

PEKING REVIEW

20

May 14, 1965

MAO TSE-TUNG'S STATEMENT

Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance
to U.S. Armed Aggression

(p. 6).

Commemorate the Victory Over German
Fascism! Carry the Struggle Against U.S.
Imperialism Through to the End!

"Hongqi" article by Lo Jui-ching (p. 7).

Militant Role of China's Trade Unions

(p. 26).

Facts Behind the Viet Nam Question

(p. 31).

北
京
周
報

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE OF VIET NAM, DEFEAT U.S. AGGRESSORS

(English language edition)

U.S. imperialism has torn to shreds the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China. While stepping up its aggression in south Viet Nam, it has carried the war step by step to north Viet Nam. Since February 7, this year, U.S. bombing and shelling of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has steadily increased.

The heroic people of Viet Nam are fighting back and have won a number of signal victories.

Since February 1965 the Government of the People's Republic of China has issued several statements and leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Government and people's organizations have made important speeches, strongly condemning the expansion of the aggressive war against Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism and resolutely supporting the Vietnamese people's patriotic, anti-U.S. struggle.

The Foreign Languages Press is publishing a series of booklets containing these government statements and speeches as well as relevant editorials and articles from *Renmin Ribao*. The first two are now available.

Booklet I (Feb. 9-April 5):	82 pages 18.5 × 13 cm.	Paper cover
Booklet II (April 11-16):	40 pages 18.5 × 13 cm.	Paper cover

Also in French, German, Japanese and Spanish

The People of Viet Nam Will Triumph, U.S. Aggressors Will Be Defeated

(English language edition)

This album of photographs, charts and drawings is a telling record of the monstrous crimes committed by the U.S. aggressors against the people of Viet Nam; it pictures the Vietnamese people's heroic fight against the U.S. invaders and their lackeys. It also shows the great demonstrations of the Chinese and other peoples throughout the world in support of the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

52 large pages	26 × 23 cm.	Paper cover
----------------	-------------	-------------

Also available in Arabic, French, Japanese, Russian and Vietnamese

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China
Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P. O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 14, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 20

CONTENTS

THE WEEK 3

ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

Mao Tse-tung's Statement Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance to U.S. Armed Aggression 6

Commemorate the Victory Over German Fascism! Carry the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism Through to the End!
— Lo Jui-ching 7

The Historical Experience of the War Against Fascism
— Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* 15

Unrivalled Power of the People's Revolutionary War
— *Renmin Ribao* Editorial 23

What's Behind India's "New Proposal" on Viet Nam Question?
— *Renmin Ribao* Observer 24

Militant Role of China's Trade Unions
— *Gongren Ribao* Editorial 26

Celebrating Victory in War Against Fascism
— Our Correspondent 30

Viet Nam Question: The Whys and Wherefores 31

ROUND THE WORLD 34

ACROSS THE LAND 37

CHINESE ART AND THEATRE 38

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued a statement on May 12 supporting the people of the Dominican Republic in their resistance to U.S. armed aggression.

• The editorial department of *Renmin Ribao*, marking the 20th anniversary of the victory of the great war against fascism, on May 9 published "The Historical Experience of the War Against Fascism."

Issue No. 5, 1965 of *Hongqi* published "Commemorate the Victory Over German Fascism! Carry the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism Through to the End!" by Lo Jui-ching.

• Commemorating the 11th anniversary of the Vietnamese people's victory at Dien Bien Phu, the May 7 *Renmin Ribao* editorial said: "Both the Battle of Dien Bien Phu 11 years ago and the current Vietnamese situation show the unrivalled power of a people's war."

• *Renmin Ribao* on May 9 printed an article by Observer exposing India's "new proposal" on the Viet Nam question as a new plot serving the interests of the U.S. aggressors.

• Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the 4th Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference which opened on May 10 in Winneba, Ghana.

• The Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to refute the Indian Government's slanders against China in connection with the Indian-Pakistan border conflict.

• The Chinese press published:

— the March 24 statement of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand on the schismatic March meeting in Moscow.

— excerpts of a recent speech in Osaka by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, condemning the leaders of the C.P.S.U. for paying lip service to unity while actually sabotaging the Communist Party of Japan.

— excerpts of a statement by E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), denouncing C.P.S.U. leaders for clinging to Khrushchov's revisionist line. The statement was published in the April 23 issue of *Vanguard*.

Workers Pledge Support for Viet Nam

A gathering of more than 10,000 workers at the Great Hall of the People in Peking on May 4 pledged resolute support for the Vietnamese people in their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Peng Chen and Kuo Mo-jo attended the rally together with trade unionists from Viet Nam and other parts of the world.

Speaking on behalf of the Chinese workers, Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, paid tribute to the heroic Vietnamese people for their splendid victories in resisting U.S. aggression. He reaffirmed the readiness of China's workers to go and fight shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in Viet Nam whenever the latter needed them. "We workers and the people of China, educated by Mao Tse-tung's thinking," he said, "have always shown infinite loyalty and readiness to make any

sacrifice to fulfil our proletarian internationalist obligations. We always do and mean what we say."

Tran Hoai Nam, head of the delegation of the South Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation, and Do Dao Tiem, head of the delegation of the Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions, also spoke. Both denounced U.S. war escalation in Viet Nam and expressed the 30 million Vietnamese people's determination to win final victory in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Premier Chou Greets Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference

Premier Chou En-lai sent a message greeting the opening on May 10 of the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Winneba, Ghana. Wishing success to the conference and pledging China's firm support for the anti-U.S. imperialist struggles of the Asian and African peoples, the Premier said: "The national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa is an important component part of the world's people's revolutionary movement in our time. The more than 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa are a great force against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for world peace and human progress."

The Premier noted that the Asian and African peoples had won great victories in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. Citing facts to show that the imperialists and colonialists "are not reconciled to their defeat," Premier Chou declared: "We Asian and African peoples must hold still higher the revolutionary banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States."

Stressing that U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam "is a serious provocation against the Asian-African people's solidarity against imperialism and world peace," Premier Chou expressed the hope that the conference would take effective measures to mobilize the Asian and

African peoples to actively support the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

Albanian Delegation in Peking

Members of the Albanian government economic delegation were guests of honour at a reception given by the China-Albania Friendship Association on May 7. The delegation which arrived in Peking in late April was led by Spiro Koleka, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The reception, attended by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and other Chinese officials, proceeded in an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality. On behalf of the host organization, of which he is President, Chiang Nan-hsiang extended warm welcome to his guests and praised the Albanian people for their resolute struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

On May 8, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien held talks with First Vice-Chairman Koleka. Later, Premier Chou gave a luncheon in his honour.

India's Slanders Refuted

The Hsinhua News Agency has been authorized to refute recent slanders by Prime Minister Shastri and other high-ranking Indian officials that China had colluded with Pakistan in adopting an aggressive and hostile attitude towards India and that it had engineered the present armed conflict in the Rann of Kutch. The Hsinhua May 4 statement declared that the slanders were completely groundless and it denounced Indian expansionism.

The Indian-provoked armed conflict in the Rann of Kutch along the Indian-Pakistan border was an attempt by the Indian Government to occupy this disputed territory by force. The Hsinhua statement said: "The Chinese Government and people fully sympathize with and support the Pakistan Government's just stand of opposing the Indian policy of military expansion and advocating settlement of the border dispute through peaceful negotiations."

The Indian-Pakistan border in the Rann of Kutch has never been delimited. The area is a disputed territory left over by history. The sending of troops to occupy that area once again shows up India's big-power chauvinism and expansionism. The position of the Indian Government on border disputes with neighbouring countries has always been truculent and unreasonable and one of rejecting peaceful negotiations.

The statement said: "The Indian reactionaries for years have made use of the Sino-Indian border dispute and flaunted the anti-China banner to solicit money and guns from U.S. imperialism and its followers to engage in military expansion on all points of the compass and to intensify suppression of democratic forces at home. U.S. imperialism and its followers, on their part, have vigorously supported the Indian reactionaries by giving them money and guns to encourage India's arms expansion and war preparations. They have done so not only to make India a pawn in the anti-China crusade, but to back India in bullying neighbouring countries so as to carry out their evil schemes of making Asians fight Asians and disrupting Afro-Asian solidarity."

The statement advised the Indian Government to give primary consideration to the interests of the Indian people and to Afro-Asian solidarity, and settle its disputes with neighbouring countries through peaceful negotiation.

Protest Against Expulsion of Four Students

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a memorandum to the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 13, protested against the expulsion of four Chinese students from Soviet institutions of higher learning. The four — Huang Chao-keng, Tang Pi-ming, Cheng Chih-tai and Chang Tseng-yu — were brought back to Peking for medical treatment after they had been severely injured during the March 4 anti-U.S. demonstration in Moscow and later subjected to brutal persecution by the Soviet authorities.

Charging that the expulsion was a fresh act of persecution, the memo-

random refuted the Soviet allegation that the four students "have wilfully discontinued their studies and violated school discipline." The real reason, it said, was that the Soviet authorities were afraid that these students would expose the true facts of the entire incident upon their return to these institutions. The Foreign Ministry demanded that the Soviet Government honestly admit its error and apologize to the students who had taken part in the anti-U.S. demonstration, stop all persecution of the students and return to the path of genuine solidarity and struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Joint Statement by Chinese And Foreign Youth

A call to force U.S. imperialism out of Viet Nam, Indo-China as well as every place it occupies has been made to young people all over the globe by youth and student representatives from south Viet Nam, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, Indonesia, Laos, Portuguese Black Africa, Haiti and China. The call, which urged the young people to unite and unloose a mighty, worldwide mass campaign, came in the form of a joint statement signed on May 3 by the visiting delegations and their hosts—the All-China Youth Federation and the All-China Students' Federation.

Extensive discussion took place between the visiting delegations and their hosts on the current international situation, especially the grave situation in Viet Nam, and on the questions of defeating imperialism and old and new colonialism and putting an end to the era of imperialism. The joint statement was issued after unanimity had been reached.

Condemning Imperialist Attempt To Sabotage China-Africa Relations

A periodical called *Revolution in Africa* has recently appeared in Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia, Somalia and other African countries. Using the name of a well-known African peace champion, A.M. Kheir, as its chief editor and claiming to have been published in Tirana, it

Greeting Czechoslovakia's Liberation Anniversary

On May 8, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, sent a joint message to the Czechoslovak Party and state leaders warmly greeting the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia. The message was addressed to Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Bohuslav Lastovicka, President of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; and Josef Lenart, Premier of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The message reads:

"On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, we extend our warm greetings to you and the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

"In 1945 the Czechoslovak people, under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and with the assistance of the Soviet Union, won national independence and the liberation of their fatherland after driving

out the German fascist occupationists. We are glad that, after liberation, the Czechoslovak people shattered the conspiracies of the bourgeoisie to stage a come-back and have achieved successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

"A profound, fraternal friendship exists between the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples. The safeguarding and strengthening of this friendship conform to the common aspirations of the people of our two countries. We are convinced that the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples will closely unite with the people of other countries in the socialist camp and make joint efforts to oppose the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States, combat West German militarism and revanchism, support the Vietnamese people's just struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country, and strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and the victory of socialism.

"May the Czechoslovak people win new successes in socialist construction. May the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples be daily consolidated and developed."

carried many articles wantonly distorting China's policy towards Africa.

The Hsinhua News Agency has been authorized to issue a statement refuting the calumnies against China. The statement said: "This so-called periodical edited and printed by the imperialists and widely distributed in Africa is out-and-out forged propaganda material. The sinister aim of the forgers is to divert the spearhead of the African people's anti-imperialist struggle and to estrange and undermine the friendly relations between the African countries and China."

The statement drew attention to the fact that "imperialism is resorting to despicable forgery and vicious lies to cover up its crimes of aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) and other African countries and to extricate itself from the plight of encirclement and attack from all sides in Africa." Stressing that China and the African countries were closely linked by the struggle against imperialism, their common enemy, the statement declared that China's friendly relations with African countries could never be sabotaged by the imperialists no matter what tricks they might resort to.

MAO TSE-TUNG'S STATEMENT

Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance to U.S. Armed Aggression

May 12, 1965

RECENTLY, a coup d'etat overthrowing the Cabral dictatorship of traitors took place in the Dominican Republic. The Johnson Administration of the United States has dispatched more than 30,000 troops there to carry out sanguinary suppression. This is a grave provocation by U.S. imperialism to the Dominican people, to the people of Latin America and to the people of the whole world.

The patriotic Dominican people are now waging a heroic fight against the U.S. aggressor and his lackeys.

The Chinese people firmly support the Dominican people in their patriotic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism. I am convinced that the Dominican Republic, with the support of the people of the world, is sure to win final victory in its patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism so long as it relies on the broad masses of the people, unites all patriotic forces and keeps up a protracted struggle.

U.S. imperialism has never ceased to subject Latin American countries to its interference, control, subversion and aggression. On this occasion the U.S. Government has abandoned all such deceptive phrases as "the good neighbour policy" and "the principle of non-intervention," and carried out naked intervention and aggression in the Dominican Republic. This has further revealed the true features of the U.S. imperialist gangsters.

The United States is carrying out its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic under the banner of "defending freedom." What kind of "freedom" is this? It is the freedom to use aeroplanes, warships and guns to slaughter the people of other countries. It is the freedom to seize the territory of other countries at will, the freedom to trample their sovereignty underfoot at will. It is the freedom of pirates to loot and kill. It is the freedom to tread every country and people under its heel. This is what the U.S. imperialists are now doing in the Dominican Republic, in Viet Nam, in the Congo (Leopoldville) and in many other places.

The United States is also carrying out its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic under the banner of "fighting communism." By "fighting

communism" U.S. imperialism means fighting all those who are unwilling to be the slaves of the United States, fighting all those who defend the independence, sovereignty and national dignity of their countries, fighting all those who refuse to submit to U.S. imperialist bullying, interference, control and aggression. This is what Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo did in the past. This is what U.S. imperialism is doing today on an even greater scale.

In the eyes of the U.S. imperialist aggressor, the United Nations, the Organization of American States and what not, are just tools in its hands. It makes use of them when it needs them, and kicks them away when it does not. But it may still pick them up later if they happen to be useful again. Using them or kicking them away depends on which is more convenient for its aggressive purposes.

U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic has forcibly brought home to the Dominican people and all the other people of Latin America that in order to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, it is imperative to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism.

U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic has aroused a new wave against U.S. imperialism among the people of Latin America and the world. You, the heroic Dominican people, are definitely not alone in your struggle. You enjoy the support of all the other people of Latin America, the support of all the people of Asia, the support of all the people of Africa, the support of the people in the socialist camp, and indeed the support of the people of the whole world.

The people in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of every continent should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries subjected to U.S. bullying, interference, control and aggression should unite, and form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

The struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism is bound to triumph!

U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world, is bound to fail!

Commemorate the Victory Over German Fascism! Carry the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism Through to the End!

by LO JUI-CHING

FULLY twenty years have elapsed since the great victory over German fascism.

Twenty years have elapsed since the great victory over the bloc of German, Japanese and Italian fascism.

These twenty years have witnessed earth-shaking transformations. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, the victory of the anti-fascist World War II "has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and has opened up still more realistic paths towards it."¹ Since the War, two great historical currents, the socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement, have been rapidly changing the face of the world; they have merged to present a magnificent spectacle — the Four Seas are raging, the Five Continents are rocking. We are filled with boundless confidence in victory as we recall the victory over German, Japanese and Italian fascism twenty years ago, take stock of the excellent situation for the people's revolution in the world today and see the bright prospects of the fight for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

More than twenty years ago, when Hitler swept over the continent of Europe and threw all his forces into the surprise attack on the Soviet Union, believing that she could be "wiped out" in a couple of months, the whole world was heavily overcast for a time as if "the city might crumble under the mass of dark clouds." Many people throughout the world were morbidly afraid of Hitler, paled even at the mention of his name, and they grew pessimistic about the international situation. At the time Hitler's fascist armies were considered to be virtually invincible. Not only were the small European countries unable to withstand them, even the forces of such imperialist powers as Britain and France collapsed at the first encounter or fled pell-mell. In the circumstances, could socialism defeat fascism? Could the socialist system triumph over the capitalist imperialist system? Could the Soviet Union withstand the attacks of Hitler's fascist armies? Could the Soviet army defeat Hitler's fascist army? These were questions of the utmost concern to the people all over the world. This was a grave test for the first socialist state, for the socialist system and for the revolutionary armed forces of the proletariat. This was an issue crucial for the destiny of mankind.

Under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Supreme Com-

mand headed by Comrade Stalin, the Soviet state created by Lenin, a young state which had only recently accomplished socialist industrialization, and its young Red Army of workers and peasants not only stood up to the attack of Hitler's supposedly invincible fascist troops and destroyed the enemy's effective en masse, but turned to a resolute and timely counter-offensive and pursuit and fought all the way to Berlin, thoroughly smashing Hitler's fascist war machine and scoring the decisive victory in the Anti-Fascist War.

The victory over German fascism was not just an ordinary or regional victory, it was a victory affecting the course of history and the destiny of mankind. It was a triumph for the socialist system. It was a triumph for the Soviet people and the Soviet army. It was a triumph for the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Stalin. It was also a triumph for the people of Germany, of Europe, of Asia and of the whole world in their common struggle.

In their struggle against the fascist brigands, the Soviet people demonstrated iron will and unparalleled heroism. Fearing no sacrifices and defying all difficulties, they made a great contribution to victory in the Anti-Fascist War.

Holding aloft the banner of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Red Army fought valiantly in an indomitable revolutionary spirit, advanced wave upon wave and brilliantly performed immortal deeds in playing its glorious role as the main force against fascism.

Following Lenin's behest, Comrade Stalin armed the Soviet people with Marxism-Leninism, and under his leadership, they accomplished socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture before the war, thus building backward Russia into an advanced socialist power. In the face of the powerful onslaught of the fascist Hitlerite forces, he dauntlessly and brilliantly led the Soviet people and army to complete victory in the anti-fascist Patriotic War after an unprecedentedly stubborn struggle. Although Stalin committed certain mistakes, including a number in military affairs, facts showed that he was worthy of the name of a great Marxist-Leninist and of a brilliant commander of the revolutionary armed forces of the proletariat.

The people of the world will always honour the heroic exploits of the Soviet people and army, who reared such heroes as Zoya Kosmodemiyanskaya and Aleksander Matrosov. They will always honour the valiant record of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin in leading the War.

By spreading countless lies during the past twenty years the imperialists and the modern revisionists have deliberately distorted the history of the anti-fascist Patriotic War, besmirched the heroic stature of the Soviet people and army and grossly slandered the leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Stalin. However, the more they do so, the more they prove the correctness of Stalin's leadership and the greatness of the Soviet people and army, united under the banner of Lenin and Stalin. Attempts to distort history can never succeed. Just imagine. If the Soviet people and army had not been led by Stalin but by revisionists such as Khrushchov, and if they had not acted in accordance with the line, policy and method of the Marxist-Leninists represented by Stalin, but with the line, policy and method of the revisionists represented by Khrushchov in the latter's dealings with U.S. imperialism in our day, the outcome could only have been disastrous defeat or capitulation, and who knows how many more hardships the people of the Soviet Union and the world would have had to suffer and how many years Soviet and world history would have been pushed back.

History advances according to its own laws. Alienated from and setting themselves against the people, fascist brigands like Hitler and revisionists like Khrushchov are simply fools on the stage of history, while the socialist cause and the anti-fascist cause to which Stalin and the Soviet people and army under his leadership devoted themselves will shine for ever.

Today, when we commemorate the 20th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and of victory in the whole Anti-Fascist War, we must never forget that U.S. imperialism is playing a role more ferocious than that of Hitler. Immediately upon the conclusion of the Anti-Fascist War, U.S. imperialism stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian fascism, has worked out and pressed its counter-revolutionary strategy for world hegemony, making the Dollar Empire the greatest international exploiter, the gendarme of the world, the chief bulwark of all the forces of reaction and colonialism, the main source of aggression and war in our times and the sworn enemy of the people of the world.

For the last twenty years, U.S. imperialism has been engaged in frantic arms expansion and war preparations and has launched aggression right and left, and it is preparing to impose another world war on the people. We used to say in the past that fascism means war; today we have all the more reason to say that U.S. imperialism means war. In order to smash the aggression of U.S. imperialism and to frustrate its plot for a new war, it is of great practical importance, nay essential, for the socialist countries and the people of all countries to review the historical experience of the

war waged by the people of the world against German, Japanese and Italian fascism.

The historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War teaches us that, so long as imperialism exists, the socialist countries and all revolutionary people must maintain the highest revolutionary vigilance and make effective preparations against the eventuality that imperialism may suddenly impose a war on us.

The danger of war exists so long as imperialism exists. Until imperialism is eliminated and socialism has won victory throughout the world, the victory of socialism in one or a number of countries cannot be regarded as final or complete, nor can the victory of the cause of national independence or national liberation in one or a number of countries.

The truth of this has been repeatedly confirmed by history. The imperialists and reactionaries invariably try by every possible means to suppress and destroy those countries and people who have been victorious in their revolutions. This holds good when the revolutionary forces are weak and continues to hold good when they have grown strong. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, "The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now."² This is the way they deal with China as well as the Soviet Union; this is the way they deal with the national independent countries as well as the socialist countries, and this is the way they deal with countries and people fighting for national liberation and carrying on people's revolutionary struggles as well as with countries and people that have achieved victory. This is determined by the class nature of imperialism. After all, imperialism is imperialism, it will never lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha. Khrushchov and other modern revisionists assert that the nature of imperialism has changed as a result of the growing might of the socialist camp. This completely violates Lenin's theory of imperialism and is sheer nonsense.

Today, U.S. imperialism is using its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and so-called "peace." While playing up its deceitful talk of peace, it is launching wars of aggression everywhere and accelerating its preparations for new wars. In these circumstances, it is all the more necessary for us to bear in mind the historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War, never cease to maintain high revolutionary vigilance, refuse to be duped by the imperialist peace hoax and guard against any slackening of vigilance and any idea of leaving things to chance. While persevering in their peaceful foreign policy and their economic construction, the socialist countries and the countries that have won national independence must at the same time strengthen their national defences and make adequate preparations against imperialist wars of aggression. It makes a world of difference whether or not one is prepared once a war breaks out. Among all these preparations, political and ideological preparation must be given the first

priority. Moreover, these preparations must be made for the most difficult and worst situations that may possibly arise. Preparations must be made not only against any small-scale warfare but also against any medium- or large-scale warfare that imperialism may launch. These preparations must envisage the use by the imperialists of nuclear weapons as well as of conventional weapons. To think and act along these lines is more realistic and more likely to win the initiative, so that come what may, we shall be in a position to cope with the situation successfully and be surer of defeating the enemy.

The historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War also teaches us that imperialism is perfidious. Under given conditions, it is permissible for socialist countries to enter into negotiations and reach certain agreements with imperialist countries. But in no case should they pin their hopes for the defence of world peace on such negotiations and agreements. They must firmly oppose any Munich policy like that of Chamberlain and Daladier.

The imperialists and all the reactionaries are amoral pragmatists who for all their fine words stop at no crime. When they feel the need, when they are not yet ready to attack you, when they need to put up a smokescreen before launching attacks, and when they need a breathing spell or have to stop after suffering serious defeats in their wars of aggression, they will sit down to negotiate with you and even talk glibly about "peace" and "friendship," sign all kinds of treaties and agreements, and make all sorts of assurances and pledges. But once they think they can swallow you up, when they consider the situation to be in their favour, and when they have sharpened their knives, they will immediately drop this mask and tear all the sacred treaties, solemn agreements and inviolable pledges to shreds. Modern history provides countless instances of this sort. A case in point was the undeclared *blitzkrieg* which Hitler launched against the Soviet Union less than two years after he had concluded a non-aggression treaty with it.

This was how Hitler acted, but doesn't U.S. imperialism act the same way today? Indeed, to say that U.S. imperialism is as perfidious as Hitler doesn't go far enough. For U.S. imperialism is actually many times more insidious and deadly than Hitler. Even with regard to its closest allies and partners, such as Britain and France, and its most faithful lackeys, such as Syngman Rhee and Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States makes use of them when they are useful and kicks them aside when they are no longer needed—sometimes even "slaughtering the donkey after it has done its job at the mill." Such being the way it treats its own partners, is it conceivable that the United States would keep faith with the socialist countries, the national-independent countries and the revolutionary people?

Therefore, in our dealings with the imperialists and reactionaries we must never cherish any illusion about their pledges or lightly believe in their fine words. The

socialist nature of our society determines the peaceful nature of our foreign policy. We do not oppose negotiations with imperialist countries which are necessary for the interests of the people and the revolution, for the defence of world peace, and for the exposure of the enemy and the education of the people, but have always taken such negotiations seriously; we do not refuse to sign agreements and treaties which are necessary, and we have always honoured all the agreements and treaties we have signed. But while so acting, we must never forget that no agreements and treaties can stop imperialism when it is bent on war. Whoever pins his hopes for preventing war on treaties and agreements will certainly be badly fooled.

Bullying the weak and fearing the strong are the common characteristics of imperialists and all reactionaries. Whoever wants to ensure his own safety by making concessions to the aggressor and by satisfying his greed at the expense of other people's interests is lifting a rock that will inevitably fall on his own toes. Chamberlain and Daladier rejected the Soviet proposal for an alliance against the fascist war menace and hatched the Munich plot selling out the interests of the Czechoslovak and Polish peoples, in the hope that Hitler would turn the spearhead of his aggression against the Soviet Union. But perceiving their fear of war as a weakness, Hitler struck at them first and caught them unprepared. The three million French troops collapsed in a month and a half, and Great Britain was brought to the verge of subjugation, barely avoiding the tragedy of France thanks to the English Channel. The Munich policy of Chamberlain and Daladier, which inflicted harm on themselves as well as on others, will live in history as a byword of infamy. Today, whoever plots another Munich in the face of the war blackmail of the U.S. imperialists will, like Chamberlain and Daladier, begin by doing harm to others and end by injuring himself. Since the people of the world are awakened, such plots are doomed to failure and such schemers will come to no good end.

The historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War also teaches us that it is imperative to distinguish enemies from friends, make use of contradictions, win over the majority, unite with all the forces that can be united and form the broadest possible united front against the main enemy.

The fascist bloc of Germany, Japan and Italy represented the most rapacious and aggressive imperialism of the time. Their predatory policies seriously menaced the freedom and independence of every nation, not excepting their own partners; that is, the robbers preyed on each other. It follows from the predatory nature of the imperialists that not only will they be opposed by the broadest masses of the people all over the world, but that they are bound to oppose each other and break up.

One of Stalin's major contributions was that he correctly analysed the current situation in the international class struggle, identified the principal contradic-

tion in the world arena and the principal enemy of the world's people and was therefore able to advance the correct slogan of an anti-fascist united front and to rally all the anti-fascist forces in a united front, with the Soviet Union and the world proletariat as its main force. As a result, the imperialist anti-Soviet alliance was shattered with the establishment of an anti-fascist alliance; and the imperialist encirclement of the socialist Soviet Union was broken with the achievement of a counter-encirclement of the fascist forces of aggression by the worldwide forces against aggression; thus a fundamental change was brought about in the strategic situation which became favourable to ourselves and unfavourable to the enemy. This was a vitally important factor in the great victory of the Anti-Fascist War.

Today, U.S. imperialism is not only striving to destroy socialism and grabbing vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which form the first intermediate zone, it also wants to control the capitalist and imperialist countries of West Europe, North America, Oceania and Japan, which form the second intermediate zone. By its policy of world domination U.S. imperialism is compelling over 90 per cent of the people of the world to rise up against it, inevitably alienating its followers, increasingly isolating itself, and becoming surrounded by enemies. In these circumstances, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us, the U.S. plans for aggression and war can be frustrated and defeated, provided that we are good at uniting the socialist camp and the people's anti-imperialist forces in all countries as well as at making use of the contradictions within the imperialist camp and forming the broadest possible united front against U.S. imperialism. And if nevertheless U.S. imperialism should venture on a new world war, we will be all the more certain of defeating it completely.

Regarding enemies as friends and friends as enemies, modern revisionists such as Khrushchov unite with the United States in "peaceful co-operation" against the people's revolutions, instead of uniting with all the anti-American forces, making use of the contradictions within the imperialist camp and forming an anti-American united front. This is a gross betrayal of the world proletarian revolution. It is also a gross betrayal of the oppressed nations and peoples. The modern revisionists' actions only help U.S. imperialism to extricate itself from its isolation, inflate its arrogance in aggression and increase the danger of its launching a new war. We must therefore relentlessly oppose such actions.

The historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War also teaches us that the strategy of active defence is the only correct strategy for the socialist countries in fighting against imperialist wars of aggression.

The strategy of active defence applied by the Soviet Supreme Command headed by Stalin was an important factor contributing to victory in the anti-fascist Patriotic War. The Soviet Union applied this strategy, thoroughly exposed the aggressive features of fascist

Germany, aroused boundless and righteous anger among the Soviet people and army, and won extensive sympathy and support among the people of the world. It was through the application of this strategy that the Soviet army was able to trade space for time, deplete and destroy the enemy's effective forces on a large scale, and compel him to switch from the strategic offensive to the strategic defensive and finally go down in destruction. It was also through the application of this strategy that the Soviet army was able to take full advantage of the superiority inherent in a just war, gather strength in the course of the fighting, turn from the strategic defensive to the strategic offensive and then to pursuit, and, with the support and co-operation of the people of the world, triumph in the anti-fascist Patriotic War.

Khrushchov and his like have done their utmost to denounce this strategy, alleging that it constituted one of Stalin's crimes and was a theory Stalin invented to justify his errors during the early period of the war. This is a gross distortion and slander. If the strategy of active defence adopted by Stalin was wrong, as they assert, one would like to ask: What other strategy should the Soviet Union have adopted? Pre-emptive war? This is obviously incompatible with the nature of the socialist system. It is not necessary, or permissible, for a socialist country to be the first to attack others; it will never fire the first shot. Or should the Soviet Union's strategy have been one of passive defence, of simply waiting to be attacked? This was obviously not to its advantage. Engels affirmed long ago that "passive defence invariably meets with certain defeat, no matter how well armed one is."³ Or should the strategy of the Soviet Union have been one of surrender to the enemy? This would have been the betrayal of revolution and the people. Such a strategy is absolutely unacceptable to the people. Whoever wishes to surrender to the enemy will be spurned by the people and branded as a traitor through the ages. Then what is the correct strategy? Of course, it can only be active defence.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

Active defence is also known as offensive defence, or defence through decisive engagements. Passive defence is also known as purely defensive defence or pure defence. Passive defence is actually a spurious kind of defence, and the only real defence is active defence, defence for the purpose of counter-attacking and taking the offensive.⁴

Operationally, the strategy of active defence should not have the holding or capturing of territory as its main objective. It should be to concentrate superior forces to destroy the enemy's effectives. It was precisely by adopting this strategy in the anti-fascist Patriotic War that the Soviet Union forced Hitler to halt his troops before high mountains and outside fortified cities along the far-flung battleline stretching from Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad to the Caucasus, so that they were caught in an impasse, unable either to advance or to retreat, and suffered tremendous losses. Over 300,000 German fascist crack troops were encircled

and annihilated in the Battle of Stalingrad, which marked the turning point of World War II. In the subsequent counter-offensives the effective forces of the aggressor were successively wiped out in large numbers. Such was the brilliant strategy that brought Hitler to his doom. Experience shows that only by energetically wiping out the enemy's effectives is it possible successfully to change the military situation, to defend cities and other places, and finally to defeat the aggressor.

The strategy of active defence does not stop with driving the aggressor out of the country, but requires strategic pursuit to destroy the enemy at his starting point, to destroy him in his nest. As Stalin put it, we must not allow a wounded beast to crawl back to recuperate; we must follow on its heels in hot pursuit and finish it off in its own lair. It was precisely this strategy that was applied by the Soviet Supreme Command headed by Stalin, with the result that the Soviet army's strategic pursuit actively supported the anti-fascist armed uprisings of the peoples of other European countries and helped the East European peoples overthrow their reactionary regimes and win victory in their revolutions. This was a splendid contribution by the Soviet people and army. In any future war against U.S. imperialist aggression, this is the only strategy for the socialist countries to adopt. We seriously warn the U.S. imperialists that they must not expect us to refrain from counter-attacking once they have attacked us. Nothing comes so cheap.

The historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War also teaches us that weapons are an important factor in war but not the decisive factor, and that people and not things are the fundamental factor determining the outcome of war.

Since they are divorced from and antagonistic to the people, imperialists and reactionaries dare not and cannot rely on the masses or on their own troops. In waging war they can only pin their hopes on weapons. They do their best to exaggerate the role of weapons simply because they want to intimidate people, and first of all to disarm the targets of their aggression morally so that their victims lose confidence in their capacity to resist and can be vanquished in a single battle or even without battle. That is the real value of the theory spread by the imperialists and reactionaries that weapons decide everything.

Didn't the theories of the fascist brigands that "air power decides the war" and that "tanks decide the war" inspire fear? The myth created by Goebbels of the invincibility of the German army, together with the scream of the siren-bombs and the activity of its Fifth Columns, spread such terror in capitalist Europe that some countries were morally disarmed even before Hitler attacked them. This was of enormous help to him. But when it came to attacking the socialist Soviet Union, Hitler's planes and tanks were no longer so fearsome or decisive. Why? What was the secret? Was it because the Soviet Union possessed more and better planes and tanks than Hitlerite Germany? No. The

Soviet Union was inferior to Hitlerite Germany in this respect. Then what gave the Soviet army the strength to stand up to and defeat Hitler's fascist army? Truth to tell, there was nothing mysterious about it. It was because the Soviet Union relied on the people, the socialist system, revolutionary political work in the Red Army and the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party. In brief, it was by relying on the politically conscious people led by the party of the proletariat that the Soviet Union smashed the fascist military machine. This is a law, this is the truth.

Wasn't this so? What could Hitler's fascist army with all its ferocity and power accomplish in the face of the Soviet army and the broad masses of the Soviet people, who, inspired by the glorious tradition of their October Revolution and armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology, were ready to sacrifice their lives to safeguard their socialist motherland? What could it do in the face of the thousands upon thousands of soldiers who defied death and courageously advanced to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand combat, shouting as their slogans "For the motherland, for Stalin"?

Wasn't this so too? How could Hitler's fascist army, for all its numbers and might, consolidate its occupied areas in the face of the widespread guerrilla warfare and sabotage carried on by the masses behind the enemy lines? What could it do except divert its armed forces? How could it avoid being buffeted on all sides? How could it escape tight encirclement by the people and final defeat?

All these facts show once again that victory in war does not depend on new weapons of one kind or another, or on a particular technical arm. It depends on the close integration of the armed forces and the civilian masses, the joint efforts of the people at the front and in the rear, the co-ordination of the battlefield at the front and the battlefield in the enemy rear, and close co-operation among the different armed services, of which the ground forces, and particularly the infantry, are primary. Without heroic fighting by the ground forces, no new weapons, however powerful, can determine the outcome of battles or achieve the political aim of a war. This is another law or truth governing war. It holds true for other wars as well as for the Anti-Fascist War. It holds true after as well as before the emergence of the atom bomb. It holds true for oppressed peoples engaged in revolutionary struggle as well as for a powerful socialist country such as the Soviet Union.

The historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War also teaches us that all revolutionary wars support each other. Countries which have won victory should support and help the revolutionary struggles of those countries and people that have not yet won victory. The socialist countries should serve as base areas for the world revolution and as the main force in combating imperialist aggression.

By its victory in the anti-fascist Patriotic War the Soviet Union gave support to the people of all coun-

tries, helped the East European countries to win liberation and assisted the Chinese people in their War of Resistance Against Japan. At the same time, the anti-fascist struggles of the people of the world, the uprisings of the people of the European countries and their armed struggles against German and Italian fascism, and particularly the great anti-Japanese war with the Chinese people as the main force, to a large extent pinned down, hammered and weakened the military force of the fascist bloc as a whole. Without all these factors, it would have been impossible for the Soviet Union to win such a great victory in the anti-fascist Patriotic War.

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, a revolutionary war or a war of resistance to aggression waged by a country is at once a struggle in its own national interest and a support for the revolutionary struggles of other countries, a support for those countries that have already won victory and a contribution to the defence of world peace. The countries and peoples engaged in such a war should do their best to tie down and destroy more enemy forces, while the countries that have won victory, and particularly the socialist countries, should give full play to the spirit of internationalism and regard it as their bounden duty to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples. In this mutual support, all countries, large or small, strong or weak, should firmly guard against and resist great-power chauvinism and narrow national egoism. Supporting others means supporting oneself, and therefore no one has the right to assume the airs of a benefactor or liberator. Whether or not a country which has won victory dares to serve as a base area for the world revolution and to support and aid the people's revolution in other countries is the touchstone of whether or not it is really for revolution and whether or not it really opposes imperialism.

Finally, the historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War teaches us that although a war imposed on us by imperialism will cause sacrifices, losses and destruction, it will also educate the people, and that the people will win the war as well as peace and progress.

The German fascists killed countless people and destroyed thousands of cities and villages in the Soviet Union, but the War resulted in victory for the Soviet Union, in the liberation of East Europe and the spread of socialism from one country to a whole camp of countries. The Soviet Union achieved further growth in its socialist construction. It did not become weaker because of the destruction in the War; on the contrary, it grew stronger. After we rose in resistance, fought and won, the war imposed on us by imperialism turned from a bad thing into a good thing, accelerating historical progress and social development. This lesson was confirmed by the Soviet anti-fascist Patriotic War and the revolutionary wars the Chinese people were compelled to fight over decades. It has been further confirmed by the Korean people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, by the Vietnamese people's

war of resistance against French aggression, by the Cuban people's revolutionary war and by Algeria's war of liberation. And there is no doubt that it will be borne out by the wars of liberation being waged at this very moment by the peoples of south Viet Nam, Laos and the Congo (Leopoldville), and by the people's revolutionary wars in other countries.

We are against the launching of wars by the imperialists, but we should not be afraid of war, still less should we oppose revolutionary wars out of fear of war. Of what avail is fear when the imperialists insist on imposing war on us? Can such fear prevent them from launching wars? Can fear eliminate wars? No. History has taught us that fear cannot prevent wars, to say nothing of eliminating them. In order to eliminate wars it is necessary to wage wars of resistance. In order to eliminate counter-revolutionary wars it is necessary to wage revolutionary wars. In order to do away with guns it is necessary to take up guns. It is under compulsion that we have taken up guns; we have waged revolutionary wars not only for the purpose of delivering ourselves from enslavement and oppression, but also for the purpose of eliminating the source of war — imperialism.

The rich historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War was gained at the cost of the blood of the revolutionary people in all countries. It is the common asset of the people of the world and is of immense practical importance for the current struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Hitler, Tojo, Mussolini and the other fascist brigands met their doom long ago. But U.S. imperialism, which since the War has replaced German, Japanese and Italian fascism as the arch-enemy of the people of the world, is now following in these brigands' footsteps, madly pressing ahead with the counter-revolutionary cause which they tried in vain to further and imposing one war of aggression after another on the people of different countries.

Modern revisionists such as Khrushchov say that Hitler would not have attacked the Soviet Union if he had foreseen the outcome of the War. These revisionists say that the chieftains of U.S. imperialism today are quite different from Hitler, that having recognized the strength of socialism they are able to learn the lessons of history, that they have become "sensible" and "peace-loving" and will not run the risk of launching a war as Hitler did. The modern revisionists have woven a fancy fairy tale in a perverse attempt to make people believe that imperialism and socialism can advance hand in hand towards what they call a world "without weapons, without armed forces, without wars."

How can Communists spout such contemptible lies and such nonsense? Everybody knows it was the class nature of German monopoly capital that made Hitler unleash the war. Similarly, it is the class nature of U.S. monopoly capital that makes the U.S. imperialists launch wars today. Even before capitalism developed

to the stage of monopoly capitalism, Marx cited the following passage in a footnote in *Capital*:

. . . 100 per cent. [profit] will make it [capital] ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent., and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged.⁵

The class interests of the monopoly capitalists impel them to embark on mad war adventures in the quest for profit. They are so obsessed with the idea of profit-making that they lose any sense of reality. They invariably underestimate the strength of the people and overestimate their own, and so again and again they fight "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy."⁶ Aren't there plenty of examples in the history books? Napoleon's plan to conquer Europe and the world failed, and Kaiser Wilhelm II followed in his footsteps. Wilhelm failed, and Hitler tried again. Hitler failed, and now U.S. imperialism is following in Hitler's footsteps. They can never learn from the failure of their predecessors. They can only follow each other to the grave until the complete collapse of the imperialist system.

Hitler seemed invincible in his time but he failed in the end. Is U.S. imperialism today more formidable than Hitler was then? Will its fate be any better than Hitler's? Compare the present with the past and you will find a clear answer.

Today, U.S. imperialism is greatly over-extended. The contradiction between its high ambitions, its far-flung battlefronts and remote rear, on the one hand, and its shortage of troops, on the other, is far more serious than in Hitler's case. It is aspiring to destroy the socialist camp, which is a vast expanse of contiguous territories with a total population of one thousand million and many times stronger than the Soviet Union was in Hitler's time. Unlike Hitler, U.S. imperialism is confronted by the solid resistance of unprecedentedly broad national-liberation movements when it wages wars of aggression against the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its army has frequently been defeated in its wars to suppress the people's revolutions and carry out aggression in other countries. It is an army of pampered soldiers far inferior to Hitler's fascist army. Moreover, U.S. imperialism is facing the disintegration of the aggressive blocs it has so painstakingly pieced together, a situation Hitler did not have to face. In all these respects, it is in a vastly inferior position to that of its predecessor. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out many years ago that U.S. imperialism is only a paper tiger:

The strength of the United States of America is only superficial and transient. Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano.⁷

Since Hitler met with utter defeat in his attack on the Soviet Union when the situation and balance of forces was much more favourable, what can the United States achieve except to hasten its own destruction when wag-

ing wars of aggression everywhere under such unfavourable conditions?

Some people may say: After all, U.S. imperialism has the atom bomb and therefore it is more powerful than Hitler. It is true that U.S. imperialism has the atom bomb and Hitler did not, and it is also true that the atom bomb is a weapon of mass destruction. But, as pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the atom bomb cannot decide the outcome of war because, "without the struggles waged by the people, atom bombs by themselves would be of no avail,"⁸ and "the atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people."⁹ What is more, the United States' monopoly of the atom bomb was broken many years ago. Now other countries have the atom bomb as well as the United States. For the past twenty years, the United States has spent tens of billions of dollars on the mass production of atom and hydrogen bombs, but what use have its atom bombs been, except to frighten those with weak nerves? Its atom bombs could not and did not prevent the great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war. They could not and did not prevent the great victory of the Korean people's revolutionary war. They could not and did not prevent the great victory of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary war. They could not and did not prevent the great victory of the Cuban people's revolutionary war. They could not and did not prevent the great victory of the Algerian people's revolutionary war. They have not prevented and will never be able to prevent the growth and triumph of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have not prevented and will never be able to prevent the growth and triumph of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of West Europe, Oceania and North America, including the United States.

Although it brandishes atom bombs and shouts about nuclear retaliation, U.S. imperialism is completely helpless before the miracles wrought by rifles, hand-grenades and even such primitive weapons as bows and arrows and knives in the hands of the revolutionary people. This decade is witnessing atomic imperialism playing a superb farce. Isn't it being performed beautifully at this very moment in south Viet Nam? What is there for U.S. imperialism to brag about when this reputed Number One world power, possessing innumerable nuclear missiles, is being battered out of its senses by the 14 million south Vietnamese people, and cannot even protect its own embassy?

The history of the twenty years since the War has fully demonstrated that, with all its nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism is like a big, hollow worm-eaten tree. The day is drawing nigh when this tree will be uprooted by the worldwide storm of the people's revolution.

However, throughout history all dying reactionary forces have invariably put up final desperate struggles against the forces of revolution. Look at Chiang Kai-shek. He fought the Communists for dozens of years.

He lost everything except a handful of bedraggled soldiers with whom he fled to Taiwan, and yet he is daily calling for a counter-offensive against the mainland. Is it conceivable that an imperialist power as big as the United States will lightly leave the stage of history without pitched battles, without repeated trials of strength and without life-and-death struggles? U.S. monopoly capital is still very large. It has a strong industrial base. In twenty years of arms expansion and war preparations since the War, its troops have increased eightfold. Its military bases are to be found in every corner of the world. Out of its armed forces of 2,700,000 men, more than 1,000,000 are stationed abroad for unceasing aggression against the revolutionary people of every country. Clearly, it will never abandon its counter-revolutionary war plans or admit defeat until its counter-revolutionary forces have been destroyed and its last stakes lost. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law.¹⁰

A striking instance of the struggle put up by U.S. imperialism to save itself from defeat is its **adventurist** expansion of the war of aggression in Viet Nam. Its "special warfare" in south Viet Nam having shamefully failed, it has now invented the theory of the "escalation of the war." It divides the war into several stages and each stage into several steps. In its sequence of steps, it is gradually intensifying and expanding its threat and use of force. A characteristic feature is that, every time it adds a faggot to the fire of its war of aggression, it says a prayer for peace. It is trying to save itself from defeat by a better synchronization of its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of threats and blandishments. In accordance with the theory of "escalation," the United States is leading its war of aggression in south Viet Nam in the direction of a local war of the Korean type. It has already spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam and is preparing to spread them further to China. This is a serious challenge U.S. imperialism has flung down to all the peace-loving countries and peoples.

Today, the heroic Vietnamese people are united as one man under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh and by the vow to "resist U.S. aggression, save the nation, liberate the south, defend the north and reunify the fatherland!" and they are now fighting in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. By their courageous action against the U.S. and puppet forces, the south Vietnamese people have already liberated four-fifths of the territory and over two-thirds of the population of south Viet Nam, and are daily approaching final victory in their war of liberation. The north Vietnamese people, who are determined to fight and win, are waging a heroic battle against the U.S. imperialist bombing raids and have dealt one heavy blow after another to the aggressors. The valiant fight of the Vietnamese people is

tying down more and more of the armed forces of U.S. imperialism, upsetting its counter-revolutionary global strategy, supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people of all other countries, giving a brilliant example to the people the world over and making a great contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and the whole world.

All revolutionary people rejoice at the great victories of the Vietnamese people, and a tremendous mass campaign to aid Viet Nam in resisting U.S. aggression is mounting throughout the world. The revolutionary people of all countries are dealing blows to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in various ways. The heroic people of the Congo (Leopoldville), Laos, Korea, Indonesia, Cambodia, Japan, Cuba, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and the Arab countries, and all other countries and peoples who are combating U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, have each made their contribution to the frustration of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to the sacred cause of defending world peace.

The Chinese people resolutely support the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save **the nation and the** struggle of the people of all other countries against U.S. imperialism. We not only fully support these struggles politically and morally and help them materially to the limit of our capabilities, but are also prepared to send our men to fight together with the people of Viet Nam when they need us. This attitude of ours is firm and unshakable. We will go on supporting and aiding the Vietnamese people, whether or not U.S. imperialism bombs our country and whether or not it enlarges the war. We are not frightened by the U.S. imperialists' bombing threats or their clamour for enlarging the war. Our opposition to U.S. imperialism has always been clear-cut. Our principle is: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. We shall wipe out anybody who dares to attack us. On whatever scale the United States attacks us, we will reply on the same scale. We always mean what we say. We are fully prepared for war. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are fully prepared. If U.S. imperialism should insist on imposing war on us, together with the people of the whole world we will resolutely crush its counter-revolutionary war by a revolutionary war and do our part in thoroughly destroying U.S. imperialism, the arch-criminal of contemporary aggression and war!

In commemorating the great victory over German fascism and the great victory of the war against fascism as a whole, we pay high tribute to and express our full confidence in the great Soviet people and the great Soviet army, who grew up nurtured by the brilliant thinking of Lenin and Stalin, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, who stood the test of the war against fascism and triumphed. We are deeply confident that we will be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will fight

shoulder to shoulder against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and advance together with the people of the world towards final victory in wars against aggression and towards the new era of lasting peace for mankind!

(Published in "Hongqi," No. 5, 1965.)

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 284.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 87-88.

³ Frederick Engels, "The History of the Rifle," *Works of Marx and Engels*, Ger. ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1961, Vol. 15, p. 218.

⁴ Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 207.

⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. I, p. 760.

⁶ Testimony by Omar Bradley, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, before the Senate Joint Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees, May 1951.

⁷ Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 172.

⁸ Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 21.

⁹ Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

¹⁰ Mao Tse-tung, "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 428.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The Historical Experience of the War Against Fascism

by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

TWENTY years have passed since the great war against fascism ended in victory.

The Anti-Fascist War was a gigantic struggle between the anti-fascist forces of the world, of which the main force was the socialist Soviet Union, and the three fascist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. It was a just war and a war on a scale unprecedented in history. It ended with the triumph of the anti-fascist forces and the rout of German, Italian and Japanese fascism. First came the collapse of Italian fascism, and then German imperialism and Japanese imperialism surrendered unconditionally, on May 8 and September 2, 1945, respectively.

On the eve of final victory in the Anti-Fascist War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following appraisal and forecast of the world situation in accordance with fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles:

Contrary to the predictions of the Chinese and foreign reactionaries, the forces of fascist aggression will undoubtedly be overthrown and the people's democratic forces will undoubtedly triumph. The world will unquestionably take the road of progress and not the road of reaction.¹

He added, "War has educated the people and it is the people who will win the war, win the peace and win progress."²

The course of events fully corroborated Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific predictions. The victory of

the Anti-Fascist War marked another great turning point in history, following on the October Revolution. It opened a new page in history.

The victorious Anti-Fascist War dealt a severe blow to international imperialism. While the Great October Revolution made the first breach in the front of world imperialism, the victorious Anti-Fascist War destroyed a large section of it. The rise of fascism and its embarkation on world war represented the last-ditch struggles of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. The jack-booted fascist hordes overran Europe, Asia and Africa, wreaking havoc over a large part of the globe, but this did not save them from extinction. The outcome of the war was the overthrow of three imperialist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, and the serious weakening of two others, Britain and France. By starting the world war, imperialism moved much nearer to its grave.

The victory of the Anti-Fascist War substantially consolidated and extended the great achievements of the October Socialist Revolution. The world forces of socialism expanded. Tempered in the war, the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, grew stronger. In the new historical conditions resulting from the victorious Anti-Fascist War, a number of socialist countries were born in Europe and in Asia. Together with the Soviet Union, these countries formed the powerful socialist camp, which confronted the decaying camp of imperialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, a world situation appeared where victory for the people became a foregone conclusion; and now with the founding of the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies, the situation has developed and become consolidated.³

Victory in the Anti-Fascist War ushered in a new stage in the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations. The roar of the guns awoke the oppressed peoples and nations in every corner of the world. Great revolutionary storms rose in Asia, Africa and Latin America. After World War I imperialist rule in the colonies and semi-colonies enjoyed a period of relative stability, but there has been no such relative stability since World War II. The unceasing anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people have been shaking and destroying the foundations of imperialist rule. Imperialism has lost its stable rear area once and for all.

In summarizing the great historic significance of the victory in the Anti-Fascist War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

If the October Revolution opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and opened up realistic paths towards it, then the victory of the anti-fascist Second World War has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and has opened up still more realistic paths towards it.⁴

The victory of the Anti-Fascist War was a victory of socialism, the most advanced social system in history, a victory of the people in all countries who united to win freedom and liberation, and a victory for Marxism-Leninism. The history of the War gave fresh and conclusive proof that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are universally applicable and hold for all time and that a guiding line, policy, strategy or tactics based on these principles is invincible.

There is a whole series of important differences of principle between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists on the question of how to assess the Anti-Fascist War and on the lessons to be drawn from it. Basing themselves on historical materialism, the Marxist-Leninists respect the facts of history, ascertain the laws inherent in them and thus draw the correct conclusions. On the other hand, in order to adulterate Marxism-Leninism, the Khrushchov revisionists, the representatives of modern revisionism, have been deliberately distorting history ever since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., obscuring facts and concocting conclusions that are extremely harmful.

In the first place, the history of the Anti-Fascist War shows that the socialist system has a tremendous vitality that can stand the severest tests and that a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is invincible.

The main contest in the Anti-Fascist War was between the Soviet Union, the only socialist state at the time, and fascist Germany, then the most powerful impe-

rialist state. After occupying almost the whole of capitalist Europe, the German fascists mobilized immense resources and manpower and made war on the Soviet Union. It was a severe test for the young Soviet state. It was a decisive battle between the two systems, imperialism and socialism.

Instead of being crushed by Hitler's war machine, the first socialist state, created by Lenin, achieved a great historic victory. Headed by Stalin, the C.P.S.U. held high the fighting banner of Leninism and led the Soviet people and the heroic Soviet army, reared in the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, in overcoming innumerable difficulties and in eventually defeating the Hitler gang which had mustered the military and economic strength of more than a dozen European countries. The Soviet people and army successfully defended their own country and opened the way for the East European peoples to liberate themselves from the enslavement of the Hitler brigands. The Soviet people proved themselves worthy of the name of a great people, and the Soviet army proved itself worthy of the name of a great army. Time will never dim their glorious exploits.

The heroic deeds of the Soviet people and army are indissolubly linked with the incomparable superiority of the Soviet socialist system and the great strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat that guaranteed victory for the Soviet people and army. Only this system and this dictatorship could have stood firm under the surprise attack of the most ferocious imperialist power and trained such an army and such a people who fought the fascist brigands resolutely until final victory. Only this system and this dictatorship could have accomplished the industrialization of the Soviet state and the collectivization of its agriculture in so short a period and thus built up sufficient economic and military strength to defeat the Hitler thugs. As Stalin put it, "Our victory signifies, first of all, that our Soviet *social* system was victorious, that the Soviet social system successfully passed the test of fire in the war and proved that it is fully viable." He also said, "The war proved that the Soviet social system is a genuine people's system, which grew up from the ranks of the people and enjoys their powerful support. . . ."⁵

The victory of the Soviet people and army are indissolubly linked with Stalin's leadership. In the hour of crisis for the Soviet state after the outbreak of the War, it was Stalin who shouldered the heavy responsibility of leading the Party and the state and it was he who welded together the multi-national Soviet people into a force of invincible steel for their life-and-death struggle against the fascist brigands. As supreme commander of the Soviet armed forces, Stalin directed the entire war and all its major campaigns, from its outbreak to final victory. At the critical moment when Hitler's gangster forces stood at the very gates of Moscow, it was Stalin's supremely confident and determined voice that the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world heard, saying, "Annihilate to a man

all the German occupationists who penetrated our country."⁶ And when the War entered the stage of counter-offensive, it was Stalin's great call that all the officers and men of the Soviet armed forces heard, saying, "The wounded beast must be pursued close on its heels and finished off in its own lair."⁷ The name of Stalin inspired the Soviet people and army throughout the War. Although he made certain mistakes, Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist and proved himself a great commander. His outstanding contribution to victory in the Anti-Fascist War can never be erased.

All these conclusions have long been established and accepted by the whole world. Nonetheless, Khrushchov and his disciples brazenly distort the history of the Soviet people's war against fascism. They worked out their anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist line at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Khrushchov's report on the work of the Central Committee and the secret report he delivered at the Congress were typical revisionist products. A striking expression of their revisionist line was the complete negation of Stalin. They completely blackened the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, slanderously depicted the great Soviet people as pessimistic and degenerate philistines, and vilified the heroic Soviet army as a cowardly mob.

According to Khrushchov, before the War Stalin took a "carefree attitude" towards the enemy's plans for aggression and "everything was ignored"; when the War broke out he lost heart and "relinquished leadership," thinking that "all was finished"; and during the whole course of the War he simply "planned operations on a globe." In short, according to Khrushchov, Stalin was not a great commander but an "idiot."

While pouring endless abuse on Stalin, these falsifiers of history lauded Khrushchov to the skies. They said that during the War Khrushchov "always stood where the difficulties were greatest" and on many occasions made "more reasonable decisions" than those of the Supreme Command. Khrushchov was not only "the soul of the Stalingraders" but the leader in many "decisive battles." Lieutenant-General Khrushchov thus became Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Patriotic War.

The Khrushchov revisionists' vehement denunciation of Stalin and lavish praise of Khrushchov were very important steps for opposing Marxism-Leninism and promoting revisionism. They tried hard to belittle or obliterate Stalin's role in the Anti-Fascist War in order to destroy his prestige among the people of the Soviet Union and the world as a great Marxist-Leninist and in order to adulterate Marxism-Leninism. Actually, in smearing Stalin, they smeared the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the C.P.S.U. itself, and thus paved the way for changing the dictatorship of the proletariat into a "state of the whole people" and the proletarian party into a "party of the entire people." They dressed up that clown Khrushchov as the "hero" of the Anti-Fascist War so as to build up his prestige and to enable Khrushchov revisionism to supplant Marxism-Leninism. But after all,

gold remains gold in the furnace of history and dross remains dross. The Khrushchov revisionists have already met with failure in their attempt to tamper with history and in their strenuous efforts to negate Stalin and to oppose Marxism-Leninism, and total failure is awaiting them.

In the second place, the history of the Anti-Fascist War shows that imperialism is the source of wars in modern times, that the aggressive nature of imperialism will not change and that to defend world peace it is necessary to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism.

World War II was the culmination of a series of wars of aggression which were launched and gradually extended in the 1930s by the three fascist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. It was the result of the imperialist policies of aggression and war. These fascist countries were the three most aggressive imperialist powers. They did not scruple to launch wars of aggression to extricate themselves from their political and economic crises and to plunder more and more countries more and more ruthlessly.

At that time two diametrically opposed policies towards fascist aggression held the world stage. For a long period the British, French and U.S. imperialists and their partners followed a policy of appeasement towards German, Italian and Japanese fascism, indulging the evil-doers and conniving at their crimes. They tacitly consented to the aggression of Japanese imperialism against China. They allowed Mussolini to commit aggression against Abyssinia (Ethiopia). They encouraged the German and Italian fascists in their armed intervention in Spain. They connived at Hitler's annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia. Instead of buying peace, all this served to whet the fascists' appetite for further aggression and to bring on the world war. By their policy of appeasement the British, French and U.S. imperialists lifted a rock only to drop it on their own toes, and history meted out due punishment to them.

But the people of the world pursued another policy, that of dealing resolute counter-blows to fascist aggression. The people of the Soviet Union, China and many other countries firmly opposed the British, French and U.S. imperialist policy of appeasement, courageously shouldered the heavy responsibility of fighting fascism and eventually won not only the war but also the peace.

Summing up the experience of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world in their struggles against imperialists and all reactionaries, as well as the experience of the Anti-Fascist War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has categorically stated that the nature of imperialism will never change, that we must never cherish illusions about the imperialists but must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them. He said that "the imperial-

ists will never lay down their butcher knives, . . . they will never become Buddhas, till their doom" and that "it is impossible to persuade the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries to show kindness of heart and turn from their evil ways. The only course is to organize forces and struggle against them."⁸ Developments in the twenty years since the War have proved the correctness of this policy of struggling against imperialism and all reactionaries, as pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

In the period since the War, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Italian and Japanese fascism and become the most aggressive imperialist power. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. It harbours the vain hope of subjugating the whole world, and it is the sworn enemy of the people of all countries. It encroaches everywhere and launches wars of aggression one after another. The Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have all been patterned from the same mould, they have all been faithful executors of the U.S. monopoly capitalist policies of aggression and war. From their own experience the people of the world have come to understand with increasing clarity that peace can never be won by begging for it from imperialism, and that, on the contrary, it can be effectively preserved only by waging resolute struggles against imperialism, and especially against U.S. imperialism. The victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, the victory of Korea's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the victory of the Cuban people's revolutionary war and the victories won in anti-U.S. struggles in many other countries have all served to puncture the arrogance of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and were all effective in defending world peace. It is now plain that the only way the people of the world can smash the U.S. imperialists' plans for aggression and war and prevent another world war is to hit the U.S. aggressors hard on every front of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Imperialism always uses the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of armed aggression and fraudulent peace, sometimes alternately, sometimes simultaneously, against the revolutionary people of any country. The people in their turn must make skilful use of revolutionary dual tactics in struggling against imperialism. The signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty on the eve of the Anti-Fascist War and the conclusion of the Korean armistice agreement and of the two Geneva agreements after the War all show that so long as the basic interests of the people are not violated, it is perfectly permissible and even necessary to conduct negotiations with the imperialists and reach certain agreements with them on appropriate occasions. However, a tit-for-tat struggle is necessary when negotiating with the imperialists. It is absolutely impossible to gain through talks what is not won on the battlefield. Even when certain agreements are reached and signed with the imperialists, they never keep their word and they may tear up the agreements at any time. Whoever pins his hopes of preventing war and safe-

guarding peace on negotiations with the imperialists, or goes so far as to accommodate himself to imperialism at the expense of the basic interests of the people, will come to grief in the face of reality.

The Khrushchov revisionists completely ignore this important historical lesson of the Anti-Fascist War. They eagerly preach that the nature of imperialism has changed and they have tampered with the fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis that imperialism is the source of war in modern times. In their opinion, world wars are not a product of the imperialist system or of the predatory nature of imperialism, but are a result of momentary impulse or loss of reason on the part of certain individuals. They used to describe Eisenhower and Kennedy as "peace-loving," and now they have spoken of the Johnson Administration as being "moderate" and "sensible." In their relations with U.S. imperialism, they practise capitulationism, spread the idea of "mutual concessions," "mutual compromise," "mutual conciliation" and "mutual accommodation," and try to subordinate the revolutionary struggles of the people in various countries to their general line of "peaceful coexistence" and "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the settlement of world problems." Again and again they have betrayed the interests of the revolutionary people — in the Caribbean crisis, in the matter of the Congo, the German peace treaty and West Berlin, and the partial ban on nuclear tests.

Khrushchov's successors are more cunning in their ways, they utter fine-sounding words and play various tricks; nevertheless, they cling to the revisionist line laid down at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., carry out Khrushchov's old policies and still want the revolutionary peoples to submit to what they call "Soviet-U.S. co-operation." They even want to organize a "U.N. force" in collaboration with U.S. imperialism and play the world gendarme to hold down the oppressed peoples and nations. They are colluding with the U.S. aggressors and plotting to sell out the basic interests of the people of Viet Nam and of all other countries, including the Soviet Union. The Khrushchov revisionists are out-and-out appeasers. Their line does not safeguard world peace, but aids and abets U.S. imperialism in committing unbridled aggression and unleashing war. This line is inevitably being discredited as the people throughout the world become more and more awakened.

In the third place, the history of the Anti-Fascist War shows that a people's war is sure of victory, that it is entirely possible to defeat the imperialist aggressors, that imperialism is a paper tiger, which is outwardly strong but actually weak, and that the atom bomb is also a paper tiger and it is people and not weapons, of whatever kind, that decide the outcome of war.

In the early period of the War, the three fascist countries, Germany, Italy and Japan, arrogantly threw

their weight around, and quite spectacularly so for a time. They set their whole war machine in motion and they had great superiority in military strength. They dominated almost the whole of capitalist Europe, occupied half of Asia and invaded Africa, treading 800 million people beneath their heels. But that was only a transitory phenomenon. It was the people and not the fascists with their military superiority who proved really powerful. The reason was that the fascists were waging an unjust war of aggression, that they were the enemies of the people of every country, including their own, and that their temporary victories were therefore built on sand and were without any solid foundation. The war that the people of the world were fighting was a just war against aggression and in defence of their motherlands. The potential strength of the people is inexhaustible. Given correct leadership in accordance with a correct line, the people will gradually grow stronger and become powerful in struggle, gradually change the balance of forces, and in the end they will defeat the fascist aggressors. The just people's war is bound to triumph; the unjust imperialist war is bound to go down in defeat.

In 1946 Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced his celebrated thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and he did so after summing up the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people and of the people of the world as well as the historical experience of the Anti-Fascist War. He said:

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.⁹

He added:

Wasn't Hitler once considered very strong? But history proved that he was a paper tiger. So was Mussolini, so was Japanese imperialism. On the contrary, the strength of the Soviet Union and of the people in all countries who loved democracy and freedom proved much greater than had been foreseen.¹⁰

Sharply criticizing the theory that "weapons decide everything," Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that it was "a mechanical approach to the question of war and a subjective and one-sided view." He said:

Our view is opposed to this; we see not only weapons but also people. Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale.¹¹

He declared emphatically:

The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.¹²

The twenty years since the War have demonstrated the incontrovertible truth of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theses that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that the relationship between man and weapons must be correctly handled, theses that have stood the test of practice. Despite its possession of nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism was unable to prevent the victory of the Chinese revolution, of Korea's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, of the Cuban revolution or of the revolutionary struggles in many other regions, and it will definitely not be able to prevent the Vietnamese people from achieving victory. The nuclear weapons of the U.S. imperialists may scare the faint-hearted but can never intimidate revolutionary people. However savagely the U.S. imperialists suppress the people's revolutionary struggles, the flames of the people's revolution can never be quenched. Is there not a most convincing proof in the surging national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the fact that the people's struggle against U.S. imperialism is growing in breadth and depth in all countries?

The Khrushchov revisionists completely ignore this important historical lesson of the Anti-Fascist War. They have lost confidence in the struggle against imperialism, they have never had faith in the great strength of the people, in the ability of the people of all countries to win victory in their revolutionary struggles. They believe one hundred per cent in the theory that "weapons decide everything." All they see is the nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S. imperialists, and they tremble with fear. They play up the horrors of war and preach the philosophy of survival — "What is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off?" — in order to intimidate the people and to oppose and, indeed, sabotage the people's revolutionary struggles in all countries. They have degenerated into willing propagandists for the U.S. imperialists' policy of nuclear blackmail.

In the fourth place, the history of the Anti-Fascist War shows that, in order to defeat the imperialist aggressors, it is imperative to rely upon the unity of the people's revolutionary forces in all countries, win over to our side all the forces that can be won over, form the broadest possible international united front, and concentrate our blows on the main enemy of the people of the world.

The victory won in the Anti-Fascist War was a victory of the broad international united front against fascism. As far back as June 23, 1941, the day after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly pointed out:

For Communists throughout the world the task now is to mobilize the people of all countries and organize an international united front to fight fascism and defend the Soviet Union, defend China, and defend

the freedom and independence of all nations. In the present period, every effort must be concentrated on combating fascist enslavement.¹³

At that time, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists constituted the gravest menace to mankind; they started aggressive wars and formed the centre of world reaction. To oppose fascist aggression and enslavement was the common fighting task of the people of all countries. The people were the basic force combating fascism. It was because all the different peoples supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder that the Anti-Fascist War was won.

The Soviet Union, which was the only socialist country at the time, was the main force in annihilating the German fascists and played the decisive role in defeating fascism. The Chinese people waged their revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism, for a very long time on their own, and made a most significant contribution to victory in the Anti-Fascist War. Likewise, the people of many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and America made their own contribution to the Anti-Fascist War. The people of the countries occupied by German, Italian and Japanese fascism either persisted in guerrilla warfare and underground struggles at home, or organized themselves into armies abroad which later fought their way back to their own countries. In the latter period of the War, the people in some countries successfully staged armed uprisings and liberated large tracts of their territory, or sent troops to join in the pursuit of the fascist hordes and to support the people's liberation struggle in other countries after their own countries had been freed. In Germany, Italy and Japan, the masses of the people also resisted fascist rule at home in various ways, up to and including armed struggle, and supported the struggle of other peoples suffering from fascist aggression and enslavement. All these struggles contributed to victory in the Anti-Fascist War and each occupies a place of honour in the history of the War. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, try at one stroke to write off the role played by the people of all other countries in the Anti-Fascist War, arrogantly declaring that the Soviet Union was "the only force smashing the German fascist machine." By this they try to promote their great-power chauvinism and demand that all countries which were helped by the Soviet army should obey their orders, submit to their control and bullying, and put up with their exploitation.

The history of the Anti-Fascist War teaches us that the imperialist countries do not form a monolithic bloc. Owing to the uneven development of capitalism, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists struck first at the spheres of influence of Britain, France and the United States. Although in the early stages of the War the British, French and U.S. imperialists first followed the appeasers' policy of conniving at aggression, and then for a time after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war followed the policy of "sitting on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight," there were irreconcilable

contradictions between them and the German, Italian and Japanese fascists. They finally joined the anti-fascist ranks for their own interests.

Obviously, it would have been impossible to win the War without the unity of all the forces that could be united against fascism and without a broad, worldwide united anti-fascist front.

Since the War U.S. imperialism has become the principal enemy of the people of the world. It is now the world's biggest monopoly capitalist power and the chief prop of every reactionary force. The armed interventions and wars of aggression it is launching one after another in different parts of the world are a grave menace to world peace. U.S. imperialism today is taking the same path as that travelled by German, Italian and Japanese fascism over twenty years ago.

U.S. imperialism is indulging in unscrupulous military threats and war provocations against the socialist countries and brazenly suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. This demands the formation of a close-knit militant alliance by the socialist countries and all the oppressed peoples and nations against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its control over and bullying of all its allies in the political, economic and military spheres. There are irreconcilable contradictions between the United States and its allies, who, in their own interests, are likely to take action against U.S. imperialism on one issue or another sooner or later.

It is therefore the common task of the people of the whole world to unite all the forces that can be united, direct the spearhead of their struggle against U.S. imperialism and concentrate their forces on combating the main enemy.

In view of this situation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has issued a great call for the formation of an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. He said:

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of the continents of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, and should form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.¹⁴

This international united front is now growing and expanding. Making enemies all over the world, U.S. imperialism is inevitably meeting with resistance everywhere. It is becoming increasingly isolated and is besieged ring on ring by the people of the world.

The Khrushchov revisionists completely ignore this important historical lesson of the Anti-Fascist War. They have betrayed proletarian internationalism, and have been treating enemies as friends and vice versa. Instead

of uniting with all possible forces against U.S. imperialism, they are bent on aligning themselves with U.S. imperialism against the people of the world and on realizing U.S.-Soviet world hegemony. Obstinate persisting in their schismatic line, they undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and regard the fraternal countries and Parties which adhere to Marxism-Leninism as their enemies. Despite the U.S. imperialist expansion of the war of aggression in Viet Nam and the acute need for unity against the enemy, they held the Moscow meeting in March, which was a grave step to split the international communist movement.

The successors to Khrushchov are now talking loudly about "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action." This is nothing but a swindle. We would like to ask: Who exactly is the enemy you wish to confront? Is it U.S. imperialism or the revolutionary people of the world? What is the purpose of the concerted action you demand? Is it to combat U.S. imperialism, or to surrender to it? What is the basis of the unity you demand? Is it Marxism-Leninism, or Khrushchev revisionism?

How can you expect "concerted action" with the Marxist-Leninists and the masses of the people in all countries, who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population, when you persist in the revisionist line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and embodied in the Programme of the C.P.S.U., and when you persist in the line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world"? Do you want us to join you and work for revisionism and submit to your line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world"? To speak frankly, that will never happen.

In short, to assess the history of the Anti-Fascist War correctly and to draw the necessary lessons from it is not merely a matter of assessing history, it is also of profound practical significance. Here the difference between the Khrushchov revisionists and ourselves is in essence a difference over whether or not to oppose imperialism, whether or not to make revolution and whether to have genuine unity or sham unity, and, in the last analysis, it is the difference between loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its betrayal.

The great Lenin told us that "a struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle against opportunism is an idle phrase, or a fraud."¹⁵ The postwar practice of revolutionary struggle by the people of various countries has proved that one must follow the Marxist-Leninist line if one wants to expand the forces of revolution, promote the revolutionary cause and defend world peace. If, instead, one acts in accordance with the Khrushchov revisionist line, the inevitable result is to weaken the forces of revolution, ruin the revolutionary cause and endanger world peace. We must thoroughly expose the true face of Khrushchov revisionism, eliminate its influence and carry the struggle against it through to the end in order to promote

the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, smash the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war and defend world peace, and in order to expand the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Today, the whole world is faced with the grave danger of the extension of the war of aggression in Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism. The Viet Nam question is the focal point in the present worldwide struggle between the revolutionary forces of the people and the forces of counter-revolution, between the forces of peace and the forces of war. The heroic patriotic struggle of the 30 million people of Viet Nam against U.S. aggression is not only a struggle to defend and reunify their fatherland, but also a struggle to safeguard world peace. It is the bounden international duty of all revolutionary forces and all peace-loving countries and people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle.

More recently, U.S. imperialism has dispatched large numbers of troops to invade the Dominican Republic in its attempt to suppress the struggle of the Dominican people to overthrow the traitorous dictatorial rule in their own country. This constitutes not only a wanton interference in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, but also an act of provocation to the people of Latin America and to the people of the whole world who have the sacred right to safeguard their own national independence and win democracy and freedom.

U.S. imperialism is still carrying on intervention and aggression in Laos, Cambodia, south Korea and Japan. In collusion with British imperialism, it has created "Malaysia" and is committing aggression against Indonesia. It is trying to put down the revolutionary movement of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) by armed force. It is using Israel to menace the Arab countries. It is continuing its disruptive and subversive activities against Cuba. It is fostering West German militarism and attempting to grab West Berlin and subvert the German Democratic Republic. It is also perpetrating many other crimes in other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Europe. It is also a bounden international duty of all revolutionary forces and all peace-loving countries and peoples to give firm support to the struggles against U.S. imperialism waged by the people in these countries. If the U.S. aggressors are allowed to do whatever they please and the modern revisionists are allowed to conspire with them and sell out the interests of the peoples, that will only whet the appetite of the U.S. imperialists for aggression and encourage them to spread the flames of war. Conversely, if all revolutionary people and all peace-loving countries and peoples unite and act in a determined struggle against U.S. imperialism, they will be able to smash its plans to extend its war of aggression.

The most pressing task facing the people of the world today is to broaden the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, unfold an unprecedentedly

powerful mass movement on a world scale, and compel the U.S. aggressors to get out of Viet Nam, out of the Dominican Republic, out of Asia, Africa and Latin America, out of Europe and Oceania, out of all the places they have invaded.

The world situation is now fundamentally different from what it was before the Anti-Fascist War.

The revolutionary forces of the people of the world are now stronger than ever before. Whereas there was then only one socialist state, the Soviet Union, there is now a socialist camp consisting of a number of socialist countries. Wide expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America have ceased to be the rear areas of imperialism and instead have become the frontlines in the struggle against imperialism. Moreover, the working class and the working people in Western Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening.

The Marxist-Leninist ranks are now stronger than ever before. Steeled in the struggle against modern revisionism, the international communist movement has vastly increased its fighting capacity. Long-tested Marxist-Leninist nuclei of leadership have appeared in many Communist Parties. The forces of Marxism-Leninism are developing even within those Communist Parties that are temporarily dominated by revisionism.

International imperialism has become far weaker. U.S. imperialism is having an increasingly hard time. It is sitting on a volcano which rumbles again and again. The contradictions among the imperialists are growing sharper and their camp is in the process of disintegrating.

The true face of the Khrushchov revisionists as accomplices of the imperialists has been more and more clearly exposed. Their revisionist line is already bankrupt. Everywhere the revisionists are just a handful of people. Even these are jostling each other and parting company. So far from being able to save the lives of the imperialists, the revisionists find that their own thrones are tottering.

In the present world situation, the United States is in a much worse strategic position than was Hitler in his day. It is much more difficult for the United States to unleash a world war. At the same time, the forces defending world peace are much stronger than twenty years ago. The possibility of averting a world war has enormously increased. Through their common struggle the revolutionary people and the peace-loving countries and people can frustrate the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war. The people's cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism is sure to win still greater victories. If, following in Hitler's footsteps, U.S. imperialism dares to impose a world war on the people, it will inevitably come to the same ignominious end as Hitler.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago:

The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million.

The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.¹⁶

The just cause of the people of the world is bound to triumph! U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

Marxism-Leninism is bound to triumph! Revisionism is bound to fail! (Published on May 9, 1965.)

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government," *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

² *Ibid.*

³ Mao Tse-tung, "Opening Speech at the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," *Renmin Ribao*, October 24, 1951.

⁴ Mao Tse-tung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 284.

⁵ J.V. Stalin, Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, February 9, 1946.

⁶ J.V. Stalin, "The Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1945, pp. 33-34.

⁷ J.V. Stalin, "May Day, 1944," *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1945, p. 125.

⁸ Mao Tse-tung, "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 423-29.

⁹ Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

¹¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War," *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

¹² Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

¹³ Mao Tse-tung, "On the International United Front Against Fascism," *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

¹⁴ Mao Tse-tung, *Statement Expressing the Chinese People's Firm Support for the Panamanian People's Just, Patriotic Struggle*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, p. 3.

¹⁵ V.I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1946, Vol. I, p. 746.

¹⁶ Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

Unrivalled Power of the People's Revolutionary War

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

Following is a translation of the May 7 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

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

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

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

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

The Vietnamese people are certain to defeat the U.S. aggressors. The basic reason for this is that they are fighting a revolutionary war against aggression, a war waged by the whole people. It is a cause of the people themselves who, united as one, rise in arms and put up a life-and-death struggle against the aggressors; this people's war, in which every one is a soldier, every household a bulwark and every village a battlefield, is like a vast sea that overwhelms and drowns the enemy. When commenting on China's War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "It must be remembered that the war will be fought in China. This means that the Japanese will be entirely surrounded by a hostile Chinese people." **This is the kind of situation which faced the Japanese militarists invading China, the French colonialists in Viet Nam eleven years ago and now U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam. It is this kind of people's war which imperialism fears.**

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

True, U.S. imperialism possesses a gargantuan war machine whereas what the people of south Viet Nam possess is, by contrast, only as primitive as bows and arrows. Nevertheless, the important point is that this is not a war which the Vietnamese people have gone to the United States to fight but one fought by the U.S. aggressors who have intruded into Viet Nam. Taking the situation as a whole, the United States, because it is engaged in aggression everywhere in the world, has its armed forces dispersed, a long battlefront and is very much limited in its military power. In Viet Nam, even if the United States does throw a large amount of armed forces and military equipment into

south Viet Nam, it will have to confront 14 million south Vietnamese people who are full of hatred for the common enemy. This explains why whether the enemy strength is superior to that of ours or vice versa cannot be simply measured by superior or inferior weapons. What is more important, the correlation of strength is changeable. **Given correct leadership and persistence in struggle, the people's strength will grow in the course of the struggle, during which the correlation of strength between the enemy and the people will be changed gradually with imperialism's original superiority descending into inferiority and the people's original inferiority rising into superiority. Imperialism cannot understand this truth, nor can the modern revisionists; but both the great victory at Dien Bien Phu 11 years ago and the brilliant victories won by the south Vietnamese people today have borne this out.**

U.S. imperialism is of course not reconciled to such changes in the correlation of strength in the Vietnamese war. It dispatches one aircraft carrier after another to the Western Pacific and sends waves of aircraft to conduct carpet bombing. Having lost their superiority on land, the U.S. aggressors brag of "air and naval superiority." **But no matter how many warships and aeroplanes U.S. imperialism may use, the people's revolutionary war has its own style of fighting. You may seize cities while I occupy the countryside. You may dig yourself in while I wage guerrilla war everywhere. You may count on your up-to-date weapons while I rely on the politically awakened masses. It can be boiled down to this: you fight in your fashion and we fight in ours. And this was how the Chinese people won final victory in their revolutionary war, and it will be how the Vietnamese people win theirs in their revolutionary war.** So-called naval and air superiority which U.S. imperialism boasts about can by no means save it from defeat.

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

The south Vietnamese people have accumulated rich experience in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and have raised the art of the people's revolutionary war to a new level. Just as Premier Pham Van Dong has said: "In the course of the patriotic war, the army and civilian population of the south have built up a formidable force from scratch, which is capable of fighting an enemy several times stronger and equipped with all types of aircraft and naval craft, armoured cars, automatic rifles, heavy artillery, napalm bombs, poisonous chemicals and even toxic gas, and defeating him. The form of struggle they take is new and unique, marking the development of the people's patriotic war to a new high." The people of the south will certainly carry on their fighting and with the support of the people of the north, the Chinese people, the people of the socialist countries and people all over the world, they will fight to the end, fight on until there is not a single American soldier on Vietnamese soil.

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

What's Behind India's "New Proposal" On Viet Nam Question?

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of an article by Observer entitled "Expose the Essence of India's 'New Proposal'" published in "Renmin Ribao" on May 9. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE U.S. aggressors have suffered military, political and moral defeats on the Viet Nam question. They have got themselves out on a limb. However, instead of retreating in the face of difficulties, they have embarked on the adventurist course of frenziedly extending the war of aggression. The countries and people in Asia and Africa who oppose imperialism and

uphold justice, starting from the position of safeguarding the common interests of the Asian and African peoples and defending peace, condemn U.S. aggression against Viet Nam and demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops. This is the common will and strong demand of the Asian and African peoples. The Indian authorities alone betray the interests of the Asian and African peoples and take upon themselves the dirty task of helping U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

On April 24, Indian President Radhakrishnan put forward a "new proposal" for the solution of the Viet Nam question. The proposal is unique in that its main

content calls for the "cessation of hostilities in both parts of Viet Nam" and the establishment of an "Afro-Asian force" to be sent to Viet Nam to "police" and "maintain" the so-called "boundaries." These, the Indian President said, "may be thought as necessary steps for the restoration of peace and stability in this area."

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

The Indian President's "new proposal," taking "cessation of hostilities in both parts of Viet Nam" as its starting point, is preposterous in the extreme. India does not dare say a single word about U.S. efforts to step up its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and extend the war in Viet Nam. It simply trails behind Johnson and shouts about Vietnamese people committing aggression against Vietnamese people. In the words of Indian Prime Minister Shastri on April 25, this means "to stop hostilities and raids from north Viet Nam." But the people throughout the world know that the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are fighting a war of aggression in south Viet Nam while the 14 million people of south Viet Nam are resisting that aggression. Because of this, what is called for is a halt to U.S. aggression and not the "cessation of hostilities in both parts of Viet Nam." Is it possible for the Vietnamese people to end their struggle against aggression and for peace and stability to be restored in Viet Nam before U.S. imperialism stops its aggression and withdraws all its aggressive troops from Viet Nam?

The "new proposal" of the Indian Government is clearly a new plot to use the Asian and African countries to serve U.S. aggression against Viet Nam. This "new proposal" is silent on U.S. imperialism's crime of aggression and its violation of the Geneva agreements, and nowhere does it mention the independence, sovereignty, reunification and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. Instead it talks absurdly about cessation of hostilities in the southern and northern parts of Viet

Nam. **This is deliberately designed to absolve the United States of its crime of aggression and undermine the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Doesn't the Indian Government feel that it has gone too far and thus completely revealed itself as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism?**

India's "new proposal" calls for formation of an "Afro-Asian force" to be sent to Viet Nam. One cannot help asking: What is India up to? The grave question in Viet Nam now is that the United States has torn up the Geneva agreements, obstructed the reunification of Viet Nam, carried out aggression in south Viet Nam and spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam. If the Indian authorities have the slightest concern for the solution of the Viet Nam question they should join the people all over the world in condemning and checking the U.S. crime of aggression. **However, India's "new proposal" turns a blind eye to the Johnson Administration's obstruction of the reunification of Viet Nam and its aggression in Viet Nam; instead, the Indian Government is obsessively interested in introducing foreign troops into Viet Nam to "police" and "maintain" the so-called "boundaries" between the two parts of Viet Nam. Isn't this, in essence, helping the U.S. aggressors to occupy south Viet Nam and perpetuate the division of Viet Nam?**

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

The Indian President has gone so far as to describe the temporary demarcation line on the 17th Parallel in Viet Nam as a "boundary." This allegation represents outright violation of the Geneva agreements. It is clearly stated in the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference that the military demarcation line in Viet Nam "should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary." This is because Viet Nam is one country and its people have the right to reunify it. To perpetuate the division of Viet Nam and continue its occupation of south Viet Nam, the United States has openly set its sights on establishing an "independent south Viet Nam." And now the Indian Government puts forward the proposal to "police" and "maintain" so-called "boundaries," and "maintain the

present boundaries as long as desired." Does this differ in any way from the U.S. proposition?

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

Recently, the United States has also attempted to put over the trick of using an international conference on Cambodia to induce the Vietnamese people to submit. In their eagerness to lend a hand, the Indian authorities have more than once voiced their "earnest hope" for the convocation of such a conference and declared India's readiness to "play its part and render

every assistance" in this regard. How well they keep in step and sing in tune!

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

This so-called "new proposal" of the Indian Government to restore peace and stability once again reveals its betrayal of the stand of the Asian and African countries in opposing imperialism and colonialism and supporting the national-liberation movement. We are convinced that the Asian and African countries will see through this Indian scheme and will not fall into its trap.

工人日报

GONGREN RIBAO

Militant Role of China's Trade Unions

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions was established on May 1, 1925, in Canton. It celebrated its 40th anniversary on International Labour Day this year. On this occasion, "Gongren Ribao" (Workers' Daily), organ of the A.C.F.T.U., published an editorial on April 30. Following is an abridged translation of the editorial. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

THE 40 years of the Chinese trade unions are the years in which they have raised high the banner of revolution in waging a heroic struggle. During these years, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, they have consistently carried on organizational and educational work among the workers, stood at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle and fought for realization of the Communist Party line in each period of the revolution. In the period of the democratic revolution, they organized and taught the workers to wage political and economic, legal and illegal struggles; together with the people of the whole country they opposed armed counter-revolution with armed

revolution, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and carried the people's democratic revolution to complete victory. Since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the trade unions have organized and educated the workers to carry on the socialist revolution and socialist construction together with all the people, and they have won great victories.

In these 40 years the Chinese trade unions have held high the banner of unity. They have treasured the unity of the workers, the constant strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and the unity of all the Chinese people created on this foundation as the basic guarantee of victory in the cause of revolution and construction. In the period of the democratic revolution, they taught the workers the significance of the worker-peasant alliance and mobilized them to give firm support to the peasants both directly and indirectly when the latter fought to carry through the agrarian revolution. During the period of the socialist revolu-

tion and construction, the Chinese trade unions have continuously strengthened educational work concerning the worker-peasant alliance, and organized and mobilized the workers to give all possible assistance to agricultural collectivization, technical reform in agriculture, and the consolidation and development of the collective economy of the people's communes.

In these 40 years, the Chinese trade unions have held high the banner of internationalism. As early as 1925, immediately after it was founded, the A.C.F.T.U. began to take part in the activities of the international trade union organizations; it regarded the Chinese workers' movement as part of the workers' movement of the world. The Chinese workers' movement has always received support from the world revolutionary workers' movement and in its turn given support to that movement. Through all the changes in the international and domestic situations, the Chinese trade unions have never ceased internationalist education among the masses of workers. They have always regarded support to the revolutionary struggles of the working class, and of the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world as their glorious duty. In the international workers' movement, the Chinese trade unions have insisted on exposing all kinds of opportunism, especially modern revisionism, and fought to defend the solidarity and unity of the revolutionary international workers' movement.

The practice of the Chinese workers' movement in the past 40 years has proved again and again that it is only with the guidance of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, that the Chinese workers' movement can keep its correct orientation on the road of advance and win victory after victory. Departure from Mao Tse-tung's thinking inevitably leads to setbacks. In the early years of the Chinese workers' movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of our Party, his close comrade-in-arms Liu Shao-chi and other comrades personally participated in and led the work of the workers' movement. By creatively combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese workers' movement, they developed the workers' movement and set a good example for its work. However, the Chinese workers' movement met with serious setbacks in the following period because it departed from the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Since the Tsunyi Conference in 1935 at which Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership was established throughout the Party, the Chinese workers' movement has vigorously forged ahead under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and gained great victories.

The trade unions must unreservedly accept the unified leadership of the Party and play their organizational role under the Party's guidance. This is a basic principle ensuring that the trade unions do their work well.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and the highest form of working-class organization. It is

only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist political party that the trade unions can maintain a firm working-class stand in the course of sharp and complex struggles, hold steadfast to the correct political direction, resist corrosion by bourgeois thinking, keep themselves free from the narrow outlook and craft prejudice of guildism, and contribute to the cause of revolution and construction. If the trade unions become divorced from the Party's leadership, they will make errors in principle of one kind or another.

Acceptance or non-acceptance of the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist political party constitutes a basic criterion marking off the revolutionary trade union from the reformist one. The practice of both the international and Chinese workers' movement has repeatedly proved that if a trade union does not accept the guidance of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist political party, it will inevitably be subject to control and influence by bourgeois political parties. There are no trade unions which stand above political parties. The so-called theory of "independent trade unions" which has long existed in the capitalist countries of Europe and America is a sham. It aims to cover up the fact of control of the trade union organizations by such bourgeois political parties as the social democratic parties, and exclude the Marxist-Leninist political parties from guiding the trade unions.

Catering to the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists propagandize what they call "relations of alliance" and "fraternal relations" between the Communist Party and the trade unions. This is also a sham. Actually they have never loosened their control over the trade unions and have always used them as a tool to carry out the revisionist line.

The Chinese trade unions have always been led by a Marxist-Leninist political party, the Chinese Communist Party, and they are the Party's assistants in doing its work among the masses of workers. The hackneyed reformist and revisionist statements which distort the relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions find no market in Chinese trade union organizations.

The fact that our trade unions follow the leadership of the Party finds its concentrated expression in the following ways: always and in all their work, they take Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their guide, base themselves on the Party's principles and policies, make energetic efforts to spread and implement those principles and policies, turn them into conscious actions of the workers and employees and unite the broad masses around the Party. Our trade unions should arrange their work closely around the Party's political tasks and central work, and firmly embody in all their activities the tasks put forward by the Party.

Under the guidance of the Party, our trade union organizations must take account of the features of mass organizations of the working class, and rely on their active elements to carry on mass work on an extensive scale and in a deep-going way and develop their or-

ganizational role to the full. They must develop their initiative and creativeness in work. All the tasks assigned by the Party must be fulfilled by every means. At the same time, the trade unions should take the initiative and do well and energetically according to the Party's principles the things the masses want them to do, as long as these belong to the category of things that should and can be done. Our trade unions should be adept at closely integrating the Party's directives and the demands of the workers and employees. In implementing the Party's principles and policies, our trade unions should pay constant attention to understanding the opinions and demands of the masses, discover new situations and new experiences, actively report all these to the Party, and make proposals to improve the work. It is precisely the Party's leadership that points out the correct political direction and gives wide scope for the trade unions to display their initiative and creativeness. Such a display of initiative and creativeness on the part of the trade unions is, in turn, an important prerequisite in realizing better the Party's demands in trade union work and in implementing the Party's lines, principles and policies.

II

The basic principles guiding the Chinese trade unions in carrying on their work in socialist revolution and construction are to persist in taking the class struggle as the key in all work, building their work around production and gradually improving the material life of the workers and employees on the basis of expanded production.

Before liberation, the fundamental aim of all the activities of the Chinese trade unions was the overthrow of the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and the seizure of state power. With the seizure of state power, our working class has been transformed from an oppressed class into the master of the country, and our trade unions confronted the double task of socialist revolution and construction. The facts show clearly that our socialist construction has not been carried out under smooth conditions, but in sharp and complex class struggles. The overthrown reactionary ruling classes and the elements of the exploiting classes who refuse to be remoulded are always plotting to undermine the socialist cause and trying in vain to restore capitalism. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues throughout the whole socialist period. The trade unions, therefore, must persist in taking the class struggle as the key in all work, promote production by carrying forward the revolution, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and fulfil their role as a pillar of the proletarian dictatorship.

In steadfastly taking the class struggle as the key to their work, our trade unions must educate and organize the masses of workers and employees to take their place in the forefront of this class struggle, see

the situation and the characteristics of class struggle clearly, and resolutely combat all activities of capitalism and other reactionary forces that are trying to stage a come-back.

In steadfastly taking the class struggle as the key to their work, our trade unions must give first place to ideological and political work, and play their role to the full as a school of communism. Our trade unions must play an active role in organizing the workers and employees to study the works of Mao Tse-tung and arm them with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This is the most fundamental task in ideological and political work. It is necessary to carry on repeatedly the socialist education movement centring on class education, and educate the workers and employees in the history and living facts of the class struggle so as to raise their level of class consciousness. They must be educated to take a communist attitude towards labour, carry forward the glorious tradition of self-reliance and hard work, and develop a communist character. Constant efforts must be made to promote proletarian ideas and eradicate bourgeois ones, thus promoting the ideological revolutionization of the workers and employees.

Steadfastly taking the class struggle as the key to their work means integrating ideological and political work with all trade union activities. In their links with tens of millions of workers, our trade unions are charged with all sorts of concrete activities to raise the political, cultural and technical levels of the workers and employees, meet the needs of their material and cultural life, and solve all kinds of practical problems for them. This is by no means all purely routine work; these activities also entail ideological work. We must persist in putting politics in command and integrating ideological work with all kinds of trade union activities.

In steadfastly taking the class struggle as the key to their work, the trade unions must, in the light of the needs of the class struggle, check up on their organizations, purify their ranks, organize a class army with the advanced workers and revolutionary activists as the backbone, and thereby make themselves genuine revolutionary mass organizations of the working class and effective instruments for the Party in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment.

Our working class must take as its most fundamental tasks the raising of labour productivity, the increasing of production and expansion of the socialist economy. Our trade unions, therefore, must persist in taking the class struggle as the key to their work and building their work around production; they must channel the revolutionary spirit born of the revolutionary struggle into the struggle for production; they must organize the labour emulation campaign of comparing, learning from and catching up with the advanced and helping those who lag behind, so that these efforts will effectively speed the growth of production and ensure continuous victories in the cause of socialist construction.

It is one of the important functions of the trade unions to care for the material and cultural well-being of the masses on the basis of mobilizing them to increase production. In solving problems concerning the livelihood of the masses, the principles to be followed are: proceed from practical conditions and see the situation as a whole, give all-round consideration and make overall arrangements, and integrate long-term interests with immediate interests, the principle of putting politics in command with material incentives, and reliance on the state with organizing the masses themselves for mutual aid. The trade unions, therefore, must seriously implement the relevant policies of the Party and the state, and be concerned about the livelihood of the masses of workers and employees while educating them to handle correctly the relations between overall and personal interests.

III

The trade unions work among the masses. They must in all their work adhere to the Party's mass line of "from the masses, to the masses," have confidence in the masses and rely on them.

The working class is the most advanced class. But since its members are of various class origins, and differ in experience and in degree of social awakening, there are within its ranks, apart from a very small number of alien elements, differences between the more advanced, the intermediate, and the backward. There are as well struggles between advanced and backward ideas. The trade unions are the mass organizations of the working class, so their members inevitably include not only advanced workers, but intermediate and backward ones as well. How to deal with these three groups of workers correctly, that is, how to handle the relationship between the advanced and the backward correctly, constitutes an important question in implementing the mass line in trade union work, an important question that concerns the strengthening of working class unity.

The advanced elements are living examples for the broad masses. The trade unions should energetically publicize their exemplary ideas and deeds so as to educate the masses by the living examples of living people and deeds. The trade unions should keep in close touch with those who are temporarily in an intermediate or backward state, show concern for them, try to understand their feelings and state of mind, listen to their views and demands, and mobilize them for action. But in doing this, it does not mean that the trade unions should trail behind the backward workers. On the contrary, the purpose is to help raise the consciousness of the backward to an advanced level.

In order to follow the mass line and work among the masses well, the trade unions should also give free play to democracy and develop a sound internal democratic life. All work of the trade unions should be placed under mass supervision and rooted in the masses. Members' representative conferences should be convened at regular intervals at which

the leadership should report on its work to the members, listen to their opinions and constantly improve trade union work. Trade union group meetings should also be held regularly as important occasions on which members can air their views and educate themselves.

Trade union cadres must persist in taking part in physical labour and keep in close touch with the masses. Working alongside the rank and file, they will be able to be one with them and become their close friends; in this way they will get a timely understanding of their feelings, opinions and demands, and keep on intimate terms with them. This is a prerequisite for doing trade union work well and also a fundamental means of ensuring that trade union cadres will not degenerate.

In their work trade union organizations must also strengthen their unity and co-operation with the managements of the enterprises concerned. This is an important question that has a direct bearing on whether fulfilment of the tasks assigned by the Party and state can be ensured and whether the trade unions can play their full role as a pillar of the proletarian dictatorship. In a socialist enterprise, the trade union — as the mass organization of the working class — works under the leadership of the Party just as the management does. Both aim at building socialism and their basic task is, by relying on the masses, to run the socialist enterprise successfully and fulfil the tasks assigned them by the Party and the state. They must therefore unite with each other in work, closely co-ordinate their efforts, respect and support each other. The trade union organization should support the management in every sphere of its work, organize the workers successfully to fulfil the state plan as well as tasks assigned by the management, and observe the rules and regulations of the enterprise. It should also find out the opinions of the rank and file regarding the work of the enterprise and reflect them, support the reasonable demands of the masses, and enable them to play their supervisory role under the leadership of the Party. To enable the workers and staff to fulfil this role, it is necessary to check up on and perfect the system of staff and workers' representative conferences led by the Communist Party committee.*

Guided by the great Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the correct handling of the above-mentioned questions will enable our trade unions to play their full role as a school of communism, a link through which the Party keeps in touch with the masses, and a pillar of the proletarian dictatorship, and train the ranks of the working class into an industrial army armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, with a high level of political consciousness and a high sense of organization and discipline, and a high cultural and technical level. Relying on this revolutionized industrial army we shall always be victorious in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

*For a more detailed analysis of this system see "Industrial Management in China," *Peking Review*, 1965, No. 9. — Ed.

Celebrating Victory in War Against Fascism

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

LAST week the Chinese people in a number of activities observed the 20th anniversary of the victory in the anti-fascist war.

Peking Rally

On the afternoon of May 9, more than 1,500 people gathered in the capital to warmly celebrate the occasion and also the liberation of the German and Czechoslovak peoples. Presided over by Liu Chih-chien, Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the meeting was attended by Marshal Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, officials of the Chinese Government and organizations and members of the diplomatic corps.

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, delivered a speech in which he paid tribute to the great people and heroic army of the Soviet Union, who, he said, under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. headed by Stalin, performed immortal deeds in defeating German, Italian and Japanese fascism. The victory of the anti-fascist war, he added, was a great epic written by the peoples of the whole world engaged in a common struggle. Kuo Mo-jo said that it was a victory which struck a serious blow to and weakened imperialism on the international arena, leading it to an unprecedentedly profound crisis. It was a victory which also greatly consolidated and developed the gains of the October Revolution, making it possible for socialism to develop from existence in one country, the Soviet Union, into a powerful socialist camp embracing a number of countries.

Speaking of the current situation, Kuo Mo-jo noted that U.S. imperialism was following in Hitler's footsteps, pursuing a policy of aggression and making war provocations everywhere. Calling for the formation by the people of the world of the broadest possible international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, Kuo Mo-jo strongly denounced U.S. imperialism for fostering West German and Japanese militarism in an attempt to make them its partners in launching a new war of aggression. The Chinese N.P.C. Standing Committee Vice-Chairman warned Washington that should it insist on provoking another world war, its fate would be no better than that of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo—it would be severely punished by the people of the world. He also reiterated the Chinese people's support for the Vietnamese people in

their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country.

Three foreign guests also addressed the rally. They were Sergei Georgievich Lapin, the new Soviet Ambassador to China; Gunter Kohrt, the Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic; and Vaclav Kristek, the Czechoslovak Ambassador.

German, Czechoslovak and Soviet Receptions

To celebrate their peoples' liberation 20 years ago, the Ambassadors of the G.D.R. and of Czechoslovakia gave receptions. Among the Chinese leaders who attended the German reception on May 7 were Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Vice-Chairmen Kuo Mo-jo and Chang Chih-chung and Vice-Premier Ho Lung.

The Czechoslovak reception on May 8 was attended by Chairman Chu Teh and Vice-Chairman Yang Minghsuan of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and by Vice-Premier Po I-po.

The Soviet Ambassador Lapin also gave a reception at the Embassy on May 10 to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the victory over German fascism. It was attended by Chairman Chu Teh, Vice-Chairmen Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Ning-I, Chang Chih-chung and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien.

Chinese Delegation in Berlin

A Chinese Party and government delegation headed by Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, visited the G.D.R. to take part in the celebrations of the liberation anniversary. At the celebration meeting in Berlin on May 7, Lu Ting-yi said that the German proletariat and people led by the German Communist Party and Ernst Thaelmann, had fought stubbornly against Hitlerite fascist rule, fulfilled their proletarian internationalist duty, and won the respect of the people of all countries—they had finally overthrown the Hitlerite fascist rule with the help of the great Soviet army under Stalin's command, the Soviet people and the anti-fascist forces all over the world. He noted the tremendous successes of the people of the G.D.R. in building socialism and opposing West German militarism and their valuable contributions to the safeguarding of peace in Europe and the world.

Speaking on the German question, Lu Ting-yi declared: "The Chinese Government and people have

always staunchly supported the just struggle of the German Democratic Republic against West German militarism, for the conclusion of a German peace treaty, and to safeguard its sovereignty. They have resolutely opposed the nuclear armament of West Germany and its attempt to annex West Berlin. The question of German reunification must be solved by the German people themselves and any solution designed to bypass or undermine the G.D.R. cannot be permitted." Lu Ting-yi, who emphasized the need for the Chinese and German peoples to unite more closely, to support each other in the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against all reactionaries, and to help and co-operate with each other in the cause of building socialism, was warmly applauded.

Lu Ting-yi and the other members of the Chinese delegation visited the Berlin Wall. Signing his name in the Visitors' Book at the garrison reception office, Lu paid high tribute to the people and the *Die Nationale Volksarmee* of the German Democratic Republic

Facts on File

Viet Nam Question: The Whys and Wherefores

World attention is focused on the Viet Nam question. But why has Viet Nam become an issue, and such a burning issue at that? Where does the root of the trouble lie?

Having sought and found the answer to this question, more and more people throughout the world are pointing their accusing fingers at Washington. The following factual survey will help in some way to show why the United States is being rightly pilloried, and why the Vietnamese people are fighting for a just cause that must be and will be won.

The Country and the People

Viet Nam, from Lang Son in the north to Cape Ca Mau in the south, is an integral whole. Containing an area of 330,000 sq. kms., it borders on China in the north, adjoins Laos and Cambodia in the west and faces the Pacific in the east.

The Vietnamese population totals 31 million. Of this, 17 million live in the north and 14 million in the south. Hard-working and brave, they have an extraordinarily long and heroic tradition of fighting against imperialism-colonialism.

Viet Nam has a history of nearly 3,000 years. French colonialists began their armed aggression against the country in 1858 and later turned it into a colony. But popular uprisings against French rule never ceased.

In January 1930, the Indo-Chinese Communist Party (predecessor of the present Viet Nam Workers'

who are defending the western outpost of the socialist camp.

On the eve of its departure, the Chinese Party and government delegation had talks in a friendly atmosphere with German comrades representing the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party; each side presented its views on questions of mutual interest.

Chinese Missions in Moscow

A Chinese delegation led by Vice-Chairman Lin Feng of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and a Chinese military delegation led by Vice-Minister of National Defence Senior General Hsu Kuang-ta visited the Soviet Union by invitation to join the Soviet people in their celebrations of the 20th anniversary of their victory over the German fascists. While in Moscow, the two delegations attended the anniversary meeting and luncheon in the Kremlin and watched the military parade on the Red Square. The delegations also visited the Lenin mausoleum and the tomb of Stalin where they laid wreaths in memory of the two Soviet leaders.

Party) was founded under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. This ushered in a new era in the Vietnamese revolution. The Party led the workers and peasants in Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces to set up Soviet political power which, however, was quelled by the then still powerful foreign imperialists and domestic feudal forces.

In September 1940 Japanese fascists invaded Indo-China and replaced the French. The Indo-Chinese Communist Party organized uprisings against the new marauders. In May 1941 a national united front organization, the Viet Nam Independence League (Viet Minh), was established under the Party's leadership to fight for emancipation from the foreign yoke.

A general uprising ordered in August 1945 by the Indo-Chinese Communist Party led to the liberation of Hanoi from the Japanese occupationists on August 19 and the establishment of revolutionary power throughout

Viet Nam. This was known as the "August Revolution." On September 2, President Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Immediately after V-J Day, the French colonialists, refusing to recognize Viet Nam's hard-won independence, had sent their troops back to "accept Japan's



surrender" which meant in effect reassertion of colonialist rule. They had the backing of Britain and more particularly the United States. The latter was eager to step in and replace the French at a later date.

All attempts at a fairly negotiated settlement proved futile. A nationwide war of resistance broke out on December 19, 1946. On the following day President Ho Chi Minh sounded the historic call:

Compatriots, rise up!

... Those who have rifles, use rifles; those who have swords, use swords; those who have no swords, use spades, hoes or sticks. Everyone must endeavour to oppose the colonialists and save the country.

American Involvement and Dien Bien Phu

The neo-colonialist U.S.A. soon involved itself deeply in the Indo-China war. A U.S. "Military Aid and Advisory Group" was set up in 1950 to "assist" the French. A steady stream of American-made "military hardware" poured in, and the war was largely financed by American dollars. On August 18, 1953, the U.S. State Department issued a pamphlet which admitted:

"Thus far we have supplied . . . more than 170 million rounds of small-arms ammunition; 16,000 transport vehicles and trailers; 850 combat vehicles; 350 military aircraft; 250 naval craft; 10,500 radio sets; 90,000 small-arms and automatic shells." U.S.

News & World Report elaborated: "Americans, in fact, are underwriting the anti-communist war in Indo-China, leaving the French and their native allies to furnish the manpower" (January 8, 1954).

Meanwhile, Washington did its best to block a peaceful settlement. Repeated threats were made to commit the U.S. air force in the fighting. Dulles, as his confidants later revealed, twice proposed to the French Government that American atom bombs be dropped on Viet Nam. The American press at the time made no bones about Washington's bellicose intentions. The *New York Times*, for one, wrote: "We have put a considerable degree of pressure upon the French to keep up the resistance (*sic!*) to the Communists in Indo-China rather than to negotiate with them" (February 5, 1954).

Flagrant American intervention, however, failed to turn the tide. The Vietnamese people's war of resistance reached its final turning point at Dien Bien Phu, deep in the northwest of the country, where a decisive battle was fought in March-May 1954. Already heavily defeated on all sectors by the steadily growing Viet Nam

People's Army, the French colonialists, with U.S. support, decided on the show-down as a desperate gamble.

In November 1953 French paratroops had occupied strategic Dien Bien Phu. The move was an ambitious one designed to retake the whole of north Viet Nam and annihilate the greater part of the V.P.A. main forces. But the paratroops found themselves encircled immediately after landing.

The French Command then airlifted 13 more battalions, which represented one-third of all its mobile forces in north Viet Nam, to Dien Bien Phu. This brought the French forces concentrated there to 21 battalions and about a dozen companies. U.S. planes dropped 300-400 tons of American-made arms and ammunition on besieged Dien Bien Phu every day.

V.P.A. attacks began on March 13, 1954, and by May 7 the last enemy strong-points had fallen. The cost of the Dien Bien Phu debacle for the colonialists was 16,000 troops as well as the capture of General de Castries and his entire command. (Nine years later, de Castries admonished the Americans: "I do not believe the war in Viet Nam can be won by arms. The solution? A democratic government chosen by the people—not imposed by the West."—*Newsweek*, September 16, 1963.)

The smashing defeat of the aggressors finally compelled them to face reality at the conference table in Geneva and thus Dien Bien Phu contributed decisively to the success of the 1954 Geneva Conference.

Geneva Conference and Geneva Agreements

On May 8, 1954, the day after the Dien Bien Phu battle ended, the Geneva Conference began discussions on the Indo-China question. The nine participants were: the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, China, the Soviet Union, France, Britain, the U.S.A. and south Viet Nam.

The U.S. was reluctant to let the three Indo-Chinese states embark on a course of peaceful and independent development. It threw up one roadblock after another during the Geneva negotiations. But the conference surmounted these and finally reached agreement on July 21 to restore peace in Indo-China.

The set of Geneva agreements includes the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam, agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos, agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Cambodia, the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference and other related documents.

With regard to Viet Nam, the Geneva agreements recognize its independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity; ban the introduction of foreign troops and military personnel, and of arms, ammunition and other war materiel; prohibit the building of foreign military bases and forbid adherence to any military

alliance. The agreements explicitly stipulate that nationwide free general elections were to be held in Viet Nam in July 1956 to reunify the country.

17th Parallel

To prevent the resumption of hostilities and, more important, to facilitate the regrouping of the "French expeditionary forces" to the south prior to their withdrawal from Viet Nam, the Geneva agreements fixed a *provisional* military demarcation line in the vicinity of the 17th Parallel, N. Latitude. To the south of the line French forces were to be regrouped, and to the north the Viet Nam People's Army was to be regrouped.

Unreconciled to this humiliating defeat for the imperialist-colonialists, the United States refused to sign the Geneva agreements. But under the pressure of world public opinion, U.S. representative W. Bedell Smith had to make a formal declaration on behalf of his Government that the United States "will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb" the Geneva agreements.

Has Washington refrained from disturbing the Geneva agreements? Facts cited in following sections will show that, in south Viet Nam, the U.S. has:

- ousted and replaced the French;
- installed a quisling regime in Saigon;
- prevented the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam by undermining free general elections;
- instituted a reign of terror against former Resistance members and all other patriots;
- introduced large numbers of military personnel and huge quantities of arms and ammunition;
- built up a vast network of military bases and embroiled south Viet Nam with the SEATO military bloc;
- and, finally, launched a "special war" against the people which is now being gradually "escalated."

In short, the U.S. has ripped the Geneva agreements to shreds.

Origins of Saigon Regime

Hardly had the ink dried on the Geneva agreements when U.S. President Eisenhower declared on July 21, 1954:

The United States has not itself been party to, or bound by, the decisions taken by the (Geneva) Conference. . . . The Agreement contains features which we do not like.

Why this open perfidy? It was because the Geneva agreements, if strictly enforced, would thwart American aims in Viet Nam.

The United States was seeking to turn south Viet Nam into a new-type colony. "Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tin, tungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; and in the south

are rice, rubber, tea, pepper, cattle and hides. . . . Indo-China and Burma are Southeast Asia's rice bowls." This comment by the *New York Times* (February 12, 1950) was typical of many American statements revealing colonialist rapacity.

More important still, the United States wanted south Viet Nam as a military base. Dulles had made this abundantly clear on January 13, 1954 by declaring:

U.S. interests in the Far East, from the strategic point of view, are closely connected with what is called the "chain of littoral islands." This chain comprises two continental bases: Korea in the North and, if possible, Indo-China in the South. Between these two bases lie the following islands: Japan, Ryu Kyu, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand.

Old-fashioned colonial invasion of Viet Nam was not possible under the circumstances. To neo-colonize south Viet Nam, Washington needed first of all a quisling regime.

Hence, on July 7, 1954, Ngo Dinh Diem, a Catholic mandarin trained in the United States, was brought back from Lakewood, New Jersey and made the "Prime Minister" of night-club "emperor" Bao Dai, the French quisling in Saigon. *Look* magazine later (January 23, 1964) recalled the process: "Secretary of State John Foster Dulles picked him, Senator Mike Mansfield endorsed him, Francis Cardinal Spellman praised him, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon liked him, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower OK'd him."

On November 20, 1954, the United States officially notified France that it would send "aid" directly to Diem beginning 1955 and not through the French as formerly. On February 12, 1955, it was announced that American General O'Daniel would take over the training of the south Vietnamese army from the French Command.

On October 23, 1955, Diem staged a "referendum" at bayonet point to "dethrone" French placeman Bao Dai and appoint himself "Head of State." Six months later, by April 28, 1956, France had completed the withdrawal of its "expeditionary forces" from Viet Nam. Thus the United States "filled" the colonialist "vacuum" left by France.

Ngo Dinh Diem summed up the process when he brazen-facedly stated during a visit to the United States on May 13, 1957: "The frontier of the United States extends to the 17th Parallel, the boundary between South and North Viet Nam."

John F. Kennedy, while still a senator, had this to say on June 1, 1956:

If we are not the parents of little Viet Nam, then surely we are the godparents. We presided at its birth, we have given assistance to its life, we have helped to shape its future.

Such were the origins of the Saigon regime, euphemistically named "the Republic of Viet Nam."

— WEN CHAO

(To be continued.)

ROUND THE WORLD

Report From Leningrad

Soviet Crackdown on Vietnamese Students

Within a month of the brutal suppression of the anti-U.S. student demonstration in Moscow the Soviet Union, while glibly talking about support to the people of Viet Nam in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, has once more revealed that its deeds do not fit its fine words. On April 3 Soviet military personnel and police cracked down on an anti-U.S. rally of Vietnamese students in Leningrad, arresting 82 and injuring 7. Three students were seriously injured, including one girl. The facts of the incident, hitherto unreported, are as follows.

"Auditorium Needs Repair." On April 1 Vietnamese students in Leningrad asked the city committee of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League for permission to hold a meeting to protest against intensified U.S. aggression in their country. Permission was reluctantly granted and the meeting was scheduled to be held at the Leningrad Textile Institute on the afternoon of April 3.

When the students began making arrangements the day before the

meeting, authorities of the Leningrad Textile Institute refused to provide the facilities, saying they were not "informed," the "auditorium needs repair," and so on. The matter was again taken up with the Youth League's city committee which then suggested that the rally be held at three different places—the Mining, Electrical Engineering and Forestry Institutes—all more distant from the centre of the city than the Textile Institute. By now it was already 2 p.m. on April 3.

Nevertheless, the students agreed. But since the appointed hour of the meeting at 4 p.m. was drawing near and there was no quick way of contacting everyone about the last-minute changes, the organizers decided to meet first at the Textile Institute and then proceed to the three places designated by the Soviet authorities. But in the meantime the *coup de main* had already been carried out.

National Flags Trampled On. That afternoon 300 Soviet police were sent to Leningrad University from where the Vietnamese students were about to set out for the rally. They seized and smashed placards inscribed with anti-U.S. slogans, wrested national flags of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam from the students and trampled on the flags. The students were dragged and flung into police vans; those who resisted were grabbed by the hair or savagely beaten. Girl students were not spared manhandling. One, Nguyen Ngoc Trong, suffered injuries to her stomach. The arrested students were further maltreated after having been roughly deposited at the police station.

Later in the day the Soviet authorities, wishing to lessen the effect of their latest outrage, apparently had some se-

cond thoughts. They suddenly reverted to the original decision that the meeting be allowed at the Textile Institute, and the arrested students were rushed to the institute in police cars and taxis. Meanwhile, the authorities had posted a large number of police and troops in front of the institute. They also brought in more than 300 troops and stationed heavy trucks and radio cars around it.

Confronted by this spectacle, Vietnamese students told one policeman, "We are here for an anti-U.S. meeting," and then asked him: "Do you or don't you oppose the United States?" His reply was: "We don't. We want peaceful coexistence with the United States." The students then asked: "Are you Communists or not?" The policeman said: "We are what we understand Communists to be."

Sham Anti-Imperialism. A strong protest was lodged with the Leningrad City Soviet over the suppression of a lawful meeting and the vicious behaviour of the Soviet police. A highly placed official, after falsely accusing the Vietnamese students of disturbing "law and order" in the Soviet Union, gave it to be understood that even two or three persons walking in the streets of Soviet cities with banners could be considered as taking part in a demonstration, and demonstrators were liable to arrest.

More Chips on War Gamble

U.S. Seeks Bigger Defeat

All the ballyhoo of "we seek no wider war," "honourable peace," "unconditional discussion," and the like has been temporarily forgotten. The primary concern of the Johnson Administration in Viet Nam is to find a way to avoid its inescapable defeat. It has hit on the idea of accelerating the pace of the war. The series of moves taken after the Honolulu conference last month shows that the United States is staking more chips on its war gamble.

On April 24 the U.S. President, in total violation of international law and practice, decreed the territorial waters of Viet Nam, a large body of



Soviet military personnel and police hustle a girl student into police van

the high seas and even a part of Chinese territorial waters as a U.S. "combat zone."

On April 28 the U.S. Government announced that the U.S. 7th Fleet would blockade the south Viet Nam coasts.

On May 3 Washington decided to send an airborne brigade to garrison the U.S. bases at Vung Tau and Bien Hoa in south Viet Nam.

On May 4 Johnson asked Congress for an additional 700 million dollars for the war in Viet Nam and directed another U.S. aircraft-carrier from Japan to sail for south Viet Nam.

On May 5 and 6 the U.S. airborne brigade arrived in Vung Tau and Bien Hoa, consisting, not as previously announced, of three but five battalions.

On May 7 three battalions of the U.S. 3rd Marine Division, together with divisional headquarters, landed in Quang Tin Province in south Viet Nam.

Thus in the space of a few weeks the combat strength of the U.S. forces in south Viet Nam has been brought up to 50,000 of which 20,000 are marines. It is clear that the United States, in pouring more men, money and material into south Viet Nam, is bent on taking a direct part in the war itself.

In a statement on May 9 the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam denounced as brazen acts of war the designation by the United States of the whole of Viet Nam and the waters adjacent to it as a "combat zone," the sending of "Coast Guards" units and the 7th Fleet to operate in the region, and the dispatch of more marines and paratroops to Viet Nam. The South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency, in an authorized statement, warned the U.S. that it is harbouring illusions if it thinks it can reverse a hopeless situation. If U.S. imperialism refuses to get out of south Viet Nam, then it will meet total defeat, it said.

Yankee Intervention Condemned

Dominican Patriots Fight On

It is two weeks since the United States, in an outrageously brazen at-

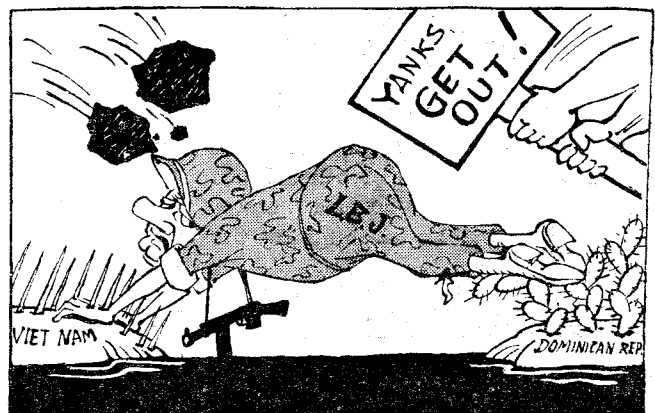
tempt to put down the struggle of patriots to assert their country's independence, landed the first marines and parachute troops in the Dominican Republic. During this time the volume and intensity of protests against the U.S. armed invasion of the small Caribbean nation have grown in all parts of the world. Loudest condemnation naturally comes from Latin American countries where it is widely held that if what happens today in the Dominican Republic is allowed to go unopposed, then worse may befall other countries tomorrow.

Latin Americans condemn the United States for playing "world policeman." When the U.S. Government shot its way into the Dominican Republic, the pretext was the protection of American lives. With American nationals evacuated, the Johnson Administration then declared that it would choose for the Dominican people the kind of government the United States wants. This is a flagrant violation of the "principle of non-intervention and self-determination," which the United States professes to uphold. Mexican President Diaz Ordaz challenged the right the Yankees have arrogated to themselves to lord it in Latin America. He declared: "The Mexican people and Government are unanimous in the opinion that the Dominicans, and only the Dominicans, have the right to decide the form of their government and their own future, and no outside intervention, in whatever form, direct or indirect, overt or covert, is allowed." The Christian Workers and Peasants Federation of Costa Rica said: "We should not allow the creation of any precedent whereby a big power can shape the destiny of a tiny state by sheer brute force."

Whether in the Western Hemisphere or in Asia, Africa or Europe people see a parallel between Yankee ag-

gression in the Dominican Republic and in Viet Nam. France's *Les Echos* said, "The similarity between the Santo Domingo incident and the incident in Viet Nam is clear." Another French paper, *Nation*, asked: "Can one be allowed to interfere militarily in the internal affairs of another country because one does not approve of its regime?" The Canadian *Globe and Mail* wrote: "Johnson's diplomacy in the Dominican crisis, as in Viet Nam, must leave the rest of the world uneasy . . . he has used U.S. military power as a naked assertion of the U.S. interest." *Dawn* of Pakistan commented that, as in Viet Nam, the United States is simply trampling on the rights of smaller nations. The *Ghanaian Times* maintained that "we must uphold for the people of the Dominican Republic, as for the peoples of the Congo, Cuba and Viet Nam, the right to an unfettered, free existence, without interference from the bullets of monopoly capitalism and from the 'mercy killers' of neo-colonialism."

Confronted with worldwide criticism of its blatant intervention, the Johnson Administration is using the Organization of American States to get itself off the hook. It has coerced the O.A.S. into passing, by the bare number of votes required, a resolution to send a so-called "inter-American armed force" to the Dominican Republic to cover up the tracks of its direct intervention. Chile, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador and Uruguay voted against the United States, and Venezuela abstained. In some of the countries which succumbed to the American pressure at



Taking a Beating

Cartoon by Ho Cheng

the O.A.S. sessions the people are demanding that their governments contribute no troops to what can only be an American-dominated "international force." Effigies of Uncle Sam and the stars and stripes have been burnt, American embassies and consulates stoned and attacked in several Latin American capitals. Johnson's special envoys, Harriman and Moscoso, sent to South America to explain American policy have been harassed wherever they went.

In the meantime, the patriotic army and people of the Dominican Republic, led by Francisco Caamano Deno who has been elected Provisional President to head the Constitutional Government, are carrying on the struggle against the U.S. intervention army, now totalling 35,000 men compared with only 400 a fortnight ago.

Resolute in defending their country's honour and full of fight, the patriots take on the invaders in many parts of the capital. During a pitched battle lasting over two hours on May 10 in the "military corridor" linking Santo Domingo with the American-occupied base at San Isidro, they killed one American officer and wounded three paratroopers. Casualties among the invading troops now total 14 dead and 82 wounded.

Francisco Caamano told a press conference on May 7: "We don't want foreign troops in our country, whatever country they come from." On May 10 the Provisional Constitutional Government categorically rejected the plan put forward by a so-called 5-man military committee, which is nothing but a U.S. ruse to get the patriots to lay down their arms. Reports say that a decision was made at the same time to fight the U.S. aggressors to the end.

Yes, the fight is going on. It is a struggle between the patriotic Dominican army and people together with millions and millions of other Latin Americans on one side and Yankee imperialism and its hirelings on the other.

SEATO London Meeting

Cracks Wider Than Ever

SEATO which from May 3 to 5 held its 10th ministerial council meet-

ing in London ended as expected — with the United States empty-handed. The Johnson Administration sought material and moral support from its allies for the war of aggression in Viet Nam. It needed moral support to make the U.S. look less isolated and material support to ease its increasing demands for expendable manpower in a war that even in the United States itself is conceded as being already lost. The plea made by George Ball, deputizing for Secretary of State Rusk who was required in Washington to deal with the situation arising from the American invasion of the Dominican Republic, fell on stony ground. Worse, the position of the United States was made ludicrous by the attitude of two members.

France, a key member of SEATO, took part as an observer only. It had announced this long before the meeting, and Washington was made doubly uncomfortable by a simultaneous declaration that France would not participate in "Sea Horse," the SEATO military exercise to be held this month. In the final communique, drawn up after what the outgoing Secretary-General called a "long and difficult" process, France insisted on the insertion of a sentence which says, "The French Government does not consider itself to be committed." This underlines French disassociation from U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

Pakistan, the biggest Southeast Asian member of the organization, reiterated that it disagrees with the U.S. stance on the Viet Nam question and that it has views of its own on the question of "Malaysia." For the third year running Pakistan has decided to take no part in SEATO manoeuvres and like France will absent itself from the "Sea Horse" operation. On the other hand, Foreign Minister Bhutto told the meeting that Pakistan is much concerned with the armed provocations from India which has the support of the United States. The few who toed the American line were the same old partners. Among them the British Labour Government was most eager to satisfy Washington because it

seeks U.S. support for shoring up British colonial rule "east of Suez," and especially in "Malaysia."

The steady decline in the position of the United States since the Manila meeting a year ago, caused *Combat*, the French paper, to comment on SEATO's progress to its grave: "Already for three years SEATO has been a diseased cell in the U.S. defence system and the policy of France has certainly increased its death throes."

Solidarity With Viet Nam

Trade Unionists' Joint Appeal

Trade unionists from Africa and Palestine who celebrated May Day in Peking with their Chinese comrades issued a joint appeal to workers of all lands to give support, military and material, to the revolutionary forces of south Viet Nam in their struggle to throw U.S. imperialism out. They also called on people of other walks of life the world over similarly to support the valiant Vietnamese patriots who, in fighting to defend their country, are also fighting for all freedom-loving people.

In the statement of support and solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the trade unionists demanded "complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and those of its satellites from south Viet Nam and the recognition of Viet Nam as one independent country." The statement declared: "We appeal to all progressive governments and organizations throughout the world to give recognition to the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front which is the only legal authority representing the people of south Viet Nam."

The trade union officials and the organizations represented who signed the statement are the delegation of the All-African Trade Union Federation, the delegation of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions and trade unionists from Angola, Algeria, Congo (B), Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan, Tanzania, Ghana, Swaziland, U.A.R., Dahomey, South Africa and Basutoland.

ACROSS THE LAND

Peking Militia on Their Toes

PEKING militia units are fighting fit. All units are doing regular and intensive training. They have set periods each week for rifle and bayonet drill, hand-to-hand fighting, grenade throwing and other militia skills. Many new shooting ranges are in use for live shell practice.

The hills around Peking are favourite places for militia manoeuvres. They provide excellent ground for mountain climbing, reconnaissance, signalling, forced marches with full equipment, and storming "enemy" strong-points.

Training has been tied in wherever possible with the trainees' vocational skills. Post and telegraph militia units, for example, practise working under mock battle conditions. Their motorcycle dispatch riders learn to negotiate roads littered with obstacles. They can change a flat tyre in less than a minute. Lorry drivers, blindfolded, can strip, clean and re-assemble carburettors in 20 minutes. Linesmen practise replacing snapped telegraph poles and broken wires under emergency conditions. Nurses, ambulance men and other medical workers train to work efficiently under fire.

In recent demonstrations, airdropped "enemy troops," in the form of balloons, were swiftly dispatched by accurate rifle-fire. "Enemy troops" pushing their way into a village, suffered heavy casualties at the hands of invisible defenders — mines. Crude but lethal mines were the terror of the Japanese aggressors in the War of Resistance Against Japan; today's militia-made and -laid mines are more diversified; they turned innocent-looking chicken coops and cooking pots into deadly booby traps. In another demonstration, ten girls from a suburban rural commune militia unit quickly knocked out "enemy" tanks 1,000 metres away, scoring direct hits

with all four shells from their anti-tank gun.

These spectacular doings were no stunts, but proof of the high level of proficiency of the militia and their readiness to defend their country. People's militia work has been put on a solid organizational, political and military footing.

Lard That Grows

THE Botanical Garden of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in subtropical Hsishuangpanna, Yunnan Province, has found out how to cultivate a tropical plant whose seeds yield up to 200 per cent more edible oil than the same weight of peanuts.

The plant, a creeper, whose scientific name is *Hodgsonia macrocarpa* bears fruit the size of a small water melon. Each fruit has six seeds each as big as a duck's egg with a high fat and protein content. Seventy to 80 per cent of the seed's weight is oil which can be readily pressed out. Since its oil looks, smells and tastes like lard, the plant is commonly known in southern China, where it is indigenous, as the "lard fruit" plant. It grows wild in parts of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and over wide areas between 24 degrees north latitude and the equator.

Botanists began to study cultivation of the creeper in 1959. They gathered 10,000 lard fruit seeds on expeditions in the tropical forests and transplanted some of the plants bodily to the Hsishuangpanna Botanical Garden. Observations and experiments clarified its needs in regard to sunshine, water, fertilizer, optimum temperatures and other conditions for growth and they worked out the basic techniques

for its cultivation. They found that it could be propagated both from seeds and stem cuttings. This latter method facilitates swift extension of the lard fruit plantations and also makes it possible to grow male and female plants in the proper proportions (the creeper is dioecious, having male and female organs on separate plants) which is of great importance for fertilization.

Their studies have convinced Chinese botanists that the lard fruit plant can be cultivated in extensive areas south of the Yangtse valley.

Cultivation improves yields from the plant. In its wild state, a vine bears at most 20 fruit a year. Cultivation increases this number to 50 and even 100 to yield about 5 kilogrammes of oil.

BRIEFS

A second power generating unit has been started up at the big 400,000 kilowatt hydroelectric power station being built at Chesi in Hunan Province, central-south China. The station's first generating unit was commissioned in January 1962.

A new electrically driven machine for tamping earth is being used on Peking construction sites. Operated by one man, it will gradually replace the age-old heavy metal or stone tamping implements which are swung-operated by teams of labourers.



Studying the lard fruit plant of Hsishuangpanna

In the Mighty Anti-U.S. Stream

Chinese art and literature, cinema and theatre, radio and television, are mobilizing for the Chinese people's mighty mass movement to support Viet Nam and drive out the U.S. aggressors. Every artistic medium, visual or aural, is being brought into action.

Gallery of "Tiger-Killers"

Exhibition halls in Peking's Museum of Chinese Art are filled with art works on Viet Nam's struggle. Eleven artists of the Chinese People's Liberation Army contributed a striking set of 38 paintings, mostly done in Chinese ink, which they have named: "In Praise of the Tiger-Killers." The inspiration for their title came from these words of Chairman Mao's: "We must not show the slightest timidity before a wild beast. We must learn from Wu Sung on the Chingyang Ridge . . . either kill the tiger, or be devoured by it!"¹ The Vietnamese people are out to kill the U.S. invaders, and Chinese artists have pictured them in monumental images. It is a gallery of real people whose exploits have stirred the imagination of China's millions. One picture shows a moment of the famous battle of Ap Bac Village in 1963, when a squad of south Vietnamese Liberation Army fighters repulsed repeated enemy infantry attacks backed by 15 tanks. Finally the enemy turned tail, leaving behind three tanks and three dozen dead. Another depicts Nguyen Viet Khai, who brought down 4 helicopters with nine rounds. A third shows the young guerrilla

woman Second Sister Hai Soc penetrating the enemy's lair to deal him a deadly blow. In a fourth painting, the old woman Nguyen Thi Chuoc fearlessly ferries people's fighters across a river in her boat while enemy bullets whiz around her.

The paintings have caught these and other heroes in the midst of action, revealing their courage and the full drama of the moment. Most of the eleven artists were themselves veterans of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. They painted with an understanding born of personal experience.

Woodcuts done by Szechuan engravers are also among the many works displayed at this exhibition. They have carried to new heights the militant tradition of Chinese woodcut



Ho Tan of the South Vietnamese Liberation Army destroys an enemy tank single-handed
Chinese ink painting by Tung Chen-sheng

art. Others are sketches of the Vietnamese frontlines by a young artist just returned from there, and cartoons by well-known cartoonists of the national press, caustically exposing Johnson and his men in their desperate situation.

"Flames Over the Coconut Groves"

After weeks of intensive rehearsals, Chinese theatrical troupes have brought out a number of new shows on the Viet Nam theme for May Day audiences. These include Chinese-style operas, modern plays, *quyi* balladry, short ballets, and special radio and television programmes. Twelve big ensembles in the capital have collaborated to produce an impressive "Support Viet Nam" programme which is attracting thousands to the theatre at every performance and hundreds of thousands more to its radio and TV broadcasts. Effective use of modern stage lighting seems to fill the stage with flames as the words are projected across them: "The Vietnamese People Will Win! The U.S. Aggressors Will Be Defeated!" A P.L.A. chorus of a hundred voices sings militant Vietnamese and Chinese songs; its spirit is echoed in a series of pieces by a P.L.A. brass band, and in dances and solos. The highlight of the programme is a new dance-drama with chorus accompaniment, *Flames Over the Coconut Groves*. Four hundred dancers, actors and singers take part in this. In four scenes it enacts in each a straightforward, typical story of today's Viet Nam. The first scene depicts villagers of a "strategic hamlet" rising against their oppressors, smashing up the enemy's barbed wires and other fortifications in co-ordination with the guerrillas, and setting themselves free. The second, against the background of the Saigon streets, recalls the public execution of the patriot Nguyen Van Troi, the young south Vietnamese worker. His denunciation of the enemy and fearless bearing before

¹ Wu Sung is a hero in the classical novel *Shui Hu Chuan* (*Water Margin*), who single-handedly killed a tiger on Chingyang Ridge. One of the most famous heroes of Chinese fiction.



From "Flames Over the Coconut Groves"
Sketch by Li Ke-yu

the firing squad rouse the people against the murderers. The third scene shows the South Vietnamese Liberation Army in a victorious encounter with the enemy. The fourth portrays the north Vietnamese people, working in fields and factories with rifles at the ready, punishing the U.S. air attackers when they come.

In form, this has borrowed freely from the uniquely attractive and vigorous style of the song and dance epic *The East Is Red*, incorporating poetry recitation, dance and choral singing. Dance predominates — Chinese artistes once again demonstrate their superb skill in blending classical Chinese dance, traditional opera and ballet movements and mime to present revolutionary themes. The third act, in particular, has plenty of satire and Peking opera acrobatics: it depicts the U.S.-puppet soldiers, fearing death, meeting it in a surprising variety of ways on every inch of Vietnamese soil.

Documentary Evidence

Sixty cinemas in Peking are daily showing films about Viet Nam. Similar shows are being screened in all the larger cities across the country. Two of the films are documentaries coming from the frontline studios of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. They give grim eyewitness accounts of murder, arson and loot by the U.S.-

puppet troops, the "strategic hamlet" concentration camps, the aftermath of chemical warfare and poison gas. They reveal the growing resistance of the people. There is an ironical shot of the 1962 incident of two pilots from puppet Ngo Dinh Diem's own air force, circling in Ngo's own plane over his Independence Palace and dropping bombs on it. There are scenes of demonstrations in the cities. In the villages, young and old sharpen bamboo pikes to defend their homes; they carry supplies to their armed forces up rocky cliffs and across dizzy rope bridges. Barehanded guerrillas grow into a well-equipped modern armed force — with weapons captured from the enemy.

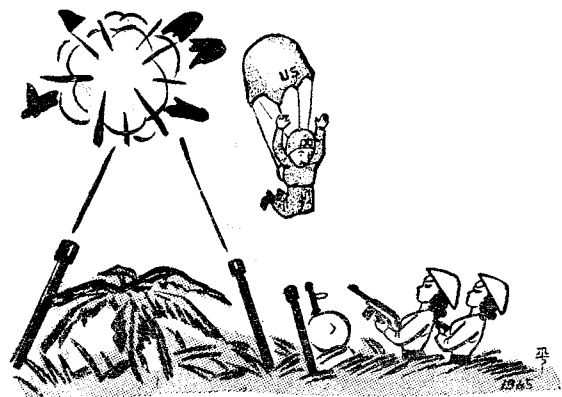
Documentaries from the D.R.V. show the north Vietnamese people ready for the U.S. air pirates. The moment they come, thousands of guns are trained on them, from rooftops, from river banks, from under the thick foliage of coconut and banana trees. One shot shows the capture of the U.S. pilot Robert Shumaker after parachuting from his damaged plane, shakily thanking his stars he is on safe ground again.

Three new Chinese documentaries, besides reviewing the Viet Nam situation up to the south's brilliant Bien Hoa, Binh Gia and Pleiku victories and the blowing up of the U.S. Embassy, include scenes of the demonstrations 11 million strong that surged through China in February.

Best-Sellers on Viet Nam

Letters From the South, two volumes of letters written by south Vietnamese to compatriots in the north, have already reached multi-million sales since their publication in Chinese. Now a number of other books of reportage, short stories and poetry on Viet Nam have become best-sellers. These include *Storm in the South*, *Youth of Fighting South Viet Nam* and others. The press carries a profusion of features, poems and songs written by Vietnamese and Chinese authors, and cartoons, illustrations and other art works. Many are contributed by ordinary workers, peasants and soldiers.

China's cultural workers, rising as one man, are responding to the call of their National People's Congress: to support Viet Nam with deeds.



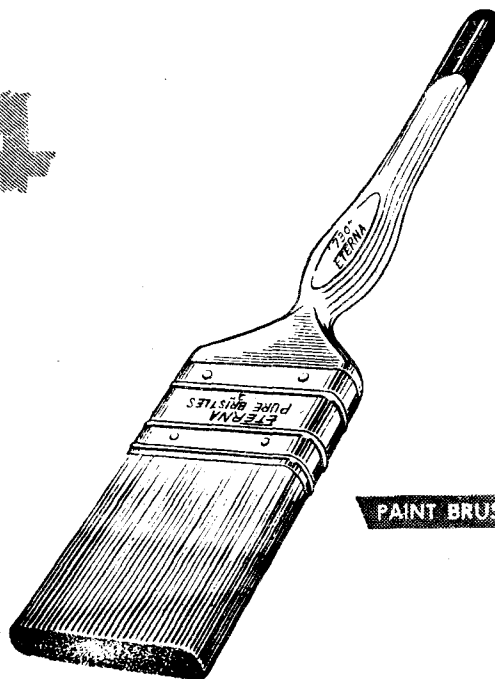
"Let's attack! There's only women and children here!"

By worker cartoonist Wang Ping

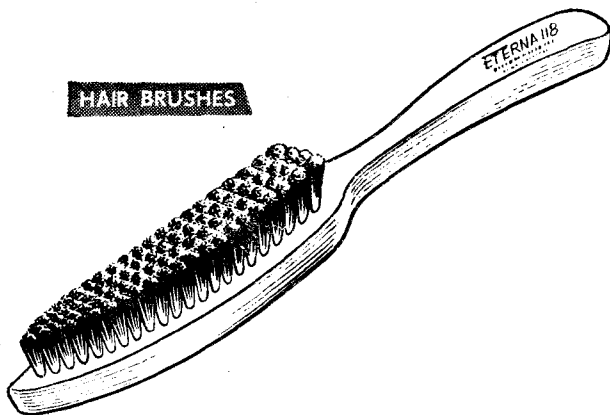
ETERNA

BRUSHES

with
genuine bristles



PAINT BRUSHES

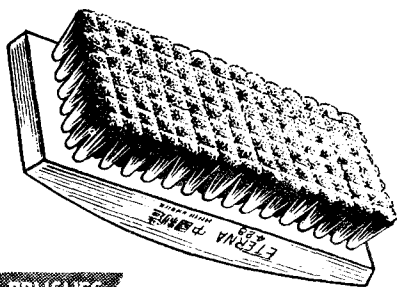


HAIR BRUSHES

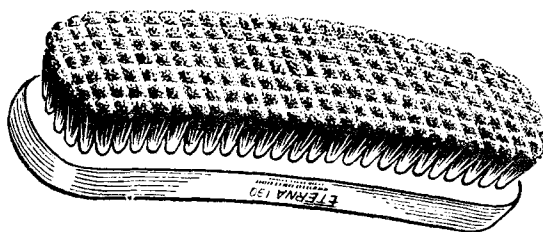
Genuine pig bristle brushes in a wide range of shapes and sizes

ETERNA for the best bristle brushes

Orders for brushes made to your specifications are also welcomed



SHOE BRUSHES



CLOTHES BRUSHES

The SHANGHAI BRANCH of the

CHINA NATIONAL ANIMAL BY-PRODUCTS IMPORT & EXPORT CORP.

Address: 23 Chungshan Road E.1, Shanghai, China

Cable Address: "BYPRODUCTS" Shanghai