

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

III

支援越南人民，打败美国侵略者

第三辑

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This volume contains documents and *Renmin Ribao* editorials, up to the end of April 1965, in support of the people of Viet Nam in their anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

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**THE RESOLUTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE
OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
IN SUPPORT OF THE APPEAL
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM**

(Adopted at the Sixth Session of the Standing
Committee of the N.P.C. on April 20, 1965)

Having discussed the Appeal to the National Assemblies of All Countries of the World adopted by the Second Session of the Third National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China warmly responds to the solemn appeal of the National Assembly of the D.R.V.

The Chinese people have always resolutely supported the fraternal Vietnamese people in the joint struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. **Now, in the name of the 650 million Chinese people, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress solemnly declares that China will continue to do everything in its power to give resolute and unreserved support to the Vietnamese people in their patriotic and just struggle to resist U.S. aggression.**

The present grave situation in Viet Nam is entirely the handiwork of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialists have torn up the 1954 Geneva agreements on the Viet Nam problem, launched a frenzied war of aggression against south Viet Nam and engaged in repeated and wanton bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus flagrantly escalating the war. U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the Vietnamese people and all the peace-loving people of the world.

Closely united and imbued with the revolutionary spirit of determination to fight and win, the entire people of Viet Nam are today engaged in a fight of immense historical significance to liberate the south and defend the north, to defeat the U.S. aggressors and achieve complete national reunification.

The Appeal to the National Assemblies of All Countries of the World adopted by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam solemnly reiterated the four-point proposition on the implementation of the Geneva agreements and the solution of the Vietnamese problem, namely:

1. Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people which are independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. In strict conformity with the Geneva agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw its troops, military personnel and weapons, ammunition and war materials of all kinds from south Viet Nam, dismantle the U.S. military bases there, abolish its military alliance with the south Viet Nam administration and at the same time stop its policy of intervention and aggression in south Viet Nam. The U.S. Government must stop all its acts of war against north Viet Nam and put a definite end to all acts of encroach-

ment upon the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

2. Pending the realization of the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, while Viet Nam is still temporarily divided in two, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, there must be no foreign military bases, troops or military personnel in their respective territory.

3. The affairs of south Viet Nam must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation without any foreign intervention.

4. The realization of the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam must be settled by the people in the two zones without foreign intervention.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China holds that this four-point proposition put forward by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is wholly reasonable and that it is the only correct road to the solution of the Vietnamese problem. The Chinese Government and the Chinese people fully approve and firmly support this four-point proposition. We hold that the necessary conditions for a political settlement of the Vietnamese problem can be created only by resolutely putting an end to U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam and forcing the United States to withdraw all its armed forces from Viet Nam. Together with the Vietnamese people, we firmly oppose the U.S. imperialists' "peaceful negotiations" plot, and firmly oppose all

despicable collusion with the U.S. imperialists to betray the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people.

China is a signatory to the 1954 Geneva agreements. China and Viet Nam are fraternal socialist neighbours, as closely related as lips and teeth. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are close comrades-in-arms, sharing the same destiny. **The Chinese Government and people have already solemnly declared that aggression by the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China. The Chinese people will absolutely not stand idly by. In accordance with the requests of the Vietnamese people and with the needs of the joint struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, the Chinese people have done and will continue to do their utmost to assist the Vietnamese people to defeat the U.S. aggressors completely. The Chinese people have always been infinitely loyal in fulfilling their proletarian internationalist obligations, they have never spared any sacrifice whatever in this respect, and they always mean what they say. Both past and present struggles testify to this.**

The aggression which U.S. imperialism is committing against Viet Nam is an important step in its counter-revolutionary global strategy. The Vietnamese people's heroic resistance to this aggression is an important part of the common struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace. As President Ho Chi Minh said,

Our country is an outpost of the socialist camp and of the peoples of the world engaged in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. To us, this is a great honour.

Glory to the valorous Vietnamese people! They are entitled to every assistance from the people of all the countries in the socialist camp, from the revolutionary people throughout the world and from all peace-loving countries and people.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress calls on the people's organizations and the people throughout the country:

— to publicize widely President Ho Chi Minh's April 10 address to the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Premier Pham Van Dong's report on government work at the Second Session of the Third National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Appeal of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the National Assemblies of All Countries of the World; to publicize widely the March 22 statement of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation; to support the stand taken by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation; and to expose still further the U.S. imperialists' crime of aggression;

— to study conscientiously the relevant statements issued by our government and the relevant editorials of *Renmin Ribao*, to carry out education in patriotism and internationalism and, together with the people throughout the world, to launch a mighty mass movement to compel the U.S. aggressors to get out of Viet Nam;

— to heighten vigilance, strengthen national defence, take an active part in labour, increase production, study hard and work hard, and by actual deeds assist the Vietnamese people in their just and patriotic struggle of resistance to U.S. aggression;

— to make full preparations to send our own people to fight together with the Vietnamese people and drive out the U.S. aggressors if U.S. imperialism continues to escalate its war of aggression and the Vietnamese people need them.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress sincerely hopes that:

the people of the countries in the socialist camp will give the Vietnamese people all-out support, oppose the U.S. aggressors and defend the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp;

the people of all the countries of Indo-China and Southeast Asia will fully support the Vietnamese people, frustrate the criminal U.S. imperialist plan of escalating its war of aggression and safeguard peace and security in Southeast Asia;

the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries will give the Vietnamese people full support, deal blows to the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression, and strive for still greater victories in the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement;

all countries and people throughout the world that oppose U.S. imperialism and love peace will warmly respond to the Appeal of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, take emergency action and launch an unprecedentedly powerful mass movement on a worldwide scale to compel the U.S. aggressors to get out of Viet Nam, Indo-China and all other places they occupy.

The heroic Vietnamese people are sure to win! The diabolical U.S. imperialists are sure to be defeated!

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S WAR BLACKMAIL WILL NEVER WORK

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(April 21, 1965)

U.S. President Johnson delivered another statement on the Viet Nam question on April 17. On his heels came Rusk and McNamara with statements of their own. Thus, within the short span of two days, the U.S. President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence all issued statements on the same question, Viet Nam. This is something very rare indeed. One cannot help asking: what has caused such a flurry among the chiefs of the Johnson Administration? This is really a thought-provoking question.

In his April 17 statement which from beginning to end is a refurbished version of his own April 7 address, Johnson continued to use counter-revolutionary dual tactics. On the one hand, he peddled his old theme of "unconditional discussions", and on the other he brazenly clamoured for stepping up the U.S. efforts to extend the war. If there is anything new, it is that the hangman suddenly pretended to be kind-hearted, mouthing not a few such words as "sadness" and "regret" and shedding crocodile tears over the dead American and mercenary soldiers he himself sent to south Viet Nam as cannon-fodder, and over the victims of U.S. bombing. In order to play up

his "unconditional discussions", Johnson used such expressions as "the window to peace is still open"; "we are ready to begin discussion next week, tomorrow, or tonight"; and "come to the meeting room. We will be there".

However, despite this verbosity, the central theme remains the same. Johnson insisted on the so-called "independence of south Viet Nam" being "surely guaranteed" as a condition for U.S. withdrawal from south Viet Nam. He said, "There is no human power capable of forcing us from Viet Nam. We will remain as long as necessary, with the might required, whatever the risk and whatever the cost."

Thus, to the demand of the people of the world for the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors from Viet Nam, Johnson's answer is that the United States will remain in occupation of south Viet Nam at whatever cost. This is the most essential point in his April 17 statement.

Evidently by prior arrangement, some things which he found not very suitable for him to say openly in his own statement were left out for Rusk to clarify in his. The U.S. Secretary of State in his statement issued on the same day declared that the United States would "order immediately" the "suspension, for a period, of raids on north Viet Nam", if this could advance "the cause of an honourable peace". For fear that these words might be misunderstood, McNamara declared on the following day: "We have no indication that a cessation of the bombing would move the north Vietnamese to discussions leading to a termination of their aggression against the south."

Indeed, this trio has, beyond any doubt, made clear the U.S. intention to resort to war blackmail, to use bombing to enforce a peace negotiation and make the Viet-

namese people stop their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

Let the whole world see the shameless tactics of the U.S. aggressors! Like a bunch of murderous house-breakers, they seize the spoils in one hand, hold a torch in the other and threaten the victim: If you admit it is legal for me to take things away from you, I may not burn down your house. If you are afraid I may burn it, you must docilely "go to the meeting room" through the "window to peace".

It is clear that, in resorting to such tactics, U.S. imperialism wants to subdue the Vietnamese people by force and make them surrender to its bombing. It wants the Vietnamese people to cease their struggle and abandon halfway their sacred cause of resisting U.S. aggression and fighting for national salvation. It wants them to accept the kind of "peace" that would permit U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam and reduce the south Vietnamese people to permanent slavery. This is something no self-respecting nation, no one who cherishes national independence and honour, can tolerate.

It must be pointed out that the Johnson Administration is not only conducting undisguised war blackmail but is also trying to cover up its crime of flagrant aggression against the socialist Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the unscrupulous extension of the war in Indo-China behind the smokescreen of seeking an "honourable peace".

We have pointed out long ago that every time the Johnson Administration spreads the smokescreen of "seeking peace" it goes a step further along the path of war escalation. Now, people have seen more clearly that since Johnson put forward his proposal for "unconditional dis-

cussions" on April 7, the United States has quickened the tempo of escalation.

Of late, the United States has thrown fresh ground forces and more air force units into the south Viet Nam battlefield and madly pushed ahead its war of aggression. It has carried out massive, barbarous bombing on the liberated areas in south Viet Nam. The U.S. aggressors admitted that on April 15 alone hundreds of U.S. aircraft dumped more than one thousand tons of bombs on a jungle area less than four by two miles. U.S. bombing of north Viet Nam, far from being stopped, has been intensified round-the-clock. What warrants particular attention is that after Johnson issued his April 17 statement, the United States officially announced that an emergency meeting to be presided over personally by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara would be held in Honolulu with the participation of U.S. military chiefs to discuss "the current status of the war and possible plans for escalation". U.S. "ambassador" to south Viet Nam, Maxwell Taylor, and commander-in-chief of the U.S. aggressor troops in south Viet Nam, William Westmoreland, have rushed to the Honolulu meeting. Can all this be called a "policy of responding appropriately, fittingly and measured" as Johnson claimed once and again? It is just the opposite. What the Johnson Administration has done shows that the steps it has taken for war escalation are frantic, barbarous and unbridled. However many crocodile tears Johnson may shed, whatever "deep sadness" he may feign, he cannot conceal the gangster features of the U.S. aggressors.

For Johnson, Rusk and their like, the tragedy is that, obsessed by aggression mania, they have lost the minimum sense of reality. Have they not carried out war

blackmail and war escalation for several months now? The more they have done so, the more intense the hatred of the Vietnamese people for the U.S. aggressors has become and the greater their determination to carry through their cause of resisting U.S. aggression to achieve national salvation. The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has issued a communique reiterating the resolve of the south Viet Nam army and people to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The communique said: "We shall never relax our hold on our guns so long as one U.S. aggressor remains on our beloved fatherland. The U.S. imperialists must clearly understand this. However perfidious and cunning, they decidedly cannot shake our banner of victory." The Viet Nam News Agency pointed out in an authorized statement on the "17-nation appeal": "Johnson's speech is only a smokescreen to cover up the U.S. imperialists' new military adventures in Viet Nam, directly jeopardizing the peace and security of the peoples in this area." The statement reaffirmed the determination of the Vietnamese people to struggle to the end to defend their legitimate rights.

The heroic Vietnamese people will not be deceived or frightened. Whatever the Johnson Administration does, its peace-talk schemes or its war blackmail, has not worked in the past and will never work in the future. U.S. step-by-step extension of the war has met and will continue to meet with increasing rebuffs from the Vietnamese people and encounter mounting opposition from the people of the whole world, including the American people. This will continue till the Johnson Administration finds it impossible to hang on in Viet Nam.

The Johnson Administration is now trying its utmost to make believe that its so-called "honourable peace", "unconditional discussions" and actions for extending the war are all aimed at guaranteeing the "independence of south Viet Nam". It also insists on the so-called guarantee of the "independence of south Viet Nam" as a condition for U.S. withdrawal. But the realities in south Viet Nam provide the best illustration of the true nature of this "independence" which the United States wants to see guaranteed.

For ten years the United States has imposed its puppets on the people of south Viet Nam, calling it a hundred per cent "independent country". In the name of defending this "independent country", the United States has gradually turned south Viet Nam into a colony and military base and clamped a most brutal fascist rule on the region. The "government" of this so-called "independent country" is wholly controlled by the United States. Finding Ngo Dinh Diem not to its liking, the United States murdered him; finding Nguyen Khanh not to its liking either, it removed him from office. Saigon has become an endless merry-go-round, with a reshuffle every day and a coup d'etat every other day. Nobody is clear what sort of people constitute the present government of this "independent country". President Sukarno recently emphasized that "no one regards the Saigon regime as a government" and that "it is America that is now occupying Saigon". Obviously this handful of "independent" puppets in south Viet Nam are only toys in the hands of their U.S. overlord. The very purpose for which the south Vietnamese people are advancing one after another and fighting at great sacrifice is to destroy completely this "independent country", a product of U.S.

imperialism, and to realize the reunification and complete liberation of their fatherland. So long as the "independent country" created by the United States exists, there can be no complete reunification nor a completely independent country for the Vietnamese people. There can be no compromise between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. aggressors on this question.

Johnson is obdurately putting up the worn-out signboard of "independent country", claiming that U.S. troops are staying in south Viet Nam to defend its "independence". To put the matter bluntly, Johnson seeks to perpetuate the occupation of south Viet Nam and the division of Viet Nam and wants to extinguish the raging flames of the south Vietnamese people's struggle. Johnson's statement, in fact, amounts to a declaration that the aim of U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam is unalterable and that the United States is determined to hang on in south Viet Nam and carry on its war of aggression against Viet Nam.

The peoples of Viet Nam, Indo-China, Asia and the whole world understand that so long as the United States hangs on in south Viet Nam and continues its aggression against Viet Nam, there will be no independence and national reunification for the Vietnamese people and no peace for Indo-China and Asia, and world peace will be gravely threatened.

The Vietnamese people have long made up their minds to fight the U.S. aggressors as long as the latter want to fight. The Chinese people and the peoples of Asia and the world over will support the Vietnamese people as long as the Vietnamese people fight. If the U.S. aggressors refuse to pull out of their own accord, then let us throw them out!

ON THE 17-NATION "APPEAL"

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(April 22, 1965)

At a time when the whole world, particularly the countries and peoples of Asia and Africa, are strongly condemning and opposing U.S. imperialism's intensified aggression against Viet Nam in pursuance of its adventure of a wider war, a so-called 17-nation "appeal" on Viet Nam suddenly cropped up in Belgrade on April 1.

Concerning this "appeal", the Viet Nam News Agency has been authorized to state that the four points laid down by Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 8 constitute "the basis for the soundest political settlement of the Viet Nam problem. If this basis is recognized, favourable conditions will be created for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem and it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam declares that any approach contrary to the above-mentioned stand is inappropriate, any approach tending to secure a U.N. intervention in the Viet Nam situation is also inappropriate".

The Chinese Government and people fully support this just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

It may be recalled that many countries of Asia and Africa have expressed their concern over the Viet Nam question and have put forward reasonable proposals urging the United States to abide by the 1954 Geneva agreements. But the United States has turned a deaf ear to these proposals. To this 17-nation "appeal", however, the U.S. authorities have reacted quite differently.

As soon as the "appeal" came out, the Johnson government jumped at it as a godsend.

Johnson opened his April 7 "stick and carrot" address with remarks on the "appeal". The following day, the U.S. Government issued a statement praising the "appeal", saying that "the declaration is a constructive contribution to the effort for peace", and "we fully agree with the general principles expressed in that declaration".

Why did the Johnson Administration heap praise on the 17-nation "appeal" and consider that it struck the right chord?

An unbiased answer can be found without difficulty by a serious, objective analysis of the 17-nation "appeal".

Let us see first of all what the "appeal" regards as the root cause of the current tension in Viet Nam. It says that it is "the consequence of foreign intervention in various forms, including military intervention". This is an intolerable distortion of the truth about the Viet Nam issue.

One would like to ask: what does it mean by "foreign intervention in various forms"? Is it intervention by the people in south Viet Nam against themselves? Is it intervention from the Democratic Republic of Viet

Nam? Is it intervention by some countries of Asia or Africa? Anyone who has the slightest respect for objective fact can only reply: certainly not.

As everybody knows, it is U.S. imperialism that is intervening in Viet Nam and subjecting it to aggression; it is U.S. imperialism that unleashed a "special war" in south Viet Nam; again it is U.S. imperialism that is extending the war from south Viet Nam to the north.

Indisputable facts show that the source of tension in Viet Nam is none other than U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression there. But it is precisely this most important and fundamental fact that the 17-nation "appeal" has dodged.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism is caused by U.S. intervention and aggression. At a time when their loved ones are being massacred, their homes are being devastated and their country is being overrun and trampled on, the Vietnamese people have no alternative but to take up arms and wage a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. aggressor. Every oppressed people has the right to resist foreign aggressors, why not the Vietnamese?

The 17-nation "appeal" makes no mention at all of the U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression in Viet Nam, but instead, makes general and vague charges against "foreign intervention in various forms". What can this be if not a deliberate attempt to absolve U.S. imperialism, the arch criminal, from its crime?

Since the 17-nation "appeal" has purposely evaded the fundamental fact of the U.S. intervention and aggression in Viet Nam and distorted the truth about the tension there, it cannot put forth any correct suggestion for solving the Viet Nam question. The "appeal"

calls for the parties concerned to start negotiations "as soon as possible without posing any preconditions". On the surface, this seems to be impartial, fair and reasonable, but in fact it makes no distinction between right and wrong and puts the aggressor on a par with his victim.

It may be asked: what are negotiations "without any preconditions"? At a time when the United States is continuing its occupation of south Viet Nam and wantonly bombing north Viet Nam, to preach negotiations "without any preconditions" actually amounts to legalizing the U.S. imperialist aggression and compelling the Vietnamese people to recognize that U.S. imperialism has a right to scrap the Geneva agreements at will, to enslave and slaughter the south Vietnamese people and to extend the war to north Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people will never agree to negotiations "without any preconditions". On more than one occasion they have made their stand clear.

The statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has pointed out:

. . . All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in south Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender the south Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation—the only genuine representative of the 14 million south Vietnamese people—does not have its decisive voice.

Answering questions by a correspondent of the Japanese paper, *Akahata*, President Ho Chi Minh declared:

... To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The carrying out of these basic points will bring about favourable conditions for a conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference.

In ignoring such a firm and unequivocal stand by the Vietnamese people and advocating so-called negotiations "without any preconditions", the "appeal" can only have the effect of enabling U.S. imperialism to make use of this document of the 17 countries as a pretext for further expanding the war and shifting the responsibility completely onto the Vietnamese people.

This was borne out by the facts. Soon after the issuance of the "appeal", Johnson proposed "unconditional discussions" on the Viet Nam question. The U.S. "unconditional discussions" and the negotiations "without posing any preconditions", as proposed in the 17-nation "appeal", are essentially the same thing.

Frankly speaking, the 17-nation "appeal" completely caters to the interests of U.S. imperialism and has become a shield in the hands of the Johnson Administration to ward off worldwide condemnation of and opposition to the U.S. crimes of aggression.

Why has the 17-nation "appeal" catered so greatly to the needs of U.S. imperialism? Credit should be given to the Tito clique of Yugoslavia.

It is common knowledge that the document was master-minded and created from beginning to end by the Tito clique. As early as March 2 this year, Tito wrote to Johnson urging "negotiations" with "neither party putting forward any preconditions", and stressing that this would "directly benefit" the United States. Johnson immediately replied, bestowing high praise upon Tito and adding that "in your conversations and communications with the leaders of other countries, you will reflect this understanding". These instructions from the U.S. boss sent the Tитоites scurrying everywhere, and the "appeal" was soon produced.

For years the Tito clique has pretended to uphold peace and maintain neutrality under the mask of "non-alignment". In practice, it has been working as a Trojan horse for U.S. imperialism to undermine the struggle of the peoples for winning and safeguarding national independence. Once the guns of U.S. imperialism boom, the bugle of the Tito clique immediately begins to blare. Many facts have proved this.

In 1958 when troops were sent by U.S. imperialism to occupy Lebanon and by British imperialism to occupy Jordan, and when a wave of protest swept the world, the Tito clique immediately came forth to plead for the aggressors, saying that "it is not a question of whether we insist on condemning or approving the actions taken by the United States and Great Britain".

In 1960 when U.S. imperialism suppressed the national liberation movement in the Congo (Leopoldville) in the name of the United Nations, the Tito clique asserted that U.N. intervention was necessary for safeguarding peace.

In 1961 when U.S. imperialism intensified intervention in Laos, the Tito clique spread the view that the United States "is really concerned for the peace and neutralization of Laos".

During the Caribbean crisis in 1962, the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialist aggression, saying that "the difficulties started when the Cuban revolution trod on the corn of the U.S. companies".

On the Viet Nam question, the Tito clique has always spoken for U.S. imperialism. It calls the south Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. imperialism a "riot". When the Johnson Administration engineered the so-called Bac Bo Gulf incident to start armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Tito clique said that the United States was "adequately executing its right of defence".

If one reviews the damning record of what the Tito clique has done in the past, one will not be surprised to see that by contriving this "appeal", this detachment of U.S. imperialism wants to help its master.

As never before, U.S. imperialism is at the end of its tether in Viet Nam. It is not the laureate of triumph, but the halter for the doomed that is awaiting the aggressors there. Like a hounded beast, the Johnson Administration is struggling desperately in Viet Nam and is exerting its utmost to wriggle out of just condemnation by the people of the world. And monsters and freaks of every description have hastened to the rescue of their overlord. The Tito clique is only one of them. There are quite a number of others who have placed themselves at the service of U.S. imperialism. Some have been busying themselves openly such as the Labour government of Britain; others have been playing con-

federate to Washington on the sly, such as those who, while loudly professing "support" for the Vietnamese people, behind their back flirt and even gang up with the United States for "peace talks" in a vain attempt to sabotage and betray their revolutionary struggle. But it is certain that however shamelessly they may haggle and whatever tricks they may resort to, these monsters and freaks cannot help the U.S. aggressors in the least, but will only reveal their own ugliness still more clearly.

We are happy to see that an increasing number of Asian and African countries have come to see through the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism as well as the slavish character of the Tito clique. The majority of the Asian and African countries did not take part in the Belgrade "discussions". Some of the countries which participated in the "discussions" refused to sign the "appeal"; of those which signed it some did so because they did not know what it was actually about, others have changed their attitude after they came to know it, while still others have explicitly declared their support for the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against the U.S. aggressors. The Tito clique will not succeed in its plot.

The struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the revolutionary struggle of the people throughout the world form an integral whole and they support and help each other. The Egyptian people's struggle to recover the Suez Canal and the Algerian people's struggle against the French colonialists had the support of the Asian and African peoples and other people of the world. The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism,

like the struggle of the Egyptian and Algerian peoples in the past, is entirely just. There is no reason whatever for the governments and peoples of the Asian and African countries not to support the Vietnamese people. In fact the governments and people of many Asian and African countries have realized from the experience of their struggles that the victory of the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialism is a powerful support for the Afro-Asian countries in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and also a great contribution to the defence of peace in Asia, Africa and the world. The Asian and African countries and other peace-loving countries and peoples of the whole world are supporting themselves when they support the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

The common interests of the Asian and African countries and the people throughout the world lie in uniting more closely and staunchly supporting the Vietnamese people's just struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and force them to get out of Viet Nam.

"ESCALATION" MEANS GETTING CLOSER AND CLOSER TO THE GRAVE

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(April 24, 1965)

Each time the Johnson Administration chants from its "peace" script, it pours oil on its war of aggression in Viet Nam. This has become a rule.

On April 19, two days after Johnson in his new statement declared that "the window to peace is still open", U.S. military chieftains called an emergency meeting in Honolulu to plot further expansion of the war.

The U.S. officials tried their utmost to describe the conference as "routine", declaring that the chief subject under discussion was nothing more than the expansion of their puppet troops in south Viet Nam. But who will believe this? If this were true, why should the U.S. Defence Secretary and the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff have taken the trouble to attend the meeting? Why should the chiefs of the U.S. navy, army and air force in the Pacific region have found it necessary to take part? In fact, as the Western press reported, there was "an examination of the whole spectrum of Vietnamese war" at the meeting, and the conference aimed "to put into effect various decisions designed to 'escalate' military operations in Viet Nam". According to initial disclosures, the United States will continue to

send more ground forces to south Viet Nam, extend air raids against north Viet Nam, dispatch more aircraft carriers to the Pacific and increase air reconnaissance flights over China. McNamara even openly announced after the conference that the United States would step up its blockade of Viet Nam's coastline.

There are many indications that the Honolulu conference was called to plan an even bigger military adventure after the United States had failed in its war blackmail and peace hoax, and that the conference represented the desperate struggle of the U.S. aggressors at a time when they face a more and more unfavourable situation.

The U.S. imperialist war machine is operating at an increased tempo. It can be predicted that the Johnson Administration will continue to lay down its peace smokescreen. War expansion, peace fraud and then war expansion again — these two tactics will be employed alternatively in a pattern of cyclical repetition. This is the customary practice of the Johnson Administration on the Viet Nam question.

Let us take a look at the Johnson Administration's record over the past two months and more.

On February 7 big U.S. air raids against north Viet Nam started when the White House was strenuously trying to show that the United States "seeks no wider war". At about the same time, a U.S. battalion of Hawk missiles was introduced into south Viet Nam.

On February 18, the U.S. State Department declared that the United States was exploring "all avenues of peaceful settlement". Immediately, Washington ordered the direct participation of the U.S. air force in the assault against the south Vietnamese people's armed forces and decided to increase the number of puppet

troops by another 100,000 and send several hundred more U.S. military "advisers". Shortly afterwards, the United States announced the dispatching of two battalions of marines, the first contingent of marines to be sent to south Viet Nam. What the United States was exploring turned out to be an avenue to war expansion.

On March 7 Rusk put out the idea that for the United States the "political channels" to the solution of the Viet Nam question "remain open". Four days later, U.S. planes began to extend their bombing deeper into the interior of north Viet Nam. Then, after another six days 2,000 south Korean mercenaries arrived in south Viet Nam. In actual fact, the United States was further widening the channel to war.

On March 25, Johnson issued a statement boasting that the United States "will never be second in seeking a settlement". Right after these high-sounding words were mouthed, U.S. air strikes against north Viet Nam went farther than the 20th Parallel.

On April 7, Johnson, in his Baltimore address, expressed his willingness to conduct "unconditional discussions" on the Viet Nam question in order to achieve a "peaceful settlement". But on the third day, the United States sent its second contingent of two battalions of marines and a squadron of naval jet planes to south Viet Nam. U.S. planes even carried out provocation against China by intruding into the airspace over Hainan Island.

In face of this series of iron-clad facts, not even the most slow-witted person will believe that Johnson Administration is really concerned about peace rather than steadily expanding its war of aggression in Viet Nam. By its own increasingly truculent military actions, U.S.

imperialism has torn off its mask of "peaceful settlement" and given a slap in the face to those who have made Herculean efforts to describe the U.S. Government as "restrained" and "prudent".

Therefore, when Johnson in his April 17 statement talked glibly about a "window to peace" and "come to the meeting room—we will be there", we knew what U.S. imperialism was up to. Sure enough, into the "war room" of the U.S. Pacific military command two days later walked McNamara, the U.S. Defence Secretary, followed by a group of top-ranking military personnel. The subject discussed was the next even more reckless step to expand the war.

For more than two months, the Johnson Administration has repeatedly professed that its aggressive military actions against Viet Nam are "appropriate", "measured" and "carefully limited". But the facts are that the United States has gone on from sending "advisers" to south Viet Nam to taking a direct part in the war; from aggression in the south to attacks on the north; from bombing raids south of the 18th Parallel to bombing raids north of the 20th Parallel; from day raids to round-the-clock raids; and from bombing of military targets to bombing of civilians. All this shows that what the Johnson Administration called "appropriate", "measured" and "carefully limited" military actions is a planned step-by-step expansion of the war.

A theory of "escalating" the aggressive war is now prevalent among U.S. ruling groups. They divide the war into thresholds, each consisting of a number of rungs and at each rung they increase and expand the use and threat of force. The tactics used by the Johnson Administration are very similar to Hitler's step-by-step ex-

pansion of aggression before World War II. Their aim is to blunt the vigilance of the world's people, so that they will be faced with a fait accompli by the U.S. aggressor before they realize it. While taking steps of "escalation" the Johnson Administration waves its olive branch in a vain attempt to demoralize its adversaries, hoodwink public opinion and conceal its crime of deliberately expanding the war. This is exactly what it is doing in Viet Nam.

This theory of "escalation" demonstrates that the Johnson Administration is more adventurist than its predecessors. Johnson is so obstinately placing blind faith in force and so feverishly using it that he puts Eisenhower, Kennedy and their kind in the shade. This theory also reflects the weakness of the Johnson Administration. Not daring to face world-wide opposition by rashly launching a large-scale war of aggression, it waits to see the response of its adversaries and world opinion as it weighs every step it takes. The Johnson Administration's image is a mixture of that of a gangster and swindler.

This theory of "escalation" owes its existence to the bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialist strategies of "massive retaliation" and "flexible response". Dulles dreamt of preventing all oppressed nations and people from rising in revolution by intimidating them with the threat of nuclear weapons for "massive retaliation". But faced with the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle which have shaken the five continents, U.S. imperialism is at its wits' end. Learning a lesson from the failure of Dulles, Kennedy formulated the strategy of "flexible response". He resorted to "special warfare" in a futile attempt to suppress the

national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle. He chose south Viet Nam as his testing ground. The result of almost four years' trial of strength is the complete defeat of this "warfare". Foundering in this impasse, U.S. imperialism has cooked up the theory of "escalation" in order to push forward with policies of war and aggression.

In embarking on the military adventure of "escalation", the Johnson Administration is attempting to save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam. But confronted by the people of the world, daring to struggle and to win, any use or threat of force by U.S. imperialism — no matter what force, what threat of force or at whatever stage — is futile. This theory has been tested in Viet Nam for months. The result is that U.S. imperialism is faring worse, not better, there. Even the noted U.S. bourgeois commentator Lippmann has admitted that U.S. imperialist bombing of north Viet Nam, far from "doing what it is supposed to do", has greatly strengthened the Vietnamese people's "will to fight on". The U.S. imperialist road of "escalation" is one leading step by step to the grave. Ahead of them lies not an arch of triumph, but a dark hell of death.

"The window to peace" which Johnson in his April 17 statement claimed to have opened has been shrouded in the dark clouds of war rising from Honolulu. Facing U.S. imperialism, teacher by negative example, the world's people know that when the Johnson Administration goes out of its way to preach "peace", it only indicates that it is quickening its steps to expand the war. They know even more clearly that the Vietnamese people are completely justified in insisting on their four-point proposition. If U.S. imperialism refuses to with-

draw all its armed forces from Viet Nam, there will be no peace in Viet Nam and Indo-China, no matter how many times Johnson may repeat his words of "peace". The most important task of the people of Asia and the rest of the world today is to give resolute support to the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to shatter Johnson's peace talk schemes completely, curb his plans for escalating the war and drive the U.S. aggressors out of Viet Nam.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION: THE REAL ENEMY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(April 28, 1965)

The flames of wrath of the American people opposing aggression in Viet Nam are now ablaze right under the nose of the Johnson Administration. U.S. imperialism's military adventure to expand the war by redoubled efforts has met with the strong and widespread opposition of the American people. This has now become its greatest trouble at home. The White House, thrown into confusion, hastened to take emergency measures by sending out senior officials, headed by Dean Rusk, to explain itself in an effort to soothe the angry masses at home.

The U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression in Viet Nam, wilder and more savage than ever, have opened the eyes of the American people and raised their political consciousness. The American people have come to realize that if the Johnson Administration is allowed to have its own way, it will push their country into a bottomless abyss. They can no longer remain silent or tolerate the present situation. A mass movement against U.S. policies of aggression and war towards Viet Nam is sweeping the whole country on a scale unprecedented in postwar years. The voice of protest can be heard everywhere—in front of the White House, at the

entrance of the L.B.J. Ranch, on college campuses, on top of the Federal Building in San Francisco, at the docks where shipments of war materials are being handled, outside munition factories, on the broad avenues and in the back streets in the cities. People from all social strata have joined this struggle: they have marched through the streets in demonstrations, held protest meetings, issued statements, published protest advertisements, gone on hunger strikes and one even burnt herself to death. Such a movement on the part of the American people is unusual in that the spearhead of their struggle is directed against the U.S. Government and it has put forward clear-cut slogans: "Hands Off Viet Nam!" and "U.S. Troops Get Out of South Viet Nam!" Such a political movement has seldom been seen in the United States since the end of World War II. The Johnson Administration insists on occupying south Viet Nam, but the American people are firmly opposed to it. The Johnson Administration wants to expand the war, but the American people are firmly opposed to it. The rise of the American people's movement marks the complete failure of the policy pursued by the U.S. Government over the last ten years and more on the Viet Nam question, namely, a policy of deceiving its own people, pulling the wool over their eyes, blacking out and distorting information.

The American people's struggle against aggression in Viet Nam has now merged with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. aggression and save their country, and it has become part of the tidal wave of the world's people demanding that the U.S. aggressors get out of Viet Nam. At present, the Johnson Administration, "drifting into an icy isolation" and facing

difficulties both at home and abroad, is suffering a severe headache. It not only finds it necessary to dispatch high-ranking officials to various parts of the world to explain themselves but also to work painstakingly to "persuade" the people at home. One of the most strenuous participants in this is Dean Rusk.

The U.S. Secretary of State tried by all sorts of demagogic pleas to justify the U.S. Government's policy of aggression in his April 23 speech at the American Society of International Law. Unable to come up with anything new, he could only dwell at length on the U.S. practice of the principle of "self-defence" while blatantly condemning wars of national liberation. But the arguments which Rusk advanced cannot hold water.

Rusk's attempt to use "self-defence" as an excuse for U.S. aggression in Viet Nam can fool no one. What interests and security of the American people does the United States defend when it goes thousands of miles to south Viet Nam? The Vietnamese people have not committed aggression in any part of the United States, while the U.S. aggressors have occupied south Viet Nam and spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam. It is U.S. imperialism which is guilty of encroaching upon the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people. There is nothing new in Rusk, twisting right and wrong and calling aggression "self-defence". Hitler did the same thing when he attacked other European countries. Japanese imperialism attacked China's northeast, saying that this was "necessary self-defence"; when they started the Pacific war and declared war on the United States and Britain, the Japanese imperialists also said that this was for "their own survival and self-defence". The "self-

defence" Rusk talked about is only a synonym for aggression.

Nor is it fortuitous that Rusk should have poured forth such a stream of invective against national-liberation wars. The surging national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are hastening the final collapse of imperialist rule and dealing crushing blows to U.S. imperialism's aggressive plan for enslaving the entire globe. Rusk laid the blame for national-liberation wars all over the world on the Communists, hoping that this could frighten people. But the fact is that the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations cannot be suppressed by force by old and new colonialism and imperialism, any more than they can be liquidated by the charge of being Communist-inspired. History is the best witness. The War of Independence against Britain waged by the American people led by George Washington and the present war of independence against the United States now being waged by the Vietnamese people are both wars of national liberation. Like the American people then, the Vietnamese people are entitled to the same sacred right. Every man in the street in the United States can understand this.

Of course Rusk would be rebuffed when he tried to "persuade" the American people with lame reasons! Perhaps because he too has sensed that the American people will not be taken in so easily, he, in for a penny, in for a pound, simply resorted to the high-handed policy of damning those who have denounced the Johnson Administration, dismissing them for their "nonsense" and for being "stubborn". Mr. Rusk, if there is anyone talking nonsense and being stubborn, it is only you ringleaders of the imperialist gang!

Rusk's feverish excitement and abuse poured on his countrymen who oppose the war of aggression in Viet Nam have once again taught the American people a good lesson. The Johnson Administration has made up its mind to plunge headlong into expanding the Vietnamese war. The Honolulu conference planned a bigger military adventure. Johnson even proclaimed Viet Nam and the waters 100 nautical miles from its coast a "war zone". This is a fresh and extremely serious adventurist move by the United States in expanding the war in Viet Nam. The Johnson Administration is quite clearly dragging the American people on to a perilous path.

The U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam is completely contrary to the interests of the American people. For them it means disaster pure and simple. The United States has spent billions of dollars in this war, the cost of which now averages more than two million dollars a day. This must come from the pockets of the American taxpayers. Thousands of American young men have died unnecessarily in a foreign country thousands of miles away from their homeland. The Johnson Administration has made more American widows and orphans. But this war is lost for certain in spite of the terrible price U.S. imperialism has made the American people pay. With tremendous efforts so far the U.S. aggressors have been unable to deal with the 14 million south Vietnamese people; now when they intend to expand the war and confront the 30 million Vietnamese people, the 650 million Chinese people and the people of the whole world, this can only lead to a more disastrous defeat. To continue expanding the war, as far as the American people are concerned, means more

people going to die, heavier burdens on the taxpayers and further curtailment of the people's democratic rights.

The realities are teaching the American people that their interests are at one with the interests of the Vietnamese people; U.S. monopoly capital and the U.S. Government which serves it are the enemy of the Vietnamese people and the real enemy of the American people. President Ho Chi Minh rightly said: "The Vietnamese people have never identified the American people who uphold justice with the American Government which has committed countless crimes against them in the last ten years. Those who wreck our country's independence and freedom are the same people who betray the American Declaration of Independence." "The American people too are victims of U.S. imperialism. You must, therefore, struggle resolutely together with the Vietnamese people against the bellicose, highly aggressive militarists in your country."

The victorious anti-U.S. struggle of the Vietnamese people, while striking heavily at the U.S. aggressors, has also helped the American people see clearly the reactionary nature of the U.S. Government — therefore, this is a great support to the American people. On the other hand, the American people's opposition to their government's aggression in Viet Nam is also a valuable support to the Vietnamese people.

The vigorous movement of the American people opposing aggression in Viet Nam tells the whole world a truth: in the United States there are forces opposing aggression and fighting for peace. But these are the great American people, not Johnson and his gang whom the modern revisionists eulogize as "sensible" and "prudent". The American people are now aware that

they can never expect Johnson and his kind, out of the goodness of their hearts, to preserve their interests and defend world peace, and the only thing to do is to unite and persist in struggle. The American people are not alone in their struggle, the people of the whole world are behind them! The broad masses in the United States must take further action to force the Johnson Administration to withdraw U.S. troops from Viet Nam and smash its scheme to expand the war. Victory belongs to the American people!

