April 12, *Renmin Ribao* hailed President Ho Chi Minh's statement to *Akahata's* correspondent as a solemn pledge of the Vietnamese people to carry forward their anti-U.S. patriotic struggle till final victory.

• Ko Ching-shih, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, died on April 9.

• Hussein Zulfakkar Sabry, adviser on foreign affairs to the President of the United Arab Republic, visited Peking and other cities.

• On April 12 *Renmin Ribao* editorially served notice to U Thant that he had better save himself the trouble of travelling to China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam because the United Nations had no right whatsoever to meddle in affairs in Viet Nam.

• The Foreign Ministry, in a note to the British Government, said that in the present circumstances it was not suitable for a special representative of the British Government to contact the Chinese Government on the Viet Nam and Indo-China questions and that he would not be welcome.

U.A.R. President's Adviser Visits Peking

Hussein Zulfakkar Sabry, adviser on foreign affairs to the President of the United Arab Republic, and his wife arrived in Peking on April 6. At the airport, he and his party were greeted by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi on whose invitation they had come on a visit. The Vice-Premier gave a banquet the following evening in honour of his guests.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Chen Yi condemned U.S. imperialism, West German militarism and Zionism for their collusion to exert military, economic and political pressure on the Arab countries and to sow dissension among them so as

to undermine Arab unity. "U.S. imperialism," he said, "wants to establish its neo-colonialist rule over the Arab world and enslave the 100 million Arab people. But this is wishful thinking. It will never come true."

Stressing that imperialism was the common enemy of China and the U.A.R., Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "To oppose imperialism is our common historical task. To consolidate our national independence and develop our national economies are our common aspirations. It is on this basis that relations of friendship and co-operation have been established and developed between our two countries."

H.Z. Sabry, in his speech, warmly praised U.A.R.-China friendship and

unity in the common struggle against imperialism.

On April 8, H.Z. Sabry and his party attended a mass rally which reiterated China's firm support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people. The next evening, at a banquet he gave for the Chinese leaders, H.Z. Sabry condemned U.S. aggression in Viet Nam. He said: "All the Arab people demand that an end be put to such military aggression. The Viet Nam question can only be solved without any outside interference and in accordance with the aspirations of the Vietnamese people who have the right to self-determination." He declared that, for the interests of mankind and for world peace, colonialism and imperialism must be thoroughly eliminated.

H.Z. Sabry visited Wuhan and Canton before leaving for home. During his brief stay in China, he was received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi on separate occasions. He also held sincere and friendly talks with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

Comrade Ko Ching-shih Dies

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced with deep sorrow that Ko Ching-shih, Member of its Political Bureau and Vice-Premier of the State Council, died of a serious illness in Chengtu, Szechuan Province, on April 9 at the age of 63.

Comrade Ko Ching-shih, who was also First Secretary of the East China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, First Political Commissar of the Nanking Military Area Command, First Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Mayor of Shanghai, was a loyal fighter of the Chinese people and a close comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

When the special plane carrying Comrade Ko Ching-shih's ashes arrived in Peking from Chengtu on April 11, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Li Hsien-nien, Lu Ting-yi and Kang Sheng were among

the Party and state leaders present at the airport.

On that day and the next, Party and state leaders went to the Working People's Palace of Culture and stood in mourning before the portrait and ashes of Ko Ching-shih, beneath which lay wreaths sent by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders. A silent stream of over 50,000 workers, peasants, students, army-men, civil servants and residents in the capital passed through the funeral hall to pay their last respects to a comrade who had devoted his whole life to the liberation of the Chinese people and the great cause of communism.

On April 13, more than 13,000 people attended the funeral service for Comrade Ko Ching-shih. It was presided over by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, gave the memorial speech. He called on all Party members and the people throughout the country to learn from Comrade Ko Ching-shih's proletarian spirit of carrying the revolution through to the very end.

British Special Representative Not Welcome

The office of the British Charge d'Affaires in China sent notes to the Chinese Foreign Ministry on April 1 and 2, proposing that the British Government send a special representative to Peking to contact the Chinese Government on the Viet Nam and Indo-China questions.

In a note handed to British Charge d'Affaires T.W. Garvey, the Foreign Ministry informed the British Government that, in the present circumstances, it was not suitable for such a representative to contact the Chinese Government on the Viet Nam and Indo-China questions and that he would not be welcome.

The note pointed out that instead of taking a just stand by condemning and checking U.S. aggression,

as a co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference should have done, the British Government had supported every step taken by the United States in expanding its war of aggression, and had even gone so far as to openly defend U.S. use of poison gas in south Viet Nam. The note said that the British Government had thus completely violated the principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements and abandoned its duties as a co-chairman of the Geneva Conference.

N.P.C. Delegation Concludes African Tour

After a month-long tour of African countries, the delegation of the National People's Congress led by Liu Ning-I returned to Shanghai on April 13.

Congo (B). The delegation arrived in Brazzaville on April 1 after visiting Guinea, Mali and the Central African Republic. It was welcomed at the airport by Leon Angor, President of the National Assembly, and other high-ranking officials.

The day after his arrival, Liu Ning-I and other members of his party called on President Alphonse Massamba-Debat. They also met Prime Minister Pascal Lissouba.

The delegation was entertained at a banquet on April 4 by President Leon Angor. Speaking at the banquet, Liu Ning-I reaffirmed China's firm support for the Congolese Government and people in their just struggle against imperialist subversion and aggression.

Ghana. After a four-day visit to Brazzaville-Congo, the N.P.C. delegation flew on to Accra, the capital of Ghana, on April 5. Here, Joseph Richard Asiedu, Speaker of the Ghanaian National Assembly, warmly greeted the delegation at the airport on behalf of the Republic of Ghana and President Kwame Nkrumah, and gave a banquet in its honour the next evening.

President Kwame Nkrumah received the delegation on April 8 and had a cordial talk with all its members.

China's Air Space Is Inviolable!

Between 08:20 hours and 09:26 hours on April 9, eight U.S. military planes in two groups provocatively intruded over the areas of Aih sien, Paisha and Changkan of China's Hainan Island. Panicking when Chinese planes took off to meet them, the U.S. planes fired two air-to-air missiles at random and fled. In the confusion, one U.S. plane was hit by a missile fired by another, and crashed in the area of Hainan.

Following is a translation of an April 12 "Renmin Ribao" editorial on this U.S. military provocation. — Ed.

In the morning of April 9, eight U.S. military planes in two groups intruded into China's air space over Hainan Island and attacked the Chinese planes which came up. The U.S. Government, while intensifying its efforts in escalating the war in Indo-China, has staged a direct and flagrant military provocation against China. This is a most serious incident.

Following this premeditated military provocation against China, the U.S. Government is doing its best to deny it. In his statement on April 9, a U.S. Defence Department spokesman said that U.S. planes did not intrude into China's air space over Hainan Island, that

the fight took place over the sea, that the nationality of the MIGs that attacked the U.S. planes was unknown and that U.S. planes were always authorized to defend themselves. All this makes it sound as if the U.S. military planes did not intrude into China's air space but were attacked and were "defending themselves." This is indeed an all-out attempt to distort the truth.

The statements of the U.S. Defence Department spokesman are full of holes and contradictions. One moment he said that the air fight took place off the southeast tip of Hainan Island and the next he said it was to the southwest of Hainan Island; then he alleged that the nationality of the MIGs was unknown and later that they were presumed to be north Vietnamese. The Pentagon officials, with a guilty conscience, uttered a lot of incoherent nonsense but could not even concoct a plausible lie. No matter how they quibble, the truth is that one U.S. plane was shot down by another and it fell in the Hainan area. The criminal evidence is still there. This is a tough fact which the aggressors cannot get away from.

The course of the events is very clear. U.S. military planes intruded into China's air space, and Chinese aircraft took off to intercept them. The radar operators

Irrefutable evidence that U.S. military aircraft intruded into China's air space over Hainan Island



Above: External fuel tank jettisoned by U.S. military aircraft while on a provocative flight over Hainan Island on April 9. The tank fell on Chienchia People's Commune in Hainan's Tungfang County. Its markings indicate that it is for F-4H aircraft, has a capacity of 600 U.S. gallons, and a weight when empty of 235 lbs. (see inset)

Right: Fragments of a "Sparrow III" air-to-air missile (AAM-N-6A) fired by an F-4H U.S. military aircraft while intruding over Hainan Island on April 9. The fragments fell on Hsintsun People's Commune in Hainan's Tungfang County. The markings indicate that it is U.S. property, made by the Raytheon Manufacturing Co. (see inset)



aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier *Ranger* also spotted the intercepting planes and warned the U.S. aircraft. How then can the U.S. Defence Department still play dumb and say that it does not know what was the nationality of the intercepting planes? To attack Chinese aircraft over China's Hainan Island — how flagrant an act of aggression this is! Yet the U.S. Defence Department stubbornly maintains that it has issued an order forbidding U.S. aircraft to fly into China's air space and that the attack on Chinese planes was in "self-defence." This is a case of "the more they try to cover up, the more they expose themselves"; and further reveals their features as those of gangsters.

The criminal act of the U.S. military aircraft intruding into China's air space cannot be denied. The more the U.S. imperialists try to deny it the more they expose their guilty conscience as pirates. No matter what lies are cooked up by the United States they cannot evade U.S. imperialism's criminal responsibility for its provocation against China, nor can they conceal the fright and jittery state of the U.S. planes when the Chinese aircraft took to the air.

China brooks no intrusion into its air space! The Johnson Administration must bear the responsibility for all the grave consequences resulting from its military provocation.

President Ho Chi Minh on the Viet Nam Question

- The Vietnamese people cherish peace and have always respected and implemented the 1954 Geneva agreements. They are determined to fight the U.S. aggressors to the end.
- If the U.S. imperialists stubbornly persist in their policy of aggression and war, they will certainly suffer a humiliating defeat.
- To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam and end its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

On April 9 all papers in Hanoi frontpaged President Ho Chi Minh's answers to questions put to him by Yoshihisa Takano, correspondent of "Akahata," organ of the Japanese Communist Party, at a recent press interview. Following are the questions and answers dealing with the situation in Viet Nam as released by the Viet Nam News Agency. — Ed.

Question: The U.S. imperialists have suffered repeated defeats in south Viet Nam. However, they are still contemplating to bring in "super-weapons," "up-to-date weapons" in an attempt to subjugate the Vietnamese people. From the people's viewpoint, what is the character of the war in Viet Nam and what is its significance in contemporary history? The U.S. imperialists are said to have landed themselves in an embarrassing dilemma in south Viet Nam. What is the relation between this position and their recent frenzied aggressive acts vis-a-vis north and south Viet Nam? In such circumstances, what is the most important immediate task of the Vietnamese people?

Answer: For over ten years, the U.S. imperialists have waged an aggressive war in south Viet Nam in an attempt to turn that zone into a U.S. new-type colony and military base and to prolong the partition of our country. They have brought in over 30,000 troops and

military personnel, thousands of aircraft, hundreds of warships and hundreds of thousands of tons of arms. They have carried out a most ruthless policy of terror and repression against all patriotic people in south Viet Nam.

Confronted with such a situation our compatriots in the south have had to rise up against the U.S. aggressors in defence of their lives and their country. This struggle has recorded tremendous victories. Over three-quarters of the area with two-thirds of the population have been liberated. The United States and its agents have suffered heavy defeats. The U.S. "special war" in south Viet Nam is going bankrupt.

If the south Vietnamese people are becoming ever stronger and winning ever greater victories, as the fight goes on, that is because their cause is just, because they are animated with an ardent patriotism and guided by the sound policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The war waged by our compatriots in the south is a people's revolutionary war against foreign aggression, for national independence and peace. It is an active part of the world people's movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, and for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. That is precisely

President Ho Chi Minh's Call to the Nation

PRESIDENT Ho Chi Minh, in an address to the Second Session of the Third National Assembly of the D.R.V. in Hanoi on April 10, called on the entire Vietnamese people to unite as one and fight with resolution to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

He said: "For more than ten years, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been waging a war of unparalleled brutality and have brought innumerable calamities to our compatriots in the south. . . . They have sent hundreds of planes and scores of warships to bomb and attack the north continually in defiance of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam and international law. . . . They fondly hope that by force of arms, they could reduce our 30 million compatriots to be their slaves. In this they are grossly mistaken. They are doomed to miserable failure."

President Ho Chi Minh pointed out that U.S. President Johnson shouted himself hoarse threatening that force would be used to bring the Vietnamese people to terms. "This is the daydream of a madman," President Ho Chi Minh said. "Our people will never submit."

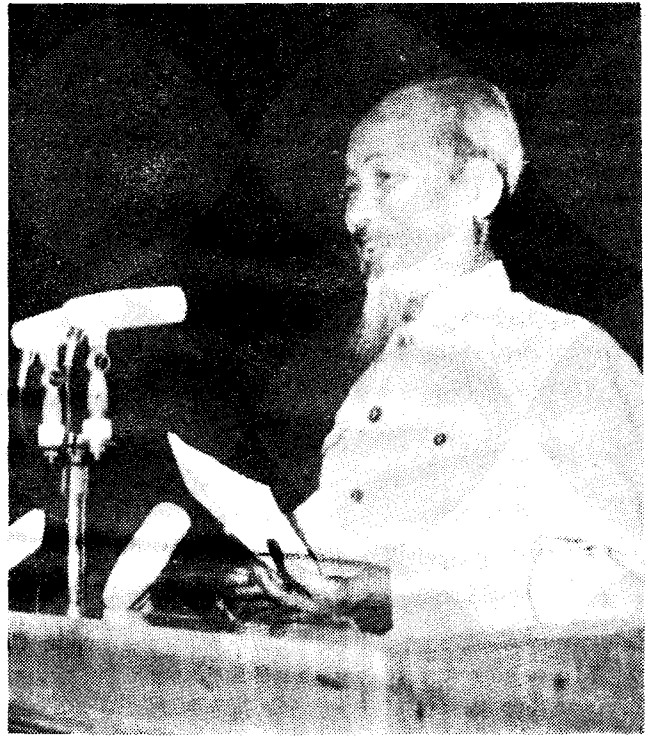
He stressed: "The Taylor plan had fizzled out. The McNamara plan, too, has gone bankrupt. The 'escalation' plan which the U.S. imperialists are pursuing with the greatest energy against the north is also bound to fail. **The armymen and people of our country are determined to defeat them even if the United States sends a few hundred thousand more men and dragoons troops of some of its satellites into this criminal war.**

"The statement of the National Front for Liberation of the south gives perfect expression to this heroism. The appeal of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front manifests this inflexible determination."

President Ho Chi Minh thanked the people of the socialist countries and of all the five continents for their fraternal support and sincere help to the Vietnamese people in resisting the U.S. imperialist aggressor — the most ferocious enemy of mankind.

He heartily welcomed the expressed wish of young people of various countries to join the Vietnamese people as volunteers to repulse the American marauders in Viet Nam.

President Ho Chi Minh reaffirmed the unswerving stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam: "Resolutely safeguard the national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. **Viet Nam is one country and the Vietnamese are one nation. Nobody is allowed to encroach upon this sacred right of our people. U.S. imperialism**



President Ho Chi Minh addressing the recent session of the D.R.V. National Assembly

must respect the Geneva agreements and pull out of south Viet Nam! It must immediately stop its attacks on the north."

"This," he said, "is the only way to solve the question of the Vietnamese war, implement the 1954 Geneva agreements and safeguard peace in the Indo-Chinese and Southeast Asian countries. **There is no alternative.** This is the answer of our people and our Government to U.S. imperialism."

"At present," President Ho Chi Minh declared, "to resist U.S. aggression and save the country is the most sacred task of every patriotic Vietnamese. Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the people of south Viet Nam, the heroic compatriots and fighters of the south are valiantly forging ahead to win still greater victories to liberate the south and defend the north.

"The armymen and people in the north, while actively unfolding an emulation drive to build socialism, are fighting heroically to defend the north and giving all-out support to the south."

the reason why the peoples of the whole world are extending us their sympathy and support. The increasing victories of the south Vietnamese people show that, in our epoch, a nation closely united and waging a resolute struggle is fully capable of defeating the imperialist aggressors, however ferocious, cruel and well armed they may be.

In an attempt to extricate themselves from the impasse, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly intensifying and stepping up the aggressive war in south Viet Nam, they have brought in U.S. marines and south Korean mercenaries. Their planes are daily strafing and dumping napalm bombs and toxic gas on liberated areas, destroying hospitals, schools, and pagodas, and mas-

sacrificing the civilian population including old people, women and children. On the other hand, the war is being carried to the north with repeated air and naval attacks brazenly launched on many places of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Meanwhile the war is intensified in Laos and provocations are staged against Cambodia. The U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression and war in Viet Nam are of the utmost gravity. They grossly trample upon the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam and this constitutes a violation of international law and disregards world public opinion.

The U.S. rulers claim that the north is waging "aggression" on south Viet Nam and that their attacks on the north aim at putting an end to the assistance extended by the north to the south Vietnamese people. These are deceitful contentions designed to fool the world's peoples and to cover up the U.S. aggressive acts. It must be pointed out that it is the legitimate right of the south Vietnamese people to drive out the U.S. aggressors, to defend their country and to decide for themselves their own internal affairs. It is the sacred right of the Vietnamese in the north as well as in the south to oppose and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressive acts, to defend their national independence and their lives. The U.S. imperialists' acts, however frenzied and reckless they may be, cannot prevent the Vietnamese people from carrying on their patriotic struggle until final victory.

Question: There is now much talk about a "peaceful settlement" and "negotiations" . . . to end the war in south Viet Nam. What, in your view, is the minimum basis for the settlement of the Viet Nam problem?

Answer: Of late, the U.S. imperialists have put forward misleading talk about "peace" and "negotiations." The peoples of the world are fully aware of their aggressive and warlike nature. To step up aggression in south Viet Nam and to bomb the north are part of their policy of "special warfare." By such acts, they also aim at bringing about an advantageous position so as to be able, in case of necessity, to negotiate from a "position of strength." This policy is wrong and can never succeed.

The Vietnamese people cherish peace and have always respected and correctly implemented the 1954 Geneva agreements. However, they are determined to fight to the end against the aggressors. If the U.S. imperialists stubbornly persist in their policy of aggression and war, they will certainly suffer a humiliating defeat. To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The carrying out of these basic points will bring about favourable conditions for a conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference. This is a reasonable and sensible approach beneficial to peace and to the U.S. people.

Solemn Pledge of 30 Million Vietnamese People

Following is a translation of an April 12 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

PRESIDENT Ho Chi Minh of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam made a most important statement on the present Viet Nam situation when answering on April 9 questions put to him by the correspondent of *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party. His statement incisively brings out the essence of the Viet Nam question, and calls upon the Vietnamese people to carry forward their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle till final victory. This is a solemn pledge of the 30 million Vietnamese people, a pledge imbued

with lofty spirit and ringing with indomitable determination. It is also a hit on the head for the Johnson Administration which is trying hard to put across its peace fraud.

The U.S. imperialists' "special war" against south Viet Nam has met with ignominious defeat. Their war blackmail — the wanton bombing of north Viet Nam — has also gone bankrupt. Seeking to get what planes and guns have failed to obtain, U.S. imperialism is trying the trick of "unconditional discussions." Now President Ho Chi Minh has solemnly declared to the world: "To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative

attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.” **The Chinese Government and people fully support President Ho Chi Minh’s statement. They are resolved, together with the Vietnamese people, to carry to the end the joint struggle to oust the U.S. aggressors from Viet Nam.**

The current grave situation in Viet Nam and Indo-China is entirely the handiwork of U.S. imperialism. The desire of the Vietnamese people is to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong fatherland. But the U.S. imperialists, coming from thousands of miles away, have broken into that country and engaged in unrestrained intervention and aggression there. They have foisted the running dogs whom they themselves have nurtured on the south Vietnamese people. They have obstructed and wrecked the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, causing the protracted division of that country. They have brought in large numbers of armed forces and huge quantities of military supplies, and launched a cannibalistic colonial war against the south Vietnamese people. They have violated the provisional demarcation line of the 17th Parallel and spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam. They have torn to shreds the Geneva agreements of 1954. Such being the case, there is only one way to restore peace in Indo-China and remove U.S. imperialism’s threat to peace in Asia and the world, that is, the U.S. aggressors must withdraw from south Viet Nam. The affairs of south Viet Nam must be decided by the south Vietnamese people themselves. U.S. imperialist attacks on north Viet Nam must be stopped. As President Ho Chi Minh has clearly stated: “The carrying out of these basic points will bring about favourable conditions for a conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference. This is a reasonable and sensible approach beneficial to peace and to the U.S. people.” **A thousand and one things might be said about a peaceful settlement of the south Viet Nam question, but the first thing required for such a settlement is withdrawal of the U.S. troops.** Whoever ignores this firm stand of the Vietnamese people and continues to play peace tricks of one kind or another can only help to inflate the aggressive arrogance of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialist pirate chief Johnson, while clamouring about “unconditional discussions,” is shamelessly threatening the Vietnamese people. President Ho Chi Minh’s words are a firm reply to this blackmail. They fully embody the lofty heroic spirit of the Vietnamese people and their revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle. Today, every one of the 30 million Vietnamese people is a staunch defender of their fatherland; every part of the 330,000 square kilometres of their land is a battlefield on which to oppose the U.S. aggressors. The Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* fully sums up the Vietnamese people’s spirit of daring to fight and daring to win when it said: At present when the country was facing a serious situation and that “when the U.S. imperialists — the sworn enemy of our

people — are frantically stepping up their aggressive war in south Viet Nam and recklessly launching attacks against north Viet Nam, all our 30 million and more compatriots in the two zones, warmly responding to the sublime appeal of the fatherland, have again shouted: ‘Fight!’ We have fought in one locality and another, fought anywhere the U.S. aggressors came to attack us. We shall fight from one generation to another — so long as the U.S. aggressors are on our land.” No words in the world can be more heart-stirring than these, and no determination more firm and unyielding. The bones of the heroic sons and daughters of Viet Nam are hard, revolutionary bones; the spines of the heroic sons and daughters of Viet Nam are revolutionary spines of steel.

The Vietnamese people’s anti-U.S. patriotic struggle is not only to safeguard their own independence, sovereignty and national dignity but is also to safeguard the sacred rights of all oppressed nations and peoples to resist imperialism and its lackeys. The reason why U.S. imperialism is becoming ever more ferocious and is bent on continuing its aggression in south Viet Nam, shouting that if south Viet Nam were “lost,” “it would be one down and 99 to go,” is precisely because of the fact that, confronted by the rising revolutionary tide of the peoples in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, U.S. imperialism is already feeling the despair of its approaching doom.

The Vietnamese people’s perseverance in the anti-U.S. patriotic struggle is of great world significance. All anti-imperialist and peace-loving countries and peoples the world over regard the Vietnamese people’s struggle as their own and consider it their duty to support it to the full. President Ho Chi Minh rightly said that the struggle of the Vietnamese people “is an active part of the world people’s movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, and for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. That is precisely the reason why the peoples of the whole world are extending us their sympathy and support.”

The Chinese people and the Vietnamese people are not only neighbours but are close comrades-in-arms fighting shoulder to shoulder in the same trench against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism. **The revolutionary and heroic spirit of the Vietnamese people is a great encouragement to us. The Vietnamese people stand in the very forefront of the struggle to resist U.S. aggression. The glorious responsibility they are shouldering and the great contributions they have made are support of inestimable value to us.** The 650 million Chinese people long ago resolved to stand with the Vietnamese people and to fight together with them to the very end to defeat U.S. aggression, to win peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia and to advance the common cause of the world’s people in opposing U.S. imperialism.

Johnson's Big Swindle

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of the April 11 "Renmin Ribao" article "Expose Johnson's Big Swindle." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

AFTER two months of continuous U.S. bombing of north Viet Nam, Johnson came out on April 7 with an address on the situation in Viet Nam. This address signifies the bankruptcy of the policy of war blackmail that has been carried on right up to the present by U.S. imperialism and reflects its increasing difficulties and isolation. One moment it is a bandit and the next it is a swindler. When it fails in robbery, it turns to swindling and when it fails in swindling, it goes back to robbery. This is another full exposure of the adventurist nature of U.S. imperialism as well as its weakness.

In his address, Johnson shamelessly tried to intimidate the people of Viet Nam and Asia with war. He cried that for the United States "force must often precede reason." He proclaimed that an "endless course of battle" would be forced on the Vietnamese people if they do not bow to the will of U.S. imperialism. The Johnson Administration has made such bellicose utterances hundreds of times and there is nothing new in it. While brandishing the big stick Johnson continued to advertise "a peaceful settlement" of the south Viet Nam problem and uttered many other phrases that were intended to please the ear. Actually there is nothing new here either. The only slight difference is that this time Johnson tried the new trick of "unconditional discussions."

What is meant by "unconditional discussions"? This can be compared to the logic of a robber who, having broken into a house, stolen the things and killed the people, says with a shrug of his shoulders: **All right, let's talk now.**

With U.S. imperialism intensifying its aggression in south Viet Nam and ruthlessly bombing north Viet Nam, Johnson's proposed "unconditional discussions" mean forcing the Vietnamese people and the people of the world to recognize that U.S. imperialism has the right at will to tear up the Geneva agreements and enslave and slaughter the south Vietnamese people and to attack the socialist Democratic Republic of Viet Nam whenever it wants to.

The Vietnamese people, all the peace-loving people of the world and all countries which uphold justice do not recognize that the United States has any such right. As a matter of fact, **the talk about "unconditional discussions" is a swindle pure and simple.** In his address, **Johnson raised three outrageous conditions.** The first, **"an independent south Viet Nam — securely guaranteed,"** is actually a complete negation of the reunification of Viet Nam and the Geneva agreements. The second, that south Viet Nam must enjoy **"freedom from attack,"** means that the south Vietnamese people must stop their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The third, that the United States **"will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement,"** means that U.S. imperialism will continue its occupation of south Viet Nam by force. Thus, Johnson's offer of **"unconditional discussions"** requires that the south Vietnamese people surrender unconditionally and that the more than 30 million Vietnamese people cease their just struggle for the reunification and complete liberation of their country.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation solemnly declared some time ago that "all negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in south



Deliver these "carrots"!

Cartoon by Mi Ku

Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender the south Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 million south Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice."

In its appeal to the people, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front sternly pointed out that the U.S. imperialists' "clamour about 'peace' and 'negotiation' is mere humbug and deceit. They have openly launched a war against the whole of Viet Nam. Scrapping the 1954 Geneva agreements, on the Viet Nam question, they have crudely encroached upon our people's independence and sovereignty." The appeal reaffirmed that "to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland is the sacred duty and an inviolable right of our more than 30 million people."

Answering questions put by a correspondent of the Japanese paper *Akahata*, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out that "it is the legitimate right of the south Vietnamese people to drive out the U.S. aggressors, to defend their country and to decide for themselves their own internal affairs. It is the sacred right of the Vietnamese in the north as well as in the south to oppose and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressive acts, to defend their national independence and their lives." In this interview made public on April 9, President Ho Chi Minh stated explicitly that "to settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

The Vietnamese people's determination to unite, resist U.S. aggression and save their country, and their spirit of preferring to die rather than to be enslaved are both tremendously inspiring and unshakable. Although U.S. imperialism knows this very well, **Johnson still put forward these absolutely unacceptable conditions to the Vietnamese people. This points to a sinister motive. He is vainly trying in advance to disavow his criminal responsibility and prepare public opinion for the further spreading of the flames of war in Indo-China.** Johnson himself gave the game away by declaring in his address that if "peace" on U.S. terms could not be achieved, the United States could only take a "painful road," that it would be "prepared for a long continued conflict," that it would use "power" and would "do everything necessary to reach that objective." All revolutionary people and peace-loving forces the world over must maintain high vigilance against the U.S. imperialists' adventurist action in extending the war further.

To give some attraction to his "unconditional discussions," Johnson tried to play the big-hearted philanthropist. He talked volubly about "development" in Southeast Asia, including the "Mekong River" plan

and the U.S. "farm surplus" programme, and declared that the United States would spend one billion dollars in "investment." In fact, Johnson was saying: all you Asians are poor beggars. We Americans have plenty of money. So, what is the point of your engaging in anti-imperialist struggle? Asians, give up your revolution!

Mr. Johnson, the people of Asia are only too familiar with "humanitarianism" of the American brand. Haven't you already spent thousands of millions of dollars in south Viet Nam? Each dollar is stained with the blood of the south Vietnamese people. You kill and burn every day on the soil of south Viet Nam; you stop at nothing in committing evils there. Now with a few filthy greenbacks you want to buy over the Vietnamese people. This is a gross insult to the great people of Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese are a people whom no force can bend and no adversity can turn from their path. They will never be conquered by American guns and aircraft, nor intimidated by American war blackmail, nor bought with American dollars. If the American aggressors refuse to quit south Viet Nam, the only road open to them is one of total defeat. They will be driven out by the Vietnamese people in the end.

In his speech, Johnson directed the attack not only against the Vietnamese people but also against the Chinese people. Over the south Viet Nam war, he alleged, loomed "the deepening shadow of communist China." China "is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent," he asserted. **By taking so much trouble in repeatedly mentioning China by name, Johnson evidently intended to make war threats against China and stop the Chinese people from supporting the revolutionary struggles of the Vietnamese and other peoples. This is sheer daydreaming!**

The Chinese people have never concealed their consistent and steadfast position of actively supporting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples. We will support all revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, wherever they may take place. This is a proletarian internationalist obligation of the liberated Chinese people. Viet Nam and China are moreover neighbours interdependent like the lips and the teeth and the people of the two countries are brothers sharing weal and woe. The Chinese people are definitely not the kind of people who tremble before the war blackmail and war provocations of imperialism. They are definitely not national egoists who see only what is under their noses. We would like to tell the Johnson Administration: whatever you have done or may possibly do, the Chinese people will staunchly side with the Vietnamese people and fight shoulder to shoulder with them to the end for the complete defeat of the American aggressors.

A Short-Lived Fraud

Following is a translation of an April 13 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

BEHIND the smokescreen of "a peaceful settlement" and "unconditional discussions," the Johnson Administration is stepping up the expansion of its war in Indo-China in accordance with its premeditated measures. Recently, the United States brazenly decided to send another two battalions of marines to south Viet Nam and one of them landed at Da Nang on April 10. Additional U.S. Air Force units have also arrived in south Viet Nam one after another. At the same time, U.S. planes have been continually and wantonly raiding south and north Viet Nam. What is more, they even made an open and direct provocation against China by intruding into its air space over Hainan Island and attacking its planes. **These moves by U.S. imperialism to intensify the war provide an excellent footnote for Johnson's April 7 address. His "peace" fraud has been exposed by himself as a short-lived one.**

The United States "seeks no wider war" and "will never be second" in the search for "a peaceful settlement" — these and other fine words were only recently mouthed by Johnson. But both the past record and the present facts show clearly that each such profession by the Johnson Administration is immediately followed by a further step along the road of spreading the flames of war in Indo-China. Drawing one more lesson by negative example from this, the people of the world have acquired an even more profound understanding of the ferocious, aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. Under no circumstances will it ever cherish any good intentions. **No matter how many high-sounding words Johnson may utter about "peace," they can only serve, so long as the U.S. troops do not withdraw from south Viet Nam, to arouse the vigilance of the people still higher and prepare them for an even greater struggle.**

Facts have shown time and again that however badly U.S. imperialism may be battered and mauled, it invariably under-estimates the will and strength of an awakened people and places a blind faith in its own armed force. It is clear that U.S. imperialism has been decisively defeated in south Viet Nam and its military provocations and war blackmail against north Viet Nam have definitely gone bankrupt. But it decides to stake still more in its bid and insists on continuing its desperate struggle. The reason for this is its belief that it still has some strength in its hand. It always wishfully thinks that it may gain something in return for these additional stakes. Shouting himself hoarse, Johnson, the ringleader of the U.S. gangsters, asserted in his April 7 address that "we will not grow tired" and that "we must fight." Apparently, this is where he still puts his money. **U.S. imperialism will not reconcile itself to the realities until its so-called "policy of strength" has spent itself and it has suffered a complete failure.**

The U.S. invaders have been heavily besieged by the Vietnamese people. Their wanton bombing and war escalation do not bespeak confidence. On the contrary, this is a reflection of their frailty and desperation. Following the bombardment of Pleiku and Qui Nhon by the South Vietnamese Liberation Army, the United States brought in the first batch of its ground forces. Then the U.S. "embassy" in Saigon was bombed, and the United States sent in the second batch of its ground forces. In north Viet Nam, the army and civilian population have battered and punctured the much-vaunted modern American aircraft. Thereupon the United States has called in more aircraft. The U.S. aggressors have thus completely lost the initiative. For them Viet Nam has become a bottomless pit. One leg of U.S. imperialism has been caught in that pit, but still it wants to drag in the other. The harder it kicks, the deeper will it be bogged down. This is the inexorable fate it faces.

From their protracted struggle against U.S. imperialism the Vietnamese people have long since seen through its aggressive nature. From the actual experience of this struggle they have also acquired a full understanding of the great significance of their patriotic anti-U.S. fight.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, in its March 22 statement, made the solemn declaration: "More than ever we consider it our glorious internationalist duty to devote all our energy and make all sacrifices to contribute a worthy share to the very great common cause of struggle of all nations to defend independence, democracy, peace and social progress in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and all over the world and to defeat the international gendarme — the warlike and aggressive U.S. imperialists."

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, in its recent appeal to the people, emphatically stated: "The Vietnamese revolution is coming to a new turning point: the whole country is in a state of direct fighting against the U.S. aggressors. The fatherland is appealing to our entire people: 'Let us unite to struggle against U.S. imperialism for national salvation!'"

The Vietnamese paper, *Nhan Dan*, put it well in its April 11 editorial: "The U.S. aggressors are suffering defeat after defeat in our country but they are still unwilling to reconcile themselves to failure. They stubbornly persist in talking to our people on the strength of weapons. 'We will resolutely fight to the end,' this is our answer."

Confronted by such a people full of valour and daring to fight, there is no enemy that cannot be defeated! In the face of such a people who have a high degree of political consciousness and a rock-firm determination, Johnson has no chance of succeeding, whatever "peace" trick he may play. **No matter how many troops and weapons U.S. imperialism may throw in and how many "peace" plots it may yet contrive, it will not be able to avert its ultimate and total defeat in Viet Nam.**

Johnson Can Fool No One

— World Opinion on His April 7 Speech on Viet Nam —

The April 7 speech on Viet Nam made by U.S. President Johnson at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore was a pious fraud. His proposal for “unconditional discussions” which is actually one for discussions on his own terms, was immediately seen through by the people of the world. The Vietnamese people, who are determined, and rightly so, to finish off the U.S. aggressors, have refused to take the wooden nickel proffered by Johnson the juggler; nor is the world public reconciled to his speech. Following are samples of world public opinion, including that in Viet Nam and the U.S.A. — Ed.

Viet Nam. Johnson’s April 7 speech is a crystallization of U.S. imperialism’s psychological warfare. To aggress against others and at the same time talk about “morality” and “humanitarianism”; defeated in its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and strongly condemned by world opinion, nevertheless to try to frighten our people with a show of its strength, and to buy over the national independence of our people and the people of other Southeast Asian countries by tinkling dollars in its pocket — such is the essence of Johnson’s Baltimore speech. And all his deeds have shown it. . . . After his April 7 speech, U.S. planes continued to bomb and strafe the northern part of our country, two battalions of marines and more jet fighters have been sent to the southern part of our country as reinforcements, provocations have been carried out over China’s Hainan Island. . . .

When Johnson talked about “ready for unconditional discussions” he meant to hold negotiations on the following terms: our people must lay down arms and become Washington’s slaves; or else, the United States will achieve this purpose with its strength! . . .

The U.S. aggressors have suffered no one knows how many defeats in our country, but they are still not reconciled to these defeats. They are such diehards that they talk to us with weapons. So our reply is also the same: we are determined to fight to a finish. — *Nhan Dan*

Korea. Johnson talked glibly of “unconditional discussions” and “aid” in a futile attempt to blunt the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people and hoodwink world opinion in order to retrieve the disastrous U.S. failure in south Viet Nam and achieve the aims of its aggression.

The U.S. imperialists wielded the big stick when the situation favoured them, then resorted to the shield of peace when rebuffed.

Because of his disastrous failure militarily, politically and morally, Johnson chanted “peace” to get what he had failed to gain on the battlefield. Everybody knows that in the mouth of Johnson, “peace” and “talks” mean frantic aggression. — *Rodong Shinmoon*

Albania. Johnson’s “unconditional discussions” meant

continued occupation of south Viet Nam by the U.S. aggressors troops, the surrender of the south Vietnamese people’s liberation forces, the legalization of the stationing of U.S. troops in the area, the justification of continued U.S. piratical attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Johnson’s slogan of “unconditional discussions” was the same slogan put forward by Tito some time ago. This clearly showed what Tito is and for whom he was speaking when he, a veteran agent of U.S. imperialism and spokesman of the Khrushchovite revisionists in Belgrade, urged in his March 2 letter to Johnson a “peaceful settlement” of the Viet Nam question” and the holding of “unconditional negotiations.” — *Zeri i Popullit*

D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party

A hue and cry is being made for negotiations on the south Viet Nam question. The imperialists and the modern revisionists are very enthusiastic about holding negotiations on the Viet Nam question because if U.S. imperialism is hit there persistently, it will be knocked out altogether.

Harian Rakjat (Indonesia)

To hold negotiations without demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Viet Nam, how wonderful! Is there any proposal more treacherous than this?

It is not at all strange for Johnson to accept the “proposal” of Yugoslavia and hope that the Soviet Union would also be willing to agree to it.

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party

The latest speech on Viet Nam made by Johnson is an obvious fraud. The proposed talks were on the condition that the U.S. forces would not pull out of this country of Indo-China. The struggle of the Japanese people is closely linked with the Vietnamese people’s struggle.

Tomomi Narita, General Secretary of the Japanese Socialist Party in *Mainichi Shimbun*

The fact that Johnson said that the United States would not stop using force shows that the policy hitherto followed by that country remains unchanged.

Vanguard (Australia)

The only possible way for any political solution to south Viet Nam is for the U.S. imperialists to withdraw their men and equipment immediately. Any proposal to negotiate with the U.S. imperialists still occupying south Viet Nam is completely untenable.

Any negotiation which proceeded from the basically incorrect position of U.S. occupation would not guarantee a future peace but lay the groundwork for a much greater flare-up in the future.

Any other demand [than that the U.S. leave s. Viet Nam] . . . dresses up and prettifies the real purpose of the United States in south Viet Nam, assists U.S. aims — in the long run makes it easier for the U.S. imperialists to launch upon even bigger war adventures.

La Depeche du Cambodge (Cambodia)

In declaring the United States' unwillingness to withdraw from south Viet Nam, the American chief executive expressed his wish for a return to the status of 1955, with Viet Nam divided into two zones, and the south placed under U.S. protectorate. Furthermore, the U.S. economic and food aid plan along the lines of the Marshall Plan is aimed at nothing but extending U.S. control to the whole of Southeast Asia.

All-Burma Peace Committee statement

The days closely following President Johnson's speech saw continued barbarous attacks of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets against the south Vietnamese people and the D.R.V.

The U.S. imperialists raise their voice for negotiations in order to extricate themselves from their present serious defeats in south Viet Nam. . . . They also hope to gain at the conference table what they have not gained on the battlefield.

The Leader (Pakistan)

U.S. President Johnson's offer of so-called unconditional discussions on Viet Nam is more of a pose of peace than a reflection of a change of heart.

Johnson made this offer while U.S. planes were bombing the D.R.V.

The billion dollars the United States offered was a plot to make Southeast Asian states show more interest in sharing the loot than in the agonies of south Viet Nam.

Al Fajr al Jadid (Iraq)

Johnson claimed he was ready to seek a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question, but he boasted that the United States would not grow tired of the actions it was taking there. This shows that Washington does not want to abandon its policy of military intervention in other countries.

As Saarah (Syria)

Reinforcements in the south and more frenzied bombing of the D.R.V. after his speech on Viet Nam revealed his real aims and made his deceitful tactics futile.

Alger Republicain (Algeria)

The ink of Johnson's latest speech has hardly dried and his followers have already written a footnote to it as a Saigon military tribunal sentenced a Vietnamese patriot to death in a hurry.

K. Munyi, Chairman of the Embu Branch of the Kenya African National Union

There is no question of a so-called peaceful settlement with the U.S. imperialists over the Viet Nam issue. We strongly demand the total withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Viet Nam. Without this, the Vietnamese people will never agree to hold talks with the U.S. imperialists.

Al Akhbar (United Arab Republic)

U.S. President Johnson's address may be taken as a plain and unequivocal declaration of intention that U.S. aggression will continue until the U.S. Government achieves its ends in Viet Nam.

Johnson does not want to dissociate himself from the regular American practice to use the dollar as a means of solving international issues. Hence the one-billion-dollar aid programme with the fond hope that the dollar will succeed where bombs and raids failed.

Leopoldo Aragon of Panama in the Mexican paper *El Dia*

Johnson was trying to hoodwink the world with "a policy of roses." When the U.S. Administration was crying for "unconditional discussions," it went on bombing the territory of north Viet Nam. How can it be that a man talks about peace and peaceful intentions to another person while slapping him on the face?

Friheten (Norway)

Johnson's speech can never cover up the bloody tracks of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam; the only possible solution of the south Viet Nam issue is to withdraw the U.S. military forces from there.

The peoples the world over have learnt to despise the words of the American President. All their attention is concentrated on his bombers, his guns and his gas.

Financial Times (Britain)

The main consideration which prompted the "unconditional discussions" is clear enough. (1) The damage already done to the American image in the uncommitted world; (2) Johnson felt that the "consensus" on foreign affairs in Congress which he regards as indispensable was in danger of disappearing.

In any negotiations the Americans would still demand the most comprehensive and difficult terms.

La Tribune des Nations (France)

Johnson's speech constituted psychological warfare in the U.S. plan of escalation. It showed the viewpoint of Washington that war and what is called negotiation are inseparable and that psychological operations are merely an aspect of an infinitely general plan.

Il Giorno (Italy)

The basis of the U.S.-proposed negotiations did not change. Their stand remained: "There can be a peaceful world only if you let us wipe you out."

Bonner Rundschau (West Germany)

The Americans have lost much of their prestige owing to their use of gas in south Viet Nam. To retrieve this loss, Johnson made "that sly move."

Stewart Hensley of United Press International (U.S.A.)

Actually the United States still has its conditions which were put forward by Johnson in what he called "the essentials of any final settlement."

Johnson's assumption of this new posture did not mean that he was planning to ease off the American military effort. It was nothing more than an attempt to make the American position easier to defend before the bar of world opinion.

Serious Advice for U Thant

Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on April 12. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

ACCORDING to Western press reports, U.N. Secretary-General U Thant has on more than one occasion of late indicated his intention to visit China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to "inquire about" what he calls "the possibility of achieving a negotiated settlement in Viet Nam." At a time when U.S. imperialism is frantically stepping up its efforts to escalate the war while busily plotting a so-called "peaceful settlement," it is by no means accidental that U Thant, who is the United Nations' Secretary-General, should engage himself in such an undertaking.

People are wondering in what capacity U Thant is doing this. **If he is willing to travel around for a settlement of the Viet Nam question as a private individual, then the place where he should go is Washington, a stone's throw away, and not China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the other side of the globe.** The war now going on in south Viet Nam was provoked by the United States. It perpetrated aggression against south Viet Nam and the people there rose in resistance. Defeated in south Viet Nam, the United States has expanded the war to north Viet Nam. Such is the whole truth of the Viet Nam question. In these circumstances, the United States is the aggressor and Viet Nam the victim. China too is threatened by U.S. aggression. The Viet Nam question will be settled once the United States stops its aggression against Viet Nam and withdraws its aggressive forces from south Viet Nam. As an Asian who has experienced imperialist oppression, U Thant should at least do what Mr. Bertrand Russell, a European, has done, namely, condemn the United States for its war crimes and demand that it immediately put an end to its aggression against south Viet Nam and its bombing of north Viet Nam. Instead, U Thant wants to come to China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to seek a settlement of the Viet Nam question. Obviously he is knocking at the wrong door.

If U Thant is undertaking this activity in the capacity of U.N. Secretary-General, then we should like to tell him in all seriousness to spare himself the trouble.

The Viet Nam question has nothing to do with the United Nations. The 1954 Geneva agreements were reached outside the United Nations, and the latter has no right to interfere in the affairs of Viet Nam or of Indo-China as a whole. It is the responsibility of the Geneva conference participant nations to uphold the Geneva agreements, and no meddling by the United Nations is called for, nor will it be tolerated. This is the case; it was so in the past, and so will it remain in the future.

The United Nations is manipulated and controlled by the United States; it has degenerated into a U.S. tool for aggression, and has done many evil things. It was under the U.N. flag that the United States perpetrated aggression against Korea and the Congo (Leopoldville). In ganging up with Britain to create Israel and "Malaysia," offsprings of new colonialism, the United States made use of the United Nations and manipulated it to provide support. A very considerable part of U.S. infiltration, subversion and aggression in the political, economic and cultural spheres throughout the world has been carried out through various U.N. bodies. The United Nations has never condemned the United States for its crimes of aggression against south Viet Nam; it has not even come out with one word of censure against the open invasion of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by the United States and its inhuman use of poison gas and napalm. **The United Nations has never taken a just stand on the Viet Nam question. It has absolutely no say concerning a settlement of the south Viet Nam question.**

U.N. intervention in the south Viet Nam situation can only open the way for U.S. imperialism to use the United Nations for continuing aggression there. For many years the United States has tried by every means to drag the United Nations into south Viet Nam, so that it may use the U.N. flag to cover up its aggression there and extricate itself from isolation. The "peaceful settlement" plot now being staged by the Johnson Administration includes steps to make use of the United Nations to continue the aggression. On March 15 the U.S. Information Service said undisguisedly that once U.S. war blackmail gets its way in Viet Nam, "it is the hope of the United States that the United Nations could be effective in a peace-keeping role." In his April 7 speech, Johnson talked a great deal about U.N. "development" work in Southeast Asia, and he mentioned in particular the Mekong River project. This was intended to build a bridge by which the United Nations will be led into the Indo-China region. It is precisely because of this reason that U.S. official circles have publicly "welcomed" U Thant's plan to visit China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It is also for the same reason that U Thant immediately "welcomed" Johnson's speech of April 7 and Johnson, in turn, was "greatly encouraged" by U Thant. Can anyone fail to see what kind of a show they are putting on?

In short, U.N. intervention in the affairs of Indo-China cannot be tolerated. No one, whoever he may be, will get anywhere if, in the name of the United Nations, he sets out to serve U.S. imperialism in its scheme of "peace negotiations." Such efforts are doomed to failure.

As to China's attitude towards the United Nations, this is not something that U Thant does not know.

The Chinese Government has long ago declared that as long as the United Nations, under the thumb of the United States, does not restore China's legitimate rights in that organization and expel the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang from all its agencies, China will have nothing to do with the United Nations. This firm stand of ours is unshakable and admits of no exception with regard to any question or any person. China's stand on the Viet Nam question is also very clear and known to all. There is no need whatever for U Thant to come to China to "inquire" about it.

We would like to advise U Thant: save yourself the trouble. There is nothing for the United Nations to do in Viet Nam, neither is it qualified to do any-

thing there. You have enough to bother about in the United Nations itself. The United States has made a mess of the United Nations. For all its pomposity, the 19th U.N. General Assembly could not even pass a single resolution. In fact, the United Nations, discredited as it is, makes one doubt whether it is qualified to speak at all. If you, Mr. Thant, still desire to uphold the U.N. Charter, please identify yourself with the majority of the member nations which are not superficially but are in fact unwilling to accept U.S. manipulation, and please criticize conscientiously what the United Nations has done under this manipulation, and strive for a thorough reorganization of the United Nations. Only when you do so, Mr. Thant, will you be concerning yourself with the right thing.

Report From Viet Nam

U.S. Planes Take a Beating in Thanh Hoa

ON April 3 and 4, U.S. planes made massive attacks on northern Thanh Hoa Province. In bigger numbers than ever they bombed residential areas and economic establishments there but they were hard hit in return. The heroic armed forces and inhabitants of

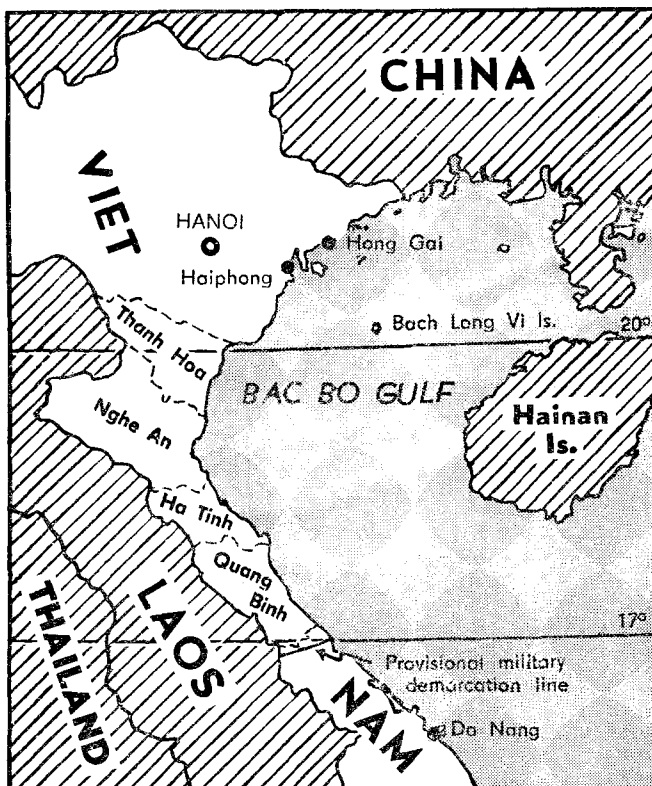
the province altogether brought down 47 enemy planes and captured two American pilots. U.S. imperialism suffered its heaviest loss since it started raiding the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5, 1964.

Located between the 19th and 20th Parallels, Thanh Hoa is only about 130 kilometres from Hanoi, the D.R.V. capital. It is the largest province in north Viet Nam. Rice and coconuts grow there in abundance. Its people were tempered in the protracted war of resistance against French imperialism.

We arrived there just as the battle came to its end. Everywhere we saw people celebrating their victory, beaming with joy, and joking and laughing at the enemy whose "air superiority" had misfired.

On a Clear Day

The sky over Thanh Hoa was clear and cloudless. Between seven in the morning and four in the afternoon of April 3, American planes from 7th Fleet carriers on the South China Sea made several hundred sorties, flying over Thanh Hoa in groups. After circling for a while, these marauders dived on residential areas, non-military projects and economic establishments in the northern part of Thanh Hoa, dropping bombs and strafing as they headed towards the sea. They probably thought that by flying in the direction of the sea, they could bale out if hit, drift on the sea and let their helicopters come to their rescue. But they miscalculated. The moment they dived, anti-aircraft units, local armed forces, naval units and the militia self-defence force opened up on them with weapons of all kinds. One by one the enemy planes were caught in cones of fire and fell amid columns of black smoke.



Sketch map by Su Li

That day, 17 enemy planes were downed and one American pilot was captured.

It was a record number of hits for any one day. Despite their smashing victory, however, the people of Thanh Hoa did not relax their vigilance. They knew that the hard-hit enemy, like a cornered beast, would fight desperately. So after a day of strenuous fighting, they replenished their ammunition, repaired their dug-outs, and got ready for another battle.

Sure enough, the American air pirates came again the next day. But this time they suffered still heavier losses. Altogether 30 planes were shot down and another American pilot was captured, bringing the score of downed enemy aircraft in north Viet Nam to a grand total of 160.

The descriptions given us by all the comrades we met made it clear that the people's armed force in Thanh Hoa had downed the enemy aircraft like crack shooters bringing down crows. Their fire was so effective that most of the planes hit fell before they had time to get out to sea; their pilots were either killed during the crashes or captured.

Heroes of Thanh Hoa

The names of the heroes in the two-day battle are legion. The young gunners of the No. 12 AA Battery fought dauntlessly and with great presence of mind. Seven of them were admitted to the Workers' Youth League even while the battle was going on. Three soldiers of a machine-gun team who were momentarily stunned by the explosion of a heavy bomb,

resumed firing the moment they regained their senses. Vo Van Duc, a veteran of the battle of Dien Bien Phu and now leader of a militia platoon and vice-director of an agricultural producers' co-operative, seeing the pilot of a downed aircraft parachuting to earth, led his men at the run from their trench towards the spot where the parachute was falling. When the pilot landed every gun was pointed at him and he stood trembling, head bowed low and both hands up. A woman working in a restaurant calmly took turns with her husband to shoot at enemy planes with a rifle. Another militia team, mostly of women, shot at the enemy aircraft with ten rifles firing at the same time. When one of them was wounded in the hand, she refused to leave the firing line and stayed there shooting until the enemy planes were driven back.

As the people and the armed forces of Thanh Hoa celebrated their victory, they also summed up their experiences in the fighting. Those who had rendered good service in the battle were warmly commended. At the same time they are watching closely for any new schemes the U.S. imperialists may contrive. They are ready at any time to deal fresh heavy blows at the invaders.

The workers and members of the farming co-ops in the province have a slogan: not to neglect production while fighting. They are celebrating their victory with a new emulation drive—a drive to fulfil and overfulfil state plans and raise a bumper harvest of early rice. They are out for victories on the fronts both of battle and of production.

—HSINHUA CORRESPONDENTS

FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION

Tibetan Song and Dance Ensemble Visits Nepal

On April 11 the Tibetan song and dance ensemble of China which is touring Nepal gave its premiere in Kathmandu. King Mahendra and Queen Ratna, His Royal Highness Crown Prince Birendra and other members of the Royal Family attended. Also present were Chairman of the Council of Ministers Surya Bahadur Thapa and Vice-Chairman and Foreign Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista.

The 50 Chinese artists left Lhasa for Kathmandu on March 30 and travelled over the Kathmandu-Kodari Highway, the Nepalese section of the Lhasa-Kathmandu Highway, which is being built with the help of Chinese engineers.

Pakistan Artists in China

The Pakistan Folklore Troupe, the first of its kind from Pakistan to visit

China, made a most successful tour of this country. Its three performances in Peking were to full houses and audiences delighted in its colourful folk dances. After leaving Peking it visited Tientsin, Shanghai and Canton.

Literature From Viet Nam

There is a heavy demand for *Storm Over the South*, a volume of short stories by writers of both northern and southern Viet Nam, recently published in Shanghai. The first printing of 90,000 was quickly sold out. A second printing of 50,000 copies is having a brisk sale, and a third printing is planned. Edited by the Shanghai Editorial Department of the Writers' Publishing House, most of this collection of 15 short stories by leading Vietnamese writers describe the heroic struggles of the south Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialists.

Among other books of short stories and poems by Vietnamese writers published by the same department are *Collected Vietnamese Short Stories*, *Selected Poems by Vietnamese Workers* and volumes of poems by Nguyen Dinh Thi and Hoang Trung Thong.

Chinese Film Week in Indonesia

The Chinese Film Week which began in Djakarta on March 23 attracted much interest. Five cinemas in the Indonesian capital gave 80 shows of Chinese films to audiences totalling more than 180,000. Public and press gave praise to the feature films shown, particularly *Red Blossom on the Tianshan Mountains*, *A Family Problem* and *Chang Ka, the Soldier Boy*.

Chinese Film Weeks will also be held in other cities, including Palembang, Bandung, Surabaya, Semarang, Bandjarmasin and Makassar.

Smash the U.S.-Made "ROK-Japan Talks"

Following is an abridged translation of the April 7 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Resolutely Smash the 'ROK-Japan' Talks Stage-Managed by U.S. Imperialism." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

WITH U.S. imperialism stepping up the pressure to get them together, the puppet Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea and the Sato government of Japan initialled on April 3 the agreements on "property claims," "fisheries" and "the legal status of Korean residents in Japan." Two days later, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement denouncing the treacherous crimes of the Pak Jung Hi clique and reiterating that any agreements it signed with the Sato government were illegal and null and void. The statement also solemnly declared that the Korean Government and the entire Korean people would unite closely with the Asian peoples and all the peace-loving peoples of the world and wage an ever more resolute struggle to smash the "ROK-Japan talks," the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism and the wild ambition of Japanese militarism to resume aggression.

The Chinese Government and people fully support this just stand of the Korean Government.

The illegal initialling of these agreements, following the "ROK-Japan treaty on basic relations" last February, signifies that the criminal "ROK-Japan talks" stage-managed for 14 long years by U.S. imperialism are drawing to a close. Through these talks, the aim of U.S. imperialism is to carry out its plot to knock together a Northeast Asia military alliance with Japanese militarism as its core and including the south Korean puppet clique and the Chiang Kai-shek gang — an alliance which would serve as a tool for U.S. imperialism to push its policies of aggression and war in the Far East. This is a grave provocation against the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries.

This effort to bring the "ROK-Japan talks" to a speedy conclusion and step up the formation of a Northeast Asia military alliance is one of the measures U.S. imperialism is adopting in its desperate struggle in Asia where it is being driven from pillar to post and finding itself in ever greater isolation and difficulty. In south Viet Nam and throughout Indo-China, it is in a particularly unfavourable situation. Everywhere from Southeast to Northeast Asia, U.S. imperialist positions of aggression are crumbling one after another. **It is in these circumstances that U.S. imperialism vainly hopes to rig up a Northeast Asia military bloc to supplement the SEATO bloc, which long ago**

became paralysed, in order to keep its foothold for aggression in Asia. At the same time, to speed up the expansion of its war in Indo-China and press ahead with its scheme to internationalize the war in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is doing all it can to bring Japan and south Korea together through the "talks" and making them serve its aggressive plot to "use Asians to fight Asians."

The three agreements initialled by the Pak Jung Hi clique and the Sato government constitute a great betrayal of the national sovereignty and interests of the Korean people. These traitorous documents have thrown the door wide open to the Japanese militarists' resumption of aggression against south Korea. These treacherous deeds of the Pak clique are bound to arouse anger and fierce opposition among the Korean people. **Far from helping to maintain its tottering puppet rule as the Pak Jung Hi clique hopes, the conclusion of the "ROK-Japan talks" will merely hasten its destruction.**

The Japanese militarist forces, which are reviving faster and faster under the aegis of U.S. imperialism, have, ever since the end of World War II, been dreaming of taking the old path of aggression against Korea. Since the Sato government took over, the Japanese ruling groups have intensified their efforts to conclude their "talks" with the south Korean puppet clique in defiance of the opposition of the Japanese people. Through the "ROK-Japan treaty on basic relations" initialled last February, the Pak Jung Hi clique has given the Japanese ruling groups and Japanese monopoly capital assurances that they can freely enter south Korea for domination and plunder in the political, economic, cultural and military fields. Now that the three new "agreements" have been initialled, no wonder Eisaku Sato is "pleased" and ready to sign and ratify the agreements in short order. **This fully exposes the plans of the Japanese ruling groups to stage a come-back in south Korea and thereby revive their old dream of aggression in Korea and Asia. In seeking this end, they have no scruples about tying themselves to the U.S. war chariot.**

The U.S. State Department hastened to cheer immediately the three agreements initialled by the Pak Jung Hi clique and the Sato government. But the Johnson Administration has rejoiced too soon. Things will run counter to the hopes of U.S. imperialism. The faster it tries to bring the "ROK-Japan talks" to a conclusion, the greater the heat of anti-U.S. anger it will stir up among all the Korean and Japanese peoples. **In Asia today, wherever U.S. imperialism pushes its aggressive designs, it cannot escape**

being the target of stormy struggles; it cannot escape being fiercely besieged by the peoples seething with anti-U.S. anger.

It is clear to everyone that in spite of its heavy concentrations of troops and military bases throughout Japan, south Korea and other places, its full-scale war in south Viet Nam and wanton bombing of the Democrat-

ic Republic of Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism cannot stabilize its positions for aggression and save itself from defeat. Can the few agreements reached in the "ROK-Japan talks" work miracles? To imagine that it can is just daydreaming. **And whoever tries to gain something by tailing after U.S. imperialism will only end up as its sacrifice.**

Resolutely Oppose West German Militarism

Following is a translation of the April 9 "Renmin Ribao" editorial entitled "Resolutely Oppose the Rabid Provocations of West German Militarism." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

ON April 7, the West German Bundestag brazenly convened a so-called plenary session in West Berlin with the consent of the United States and its partners. This is a grave step taken by the West German militarists to annex West Berlin with the blessing of U.S. imperialism; it is an outrageous provocation against the German Democratic Republic and the entire socialist camp. Against this provocation of the Bonn government, the G.D.R. Government has lodged a serious protest and has taken necessary measures to safeguard its sovereignty. **The Chinese people unreservedly support the just stand of the G.D.R. and sternly condemn this unbridled provocation of the Bonn government.**

West Berlin lies within the territory of the G.D.R. and has never belonged to West Germany whose militarists have always wanted to occupy it and turn it into a bridgehead to subvert and swallow up the G.D.R. With the support of U.S. imperialism, West German militarism has over many years engaged in all sorts of illegal activities which seriously threaten the security of the G.D.R. Now its Bundestag has insolently held its "plenary session" in West Berlin. In so doing, West German militarism actually treated West Berlin as if it was its own territory. This impudent action has once again exposed the revanchist features of the West German ruling clique.

It is common knowledge that U.S. imperialism has done all it could to foster West German militarism and use it as a tool for aggression against the socialist countries in Europe. It has used its occupation of West Berlin to allow and encourage the West German militarists to secure a foothold in West Berlin and to carry on ceaseless provocations against the G.D.R. Last year the United States, in collusion with Britain and France, issued a statement openly clamouring about giving "permission to the Federal Republic to ensure representation of Berlin and the Berlin population outside Berlin." This is instigating West German militarism to swallow up West Berlin.

With the support of U.S. imperialism, the West German militarists have become ever more arrogant and aggressive. Not long ago the Bonn government, at U.S. instigation, openly proposed the laying of an atomic-mine belt along the frontiers of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia, the adoption of a "forward strategy" against the socialist countries and the waging of a "hidden war" against the G.D.R. It tried to get hold of nuclear weapons through the U.S. "multilateral nuclear force" plan and has repeatedly demanded the recovery of the "Sudetenland" and the restoration of the 1937 borders. It has actively peddled the notorious "Hallstein Doctrine" in a vain attempt to isolate and undermine the G.D.R. It has brazenly supported Israel, a tool of U.S. imperialism, in hostility to the Arab people. It has given "aid" to the south Viet Nam puppet regime to help U.S. imperialism's aggression against Viet Nam. These criminal activities of West German militarism not only gravely menace the security of the G.D.R. but also threaten European and world peace. They cannot but arouse the vigilant attention of the peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world.

The meeting of the Bundestag in West Berlin at U.S. instigation is not an isolated action. Everyone knows that U.S. imperialism has been expanding the war in Indo-China in order to save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam. In the last two months, it has continually and wantonly bombed and committed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a fraternal country at the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp. Now it is instigating the West German militarists to engage in provocations against the G.D.R. which stands at the western outpost of the socialist camp. This shows that **U.S. imperialism is making redoubled efforts to push ahead its rabid adventurist plan of aggression against the socialist camp.**

It must be pointed out that the day is past when imperialism could do as it liked. If U.S. imperialism hopes to gain something by colluding with the West German militarist forces in provocations against a fraternal country of the socialist camp, then it is miscalculating badly. The West German militarists are daydreaming if they think they can swallow up West

Berlin by relying on U.S. support. As the G.D.R. spokesman pointed out not long ago, **West Berlin is not part of West Germany whether from the legal or from the geographical point of view. Any plot to include West Berlin in the German Federal Republic is bound to fail.**

The G.D.R. is a member of the socialist camp and any provocation or aggression against it is provocation or aggression against the entire socialist camp.

The Chinese people and Government have always upheld the spirit of proletarian internationalism; they give full support to the just struggle of the G.D.R.

For a Still Better Harvest

Spring Upsurge in Farming

THE tide of spring farm work is flowing through the Chinese countryside. The commune members, who reaped a good harvest last year, are in high spirits and looking forward to an even better showing this year. Farm work has been well planned, the spring sowing is going ahead on a firm basis and the farmers are doing a fine job of work. The leadership at all levels is in close contact with work in the localities and so is well placed to take effective measures against difficulties as and when they arise. There is brisk activity everywhere from Hainan Island in the south to the northern province of Heilungkiang and from the eastern coast to the Pamirs in the west.

Spring comes early to the southern paddy-rice areas. Hainan Island has almost finished transplanting seedlings from the seed beds to the paddies. Other parts of Kwangtung Province are in the midst of this job. Kwangtung and Fukien Provinces have started to reap wheat and other spring-ripening crops. The 12 million *mu* of crops now being harvested in Kwangtung are giving heavier yields generally than in 1964. Yunhsiao County of Fukien reports that its total output of wheat and barley exceeds last year's figure by 3,000 tons. Maize sown in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region is sprouting and the shoots are growing sturdily. In Hupeh Province, as in other central China areas growing early rice, the seed beds are all sown and transplanting will soon start.

Maize, sorghum and other autumn crops are being sown in the coastal areas of Kiangsu, Shantung and Hopei Provinces. These areas are also readied to sow cotton in the coming weeks. The spring wheat is being sown in the northwest and northeast. Inner Mongolia has sown more than one million *mu* to spring wheat in the plains around the Yellow River Bend. Tibet's southeastern districts are another place where spring farm work starts earlier than most places. Over 10,000 *mu* of *qingke* barley, spring wheat and peas were sown here in early March.

Peasants in the north have taken various measures to offset a rather dry spring. The Chinghai plateau had little snow or rain during the past few months and

against U.S. imperialist fostering of the West German militarist forces and wholeheartedly endorse the just stand of the Government of the G.D.R. in striving for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and, on this basis, achieving normalization of the West Berlin situation. The Chinese people pledge themselves to struggle together with the people of Germany and of the socialist camp against the rabid provocations directed at the G.D.R. by U.S. imperialism and the West German militarists, and to smash the criminal plot of the West German militarists to swallow up West Berlin.

this dry spell may continue in certain parts of the plateau. Commune members there have therefore advanced the date of sowing and have a number of measures ready to beat the possible dry spell. These include immediate watering after sowing, preservation of moisture by careful harrowing of the fields and application of farmyard manure.

Favourable Conditions

The overall outlook for spring farm work, however, is excellent. The socialist education movement has powerfully inspired the revolutionary zeal of the peasants, especially the former poor and lower-middle peasants, and strengthened their determination to build socialism in a self-reliant way.

Since the beginning of last winter there have been new, notable achievements in large-scale capital construction work centring on the building of water-control projects, soil amelioration and accumulation of manure. In addition to the regular repairs carried out on older works, many small water-conservancy works have been built as well as projects to link up local works with major water-control systems. Last year more than 20 million *mu* were added to the irrigated area and further large additions have been made in the past few months. Many places have also done a tremendous amount of work to improve their soil.

In addition to accumulating large stocks of farmyard manure, the peasants increased the area planted to green manure crops last autumn by 20 million *mu* compared with 1963. The villages also have better and larger supplies of farm machines and implements, chemical fertilizers and other means of production.

The outstanding farms that have consistently gathered in good harvests over the past few years, are determined to keep up their records and get another good harvest this year. They are busy exploring weaknesses in their farming techniques and other shortcomings in their work so that they can get still higher yields.

The Shiyue Brigade of the Wangzheng People's Commune in Hsishui, Hupeh Province, got an average

yield of 1,200 *jin* of grain per *mu* last year, a fairly high yield for that area. Its leaders and rank and file are seeking to do even better this year by using high-yield strains and applying more fertilizer to raise the output of early rice. The Jiatang People's Commune of Tzuhsi, Chekiang, distinguished itself by raising 180 *jin* of ginned cotton per *mu* in 1964. Determined to do even better this year, they began work last winter to improve the more than 2,000 *mu* of saline, low-yield cotton fields and have set aside 50 per cent more fertilizer than last year.

Like these, every farm is thinking up ways of getting a still better harvest this year.

Support From All Sides

The spring farm work is getting powerful support from industry, communications and transport, supply and marketing co-ops, other trading agencies and scientific research institutions. All are working hard to boost the new upsurge in farming.

The rolling mills of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company fulfilled all the more than 600 orders for rolled steel sent them in the first two months of the year by over 30 farm machinery works. They delivered orders either on time or ahead of schedule. A check through a list of over 20 kinds of mechanized or semi-mechanized farm implements and other farm equipment made by more than 100 engineering plants and handicraft co-ops in Shantung, shows that production for 14 items increased by 100 to 400 per cent compared with last year.

Chemical plants in Kweichow Province supplied the farms with nearly six times as much phosphate fertilizer in the past two months as in the same period last year. Handicraft co-ops in Chekiang supplied more than one million new or improved farm tools in recent months. The Changchow Tractor Plant, Kiangsu, is broadening out. It is making walking tractors and has also trained a large number of tractor drivers for the people's communes. Thus, in a package deal it supplies tractors, accessories and the necessary technical know-how to the countryside.

Communications and transport departments give top priority to goods and materials destined for the rural areas. They reserve large numbers of vehicles and boats for these cargoes and give them first thought in planning transport, use of vehicles and vessels and in loading and unloading. Urgently needed materials are given special quick delivery.

In Kweichow, a mountainous province with relatively poor communications, road transport enterprises set up 130 additional lorry stops to get goods to the communes. Chemical fertilizers, insecticides, water turbine pumps and other goods are thus being delivered



Getting the Seeders Ready for the Spring Sowing Woodcut by Li Chun

direct to the teams, cutting out intermediate stops, with consequent big savings all round.

Supply and marketing co-ops and other trading agencies have more goods in stock for the spring farm work than in any previous year. They are there in greater variety and of better quality, and, what's more, arrived in good time.

Cadres Go to Villages

Agricultural research institutes have this year assigned larger numbers of research workers to the job of running demonstration farms in the selected farming areas. Liaoning Province now has 280 such scientists out in the countryside. They are specialists in various crops, in soil and fertilizers, plant protection and some 20 other fields. Less than half as many were down on the farms last year.

Everywhere, Party and government leading organs have sent large numbers of cadres to lead the spring farm work and put the new upsurge in farm production on a firm, well-directed basis. In Kweichow Province, more than 30,000 cadres, including leaders of the provincial Communist Party committee, recently went out to the production team to help with farm work. In early March, Hunan Province sent 17,000 cadres to help the spring sowing at the grass-roots level.

All these cadres live, take their meals and work together with the commune members. The peasants of Mingshui County, Heilungkiang, speak extremely highly of the cadres who came to work with them. They appreciated their modest style in working at the spring wheat sowing like any peasant and consulting with the commune members on how to tackle problems which they discovered during the work.

All things considered, there are good prospects this year of raising a still better harvest than in 1964. All

realize, however, that a big and many-sided effort must be made to turn possibilities into reality. There are some unfavourable factors in some places—scanty rainfall, insufficient moisture in the soil, relatively high temperatures, and consequent low death rate of harmful insects and other plant pests. But on the credit

side, together with good natural conditions and better material basis, the members of the people's communes are pressing the work in a great spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm. They are determined to turn favourable conditions to full account, transform adverse factors and reach their production goals.

—Yang Min

Strategically Pitting One Against Ten, Tactically Pitting Ten Against One

—An Exposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Thinking
On the Strategy and Tactics of the People's War

by LI TSO-PENG

Following is the second and concluding instalment of an abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi." The first instalment was published in our last issue. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

III. The War of Annihilation Is the Fundamental Idea of Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One

The war of annihilation is the fundamental idea that lies behind the concentration of a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "War of annihilation entails the concentration of superior forces and the adoption of encircling or outflanking tactics. We cannot have the former without the latter."¹⁴ The war of annihilation is the basic principle and fundamental guiding thought behind all the operations of our army; it is the essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant strategic and tactical thinking. It is included in all the guiding principles of operation in China's revolutionary war.

To fight a war of annihilation means to strive to annihilate the enemy thoroughly, wholly and completely in each battle so that each company, battalion, regiment or division wiped out reduces the enemy by that much. In this way, the enemy loses manpower and materiel and heavy blows are also dealt at his morale to depress and demoralize him. And even if the enemy's ranks are replenished, the more he fights, the weaker he becomes. This fighting method is the most effective way to weaken the enemy. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them."¹⁵ This is a penetrating description of the concept of a war of annihilation.

The concentration of a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is an integral and indivisible principle of operations in fighting a war of annihilation. The relation between concentration of

forces and destruction of the enemy forces one by one is dialectical, each forming the condition of the other's existence. Only by the concentration of a superior force can the enemy forces be destroyed one by one, and at the same time, it is only by adopting the method of destroying the enemy forces one by one that a superiority of forces can be easily developed and maintained. Correct application of the principle of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one can simultaneously provide the material basis and the concrete methods of fighting a war of annihilation.

Concentration of Forces

Concentration of forces is the material basis on which a war of annihilation is fought. Marx pointed out: "Concentration is the secret of strategy."¹⁶ Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also pointed out: "The initiative is not something imaginary but is concrete and material. Here the most important thing is to conserve and mass an armed force that is as large as possible and full of fighting spirit."¹⁷

No matter whether the balance of forces is in our favour or the enemy's, operations must be carried out by concentrating our forces. Especially when the enemy is strong and we are weak, it is only by concentrating a superior force that we can muster sufficient strength to fight a battle of annihilation and gain a quick decision. In this way, when offensive operations are carried out, we can quickly break

through the enemy's defence, smash his reinforcements and counter-assaults, mass enough troops to outflank, encircle, and cut up his forces, fight one engagement after another, and swiftly exploit the victory. And when defensive operations are carried out, we can weaken and inflict great losses on the attacking enemy, win time for our side, and even shift from the defensive to the offensive.

If we do not concentrate a superior force, we cannot achieve the aim of annihilating the enemy, nor can we fight quick engagements and gain a quick decision. Moreover, a situation of stalemate may arise in campaign and battles, battles fought may become battles in which the enemy is only routed or battles of attrition in which there is more loss than gain, and the danger of being crushed piecemeal by the enemy may even arise.

Destroying Enemy Forces One by One

Destroying the enemy forces one by one is an important principle of operations in fighting a war of annihilation, a principle which must be consistently observed by our army both strategically and in campaigns and battles.

Once our forces are concentrated, should we adopt the method of wiping out the enemy forces at one swoop or the method of destroying them gradually one by one? It is obvious that only by adopting the method of destroying the enemy forces one by one can we wipe them out successfully. This is especially so when the enemy is strong and we are weak. Facing an enemy that is superior in strength, we can only employ the method of cutting up and encircling enemy units so as to create a local superiority of forces to destroy the enemy forces one by one. This method must be employed even in dealing with an absolutely inferior enemy, only thus can we swiftly and thoroughly wipe out the enemy at minimum cost.

Aiming at Annihilating the Enemy's Effectives

By concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one, we can also deal dialectically with the relation between annihilation of the enemy's effective strength and the holding or seizing of cities. That is to say, the outcome of a war does not depend on the seizure or loss of a city or place but on the decrease or increase of effective strength of the belligerents. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The principle of concentrating our forces to wipe out the enemy forces one by one is aimed chiefly at annihilating the enemy's effective strength, not at holding or seizing a place."¹⁸ Facing the attacks of a powerful enemy, in order to concentrate our troops to annihilate the enemy forces or to prevent the main force of our army from being compelled to engage the enemy and suffering his attacks, it is not only permissible to abandon some places temporarily, but also necessary to give up places in exchange for the dispersal of enemy troops, thus making the enemy sink ever deeper

into the sea of the people. The temporary relinquishment of certain places is precisely for the purpose of holding them for good; their temporary abandonment is precisely for the purpose of not abandoning them for ever. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "As for loss of territory, it often happens that only by loss can loss be avoided; this is the principle of 'Give in order to take.' If what we lose is territory and what we gain is victory over the enemy, plus recovery and also expansion of our territory, then it is a paying proposition."¹⁹

In the first year of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, for instance, in order to concentrate its troops for flexible operations and lure the enemy forces in deep so as to annihilate them one by one on the move, our army abandoned on its own initiative 105 major cities such as Yen-an, Changchiakou, Chengteh, Shenyang and Antung [now Tantung]. This placed burdens on the enemy and greatly reduced his striking force. Meanwhile our army evaded the enemy's main offensive force, shifted its troops to the enemy's flanks and rear to seek favourable chances for battles and thus annihilated his forces in large numbers while they were on the move. As a result, not only were the lost cities recovered, but new cities were liberated.

Of course, not making the holding of cities and places our chief aim does not in any way mean arbitrarily abandoning cities and places and letting the enemy occupy large parts and cities of the base areas easily without fighting. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "We must hold or seize territory wherever the balance of forces makes it possible to do so or wherever such territory is significant for our campaigns or battles."²⁰ Firmly adhering to this directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, at the stage of strategic defence, our army, while annihilating the enemy's effective strength, resolutely held those cities and places which had to be held as positions for launching the strategic counter-offensive and offensives. At the stage of the strategic offence, our army closely linked the annihilation of the enemy's effective strength with the seizing of cities and places, thus simultaneously attaining the goal of destroying the enemy and fulfilling the task of holding or seizing cities and places.

The basic principle of our army's operations is to fight a war of annihilation, but this does not imply total negation of the war of attrition. When the enemy is strong and we are weak, we advocate a war of attrition strategically but battles of annihilation in campaigns and engagements, and achieve strategic attrition through the latter. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Campaigns of annihilation are the means of attaining the objective of strategic attrition."²¹ Therefore, wherever circumstances are favourable, we must concentrate a superior force, employ encircling and outflanking tactics and fight battles of annihilation. Under special circumstances, we may also adopt the method of dealing blows of annihilation at the enemy so as to wipe out one part of his forces while routing another.

The battle of annihilation is primary in campaigns and engagements, but there is also the battle of attrition which is supplementary to the battle of annihilation but does not mean a "contest in attrition." For in-

IV. How to Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One

The method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is of vital importance in a war of annihilation and of quick, decisive engagements to achieve complete victory. In practice, then, how can this method be correctly employed and the purpose of concentrating a superior force to destroy enemy forces one by one be achieved?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The concentration of troops seems easy but is quite hard in practice."²² To accomplish this, military leaders must be cool-headed strategically; they must be able, without allowing themselves to be confused by complicated circumstances, to analyse correctly the situation as between the enemy and ourselves; they must also be able to function independently in employing their troops under any circumstances. They must be able to tackle correctly the following major problems:

First, they must correctly choose the direction of operations. To decide the main and secondary direction of operations is the first problem which must be solved in concentrating troops and in forming a "fist" in the disposition of troops. There should be only one main direction of operations at a time. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "When we face a powerful enemy, we should employ our army, whatever its size, in only one main direction at a time, not two."²³ Why should there be only one main direction of operations? This is because despite the very complicated circumstances of war and the many operational tasks that have to be done, one has to weigh advantages and disadvantages, gain and loss, distinguish between priority and urgency and take into account the potentialities of the forces available, so as to concentrate troops in that strategic and tactical striking direction which is of the greatest urgency at the moment and will have the biggest influence on the course of the war. Only in this way can we seize and retain the initiative, and form and maintain a superior force to wipe out the enemy.

In stressing only one main direction of operations, we do not confine operations to that direction only. Once the main direction is decided on, co-ordinated operations in secondary directions must be organized. Such operations are interconnected with and inseparable from the main direction. Should there be only the main direction without co-ordinated secondary directions, it would be impossible to disperse and pin down the enemy, enable the main direction to play its full role and ensure the victory of the operation in the main direction. But if no distinction is made between the main and secondary directions, this is military equalitarianism. Therefore, in deploying forces, we

should give bold emphasis to the main direction but at the same time give adequate consideration to the secondary directions, and do our best to economize in the use of troops in the secondary directions so as to ensure superiority in the main direction, thus unifying all operations with the common objective of destroying the enemy forces. The forces employed in the main direction must be concentrated to carry out the main assault, while those employed in the secondary directions must also concentrate their efforts in their respective main directions. Only so can they successfully perform the task of pinning down the enemy forces.

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Secondly, when can a concentration of forces be regarded as having superiority over the enemy? This depends upon specific conditions and there is no set formula or proportion. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The kind of concentration we advocate is based on the principle of guaranteeing absolute or relative superiority on the battlefield. To cope with a strong enemy or to fight on a battlefield of vital importance, we must have an absolutely superior force. . . . To cope with a weaker enemy or to fight on a battlefield of no great importance, a relatively superior force is sufficient."²⁴ He further pointed out: "In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net."²⁵

In other words, troops should be concentrated to the extent of being sure of annihilating the enemy, that is, in every battle, instead of concentrating troops in a blind way, without consideration of limitations or conditions, a superiority of strength should be created over the enemy so that there are enough troops to cut up, encircle and destroy the enemy, to exploit the victory and pursue and destroy the fleeing enemy with a certain number of troops in hand to intercept the enemy's reinforcements. The degree of concentration differs according to circumstances. These relate to whether the battle to be engaged in has or has not a key bearing on the overall situation, whether it is a matter of the offensive or defensive, a main or secondary direction, a disposition for engagements or break-through campaign, an initial battle or a battle being continued, a strong or a weak enemy, an enemy on the move or stationary, and so on. It also differs according to specific objectives, time, place and conditions.

In the War of Resistance Against Japan, for instance, our troops engaging the Japanese invaders were more highly concentrated than those pitted against the puppet

troops. At the beginning of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, when the morale of the Kuomintang troops was relatively high and they launched an all-out offensive, our troops were more highly concentrated than when the K.M.T. troops had been decimated and demoralized in successive engagements. In the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign, the number of troops we deployed to capture strong fortifications in Tientsin was 2.3 times as many as the enemy, while along the break-through sector in the main assault direction, the degree of concentration was even higher, amounting to a five-to-one superiority over the enemy.

Thirdly, flexible strategy and tactics must also be adopted and the method of destroying the enemy forces one by one must be correctly employed in order to attain the objective of annihilating the enemy.

How can opportunities for destroying the enemy forces one by one be created? On the one hand, we must make timely use of weaknesses exposed by the enemy and seize chances to launch sudden, surprise attacks; on the other hand, we must manoeuvre and disperse the enemy by our own actions so as to create opportunities for fighting. We should employ, for instance, such methods as luring the enemy in deep, "making a feint to the east but attacking in the west" and besieging the enemy in order to strike at his reinforcements.

To make sure of wiping out the enemy, the target of our attack must be correctly selected. When facing several columns or groups of the enemy, we should, instead of attacking them all simultaneously, concentrate a superior force to attack one column or one group of the enemy first and then, when successful, tackle the others. We should attack the weak enemy units first, and the stronger units later and attack dis-

persed, isolated enemy forces first, and concentrated, stronger enemy forces later. Meanwhile, it is preferable to attack the enemy's weak points and key military points. When dispersed and isolated, even strong enemy forces will become weak. By concentrating a superior force to attack dispersed and isolated enemy forces, we can easily develop a situation in which the strong attacks the weak, thus enjoying the best opportunity to wipe out the enemy and helping to achieve the objective of destroying the enemy forces one by one.

Fourthly, correct application of encircling, outflanking and cutting up tactics is an important means of annihilating the enemy forces one by one. By employing these tactics, we can successfully cut an integrated enemy force into several parts, deprive them of strategic and tactical contacts and make them fight in isolation, thus helping us to attain the aim of total annihilation of the enemy in battles of quick decision. Encircling, outflanking and cutting up tactics should be employed flexibly in the light of different conditions. In dealing with an isolated, stationary enemy force, we may first encircle it and then attack it later; as for an enemy force on the move, we may block its way of retreat first and attack later, or attack and encircle it at the same time; in dealing with an enemy holding a series of positions without exposed flanks, we may break through it first and cut up and encircle it later. When attacking enemy forces which we have already encircled, we should concentrate the greater part of our attacking forces and the overwhelming mass of firepower to form a "sharp knife" backed up by powerful forces and carry out a main assault, while employing the rest of our troops to carry out an encirclement from two, three or four sides and launch attacks converging towards the centre in close co-ordination with the main assault forces.

V. Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One Is Based on the Thinking of a People's War, a People's Army And Dialectical Materialism; and Anti-Popular Forces Can Hardly Use or Cope With Our Strategy and Tactics

In spite of the fact that military experts in all times and in all countries have been familiar with these ideas of the "concentrated employment of troops" and "smashing the enemy forces one by one" and that a great deal of military literature has repeatedly discussed and stressed them, no one hitherto has ever viewed them as parts of an integral whole and used them dialectically. It was none other than Comrade Mao Tse-tung who comprehensively put forward the strategic and tactical principle of "concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one" and dialectically applied it with great success to the practice of China's revolutionary war. This is because the war we waged was a people's war, our army was a people's army and its military operations were directed by the thinking of dialectical materialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in

the masses of the people." He has also added: "The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible."²⁶ This is the most fundamental condition for the victory of the people's revolutionary war.

People's War

The war waged by us was a people's war in which the principle of combining main and local forces, regular army and local armed units and people's militia, and armed and unarmed masses was put into practice. The local armed units, militia and the masses of the people took part in the war on an extensive scale; they actively supported the front and consolidated the rear, and in direct co-ordination with the operations of the main forces, destroyed communications and transport in the

enemy's rear, contained and dispersed the enemy troops and harassed and threatened the enemy's rear. This made it possible for the main forces of our army to concentrate their troops to a high degree and carry out operations with great flexibility. Meanwhile, participation of the militia and masses in such activities as standing sentry, conducting reconnaissance, preventing the leakage of news and acting as guides also created favourable conditions for our army to concentrate its troops in time and in secret so as to surprise, encircle and annihilate the enemy.

Take, for instance, the Pinghsingkuan Campaign fought at the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Our troops were assembled for as long as one week at places 15 to 30 kilometres away from the route of the enemy's advance, but the enemy completely failed to discover them because of the active co-operation of the masses who hid the news and prevented the enemy's special agents and traitors from functioning. With the help of the masses, our army was promptly informed of the state of the enemy and disposed its forces correctly, thus taking the enemy by surprise and putting him out of action with lightning speed.

On the contrary, owing to its anti-popular character, the war waged by the enemy did not have the support and co-operation of the people: therefore they were fighting in isolation. Wherever the enemy occupied one of our places, they were opposed by the people and had to send in troops for defence. All this inevitably affected concentration of their troops. Even if they succeeded in concentrating their troops in a certain area, they were always in a passive position and found it hard to carry out their plans because they failed to win the people's support, could not find out what the conditions were or locate the objectives of their attacks, while their own actions were always exposed.

A People's Army

Our army is the armed force of the workers and peasants, it is a people's army. Its nature determines that it can give the fullest play to the power of the method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. Strategy and tactics are carried out by men. The qualities of an army play an important role in deciding whether the correct strategy and tactics can be carried through and produce the greatest effect in practice.

With the steadfast leadership of the Communist Party and the establishment of firmly revolutionary political work, the broad masses of our commanders and fighters are highly class conscious and clearly aware that they are fighting for the interests of the people. Thus, when employing the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one, they display a vigorous fighting will and courageous fighting spirit. When concentrating, they move quickly and have no fear of fatigue or difficulties; while on the offensive, they advance courageously and persistently and dare to outflank and cut up the enemy and fight singly; on the defensive, they can resist the successive

attacks of a powerful enemy, stand firm on their positions and fight doggedly. Army units are able to co-operate on their own initiative and co-ordinate their activities closely with each other. They are not afraid of sacrificing themselves for the interests of the whole. In addition, commanders and fighters can give full play to their wisdom in working out various methods of defeating the enemy. All this ensures that this method of fighting can be used to best advantage and have great effect in defeating the enemy and winning victory.

The enemy's army is an anti-popular army. The great majority of their soldiers are coerced or cheated into joining. Their fundamental interests are diametrically opposed to those of the reactionary ruling classes. Deep contradictions exist between officers and men and between superiors and subordinates. Although the reactionary ruling classes do all they can in the way of deceptive propaganda and reactionary education among the soldiers, the morale of their troops is still not high and they lack a vigorous fighting will. Such troops are afraid of hand-to-hand combat and night engagements, encirclements and casualties. Moreover, mutual distrust and strife among different corps and factions of the army make them unable to co-ordinate their activities on their own initiative. As a result of these inherent weaknesses in the enemy forces, though subjectively they attempt to deal with us by employing the method of concentrating superior forces, yet in practice they more often than not fail to realize their aim, especially when conditions are difficult and time is pressing.

Applying Dialectical Materialism

We study, analyse and direct war by using the principles of dialectical materialism. We can correctly employ the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one and get the greatest results from this precisely because of the fact that we are able to assess the subjective and objective situation correctly, analyse comprehensively the balance of forces as between the enemy and ourselves, make good use of the contradictions within the enemy ranks and proceed from reality. It is also because we can correctly handle the various relations confronting us in the course of using this method of fighting, such as those between the whole and the part, concentration and dispersal, main and secondary directions, annihilating the enemy and holding cities and places, advance and retreat, offence and defence. Consequently, even when engaging a powerful enemy, we are invincible and able to attain the objective of both wiping out the enemy and preserving and strengthening ourselves.

Our enemies are idealists and their method of thinking is metaphysical. They are unable to analyse correctly and comprehensively the objective situation and proceed from reality. They always overestimate their own strength and under-estimate the revolutionary forces; they judge the situation subjectively and thus make light of their opponents and advance recklessly. They always look at problems from a one-sided point

of view and cannot correctly handle the various relations they encounter in military activities.

During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, for instance, in order to cope with our method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one, the Kuomintang reactionaries at one time put forward the so-called "tactics of massing troops and advancing abreast" — "the employment of troops must be conventional rather than tricky, the stationing of troops must be concentrated rather than dispersed and the manoeuvring of troops must be slow rather than swift" — with troops carrying heavy weapons. At another time they formulated the so-called "tactics of making use of loopholes" with troops carrying light weapons and rations and using mountain paths instead of highways. They used now this and now that tactics without a definite principle. Meanwhile, because of the anti-popular nature of the war they waged, their strategic intentions and specific actions were always in contradiction.

At the beginning of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Chiang Kai-shek laid down for himself a principle of "concentrated and flexible employment of troops." But, on the other hand he wanted to occupy a great many places including central China, north Kiangsu, Chengteh, Shenyang and Antung [now Tantung]. With his objectives so scattered and his forces limited, when he occupied a city, he had to send troops to defend it, thus putting a burden on his back. The more places he occupied, the heavier his burden and the fewer the troops which he could employ flexibly. That is why the principle he formulated could only remain empty words. Even if he temporarily succeeded in concentrating a relatively superior force in one particular area and making some gains, lots of loopholes were exposed in other areas. Such contradictions were insurmountable for our enemy.

In a word, the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is based on the waging of a people's war by a people's army and on the thinking of dialectical materialism; it can be employed effectively only by a people's army. No anti-popular army can fruitfully use or cope with this method. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and the U.S. imperialist military personnel in China are very well acquainted with these military methods of ours. Seeking ways to counter them, Chiang Kai-shek has often assembled his generals and field officers for training and distributed for their study our military literature and the documents captured in the war. The U.S. military personnel have recommended to Chiang Kai-shek one kind of strategy and tactics after another for destroying the People's Liberation Army; they have trained Chiang Kai-shek's troops and supplied them with military equipment. But none of these efforts can save the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang from defeat."²⁷

Extensive Guiding Significance

Concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is the materialization in military

affairs of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's strategic and tactical thinking of strategically "pitting one against ten" and tactically "pitting ten against one." It is also a great contribution to Marxist-Leninist military science made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung by applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, views and methods to the concrete practice of China's revolutionary war. It is the crystallization of the experiences gained by the Chinese people in their prolonged armed struggle against their enemies, both internal and external. This principle is not only one for operations in campaigns and battles, but also one of guidance in strategy. It fits in with a war fought both under the condition in which the enemy is strong and we are weak and vice versa. It is a principle of offence, but as a guiding concept of operations, it holds good in defence too.

Apart from the glorious role it played in the Chinese people's revolutionary wars in the past and its great historic significance in those wars, this principle is of enormous practical significance in strengthening our national defence and making preparations to smash imperialist aggression now. As a method of thinking and work, concentrating forces to fight a war of annihilation does not apply only to military struggles, but also to political and economic struggles. It is of significance in guiding all activities of our socialist construction.

¹⁴ *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," p. 144.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁶ *K. Marx and F. Engels, The First Indian War of Independence 1857-59*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, "K. Marx, The Revolt in India," p. 103.

¹⁷ *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, F.L.P., Peking, 1963, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," p. 130.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, "Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," p. 315.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," pp. 116-7.

²⁰ *ibid.*, "Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," p. 316.

²¹ *ibid.*, "On Protracted War," p. 249.

²² *ibid.*, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," p. 129.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁵ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, F.L.P., Peking, 1961, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," p. 161.

²⁶ *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, F.L.P., Peking, 1963, "On Protracted War," p. 260.

²⁷ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, F.L.P., Peking, 1961, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," p. 162.

ROUND THE WORLD

Embattled Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Taking On the U.S. Aggressor

Humbug and deceit are the words used by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front to describe the U.S. clamour and manoeuvres for "peace" and "negotiation." The enemy has suffered defeat after defeat and is camouflaging his moves to escalate the war with olive branches. The Fatherland Front calls on the entire people to give full play to their patriotism and revolutionary tradition and unite as one man to crush the U.S. aggressor.

The appeal, published in Hanoi on April 8, was adopted by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front at its 9th enlarged meeting which was attended by representatives of political parties, mass organizations, nationalities and religious communities. It points out that U.S. imperialism, while stepping up its aggressive war in south Viet Nam, is plunging into greater gambles to attack the north. In these circumstances, the Vietnamese revolution is reaching a new turning-point: the whole country is now fighting the U.S. aggressor himself.

At this juncture the task of the people of north Viet Nam, the appeal says, is to boost production and to build socialism while fighting U.S. imperialism, to defend north Viet Nam, and support with might and main the patriotic struggle to liberate south Viet Nam. The officers and men of the armed forces, the militia and self-defence corps included, are called upon to carry forward their heroic tradition and fight still better, using rifles and other ordinary weapons to defeat the boasted modern might of the enemy. Workers and peasants are told to hold a gun in one hand and hammer or plough in another and produce more for the national effort. People in other walks of life are urged to do their duty by their country in this hour of trial and to heighten their

vigilance and fighting spirit. One and all, the Vietnamese people are called upon to rally under the banner of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and their great leader President Ho Chi Minh. Viet Nam is one; the Vietnamese people is one. It is the duty of all Vietnamese to fight the enemy and save the country from the alien invaders.

In a concluding passage the appeal carries these stirring words: "Today, history has entrusted us with an extremely heavy and glorious task: it is to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressor, which is the chieftain and the most ferocious of all imperialists, the deadliest of all colonialists and enemy No. 1 of the people throughout the world. Our task is to liberate the country completely and defend our fatherland, an outpost of the socialist camp, win a great success for the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world."

Justice is on the side of people fighting injustice, the appeal states. And justice will triumph over injustice.

Role of Hatchetman

Sato Thwarts Trade With China

Eisaku Sato, who succeeded Hayato Ikeda as Prime Minister, has proved once again that he is more outrightly hostile to China than was his predecessor. Thanks to his increasingly reactionary policy, the contract for the sale of a Japanese 10,000-ton freighter to China has fallen through. This contract, signed on November 16, 1964, between the China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation and the Japanese Hitachi Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, was good for three months.

But all the while execution had been hanging fire. The Sato administration, talking glibly about "the need to implement the contract immediately," consistently denied the Hitachi Company the right to use funds of the Japanese Export-Import Bank to finance the deal, which is the normal Japanese practice in exporting vessels.

Here the so-called Yoshida Letter written by one-time Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida to Chiang Kai-shek in the spring of 1964 played a dirty part. In this letter Yoshida gave assurances to the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan that Japan would not export complete sets of equipment to China through deferred payments or allow Japanese enterprises to use state bank funds to do so. Since it came to power, the Sato government has faithfully adhered to these assurances. Washington, according to Tokyo reports, has made it clear that the United States would not tolerate exports to China through deferred payments.

Sato's deliberate obstruction is in keeping with his policy of toeing the American line in Asia. Witness how he sweated to expedite the talks with the American yes-men in south Korea to pave the way for the Washington-designed "Northeast Asia military alliance." Witness his unashamed enthusiasm for allowing the United States to turn Japan into a key base for aggression in south Viet Nam.

The Sato government is willing to go out on a limb for U.S. imperialism because Japanese monopoly capital is doing a brisk trade as the United States expands its war in Indo-China. Of every hundred napalm bombs dropped by U.S. aircraft on Viet Nam, no fewer than 92 come from Japanese manufacturers. To involve a remilitarized Japan under Eisaku Sato deep in its war adventures in Asia, the United States is dangling still bigger procurement orders before the Japanese monopoly capitalists. But the Sato government cannot expect to get something for nothing. In tailing behind U.S. imperialism in its hostility towards China, Viet Nam and other nations

of Asia, it is embarking on a course full of peril for Japan.

Khrushchov Consistent

Pats Successors On the Back

Khrushchov, known in progressive circles throughout the world as the greatest revisionist of our times, is talking rot again. Deposed last October and since enjoying what he describes as "life on a rich pension," Khrushchov has emerged from "retirement" to talk to Western newsmen. In his various statements to the bourgeois press, he harps on his favourite capitulationist line of "peaceful coexistence."

On April 5 he made one of his latest forays into public life at a Moscow art exhibition. He was spotted by Western pressmen who questioned him about the international situation. Peddling his old wares, Khrushchov drew special attention to what he called "trouble" in Viet Nam. While tons and tons of U.S. napalm are raining down on the Vietnamese people, he prated about "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. aggressors. Lars Bringert, correspondent of the Danish paper *Politiken*, reported that Khrushchov, "shaking his forefinger in the customary fashion," said: "The world must coexist. No alternative can be found." The Danish newspaperman quoted him as saying, "Trying to solve controversial questions with weapons is a practice that must belong to the past or we will be thrown into disaster. It will begin in a small way like in Viet Nam and finish up in destruction." In short, the fallen Kremlin leader was maligning and attacking the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Khrushchov's views on American policy in Asia were also carried in *l'Unita*, organ of the Italian Communist Party, in the form of a written reply to questions put to him by French journalist Pierre Jeancard. Affecting "concern" over the policy "executed by the Americans in Asia" and their "embarking on a sanguinary path," he endorsed the policy pursued by his successors, saying that "Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Kosygin have laid down a better policy for the Soviet Union. I express my complete and full approval of them." Khrushchov on the floor

is patting on the back the Khrushchovites on the platform. He lauded the "wisdom" of his friend the late U.S. President Kennedy and praised the present master of the White House as a "wise man."

Khrushchov wished it to be known that he is no "Napoleon on St. Helena." He "is neither like a man who leads a lonely life on a desert island after his boat capsized nor like a prisoner who is kept in a cell isolated from the world." He said that he was continuing to give thought to "political questions" and his view "is useful" to the Soviet state and Government.

Selling U.S.-U.S.S.R. Co-operation

Nixon in Moscow

With the United States pressing hard its campaign for an "honourable peace" in south Viet Nam and Western capitals full of suggestions that "Moscow and Washington must find ways to co-operate," the former U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon happened to turn up in the Soviet capital.

Mr. Nixon, however, is no angel of peace, in or out of office. At a news conference on April 1 in Washington where he dispensed his wisdom on how the present American Administration could tackle its difficulties in the Far East, the former U.S. Vice-

President indicated that he favoured sending more American troops to south Viet Nam.

Talking to newsmen in Moscow, Nixon plugged for co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union and slandered the Chinese and Vietnamese people. He said the Soviet leaders "are sincere" in calling for peace in Viet Nam and maintained that the U.S.S.R. is just as keen as the United States on what he called "stopping Chinese aggression in Asia."

During his Kremlin tour Nixon told newsmen that he thought highly of Khrushchov, the fallen Soviet leader. In his opinion, Khrushchov had "one of the best political brains of the time." He said, "If I see him, we will have a very friendly discussion. We are both retired from politics involuntarily. But nobody really retires from politics when great decisions have to be made."

Late in the night on April 10 Nixon went to look up his old friend but failed to find him. He left a note, saying "I came to give my best wishes . . . I am sorry I missed seeing you while in Moscow." But Nixon, according to the news correspondents, was satisfied with the reception accorded him by the Soviet Government. "We were courteously treated," he said. "They are anxious for friendly relations with the West."

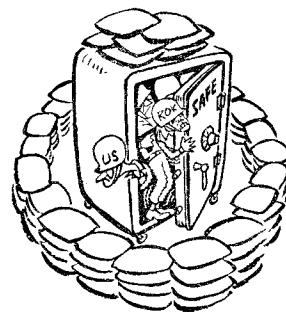
THE PASSING SHOW

Scared Saigon

Americans in Saigon, still jittery after the recent bomb explosion at the U.S. "embassy" building, stampeded for safety on April 3 when a rumour had it before noon that a "bomb squad" of south Vietnamese guerrillas was cruising around the city in search of "victims."

Not taking any chances, the U.S. army command posted snipers on rooftops to provide additional safeguards for top political and military brass who, AP reported from Saigon on April 8, attended a heavily guarded ceremonial opening of the new International Military Assistance Office (organization for collecting cannon-fodder from U.S. satellites).

American military police examined credentials of all who entered and frisked Vietnamese newsmen and even required Vietnamese cameramen to open their boxes of film to make sure of the contents. Precautions were as complete as if the President of the United States were to visit the building.



A Successful, Daring and Revolutionary Experiment

—“Battle-Drums on the Equator”

by **A.M. KHEIR**

This is China's first major effort to bring to the stage a full-length play reflecting the rising storm of revolution in today's Africa. Since its premiere on February 24, it has already been seen by 60,000 people in Peking. Tens of thousands more saw it on TV. Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders have applauded it. Noted personalities in the fields of drama and other arts, among them the historian, playwright and poet Kuo Mo-jo, hailed it in the press. Distinguished guests from Africa and other lands now in China have expressed their appreciation. The author of this article, well-known poet and peace-fighter from the Sudan, is one of them. — Ed.

The Chinese Navy Cultural Troupe has recently introduced to theatre-goers a new revolutionary drama entitled *Battle-Drums on the Equator*. This is a play in seven scenes depicting the struggle of the Congo (L) people against the U.S.-Belgian imperialists, who manipulated the United Nations to kill the hero of the Congolese people Lumumba and prepare the ground for the entry of U.S. neo-colonialism in that country.

The drama shows how an ordinary Congolese family, composed of an unemployed worker who is the father of two sons and a daughter and his son-in-law and a friend of the family, discover through their own experience that the real enemy of the Congo is U.S. imperialism and that the United Nations is nothing but a pliant tool in its hands. After many bitter experiences they reach the conclusion that the only way before

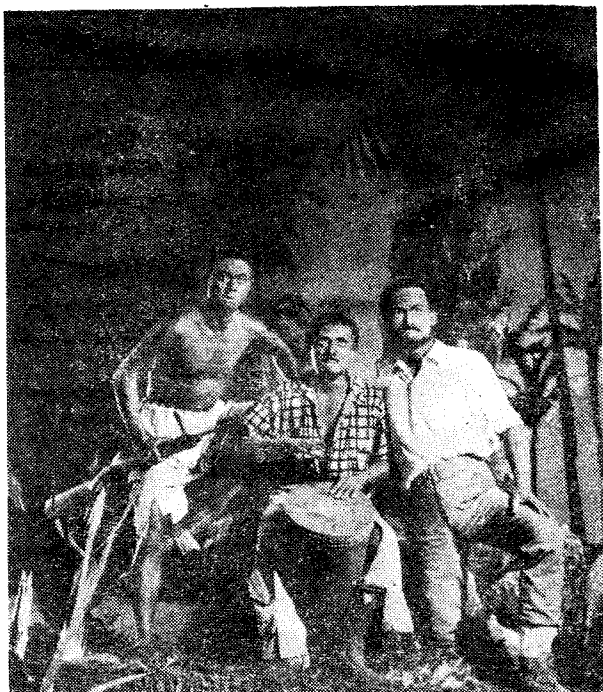
them is to organize the people and lead them in armed struggle to free their motherland. The drama is a successful, daring and revolutionary experiment which won our high appreciation particularly in the following three aspects:

A) It introduced to the Chinese people the development of the Congolese people's struggle in a new and most popular form which is a stage drama. In speaking about this aspect we should not forget that the Chinese people are neither ill-informed about the Congo struggle nor are they indifferent towards it. China's

solidarity with the peoples of Africa, as well as with other peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, is an important corner-stone of her policy and a principle on which there can be no compromise with anyone under any circumstances. Through articles, news items, translation of works, statements, films, paintings, mass rallies, demonstrations and concrete forms of aid and assistance, this solidarity has become known all over the world. But the fact that this solidarity is expressed in this particular popular artistic form, shows the depth and width it is acquiring among the people. This is definitely a new development in still further cementing the ties between the Chinese and the African peoples.

B) In the field of art and literature, China has lately produced not a few works of a high standard depicting the new heroes in socialist revolution and construction mainly from among the ordinary workers, peasants and soldiers. Among these works, some are good plays of great educational value imbued with the spirit of class struggle in China's cities and vast countryside. While this shows us the national aspect of China's revolutionary art and literature, the performance of *Battle-Drums on the Equator* shows us how China's art in this particular field depicts the struggle of other peoples against the common enemy of all the peoples of the world—U.S. imperialism. From this angle, the performance of this drama is a strong rebuff to all those who accuse China of national chauvinism, as well as to the revisionist theory that art and literature should not be in the service of the people's revolutionary struggle on a national or an international scale. In addition, this drama serves as a good means to educate the Chinese masses in the true spirit of international solidarity against the common enemy. It gives them more inspiration and encouragement to stand for ever shoulder to shoulder with all their brothers who fight against imperialism and colonialism whether in the Congo, Viet Nam, Cuba, or elsewhere.

C) The drama was performed at a high artistic level. Its main charac-



A call to action

ters performed their roles with great artistic precision and naturalness that won the admiration of all the audience. While Milindi goes to the jungle to organize guerrilla warfare, Molobo, his brother-in-law, remains in the city as a truck driver to work behind the enemy lines. Mwanka, the soldier in the puppet Tshombe-Mobutu army who is the younger brother of Milindi, thinks first that his brother and brother-in-law are trouble-makers creating difficulties to the country and the United Nations; but later he realizes, through his own experience, that the main enemy of the Congo is American imperialism and that the United Nations is nothing but a tool for aggression in its hand. The turning point in his life comes when the Americans try to bribe him to assassinate Patrice Lumumba. All his illusions disappear and he joins the armed struggle after much repentance over his past behaviour and attitude. Mukaniya, the old unemployed worker and father of Milindi, Mwanka and Rochali (the wife of Molobo) also joins the struggle together with his daughter and another friend of the family who gained his bread by selling American whisky. The armed forces grow from small to big and the field of their operation becomes larger and they achieve victories in the struggle against the aggressors.

In conclusion I would like to say that this drama can be described as nothing less than a first class, revolutionary, modern and real people's art. Our deep respect is due to the Chinese Navy Cultural Troupe, authors, producers, actors and actresses, and we sincerely wish them many more new successes.

DANCE

"Liangshan Mountains Transformed"

Teachers and students of 18 Chinese nationalities from the stage art department of the Central Institute of Nationalities are currently presenting a much-acclaimed new dance-drama in Peking. Through the life of the young slave Muchi and his family, *Liangshan Mountains Transformed* recalls the struggles of the



Fettered in chains, former Yi slaves were made to drag wooden ploughs for the slave-owners — scene from "Liangshan Mountains Transformed"

Yi people against their oppressors, and paints a convincing picture of their new-found happiness today.

Muchi, rebelling against the slave-owners, runs away and joins the people's army. He is tempered there, joins the Communist Party and comes back to lead his people. They carry out democratic reforms and abolish the slave system. His sister Ahkuo, shut up in the slave-owners' prison and made to work in chains, has never lost her spirit. She becomes the first Yi woman doctor. A blacksmith who had helped Muchi to escape heads the agricultural producers' co-operative formed as the Yis start on the road of building socialism. These three characters are created in bold relief.

Collectively written and choreographed by the institute's stage art department and the Central Nationalities Song and Dance Ensemble, the dance-drama draws largely on the rich folk song and dance art of the Yis. New dance movements and group dances have been evolved to express the revolutionary theme. In the scene where the former slaves celebrate their new freedom, the dancers present a kaleidoscopic selection of traditional and new festive dances including the *Wine, Knife, and Skirt-Swirling Dances*.

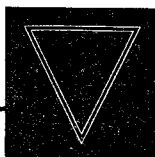
The Chinese music orchestra includes a number of Yi musical instruments such as the moon-guitar

and bamboo and ox-horn pipes. Traditional choruses provide atmosphere for the action on the stage.

The Yi people of Szechuan's Liangshan Mountains lived under the heavy weight of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism along with the rest of the country before liberation, but they were under the added yoke of the savage slave system. In 1950, they carried out democratic reforms under the leadership of the Communist Party and rid themselves once and for all of that hated system. In 1958, they began agricultural co-operation. Their living conditions steadily improved as they developed their economy. Inspired by these great changes, students and teachers of the Yi, Tibetan, Korean, Pai, Hui and other nationalities brought them to the stage. The majority of the performers are themselves daughters and sons of former poor peasants and herdsmen, or emancipated serfs and slaves.

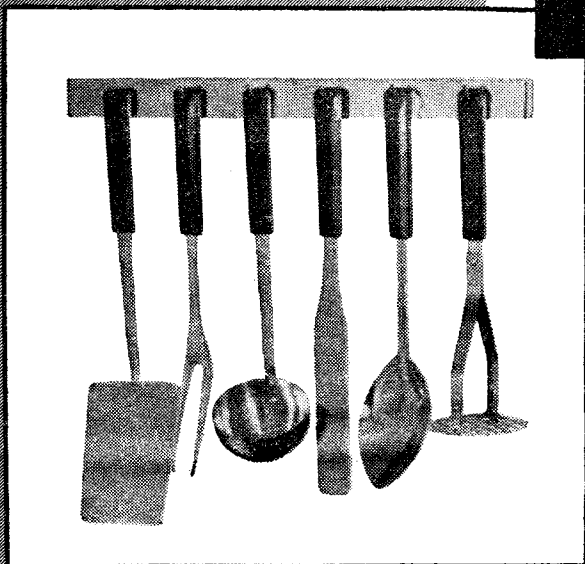
SHORT NOTES

Scientific-Educational Films Week. China has produced over 1,000 scientific-educational films since liberation. They cover a wide range of subjects in industry, agriculture, physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy, health, education, sports and other fields. Sixty of the best have been selected for the week-long festivals held in Peking and 7 other major Chinese cities.

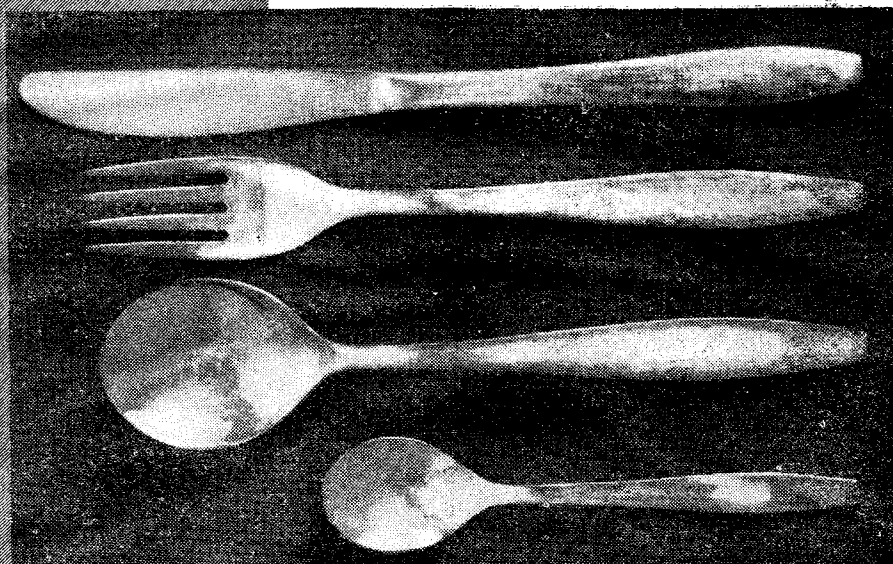


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