Premier Chou En-lai:

CHINA READY TO TAKE UP
U.S. CHALLENGE

If U.S. imperialism insists on another trial of strength with China, the Chinese people will fight back to the end.
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by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong

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Published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi  
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Protests Against Anti-Chinese Provocations

In spite of the guarantee by the Indonesian Government against the recurrence of attacks by hooligans on the Chinese Consulate in Medan in North Sumatra, a similar outrage took place on December 10. In its December 15 note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against this second raid on the Chinese Consulate in Medan by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing forces.

On the morning of December 10, the so-called North Sumatra Revolutionary Youth Mass Action Headquarters called a meeting at Medan Stadium. The Acting Governor of North Sumatra Province and the Chief of Staff of the Second Military Region spoke at the meeting. When it was over, the participants went out on the streets in several groups. While some committed atrocities against Chinese nationals, hundreds attacked the Chinese Consulate in Medan, shouting such anti-Chinese slogans as “Down with the People’s Republic of China!” “Kill Chinese!” and “Kill all the Chinamen!” while throwing stones and bricks at the Consulate building, while some broke into its compound, tried to seize the Chinese national flag and carried out shocking provocations. The attack went on for five and a half hours, as a result of which three staff members of the Consulate were injured, thirteen window-panes were smashed, and the heavily damaged roof leaked badly that night when rain fell.

Protesting against this outrage, the Chinese Embassy’s note declared: “The Chinese Embassy expressed its great indignation at the extremely serious raid on the Chinese Consulate in Medan by the Indonesian Right-wing forces on December 10. It hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government and demands that the latter publicly apologize for the above-mentioned incident, effectively investigate it and punish the culprits and those who instigated them, compensate the Consulate for all the losses and promptly and seriously take effective measures to fulfill its promise that no similar incidents would recur.”

Blood-Curdling Atrocities

Extremely serious cases of arson, murder, looting and other outrages against Chinese nationals perpetrated by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing forces took place in Medan and its adjacent areas on December 10. In its note of December 18 to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, the Chinese Embassy lodged another strongest protest with the Indonesian Government.

On December 10, after the meeting at Medan Stadium, more than 1,000 hooligans carrying axes, knives, clubs and stones set off in different groups and carried out shocking outrages against Chinese nationals in Medan for six hours. They wrecked Chinese shops and houses, looted their property and burnt or smashed up what could not be easily carried away. They drove away or burnt all the motor-cars and motor cycles they could lay their hands on. They raided the overseas Chinese Yuk Tjai School, burnt the school buses and smashed up the office. Many hooligans blocked the streets and beat up Chinese nationals at will; hundreds of Chinese were so seriously injured that they had to be hospitalized. Particularly serious damage was done to Chinese nationals in Djalan Serdang, Djalan Sentosa, Djalan Sungei Kerak, Kampus Sukaramai, Kampus Sambu Baru and Pasar Sentral. Incomplete reports reveal that several hundred households were completely ruined; more than 1,000 persons had to seek collective shelter for the night as a result of the damage done to their houses and the serious threat to their lives.
On the same day, hooligans also made a shambles of Chinese houses and shops and murdered Chinese nationals in Titiipan, Simpang Tiga, Tandjong Morawa, Batang Kuwis and Stabat, all near and around Medan. Investigations for details are still being made.

The most serious aspect of these outrages was the brazen murder and rape of Chinese nationals. Tan Peng KI, a Chinese national, was attacked by a number of hooligans. His teeth were knocked out, his lips were cut and his face was badly bruised. He was stabbed eight times. Last seen, he was lying in a pool of blood, dying. In Pulau-Brajank, 16 Chinese nationals were savagely beaten up and knived. On his way home from Belawan, Liem Sun-Hi was attacked and stabbed by hooligans. Unconscious from his wounds, he was thrown into the river Sungel Deli. Tjiem It Sui, a council member of the Hwa Klaauw Chung Hui of Stabat, died from more than 20 stabs. Oei A Tjong, another Chinese national, had his head chopped off. Lie Thian Seng, a Chinese driver, was stopped and murdered by hooligans in the street in Tandjong Morawa. In addition to these atrocities, several cases of rape of Chinese women have been reported.

The Chinese Embassy's note of protest said that, judging by the preliminary information obtained, the racist atrocities against Chinese nationals stage-managed by the Right-wing forces in North Sumatra were inhuman in the extreme. "These acts of arson, murder, looting and other atrocities against Chinese nationals were planned in advance," said the note. "Proof of this can be found in the fact that a meeting was held beforehand and addressed by important officials of the local army and government authorities, that the hooligans carried clubs, stones and sharp weapons with them, and that they went into action in different groups immediately after the meeting broke up. The Chinese Embassy expresses extreme indignation at the tragic cases of persecution and slaughter of Chinese nationals in Medan on December 10 and judges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government. The Embassy demands that the Indonesian Government severely punish those who master-minded the incident and the murderers of Chinese nationals, give relief to the bereaved families of the innocent victims, compensate the Chinese nationals for all their losses and give relief to those Chinese nationals who have lost their means of livelihood and become homeless. The Chinese Embassy once again demands that the Indonesian Government take resolute and effective measures to truly protect the lives and property of the Chinese nationals and guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents."

Since full knowledge of the atrocities were as yet not available, the Chinese Embassy noted that it reserved the right to raise further demands.

Chairman Liu Greets President de Gaulle

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent a message on December 20 to President Charles de Gaulle congratulating him on his re-election to the Presidency of the French Republic. The Chinese leader wished the French President good health and the French people happiness.

Indian Denial of Armed Intrusion Refuted

The Indian troops who intruded into Chinese territory at Tagi La on the China-Sikkim border on December 12 and attacked the Chinese frontier guards on duty have left behind abundant evidence of their intrusion. After the attack was repulsed (see Peking Review, No. 51, p. 19), the Indian authorities, in an attempt to mislead the public and evade responsibility, spread the lie that 300 Chinese soldiers crossed into Sikkim that day and fired on an Indian patrol.

But traces of Indian artillery bombardment and other evidence of Indian intrusion left in the snow-covered pasture near Tagi La gave the lie to the Indian fabrication. A nine-centimetre-long Indian 'shell fragment was found in a crater, and at a point some 500 metres on the Chinese side of the border line the Indian intruders left a heap of British rifle cartridge cases behind. In addition, there were five British-made rifles, a tommy-gun, a light machine-gun, 11 mortar shells, six grenades and more than 1,000 rounds of ammunition and other military materials. The bodies of five dead Indian soldiers were all found on Chinese territory. In face of such irrefutable evidence, the Indian authorities can never escape the responsibility for their crimes. The Indian claim that 30 Chinese soldiers were killed in the clash is a pure fabrication and a futile attempt to present the Indian defeat as a victory.

Expressing their great indignation at the Indian troops' intrusion and armed attack, the Chinese frontier guards warned that no encroachment on China's sacred territory could be tolerated. They declared that resolute and head-on blows would be dealt to anyone who dared to intrude into China's territory.

Indian Air Intrusion Protested

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Indian Embassy on December 16, strongly protested against an Indian military aircraft's intrusion into China's air space on
Premier Chou En-lai:

China Is Ready to Take Up U.S. Challenge

- It is possible that U.S. imperialism will go a step further and extend its war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China and to China.
- Should U.S. imperialism insist on having another trial of strength with the Chinese people, the Chinese people will resolutely take up the challenge and fight to the end.
- The Chinese people will unswervingly side with the fraternal Vietnamese people and contribute all their efforts to the defeat of U.S. imperialism until final victory.
- The Vietnamese people’s sacred cause for liberating the south, defending the north and reunifying their fatherland is bound to triumph.

Following are excerpts from Premier Chou En-lai’s speech at the reception given in Peking on the evening of December 20 by Tran Van Thanh, Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to China, to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the founding of the N.F.L. — Ed.

At present, U.S. imperialism is deeply bogged down in its war of aggression against Viet Nam,” Premier Chou said. “The more extended the war, the heavier the defeats of U.S. imperialism and the greater the internal and external difficulties of the Johnson Administration. However, U.S. imperialism will not reconcile itself to its defeat. It will continue to put up a desperate struggle, to pursue its reckless course and to try to seek a way out by war blackmail.

“Recently, the U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara visited southern Viet Nam for the seventh time, and U.S. military and government bigwigs are busy confering and rushing here and there to plot new schemes for expanding the war. First in south Viet Nam itself, the United States is continuing to send in reinforcements, building large military harbours and airfields and increasing its armed strength on the sea. Meanwhile, outside of southern Viet Nam, too, the United States is preparing to take further actions.

“These actions include: extensively bombing northern Viet Nam including Haiphong and Hanoi in an attempt to sap the fighting will of the north Vietnamese people to defend their fatherland and support and assist the south; harassing and blockading the Bac Bo Gulf in the hope of cutting the sea communications of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; bombing the central and southern parts of Laos liberated by the Neo Lao Haksat and preparing to dispatch U.S. and Thai troops to occupy this area together with the troops of the Laotian Rightists in an attempt to link it with Thailand and south Viet Nam; bombing and attacking the Xieng Khouang area of Laos in an attempt to block the main highways linking the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Laos; and instigating the puppet cliques of Thailand and south Viet Nam to intensify attacks and disruptive activities against Cambodia in the hope of sealing off the borders between Cambodia and south Viet Nam.

“Obviously, the aim of the United States is to enforce a water-tight blockade on south Viet Nam and render the south Vietnamese people isolated and bereft of help in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, thus saving itself from defeat in south Viet Nam. If it still fails to achieve this aim—and it certainly will fail—it is possible that in accordance with the objective laws governing the development of aggressive wars, U.S. imperialism will go a step further and extend its war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China and to China. And indeed U.S. imperialism is now making preparations for this eventuality.”

“In order to cover up the truth of its expansion of the war of aggression and gain time for making arrangements according to its wild military plans, U.S. imperialism is at the moment again chanting ‘peace talks,’” continued Premier Chou. “The Johnson Administration proclaims that the United States ‘is ready to talk, unconditionally, anywhere’; it is preparing to play once again the trick of the ‘temporary suspension of bombing,’ saying that it is ‘not excluding the possibility of another halt in the bombing as a step towards peace.’ Following the clamour by the Johnson Administration, some people who are keen on helping U.S. imperialism have become more active in running errands for it, trying to make people believe
that the Johnson Administration has changed its nature and that on the question of Viet Nam it is really willing to lay down its butcher's knife and give up aggression."

"But people have had experience of this trick of the Johnson Administration several times," Premier Chou continued. "Since the beginning of this year, it has been playing the trick of 'peace talks'; it did so every time it brought reinforcements to south Viet Nam and took a step to escalate its war of aggression in Viet Nam. There are actually conditions in its so-called 'unconditional negotiations'; in other words, the south Vietnamese people are asked to lay down their arms and stop their resistance and the north Vietnamese people are asked to desist from supporting and assisting their compatriots in the south.

"The 'temporary suspension of bombing' in May this year has long been proved a clumsy act of war blackmail. People know full well that while playing the trick of dual tactics, the Johnson Administration has only one objective in mind, namely, to occupy southern Viet Nam, perpetuate the division of Viet Nam and turn southern Viet Nam into its colony and base for aggression. It is for this objective that U.S. imperialism has unleashed and expanded its aggressive war, and it is likewise for this objective that U.S. imperialism clamours about 'unconditional negotiations' and is even preparing to stage once again the farce of 'temporary suspension of bombing.' This objective remains the same despite all the changes. U.S. imperialism will not give up this arrogant attempt until its thorough defeat. Before that, the outrages of the Johnson Administration about 'unconditional negotiations' and 'temporary suspension of bombing' serve only as a prelude and smoke-screen in expanding its war.

"The facts are very clear. The Vietnamese people have not committed any aggression against the United States. It is the United States that has committed aggression against Viet Nam. The war of aggression in Viet Nam has been launched against the Vietnamese people entirely by U.S. imperialism. Therefore, the liberation of south Viet Nam and then the achievement of peaceful reunification of Viet Nam must never be based on the terms laid down by the aggressors, but must be based on the four-point proposition put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 8 and the five-part statement made by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation on March 22, to the effect that U.S. imperialism must stop its aggression against Viet Nam, withdraw all U.S. troops and war material from south Viet Nam and leave the Vietnamese people to settle their own problems. In a word, the aggressors must withdraw from Viet Nam and there can be no other alternative.

"Instead of accepting the above reasonable propositions of the Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism is now 'escalating' its war of aggression in Viet Nam. In these circumstances, the only choice for the Vietnamese people is to carry on the fight resolutely and vigorously until the U.S. aggressors are driven out of Viet Nam.

The only thing for all peace-loving countries and peoples to do is to give resolute support to the Vietnamese people in thoroughly defeating the U.S. aggressors.

"It is all the more the bounden international duty of every socialist country to give all-out support to the fraternal Vietnamese people. Therefore, whether or not a socialist country firmly supports the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in their just stand against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, whether or not it constantly exposes and combats the peace talk scheme of U.S. imperialism and whether or not it genuinely gives the Vietnamese people effective and practical material aid in good time constitute an important criterion for judging whether its anti-imperialism is real or sham and whether its help to the Vietnamese people is real or sham.

"If a person covertly conspires with U.S. imperialism while giving some superficial aid to the Vietnamese people, if he actually serves the U.S. imperialist plot of peace talks while shouting a few slogans against U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam, and if he actually sows discord in an attempt to undermine the Vietnamese people's unity against U.S. aggression and the unity of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples against U.S. imperialism while professing that the socialist countries should unite to fight imperialism, then he is definitely not helping the Vietnamese people but is capitalizing on the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people for a dirty deal with the United States and hoping to attain his ulterior motive through such 'aid.' This is an impermissible betrayal not only of the Vietnamese people, but of the people of all the socialist countries and the people of the whole world as well."

In conclusion Premier Chou said: "The heroic Vietnamese people are not to be cowed or duped. They understand clearly from their own experience that however ferocious it may be and whatever steps it may take in escalating the war, U.S. imperialism must and can be defeated and that the Vietnamese people's sacred cause for liberating the south, defending the north and reunifying their fatherland is bound to triumph.

"As a fraternal neighbour closely linked with the Vietnamese people like the lips and teeth, the Chinese Government and the 650 million Chinese people firmly support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and firmly support the four-point proposition of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five-part statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The Chinese people have long been prepared. Should U.S. imperialism insist on going further along the road of war expansion and having another trial of strength with the Chinese people, the Chinese people will resolutely take up the challenge and fight to the end. Come what may, the Chinese people will unwaveringly side with the fraternal Vietnamese people and contribute all our efforts to the defeat of U.S. imperialism until final victory."
China Celebrates N.F.L. Anniversary

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

China marked the 5th anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation (December 20) with warm tributes to the great victories of people's war in south Viet Nam and with renewed pledges of support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The press carried a mass of material on the political, economic and military successes scored by the south Vietnamese people during the five years since the founding of the N.F.L., while rallies, receptions, reports by visitors lately in Viet Nam, meetings with Vietnamese friends and exhibitions, special showings of Vietnamese films and presentation of the Chinese play As He Was about the young Vietnamese martyr Nguyen Van Troi were some of the many activities by which the Chinese people demonstrated their solidarity with their Vietnamese brothers who are in the forefront of the worldwide anti-U.S. struggle.

Vietnamese Reception

In Peking, Tran Van Thanh, Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to China, gave a grand reception on December 20 to celebrate the occasion.

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, and other Chinese leaders attended the reception. Also present were Hoang Bao, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic in China; Phouni Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Neo Lao Haksat and Minister of Information, Publicity and Tourism of the Laotian National Union Government; Ichiryo Sunama, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party; N. Sammugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon; Phayom Chulanont, representative of the Thailand Patriotic Front; Anna Louise Strong, American writer; diplomatic envoys of various countries in China; and friends from Asia, Africa, Latin America and other continents.

Premier Chou En-lai spoke at length (for speech see page 5). Tran Van Thanh in his speech forcefully condemned U.S. imperialism for its desperate efforts to step up its aggressive war in south Viet Nam, extend the war to north Viet Nam, intensify the war in Laos and carry out provocations against Cambodia. He exposed the Johnson Administration's "unconditional discussions" hoax and the U.S. scheme to use the United Nations to achieve its aggressive ends. He declared: "If U.S. imperialism, remaining obdurate and incorrigible, continues its mad dash along the road of military adventure and wilfully and arbitrarily persists in intensifying and expanding the war, the 14 million people of south Viet Nam, along with the 17 million people of north Viet Nam, are resolved not to lay down their arms but to fight until final victory, even if they have to fight for another 10 years, 20 years or still longer."

Premier Chou's Greetings

Earlier, on December 19, Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, sent warm anniversary greetings to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

"The heroic struggle of the people of south Viet Nam and their brilliant exploits," he declared, "have immensely inspired the struggles of all oppressed nations and people of the world, won the wholehearted admiration and support of the people of all countries and made most important contributions to the common cause of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace."

Noting that the south Viet Nam army and people had given full play to the infinite might of people's war, grown more powerful in the course of the fighting and dealt the enemy one heavy blow after another, Premier Chou told President Nguyen Huu Tho: "Your victories have greatly boosted the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the arrogance of the imperialists. They are fresh proof that swashbuckling U.S. imperialism is only a paper tiger and can certainly be defeated, and that those who are really strong are the awakened, united people persevering in struggle."

"The struggle of the south Vietnamese people is a powerful support and inspiration for the Chinese people. The Chinese Government and people have always regarded it as their bounden international duty to support the just cause of the south Vietnamese people. The fraternal friendship between the two peoples is unbreakable. We will always stand beside the fraternal
U.S. Fabrication Exposed

The Viet Nam News Agency exposed as lies the reports circulated by the U.S. State Department on what the State Department called “a probe about negotiation” on the part of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The reports were based on the contents of a message from Italian Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani, President of the U.N. General Assembly, to U.S. President Johnson. In an authorized statement issued on December 18, the Viet Nam News Agency declared that these news reports by the U.S. State Department were “sheer groundless fabrication.”

The Viet Nam News Agency in a commentary pointed out that this act of the United States was part of its peace hoax and was calculated to cover up new and extremely dangerous steps in its military adventure in Viet Nam.

Renmin Ribao’s Commentator in an article on December 20 said that the Viet Nam News Agency’s statement and commentary fully exposed the Johnson Administration’s shameless rumour-mongering and struck a telling blow at U.S. imperialism’s “peace talks” scheme. From this people could see that U.S. imperialism had lost all sense of decency and would stop at nothing in playing its counter-revolutionary dual tactics.

Commentator pointed out that in choosing Fanfani as his accomplice this time, Johnson clearly had some special design in mind. In his eyes, Fanfani as President of the U.N. General Assembly, just like U Thant as U.N. Secretary-General, could help the United States to bring pressure to bear on the Vietnamese people through the instrumentality of the United Nations. It has long been no secret that the United States had all along wanted to get the United Nations to meddle in Viet Nam.

However, Commentator added, all Washington’s tricks are in vain. No one can help U.S. Imperialism. The United Nations has absolutely no right to interfere in Vietnamese affairs. In the face of the determination of the Vietnamese people to carry their anti-U.S. patriotic struggle through to the end, all the underhand dealings of U.S. imperialism will serve no other purpose than to expose its own evil designs.

people of south Viet Nam and struggle against the U.S. aggressor to the very end,” the Premier pledged.

Also on the eve of the anniversary, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council Yeh Chien-yng gave a banquet. In the presence of Vice-Premier Chen Yi and leading members of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army, he said to Vietnamese comrades: “The Chinese people and the Chinese People’s Liberation Army are keenly concerned with your struggle, and are ready at all times to fight shoulder to shoulder with you. Come what may and irrespective of any risks, we will support you in all fields with all our strength, till the U.S. aggressors are thoroughly liquidated.”

Peking Rally

Climax of the celebrations in Peking was a 10,000-strong rally at the Great Hall of the People, during which representatives of the Chinese people and people from all parts of the world hailed the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as organizer and leader of the victorious fight of the people of south Viet Nam and saluted the heroic Vietnamese people who are engaged in a determined struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Among the speakers were Hoang Bac, Vietnamese Charge d’Affaires ad interim, and Sidney Rittenberg, an American friend in Peking.

Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, delivered the keynote address.

Hailing the exploits of the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces which in recent battles had knocked out one-fourth of the 33 invading U.S. combat battalions in south Viet Nam, Peng Chen emphasized that these were fresh victories in direct combat with U.S. imperialism. “They once again prove that in essence U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger and that it is no match for a people daring to fight and win. U.S. imperialism which was defeated on the battlefields of Korea will surely be completely defeated on the battlefields of Viet Nam.”

Peng Chen went on to condemn the modern revisionists who were scared out of their wits by U.S. imperialism’s military power and war blackmail. “They not only have no confidence in the strength of the peoples, but they are afraid that the people’s armed struggle will cause great trouble for them, shatter their fond dream of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination and upset their dirty political bargaining with the U.S. aggressors. They have been doing everything possible to belittle, vilify and sabotage people’s wars and have allied themselves with the U.S. imperialists in an attempt to extinguish the flames of people’s wars. But the great victories of the south Viet Nam people’s war have thoroughly exploded the defeatist and capitulationist propaganda of the modern revisionists and increasingly exposed them as renegades who regard enemy as friend.”

Dwelling on the international significance of the Vietnamese people’s struggle, Peng Chen declared: “It has pinned down and depleted the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism and upset its counter-revolutionary ‘global strategy.’ It is a powerful support to all other countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and the whole world who are subjected to U.S. aggression, interven-
tion, control and bullying, and is a great contribution to the defence of world peace.”

Peng Chen concluded: “The Chinese people sincerely admire the heroism of the Vietnamese people. They stand solidly behind their just struggle. The peoples of China and Viet Nam are dear brothers and close comrades-in-arms. They have always assisted and supported each other. By shedding blood in a war of resistance at the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle, the Vietnamese people are today giving powerful support and assistance to the Chinese people. The militant friendship and solidarity of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties, countries and peoples are based on proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, and they are long-tested and unbreakable. No one will ever succeed in his attempt to disrupt the unity of our two peoples. The 650 million Chinese people will always stand on the side of the fraternal Vietnamese people. The Chinese people have made every preparation and are determined to make their contributions, together with the Vietnamese people, to the final defeat of U.S. imperialism—the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.”

Tran Van Thanh, Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to China, told the rally about the major victories of the fighting south Vietnamese people since the birth of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. These, he said, were “victories for the correct revolutionary line formulated by the N.F.L. which integrates political struggle with armed struggle and calls for attack on the enemy in both the political and military fields and by disintegrating the enemy forces.”

The victories, Tran Van Thanh declared, proved the invincibility of people’s war. “With its mighty strength, people’s war can defeat any aggressors, no matter how numerous they are, no matter what kind of weapons and equipment they possess, and no matter whether they are U.S. expeditionary forces or the armies of other imperialist powers.

“It is the human factor, not weapons, which decides the outcome of war. This truth is shining out with even greater brilliance in the war now going on in south Viet Nam.”

Tran Van Thanh noted that it was the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation which had led the revolution in south Viet Nam along its victorious path and organized and led the invincible Liberation Armed Forces. “For the people of the world,” he said, “it is the voice of the N.F.L. which must be decisive in settling all questions concerning south Viet Nam. All this shows that the N.F.L. and it alone is the sole true representative of the south Vietnamese people.”

After affirming that the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples are bound by a common destiny, Tran Van Thanh said: “Acting in the noble spirit of internationalism, the fraternal Chinese people have spared no sacrifice to support the anti-U.S. struggle in south Viet Nam. . . . The moral support and material assistance given by the Chinese people have constituted a positive contribution to the brilliant successes achieved by the south Vietnamese people during the past five years.”

Salute the Great, Heroic South Vietnamese People

— Greeting the 5th Anniversary of the Founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation —

A Strategic Situation of Cities Being Encircled From the Countryside

FIVE years is a very short time. But in this period, the situation in south Viet Nam has undergone earth-shaking changes. The once weak, few and scattered guerrillas have now become the powerful people’s armed forces comprising the Liberation Army, the local forces and the militia-guerrillas. In this time, the south Vietnamese army and people put a total of more than 600,000 U.S.-puppet troops, including over 20,000 U.S. aggressor troops, out of action. Four-fifths of the territory of south Viet Nam with an aggregate population of over 10 million have been liberated. The south
Vietnamese people have built up secure bases from which they can persevere in their struggle. Communication lines used by the American aggressors and their puppets have been systematically cut. U.S. and puppet occupied cities are being heavily encircled. Enemy-occupied areas have been reduced to a number of islands in a tempestuous sea. A strategic situation in which the cities are being encircled from the countryside has come about and becomes irreversible. The situation in south Viet Nam has never been so favourable for the people's struggle as now.

**U.S. Aggressors Driven Into a Passive Position**

In these five years, the swashbuckling U.S. imperialists have suffered many defeats at the hands of the south Vietnamese people. Their painstakingly designed “special warfare” has ended in a fiasco and their much vaunted “naval and air superiority” has proved useless. The ground forces they desperately threw in have got them nowhere. Their “escalation” strategy has run up against a stone wall. Their plan to seal off south Viet Nam and crush the south Vietnamese people has failed. Their fundamental weaknesses—manpower shortage, low morale, far-flung battle fronts, remote rear and logistical difficulties—have been further exposed. In a word, the U.S. aggressors have been driven into a passive and vulnerable position. South Viet Nam has become a graveyard for them.

The heroic struggle of the south Vietnamese people has boosted the will of all oppressed nations and peoples to fight for their own emancipation. They have set a shining example for all other revolutionary peoples of daring to struggle and being good at winning victories. Their experience in the struggle is not confined to a single country. It enriches the treasure-house of experience in the worldwide armed struggle against U.S. imperialism.

**Armed Struggle Is the Road to Complete Liberation**

The reality of the south Vietnamese people's struggle shows the people of the world that armed struggle is the road which the oppressed nations and peoples should take to attain true independence and strive for complete liberation.

What are the people's armed forces? They are freedom, equality, independence and state power. Without the people's armed forces, there can be no people's freedom, equality, independence, state power or anything else for the people.

What is U.S. imperialism relying on for acting like an overlord throughout the world? What is it relying on to launch aggression and intervention, to exercise control over and bully others on the five continents? It is relying on its counter-revolutionary armed forces, its huge war machine. In the circumstances, the revolutionary peoples will not be able to touch a hair of the rule of imperialism and reaction if they do not take up arms and wage armed struggle. Revolutionary violence is the only language that the imperialists can really understand. It is only by taking up arms and through armed struggle that the people can destroy the old world dominated by imperialism and create a new one of national liberation, of independence and sovereignty, of democracy and freedom. Under the present conditions, people's war is the best form of armed struggle waged by the oppressed nations and peoples against imperialism and the most effective magic weapon to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

**An Irreconcilable Contradiction**

The contradiction between imperialism and its lackeys on the one hand and the oppressed nations and people on the other is an irreconcilable one involving a life and death conflict. Imperialism will never hand independence and sovereignty to the oppressed nations and peoples on a silver platter. The struggle to solve this contradiction may take many forms, but armed struggle is the main and decisive form. This is the universally applicable law of class struggle and social progress.

The reality of the struggle of the south Vietnamese people shows the people of the world that the reliable guarantee for persevering in and developing the struggle and attaining victory is to mobilize the masses on the broadest possible scale.

What are the people? The people are the majority. They mean superiority, wisdom and strength. To be with the people means to be with more than 90 percent of the population. With the people, one will possess the greatest resources of manpower and material. With the people, one will be able to find countless ways and means of defeating the enemy and overcoming difficulties. With the people, one will command the greatest strength to overpower and crush all enemies.

**The People Are the Real Heroes**

It is the people who are the real heroes. The cause of revolution, armed struggle and liberation is after all the cause of the masses of the people themselves. When the masses realize that they should fight for their own vital interests and rise up to liberate themselves, everything else will be easy. The course of history is determined not by imperialism and the reactionaries, nor by modern weapons but by the people. The people alone are the motive force that propels history forward. The people alone are the makers of history.

The reality of the struggle of the south Vietnamese people shows the people of the world that to defeat U.S. imperialist armed aggression and suppression there must be the indomitable spirit of revolutionary heroism.

**Spirit of Revolutionary Heroism**

What is this spirit of revolutionary heroism? It consists in the political consciousness of the people, their courage and readiness to make sacrifices and to defy.
hardships and death. This readiness to defy hardships and death is the greatest combat power of the people and the people's armed forces, their best weapon and the spiritual atom bomb which they alone possess.

To defeat imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is of course no easy matter. U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and most brutal in the world today. The multifarious types of modern weapons it possesses are for suppressing and conquering the revolutionary peoples and for threatening and cowing them. In fact, so long as the people do not submit to its violent suppression, are not cowed by its war menace but have boundless courage, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave, then there is nothing terrible at all about U.S. imperialism. It is outwardly strong and internally brittle, it bullies the weak and fears the dauntless. It looks very fierce but is in reality a paper tiger. All this finds concentrated expression in the U.S. aggressor troops. These troops are most fearful of hardships and death. Fighting a war in an alien country, they become powerless when climatic conditions do not agree with them or when they come across difficult terrain and on top of this they have to engage in close-range, night or hand-to-hand combat. U.S. imperialism can be defeated.

The revolutionary heroic spirit of defying hardships and death is an expression of revolutionary staunchness and thoroughness, the greatest moral treasure of the oppressed nations and peoples for defeating imperialism and its lackeys. If an armed unit possesses this spirit, it becomes a most courageous and determined unit. If a country or nation possesses this spirit, it becomes an unconquerable country or nation.

("Renmin Ribao's" December 19 editorial, abridged.)

"The U.S. Is Bound to Lose and We Are Sure to Win"

S. Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces Commander
Comments on the War Situation in S. Viet Nam

A COMMANDER of the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces Command answered questions put to him by a Hsinhua correspondent on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

The questions and answers follow:

War Prospects

Q. The prospects for south Viet Nam's anti-U.S. struggle to save the country are very splendid. Would Comrade Commander give us a picture of the present situation in the struggle on the south Viet Nam battlefield and its main features?

A. At the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965, the more than 500,000 puppet troops trained and commanded by some ten thousand American military advisers were badly squashed by the south Viet Nam people and Liberation Armed Forces, so much so that the whole puppet regime and army set-up was on the verge of total collapse. In face of this serious defeat, the Johnson Administration, in a bid to extricate itself from this unfavourable situation and to turn the tide, took the step of sending U.S. expeditionary forces to south Viet Nam in defiance of worldwide condemnation.

When U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara came to south Viet Nam to inspect the war situation last July, he looked fierce and puffed up but was bitterly disappointed at heart. He reached the conclusion that the battlefield initiative had passed into the hands of the Viet Cong, that is, into our hands. In other words, he admitted that the U.S. aggressors no longer had the initiative on the battlefield, that is to say, they had lost to us.

Subsequently, the U.S. Government, while giving as much help as possible to the puppet army, began rushing more than 70,000 U.S. expeditionary troops to south Viet Nam for a dry season offensive to wrest back the initiative on the battlefield. The U.S. authorities and American generals were rather pleased with themselves from last August to September, though they did not draw the conclusion that they had regained the initiative on the battlefield. However, the Yankees suffered crushing defeats from the middle of October.
to November, in Van Tuong, Da Nang, Chu Lai, Plei Me, Dat Cuoc, Bau Bang, Ben Cat, Dau Tieng and other places. In the wake of this series of defeats, McNamara found himself again in south Viet Nam inspecting the war situation. He heaved a long sigh and declared: "We have stopped losing the war."

This means that they have lost to us. This means that the U.S. lost at the beginning of the year, that it did not win in the middle of the year and that it again lost heavily at the end of the year. That was why McNamara said they must stop losing.

The general situation in the past year was as follows: the puppet troops numbered more than 500,000, the U.S. troops in south Viet Nam approached the figure of 200,000, there were 80,000 men in the U.S. 7th Fleet and nearly 2,000 U.S. Air Force planes, including B-52 strategic bombers, the daily war expenditure was 16 million U.S. dollars and the monthly figure for military supplies was 500,000 tons. Nevertheless, the U.S.-puppet gang has suffered heavier defeats than ever before. We have wiped out or disintegrated more than 150,000 puppet troops, including the complete annihilation of some one hundred puppet main force companies and 40 puppet main force battalions, wiped out over 15,000 U.S. troops including the complete annihilation of more than ten companies, five infantry battalions and four armoured car detachments, destroyed or shot down more than 800 planes, etc. The United States pinned high hopes on the dry season. Now two months have passed since it began and the U.S. is still losing and losing more dismally than during the monsoon. It can be said that up to now, the U.S. forces have still not seized the initiative on the battlefield. However, it will be quite some time before the dry season ends and the U.S. is planning to launch more counter-attacks. We are also continuing to deal them blows.

How will the situation develop? We are convinced that the U.S. is bound to lose and we are sure to win.

Reasons for Victory

Q. U.S. imperialism has suffered and will continue to suffer ever more tragic defeats in the war of aggression it has kindled in south Viet Nam. Would Comrade Commander explain why the people of south Viet Nam will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors? What are the main factors that contribute to the certainty of final victory for the people of south Viet Nam?

A. We people of south Viet Nam and the various armed forces will surely defeat the U.S. aggressors and win final victory. The reasons are as follows:

1. The south Viet Nam puppet army is weak indeed, but the U.S. army is not strong either. This is because imperialism is the aggressor and justice is not on its side.

2. We have been victorious in the past 11 years. We are now the victor and shall remain so.

3. We people of south Viet Nam and the united Viet Nam national fighting forces to resist U.S. aggression and save the country are invincible. We have the National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of south Viet Nam, we have justice on our side and we follow a correct political line.

4. U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys are no match at all for the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces which follow the correct line of people's war.

5. Like kith and kin, north Viet Nam, half of our country, is supporting us and will continue to support us.

6. The people of the whole world, including the great Chinese people, are extending warm sympathy and wholehearted support to us.

Experience in Armed Struggle

Q. In their prolonged fight, the south Viet Nam people, holding high the banner of anti-imperialist armed struggle, have accumulated and created rich experience. Would Comrade Commander deal briefly with the main experience gained by the south Viet Nam people in the past five years' armed struggle?

A. We have gained some experience in our anti-U.S. armed struggle to save the country, but not much. I will mention the following points:

1. Carry out political mobilization among the entire people, resolutely oppose the U.S. and firmly resist U.S. aggression, and cherish the iron conviction that they will certainly defeat the United States. Turn the patriotic war into a really extensive, deep-going, fierce, unyielding and protracted people's war. Successfully implement the slogan of resisting U.S. aggression by the whole people and the whole army, of resisting U.S. aggression in the plains, mountains, towns and villages, cities, everywhere.

2. Build powerful mass forces for political struggle that extend to all places, integrate political and military struggles with the work of disintegrating the enemy ranks so as to annihilate and disintegrate the puppet troops and puppet regime, annihilate and disintegrate the U.S. troops.

3. Build revolutionary armed forces which fully embody the character of a people's army and a revolutionary army, which owes absolute obedience to the leadership, is internally united and practises democracy within its ranks, respects and loves the people, is stubborn and unyielding towards its enemy, and treats its friends with sincerity. Such an army must have a monolithic organization, skilful tactics and technique and strict discipline, must take the moral factor, the human factor as the most decisive factor in war and on the battlefield.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend through you, comrade correspondent, to the great Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army our warmest and most sincere regards.
"Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note on

"Pravda's" Anti-Chinese Article
Of November 28

"Renmin Ribao" on December 21 reprinted in full the November 28 anti-Chinese article by the Editorial Department of the Soviet paper "Pravda." "Renmin Ribao" prefaced the reprinted article with an editor's note which reads in full as follows.—Ed.

The article "Refutation of the New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. on 'United Action'" published by the Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao and Hongqi on November 11 has laid bare the great fraud of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. and has cut them to the quick. Since then, they have successively published a series of articles in the Soviet press virulently attacking the Communist Party of China. The anti-Chinese article published on November 16 by Pravda, organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., was reprinted in full in this paper on November 20. For our readers' enlightenment, today we reprint, also in full, the November 28 anti-Chinese article by the Editorial Department of Pravda.

From this article people can see that the new C.P.S.U. leaders are so deficient that while wanting to conduct public polemics to justify their revisionist, divisive line, they are nevertheless unable to produce anything presentable. They can neither offer any facts nor any sound reasoning. This Pravda Editorial Department article steers clear of all the principal facts and arguments raised by us in "Refutation of the New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. on 'United Action'" and avoids making any replies of substance. It merely keeps on hurling abuse and throwing one "label" after another at us, such as "peculiar position," "super-revolutionary mask," "anti-communist," "attacks on the Soviet Union," "oppose Lenin," "repeat the slanderous fabrications of the ideologists of imperialism," "splitting line," "deliberately weaken the revolutionary front," "hampering the struggle of the Vietnamese people," "helping the aggressor," etc. All these "labels" are picked up from Khrushchov's dust-bin and are quite old and musty.

Comrades of the new leadership of the C.P.S.U., don't you want to be anti-Chinese heroes? If so, why are you so cowardly that you dare neither to publish our article in full nor answer the whole series of questions of substance raised in our article? According to you yourself, this is "not because it [the C.P.S.U.] has nothing to say." And you claim your line "is unanimously acclaimed and supported" by all social strata of the Soviet Union. If so, why don't you dare to step forward like men and debate with us by producing facts and reasoning things out?

We say that you are following a revisionist line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful transition," "peaceful competition," "state of the whole people" and "Party of the entire people," that you are carrying out Khrushchovism without Khrushchov and that this has thoroughly undermined the common basis for unity among the Communist Parties. Why don't you say anything in reply?

We say that you have persisted in the general line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. We have listed a series of facts to show that you have exalted Johnson, plotted with the United States for setting up a counter-revolutionary standing U.N. armed force, used the United Nations as a stock exchange for the domination of the world by two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, joined hands with U.S. imperialism to support the Indian reactionaries against socialist China, colluded with the United States on the question of the Indian-Pakistan conflict to support Indian aggression against Pakistan, and are plotting new deals with the United States on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation," "disarmament" and the question of Germany. Why are you afraid to answer any of these charges?

We say that the heroic and indomitable Vietnamese people are standing in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and have made great contributions to the cause of revolution of the people of the whole world. But you are vainly attempting to extinguish the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution and bring the Viet Nam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. We have listed a series of facts to show that you have transmitted to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam the preposterous terms of the U.S. Government aimed at forcing the Vietnamese people to abandon their anti-U.S. struggle; that you have co-operated with the United States in playing the fraudulent game of "unconditional negotiations"; that you are using aid as a means to pursue the policy of involvement, that is, of getting your hand in, in an attempt to gain control, to secure the right to have a say and the right of representation on the Viet Nam question; that you are trying to tie the fraternal countries to the chariot of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination; and that you attack the Communist Party of China and all the other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism. Why do you prevaricate and dodge the issues?

We say that your call for "united action" is a sham and your practice of great-nation chauvinism and
splittism is real. We have listed a series of facts to show that you called the March Moscow meeting to split the international communist movement; that you have slandered, vilified and carried out disruptive and subversive activities against the Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Japanese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, the New Zealand Communist Party and other fraternal Parties; that you have pushed your capitulationist and splitist line in the international mass organizations and forced many Communist and Workers' Parties to follow your baton. Why don't you dare to say a single word to all these charges?

We say that one of your aims in shouting for "united action" is to deceive the Soviet people. We have listed a series of facts to show that you have gone further than Khrushchov in your policies and measures to restore capitalism. Why don't you dare to answer?

Dear comrades, if you are men enough, step forward! You have avoided answering these questions of principle and substance mentioned above. This cannot be countenanced by the great Soviet people and the people of the world. Your true features of betraying Marxism-Leninism have been seen through by more and more people.

It seems that you have contracted the disease common to all revisionists—you are spineless and afraid of facts, of truth and of the masses. But what is the use of being afraid? So long as you do not thoroughly liquidate the revisionist mistakes of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and of the C.P.S.U. Programme, and so long as you do not thoroughly discard the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination which betrays the people of the whole world, all Marxist-Leninists of the world will certainly criticize you, whatever your tricks, and they will struggle against you till the very end.

Sino-Cambodian Treaty Anniversary

Mutual Support and Unity Against U.S. Imperialism

The Chinese people warmly celebrated the fifth anniversary of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. Since its signing in Peking on December 19, 1960, the two countries have co-operated fruitfully in both international affairs and national construction. United and supporting each other in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, they have forged a militant and fraternal friendship.

On the eve of the anniversary, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State. It hailed the continually developing relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Cambodia which "fully accord with the interests of the two peoples and at the same time contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world." The message declared that "the Cambodian people will always have the full support of the 650 million Chinese people in their just struggle against aggression by U.S. imperialism and its followers and in defence of the sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of their country."

Solidarity With Cambodian People

Peking marked the anniversary with a reception on December 18 given by the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the China-Cambodia Friendship Association. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Hsieh Fu-chih and other Chinese leaders attended. Cambodian Ambassador Truong Cang and his wife were among the distinguished guests at the gathering.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, condemned U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for their constant armed invasion, subversion and sabotage activities against Cambodia. Pointing out that recent acts of aggression and provocation against Cambodia had been particularly frequent and reckless, he said: "This is because the U.S. imperialists have suffered increasingly disastrous defeats on the south Vietnamese battlefields and are trying to get out of their impasse by further expanding their war of aggression." He pledged once again the Chinese people's firm support for Cambodia's just struggle.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi recalled the rapid growth of friendship and co-operation between the two countries over the past few years. He denounced the slanders and attacks by the U.S. imperialists and their followers on Sino-Cambodian friendship and on the Kingdom of Cambodia. "Their shameless lies can never damage the militant friendship between our two peoples. On the contrary, they have helped reinforce our conviction that it is very important for us to strengthen this friendship."
Vice-Premier Chen Yi praised the Cambodian people for their heroic and tenacious struggle in defending their sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, he noted, had repeatedly exposed U.S. imperialism as an aggressor, resolutely rejected U.S. "aid" and severed diplomatic relations with the United States. "This demonstrates the iron will of a courageous and proud nation determined to take the road of independence." The Vice-Premier also severely denounced the Thai authorities for their provocations against Cambodia and their intrusions into Cambodian territory and expressed China's firm support for the solemn stand taken by the Royal Government of Cambodia in its December 15 statement.

Lofty Friendship

Renmin Ribao warmly praised the lofty friendship between China and Cambodia in an editorial on December 19. It expressed the Chinese people's determination to give unqualified support to the Cambodian people if U.S. imperialism dared to extend its war of aggression to the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia. Said the editorial: "The Cambodian people are a valiant and indomitable people. Under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, they have waged a heroic and unyielding struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, defeating their repeated threats and provocations and holding the aggressors at bay." The editorial pointed out that, by its deeds, Cambodia had set a good example for Asian and African countries and proved that "any country which defies tyranny and dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism can uphold its national independence and dignity and that any country which relies on its own hard-working people and makes full use of its own natural resources can achieve prosperity."

Praising Cambodia for adhering to the truth, upholding justice and drawing a line of distinction between right and wrong, the editorial said: "Today, in the process of the great upheaval, division and regrouping of forces throughout the world while the revolutionary struggle of all peoples against U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys is developing in depth, Cambodia holds a clear-cut position and firmly stands on the side of the revolutionary people. This deserves the respect and admiration of everyone."

Referring to the effective support and encouragement given to each other on major international issues of common interest, Renmin Ribao's editorial expressed the thanks of the Chinese people to the Cambodian Government and people for their friendly attitude. "Experience over the past five years," the editorial said, "has proved that the friendship and cooperation between China and Cambodia, cemented in the form of a treaty, have a deep foundation and can stand the test of time."

African States Break With Britain

New Chapter in Africa's Anti-Imperialist Struggle

The African countries of Guinea, Tanzania, Ghana, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Congo (Brazzaville) and Mauritania have severed diplomatic relations with Britain [since this editorial was published, the Sudan and Algeria have broken off relations with Britain] in protest against British imperialism's shielding of the criminal activities of the racist Ian Smith regime. Thus, around the South Rhodesian issue, a new chapter has been opened in the African peoples' struggle against imperialism.

British Colonialist Double-Dealing

The declaration of "independence" by the South Rhodesian white settlers' regime had the connivance and backing of British imperialism. Following that act, British imperialism has continued to play its double-dealing tactics in an attempt to consolidate and stabilize the fascist rule of the racist Smith regime.

The British Labour Government has announced adoption of so-called "economic sanctions" against Southern Rhodesia and sent a small air force unit to Zambia. However, Southern Rhodesia is still receiving oil supplies from Britain and the United States. Aren't such "economic sanctions" pure deception? Since the stationing of a British air force unit in Zambia is actually aimed at preventing the African countries from taking action against Southern Rhodesia, the meaning of such a measure is all too evident. People can now see more and more clearly that the British Labour Government only pays lip-service to "opposition" to the South Rhodesian white settlers' regime while in reality protecting it. This British imperialist practice cannot but arouse the deepest indignation among the African peoples. The severance of diplomatic relations with Britain by Guinea, Tanzania and other African countries reflects the strong reaction of the masses of the African people.
Not long ago, the London Times wrote with evident relief: "Racial issues in Rhodesia and South Africa, or the surviving rule of Portugal in Africa, can still unite Asians and Africans, but no longer against the entire Western world." The Associated Press too said that Africa would in future be “dominated by moderate forces.” In the eyes of the British and American “Establishments,” the anti-imperialist struggle of the African peoples will ebb and their solidarity will dissolve into thin air; in a word, Africa will go down hill while things will go better for the imperialists.

But facts, cold facts, have given them a resounding slap in the face.

What does the African states’ severance of diplomatic relations with Britain show?

Irreconcilable Contradictions With Imperialism

It shows that the contradictions between the African peoples on the one hand, and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism on the other, are irreconcilable. As long as the imperialist forces have still to be driven out of Africa completely and as long as imperialism remains a menace to the security of the independent African countries, the African peoples and the imperialists are necessarily irreconcilable.

It also shows that the African peoples’ anti-imperialist struggle is still forging ahead wave on wave, though imperialism has tried in every way possible to arrest and contain it. The imperialists not long ago staged a farce in the Congo (Leopoldville). By switching puppets, they hoped to disintegrate the patriotic armed forces in that country and sap the African peoples’ anti-imperialist struggle by “reconciliation.” But events have developed contrary to their wishes. Their scheme fell flat and troubles are piling up. While the Congo (L) question remains, the question of Southern Rhodesia has cropped up, carrying the African peoples’ anti-imperialist struggle to a new height.

It further proves that the African peoples share common interests in the struggle against imperialism. This is the basis for their solidarity. The African peoples know that British imperialism is so keen on shielding and buttressing up the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia, not only because it wants to suppress the four million Zimbabwe people’s fight for national independence, but also because it intends to make Southern Rhodesia a bridgehead - like South Africa — for the colonialists and neo-colonialists to commit aggression against and encroach upon other regions in Southeast Africa. This vicious scheme constitutes a challenge and a threat to all African states.

The double-dealing of British imperialism over Southern Rhodesia has boomeranged and fully exposed its own vile character. It has brought upon itself a converging attack by the African peoples.

U.S. Imperialist Treachery

The stand of British imperialism has had the vigorous support of U.S. imperialism. At the NATO ministerial council meeting recently, Rusk took the field himself to launch an attack on the African countries for breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain. He went so far as to warn them that they should exercise restraint. This has completely unmasked the treacherous stand of U.S. imperialism on the South Rhodesian question. In the struggle against the racist Smith regime, the African peoples have come to see more and more clearly that the honeyed words of the imperialists cannot be trusted, that the aggressors will not get out till they are driven out and that the African peoples must rely on their own efforts, reinforce their unity and persevere in the struggle in order to win victory.

The African countries’ severance of diplomatic relations with British imperialism is a powerful support for the Zimbabwe people in their struggle. The Chinese people resolutely support this just action of the African countries and the anti-imperialist struggle of the Zimbabwe people and the African peoples as a whole. We are convinced that victory will go to the Zimbabwe people and to all the people of Africa.

("Renmin Ribao's" editorial, December 18, 1965.)

So-Called Resolution on Tibet

Another Entry in Shameful U.N. Record

As a result of U.S. machinations and manipulation, the 20th session of the U.N. General Assembly discussed the so-called Tibet question and adopted a resolution slandering the People’s Republic of China. This has added another page to the shameful U.N. record of serving as a U.S. imperialist tool against China.

Tibet is an inalienable part of China. Its affairs are entirely China’s domestic affair which brooks no interference by any other country or international
U.S. Imperialism: Enemy of Genuine Freedom

U.S. imperialism has always harboured aggressive designs on China's Tibet. It is not reconciled to the emancipation of the one million Tibetan serfs. The formal inauguration of the Autonomous Region of Tibet last September finally tolled the death of feudal serfdom in Tibet. This has added to the grief of U.S. imperialism. So, it joined hands with the Indian reactionaries and instructed its satellites—the Philippines, "Malaysia," Thailand and others—to bring up once again the so-called Tibet question at the current U.N. General Assembly session to slander and defame China. Feigning sympathy for the people of Tibet, U.S. imperialism and its placemen claimed that the former's "fundamental human rights and freedom" had been "violated." This is absurd! Anyone who is not blind can readily see that it was only after the complete liquidation of a most reactionary, cruel and savage serfdom and the introduction of democratic reforms in Tibet that the one million serfs and slaves have truly won their human rights and enjoyed the various freedoms, including the freedom of religion.

U.S. imperialism's cries and curses cannot save rotten feudal serfdom from extinction. They only serve to expose it as an enemy of the genuine freedom and liberation of the people of Tibet and all other nationalities of China and as defender of the worst cannibal system in the world.

Farce to Cover U.S. Crimes

U.S. imperialism has its ulterior motives in again staging this farce in the U.N. General Assembly. This is a component part of the anti-China plot hatched with increasing vigour by U.S. imperialism and its followers. It tries to use the so-called Tibet question to defame and sling mud on China and divert the attention of the world's people from its own crimes of aggression in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

If the United Nations really wants to uphold "fundamental human rights," why does it not denounce the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo (Leopoldville) and other places? Why does the U.N. not utter a single word against the enslavement, oppression and discrimination suffered by the 20 million Negroes in the United States?

The United States had the full co-operation of the Indian reactionaries in staging the "Tibet question" comedy at the current U.N. General Assembly session. This is no surprise because the Indian reactionaries have never given up their expansionist designs on China's Tibet and have recently become more unbridled than before. They have been staging one provocation after another on the Sino-Indian border. By manipulating the United Nations into discussing the "Tibet question," U.S. imperialism is aiding and abetting these border provocations. We must warn the Indian reactionaries: No matter how U.S. imperialism and the United Nations under its control may back you, they cannot help you cover up your ugly expansionist features, nor can they save you from failure in your provocations on the Sino-Indian border and your subversive activities against China's Tibet.

Anti-China Manoeuvres Unpopular

U.S. imperialism and its followers evidently expected to kick up an anti-China fuss over the "Tibet question" to damage China's prestige and weaken its influence. But their anti-China manoeuvres have become more and more unpopular. Not long ago, U.S. imperialism suffered a humiliating set-back in the U.N. General Assembly discussion on the question of restoring to China its legitimate rights. Its plot to whip up an anti-China hullabaloo on the "Tibet question" has again failed to achieve its desired effect. An overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries were indifferent to this mockery. Only a few countries spoke in tune with the United States. The number voting in support of the United States greatly decreased, while the total number of countries which voted against, abstained or were absent increased markedly.

It should be pointed out that Britain, the Netherlands and Norway, which maintain either full or partial diplomatic relations with China, submitted to U.S. pressure and voted in the U.N. General Assembly for the resolution on the "Tibet question." This is a very unfriendly act towards the Chinese people. However, despite the clique composed of Britain and other countries, this anti-China farce was a flop.

Let U.S. imperialism and its faithful running dogs lament and curse the extinction of the feudal serfdom and the reactionary serf-owner class in Tibet. The buzzing by these few flies cannot harm but will only benefit the people of Tibet and the entire Chinese people. While building their happy life, the emancipated one million serfs in Tibet and the people of the whole country will not forget that there are still a handful of monsters and freaks who are always trying to drag them back into the dark inferno. This can only stiffen our determination to carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys through to the end.

(Abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial, December 21, 1965.)
Laotian Reaction Must Stop
Anti-China Activities

When Laos still maintains diplomatic relations with China, it is absolutely intolerable for the Vientiane authorities to brazenly join in the U.S. imperialist plot for the creation of 'two Chinas' and deliberately carry out rabid provocations against the Chinese people," wrote Commentator in *Renmin Ribao* on December 21. He warned the Vientiane authorities that they must immediately stop all anti-Chinese provocations, otherwise they would have to bear full responsibility for all the consequences.

Commentator pointed out that the reactionary press in Vientiane, with the connivance of the Vientiane authorities, had since October this year published a large amount of material slandering China. These anti-China activities, he continued, were by no means accidental. The imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries had set afoot an anti-China campaign, with the aim of covering up the crimes of aggression committed by U.S. imperialism throughout the world. Parroting U.S. imperialism, the Laotian reactionaries vilified China as "neo-imperialist" and "an obstacle in the way of world peace." "From this," Commentator said, "one can see clearly that the Laotian reactionaries are a mere mouthpiece of the Voice of America and obedient servants of U.S. imperialism."

Noting that the United States was in a cleft stick in its war of aggression against Viet Nam and that its aggressive forces were badly beaten up by the south Vietnamese people, Commentator drew attention to the fact that U.S. imperialism, in trying to save itself from defeat, was making preparations to spread the flames of its aggressive war against Viet Nam to the whole of Indo-China. He added: "As an important step in this direction, the Johnson Administration is actively preparing to dispatch its own ground forces to Laos and to make Thailand do the same. Once there, the American and Thai forces will join with the troops of the Laotian Right-wing to attack the liberated areas in Central and Lower Laos. In these circumstances, it is obvious that in their frenzied opposition to the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Laotian patriotic forces, the Laotian reactionaries are acting in support of the U.S. imperialist scheme to expand the war."

Commentator recalled that the Laotian reactionaries had recently created the "Thakhek incident" and made a fuss about it, ordering the reactionary press to spread the lie that "Vietminh troops" and "Pathet Lao forces" had attacked Thakhek. They organized demonstrations and threatened to "surround the embassy of north Viet Nam" and to "expel the envoys of north Viet Nam and red China." Immediately after that, the Vientiane authorities announced conscription in Laos and declared a state of emergency in the provinces of Cammon (Thakhek) and Savannakhet—all done under U.S. direction to fit into a unified U.S. imperialist plan. Commentator warned the Laotian reactionaries that they had violated the 1962 Geneva agreements and that it was extremely dangerous for them to throw in their lot with U.S. imperialism in its military adventure. Saying that the situation in Laos had developed to a critical juncture, Commentator declared: "If the Laotian reactionaries continue to serve U.S. imperialism or go so far as to invite Thai and U.S. troops into Central and Lower Laos and so spread the flames of war to the whole of Laos, they will meet with resolute counter-blows from the people of Laos and other countries in Indo-China and end up as a funeral sacrifice for the U.S. aggressors."

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

December 14 over the Shigatse area in Tibet.

The Indian plane, which intruded into China's air space at 10:15 hours, penetrated to a depth of more than 60 kilometres inside Chinese territory, circled over Chago La, Tui La, Phari, Lingshi La and Khala in the Shigatse area and carried out reconnaissance and harassing activities. It flew over Kungyangmila Pass back to Sikkim at 10:50 hours.

Protesting against repeated intrusions by Indian aircraft, the Foreign Ministry's note said: "For obvious political purposes, the Indian Government has recently been making outcries against Chinese 'intrusions' and lodging a chain of groundless 'protests' with the Chinese Government. The Indian Government is grossly mistaken in thinking that it can, under a smokescreen of lies, expand its aggression against China at will, not only on the ground but also in the air. The Chinese Government once again warns the Indian Government that if it persists in its reckless provocations against China, it definitely will not come to any good end."

Peking Review, No. 52
U.S. Imperialist Fanaticism

Anti-China Ballyhoo

A new plot against China and to widen the war of aggression in Asia is being hatched by Washington’s war-maniacs.-U.S. Secretary of State Rusk and Defence Secretary McNamara let the cat out of the bag at the 3-day winter session of the NATO Ministerial Council which closed in Paris on December 16.

On the first day, Rusk told the other NATO countries that the war in south Viet Nam was theirs as much as it was America’s. He asserted that Europe’s fate might be decided on the Viet Nam battlefield and called on the European allies to “consider what their own national interests are in Viet Nam” and to support this war effort in diverse forms.

Rusk’s plea for an escalated war in Viet Nam met with a generally cold response. Some countries countered it openly while most of them sidetracked the Viet Nam issue and talked profusely of their own problems. America’s European allies, reported UPI, were “reluctant to heed” the call and “some are expected on present indications to ignore it, more or less politely.”

The next day, at the meeting on military issues, McNamara came to the point by referring to China’s “military potential” and the “menace” posed by it. Instead of concerning himself with West European “defence” as in the past, he asked the other NATO member states to “look beyond the problem of Viet Nam to the long-range problem of Communist China as a potential world power factor.”

Raising a false alarm, he asked the fantastic question: What did they think would happen if the forces of subversion in Asia, Africa and Latin America, already being encouraged by Peking, received the support of Chinese conventional forces?

Reporting McNamara’s anti-China statement, an AFP dispatch said that China remained the major preoccupation of the U.S. Washington is now applying its mind to “substitute its [NATO’s] study ever since its establishment of the ‘Soviet military menace’ for a deep-going examination of what Mr. McNamara called the Chinese ‘blackmail’ of the West and the Chinese ‘political domination’ in Asia, Africa and Latin America.”

Thus, while the U.S. tried to persuade and coerce its allies into opposing China, there was an open indication that this aggressive bloc wants improved relations with the Soviet Union. The final communiqué of the meeting said that efforts in this direction had met with some degree of response.

At U.S. insistence, the communiqué said that consultations would continue on problems “to which several ministers drew attention, arising out of the policies pursued by the People’s Republic of China.”

However, Western newspapers revealed that countries represented at the session were wary of this U.S. scheme. The Paris correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune wrote: “There was no immediate reaction to Mr. McNamara’s speech in the British, French or [West] German delegations.” The Swiss paper, National Zeitung, pointed out in a commentary on December 18 that it was doubtful if the 15 NATO nations would believe that far distant China should be brought within the NATO “plan.”

The meeting avoided discussion of a major question which has led to a serious division in the NATO bloc, namely, its reorganization. It also avoided essential discussion of the question of “nuclear sharing within the alliance.” The meeting was divided on financial problems and force goals of NATO. McNamara complained about certain members who “failed to fulfil their NATO commit-

ments or even reduced their forces within the alliance.”

Washington, however, has not taken the Soviet Premier’s “criticism” seriously. On December 10, after a discussion with Johnson on the world situation, Averell Harriman, the U.S. President’s roving ambassador and a veteran “Kremlinologist,” discounted “somewhat recent harsh criticism” of the U.S. by Kosygin. It was quite natural, explained Harriman, for Kosygin “to make public statements criticizing the U.S. I think their own thought is, that it keeps them in good standing with the Communist Parties around the world.”

 Asked why the Soviet Union did not come out openly to use its “good offices” on Viet Nam, Harriman told newsmen that this was because the Soviet leadership did not want to encourage Chinese accusations that they were “collaborators of U.S. imperialism.” The American diplomat said “it is my impression they would like to see the conflict come to an end,” even though they did little or nothing publicly to further that aim. But, he added, “what they may be doing behind the scenes is very difficult to tell.”

On December 6, James Reston, associate editor of the New York Times, had an interview in Moscow with A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers. The American journalist reported afterwards that he was, struck by the “violence of the [Soviet] Premier’s attacks” on U.S. policy in view of the latter’s “reputation for moderation.”

Commenting on the interview, the Australian paper Vanguard (December 16) said that “the Soviet revisionists are skilful enough. . . . They must manoeuvre to pretend and protest their anti-U.S. position. It is done to deceive the people of the world.”

During the Interview, Reston repeated to Kosygin an old journalistic
McNamara’s Anti-Chinese War Cries

A RENMIN RIBAO editor’s note on December 18 refuted U.S. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara’s rabid anti-Chinese outpourings at the recent NATO meeting in Paris. The note said that “McNamara’s violent clamour at the NATO ministerial council session was not the result of a neurotic outburst by the Pentagon’s headman. It was a total exposure of U.S. Imperialism’s stepped-up criminal plan to launch a war of aggression against China.

“McNamara and his kind have always belittled China’s defensive power. They arrogantly believe that the Chinese people are no match for U.S. Imperialism. Why do they now suddenly dwell on China’s ‘military potential’ and the prospects of China’s development of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery? There are sinister motives behind this.

“U.S. Imperialism wants to turn the NATO bloc into another tool for its policies of opposing China and extending its war of aggression in Asia. It tries to coerce its ‘allies’ into toeing its policy of hostility against China and to chain them to Washington’s chariot of war of aggression against China or at least win their acquiescence in or support for its criminal policy. UPI took the view that this extraordinary move by McNamara was a ‘psychological buildup’ for American ‘preventive action’ against China. This view warrants attention.

“It was reported that McNamara’s clamour received a cold response from America’s ‘allies.’ This is not surprising. Many people have long realized that the Chinese people are not to be trifled with. Whoever follows U.S. Imperialism in opposing the Chinese people will gain nothing.

“The Chinese people have never entertained any illusions about U.S. Imperialism. We are well prepared against its aggression. Should U.S. Imperialism dare to come, we will resolutely take up the challenge and fight till final victory. U.S. Imperialism is day-dreaming if it thinks that its war blackmail can intimidate the Chinese people and deter them from supporting the popular revolutionary struggles of other countries.”

African Struggle

Anti-Imperialist Vigour

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) held an extraordinary session at Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, early this month to discuss ways and means to cope with the grave threat to Africa brought about by the Smith racist regime’s illegal declaration of the “independence” of Southern Rhodesia. A resolution adopted unanimously by the council declared that all O.A.U. member states would break off diplomatic relations with Britain if it did not end the illegal rule of the Smith colonial regime by December 15. The resolution also decided, inter alia, to suspend all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia and appealed to all countries of the world to refuse petrol and fuel supplies to the Smith regime.

The demand of the O.A.U. countries was rejected point-blank by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson who slandered the resolution as representing “externally inspired subversion” and “dangerous courses.” He added that the British Government “have ruled out everything which is merely punitive.” In actual fact, the British Prime Minister had made this stand of his government quite clear even before the “U.D.I.” Wilson had then told the Africans this: “If there are those who are thinking in terms of a thunderbolt hurtling from the sky and destroying their enemies, a thunderbolt in the shape of the Royal Air Force, let me say that the thunderbolt will not be coming.” The Wilson government, however, did send its air force to Zambia, Southern Rhodesia’s neighbour, but this, as President Nyerere of Tanzania pointed out, was not to protect Zambia from Southern Rhodesia, but to “protect” the latter against all Africa.

Britain has also talked hypocritically about “economic sanctions” against the Smith regime to give others the impression that it opposes the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. But this will be the last thing Whitehall will do as the London Times has willy-nilly admitted that Britain would suffer from such sanctions “a loss of about £35 million worth of export markets, and the British tobacco industry would have to look elsewhere for half its supplies.” In fact, the Wilson government has been working hand in glove with the U.S., Portugal and the white colonial authorities of South Africa to supply large quantities of petroleum to Southern Rhodesia. As late as December 7, Wilson rejected two motions tabled by back-bench Labour M.P.s and Liberals in the House of Commons demanding that the tanker British Security, carrying 12,000 tons of crude oil for Southern Rhodesia, be stopped.

Honouring the O.A.U. resolution, Guinea was the first to sever its diplomatic relations with London; Tanzania, Ghana, Mali, U.A.R., the Congo (Brazzaville), Mauritania, the Sudan, and Algeria followed suit while Somalia has declared that it will not restore its already severed relations with Britain.

On December 16, delegates of 27 African states and those of Syria,
Cambodia, Albania and Cuba walked out of the U.N. General Assembly in protest when British Prime Minister Wilson took the floor. Wilson was, however, warmly applauded by the Soviet delegates. This episode should have shown clearly whom the Khrushchov revisionists are really supporting and whom they are opposing.

**NEWS NOTES**

**Moscow.** A 310-page book, Yugoslavia, Yesterday and Today, jointly edited by the editorial departments of the Soviet paper Pravda and the Yugoslav weekly Komunist, has been published in the Soviet Union. Pravda says the book "is imbued with Lenin's ideas of proletarian internationalism." Josip Broz Tito, introducing the book, urged the Soviet leadership to familiarize itself more intensively with the Yugoslav "experience" in economic and social "reform" so that the two countries may have better understanding of each other and resolve their problems more successfully.

**Belgrade.** The U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia recently announced the U.S. decision to grant Yugoslavia a new loan of $87 million, including a relief loan of $17 million. AP reported that this new loan was to support the Tito group's "economic reform programme" designed to "stabilize" its "shaky economy by making it more of an open market economy with lessened government control." The U.S. Ambassador expressed U.S. understanding of the aims of Yugoslavia's "economic reform programme." The London Times (Nov. 12), reporting on the Yugoslav economy, said there was a steep rise in prices [cost of living going up above the predicted 25 per cent] which accompanied the reform. While "there are already some 200,000 Yugoslav workers employed in Western European countries," the Times disclosed.

**South Korea.** The Pak Jung Hi clique and the Japanese Sato government established "normal diplomatic relations" after the "ratification" instruments of the "ROK-Japan Treaty" were exchanged in Seoul on December 18. People in the city demonstrated in protest; 3,000 policemen plus troops of the puppet government were mobilized to cope with the demonstrators.

**Japan.** Asahi Weekly reported that the U.S. is changing its strategic deployment in Japan, moving its stress from Hokkaido, which is near the Soviet Union, to Kyushu, which is near China. The U.S. has linked its military bases in Japan with those of the Japanese "self-defence forces." Itatsuke, Sasebo and Kitakyushu on Kyushu are now important bases for U.S. aggression in Viet Nam and a wider war in Asia. Itatsuke, the hub of the U.S. bases, has become a frontline base, important, next to Okinawa, for aggression against China, Laos, Viet Nam and Korea.

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