

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people. How can anyone imagine that the Vietnamese people will hold peace talks with the U.S. robber who is swinging his butcher's knife at them? Peace in Vietnam can never be realized as long as a single U.S. soldier remains on Vietnamese soil. In trying in every possible way to make the heroic Vietnamese people accept the capitulationist "peace talks", the Soviet revisionist leading clique is directing the greatest insult at them.

What diabolical scheme has this clique in mind in serving the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" plot so zealously? To put it bluntly, it wants to bring the Vietnam question within the orbit of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination"; it wants to sell Vietnam down the river in return for a "peace" bestowed by the U.S. overlord. The current bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by the Johnson Administration and its criminal plan for "forcing peace talks through bombing" provide another glaring exposure both of the aggressive features of U.S. imperialism and the renegade features of the Soviet revisionist leading clique.

Chairman Mao said:

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.

There are people in the world who love peace, oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, and sympathize with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This attitude deserves to be welcomed. However, if one overestimates the strength of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and underestimates the strength of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world, fears extension of the flames of war in Vietnam and always hopes to bring about "peace talks", one will waver in the face of U.S. imperialist war blackmail and fall into the trap of the U.S. "peace talks" swindle. And the result can only be to benefit the U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and inflate the Johnson Administration's war-making arrogance.

Today, all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world have been brought face to face with this reality: They must cast aside illusions about U.S. imperialism, illusions about the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, have confidence in the strength of the masses and rely on them, and resolutely rise to their feet and join the battle. Only so can they achieve their liberation. There is no alternative.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the focal point of the world struggle today. What attitude one takes to the war in Vietnam is the touchstone telling whether one is a real or sham anti-imperialist, a real or sham revolutionary, a revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist or a revisionist. All genuine revolutionary forces that oppose U.S. imperialist aggression will certainly use all possible ways and means to support

the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country.

The Chinese people and the Chinese Government have always unreservedly supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. We have consistently given them every support and aid, politically, morally, materially and in other fields, and will continue to support and aid them vigorously until the U.S. aggressors are completely driven out of Vietnam. Today, when U.S. imperialism has pushed its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage, we, a socialist country, a fraternal neighbour of Vietnam with whom we are related as closely as lips are to teeth, will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary, in accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people. Since U.S. imperialism sets no bounds to the extension of its war of aggression against Vietnam, China's aid to Vietnam against U.S. aggression also recognizes no bounds.

The Chinese Government and Premier Chou En-lai have stated solemnly on many occasions that the Chinese people mean what they say, that China is prepared, and that once war breaks out it will have no boundaries. Any country falling victim to the aggression of imperialism headed by the United States, whether Vietnam or any other country in Asia, Africa, Latin America or any other part of the world, will certainly have the support and help of the Chinese Government and people. Should such just action bring on U.S. invasion against China, we will resolutely strike back without hesitation. However many U.S. aggressors may come, we certainly will and certainly can wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

The heroic Vietnamese people have won great victories in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They have made full use of the great power of a people's war. In the south, nearly 300,000 U.S. aggressor troops are being bruised and battered and more than 50,000 have already been put out of action. In the north, more than 1,000 U.S. planes have been downed in battles disastrous for the U.S. air marauders. There is an excellent situation ahead for the Vietnamese people. Whether in Vietnam or Asia or the whole world, U.S. imperialism is now isolated as never before and finds itself in an extremely difficult position. A new and still greater anti-U.S. storm is rising. The day is not far off when U.S. imperialism will be buried.

The Vietnamese people will win! U.S. imperialism will be defeated!

The people of the whole world will win! U.S. imperialism will be defeated!

**PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH AT THE
BANQUET CELEBRATING THE CLOSE
OF THE AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS'
EMERGENCY MEETING**

(July 9, 1966)

Dear guests,

Dear friends and comrades,

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting has come to a victorious close today.

Holding aloft the militant banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, your meeting has rendered powerful support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and the world in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and to the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. With the spirit of democratic consultation, your meeting has held full discussions on the question of developing the new national culture, literature and art of Asia and Africa, and has achieved tremendous successes. It is a revolutionary meeting, a meeting of solidarity and a meeting of victory.

Together with Comrades Kang Sheng, Chen Po-ta and Tao Chu, I now extend warm congratulations to you on behalf of the Chinese people and Government. At the same time, we extend revolutionary and militant greetings to you Afro-Asian writers on behalf of the masses

of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals of the country, who are all engaged in the great cultural revolution under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

While you were meeting, U.S. imperialism raised its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage. The United States is now repeatedly declaring its intention of fighting to the finish in southern Vietnam; evidently, its purpose is to force the Vietnamese people to beg for peace, or, failing this, to destroy Vietnam. But the heroic Vietnamese people absolutely will not submit to the U.S. war blackmail, nor will all countries and people genuinely supporting the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression waver before the U.S. war blackmail. The United States will never succeed in its objective.

At the crucial moment of the U.S. imperialist expansion of the war of aggression against Vietnam, all countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression can have only one answer to the challenge of U.S. imperialism; namely, to render with all their strength unreserved political, military, economic and moral support to the Vietnamese people in driving the U.S. bandits out of Vietnam. The Chinese people and Government have been doing this from the very first day of U.S. aggression against Vietnam. Whatever the risk and whatever the price, we are determined to support and aid the fraternal Vietnamese people till they win the final victory.

This is a life-and-death struggle. One either defeats U.S. imperialism or submits to it. There is no middle road. All revolutionary people of the world must cast

away any illusion whatsoever, believe in and rely on the people's strength, unite as one and persevere in the struggle so as to thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.

It is precisely at this crucial moment that the Indian Government has put forward the proposal for reconvening the Geneva Conference. This proposal is solely designed to throw dust in the eyes of the people of the world and sap the fighting will of the Vietnamese people. It can be seen at a glance that this is rendering service to the United States.

China was a participating nation of the 1954 Geneva Conference. It must be pointed out that the Geneva agreements were long ago torn to shreds by the United States. Speaking of the Geneva agreements, the United States must unconditionally withdraw its armed forces from Vietnam immediately, completely, thoroughly and totally. Unless the U.S. troops are withdrawn, the reconvening of the Geneva Conference is entirely out of the question.

Again at this crucial moment and while the United States is expanding its armed forces and extending its war in Vietnam, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has preposterously declared that the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong would not affect U.S.-Soviet collaboration in the reaching of a disarmament agreement. This is a most open and bare-faced betrayal of the Vietnamese people.

Everyone can see what an ignominious role the Indian reactionaries and the Soviet revisionist leading clique are playing in the U.S. imperialist expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it the heaviest possible blows, it is necessary for the people of Asia, Africa

and the whole world constantly to expand and strengthen in all spheres the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front must be based on the great unity of the revolutionary people of the whole world and must include all countries and people subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, control or bullying; but it absolutely must not include the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the Indian reactionaries. On the contrary, they can only be the targets of struggle by the international anti-U.S. united front.

Comrades and friends! From their personal experience, the Afro-Asian peoples have learnt that in order to win genuine freedom and liberation, they must unfold a great revolution in the field of culture and ideology while striving for complete political independence and economic self-reliance. The common task before us Afro-Asian peoples is to smash the corrupt and reactionary old culture and ideology of imperialism and colonialism and to establish and develop the anti-imperialist, revolutionary national new culture and ideology of the broad masses. Your meeting has made outstanding contributions to this end. We are convinced that your work will vastly help the great struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples for solidarity against imperialism.

Friends and comrades! At the meeting you expressed warm congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Many delegates have paid warm tribute to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and they spoke highly of China's great socialist cultural revolution. This is an expression of infinite confidence in and support for the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

It gives impetus and encouragement to the Chinese people in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought still better. For this we express heartfelt thanks to our friends. You can rest assured that the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people will for ever remain loyal to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and will never fail to live up to the earnest hopes which the people of the world have placed in us.

Now may we propose a toast

to the brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation,

to the great anti-imperialist, revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers and people,

to the great victory of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, and

to the health of our friends and comrades present here!

VICE-PREMIER CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING MASS RALLY

(July 10, 1966)

Beginning from June 29, U.S. imperialism has repeatedly bombed the city of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, the second largest city in northern Vietnam. The United States has stretched its war tentacles to the heartland of the Vietnamese people and raised its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage. This is a most barbarous and most rabid war move by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people. It is a most serious and bare-faced violation of peace in Asia and the world. This frenzied war adventure of U.S. imperialism has aroused the boundless indignation and the strong condemnation of the people of the whole world. A new anti-U.S. tide in support of Vietnam is mounting in all parts of the world.

Today, we people from all walks of life in Peking are gathered here at this solemn rally to voice our condemnation of the monstrous crime of U.S. imperialism in expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and to express the strong determination of the 700 million Chinese people to give all-out support to the Vietnamese people in their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people,

I wish to pay the highest tribute to the heroic Vietnamese people.

In launching its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism aims at perpetuating its forcible occupation of southern Vietnam and turning it into a base of aggression against northern Vietnam, against the whole of Indo-China and the surrounding countries, and against China and the whole of Asia. In order to realize this insensate ambition, U.S. imperialism has been waging the war in Vietnam for seven long years. It has already dispatched nearly 300,000 aggressor troops to southern Vietnam, wantonly bombed northern Vietnam for 17 months and resorted to every inhuman and brutal means and deceptive political schemes of various kinds.

But none of these has been able to bring the heroic Vietnamese people to their knees and to save U.S. imperialism from the predicament of being bogged down deeper and deeper in its war of aggression, from which it cannot extricate itself. Particularly of late, the "dry season offensive" launched by U.S. imperialism has failed miserably, its peace talks schemes have gone bankrupt one after another and the puppet regime fostered by it is on the verge of collapse. It is in this very dilemma with difficulties both at home and abroad that the Johnson government has taken the adventurous path of further expanding its war of aggression. The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by U.S. imperialism is precisely an expression of the fact that it has come to the end of its tether and that, like a cornered beast, it is struggling desperately in its war of aggression, in the face of the united Vietnamese people who are dealing it harder and harder blows.

In its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has always used military blackmail to carry out its peace talks schemes and used the latter to cover up its acts of war expansion. The Johnson government's order to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong is the continuation of such counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Using its air-raids on the heartland of Vietnam as a means of blackmail, it wants to forcibly bring about a situation of "peace talks". U.S. imperialism thinks that once it drops bombs on the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it can cow the Vietnamese people and force them to stop their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This is a sheer daydream! Whether in the south or in the north, whether in the sky or on the ground, the whole heroic Vietnamese people are constantly dealing U.S. imperialism telling blows. This is a powerful answer to the U.S. bandits. Together with the people of the whole world, the Chinese people warmly hail the brilliant victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Wherever there is aggression, there is resistance. Since U.S. imperialism has started a barbarous war of aggression by sending its troops across vast oceans to southern Vietnam, it is only natural for the 14 million south Vietnamese people to rise in a war of resistance and for the 17 million north Vietnamese people to support and aid their kith and kin in the south. It is only natural for all the peace-loving countries and peoples in the world to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In fact, when it started to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the United States broke the line of demarcation between southern and northern Vietnam. By its act of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, U.S. imperialism has now further broken the bounds in its war and torn the Geneva agreements to shreds. In these circumstances, it is perfectly just and logical for the people of northern Vietnam to support and aid the people of southern Vietnam in whatever form and on whatever scale. Back in December 1965 President Ho Chi Minh solemnly stated: "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. As sons and daughters of the same fatherland, our people in the north are bound to extend wholehearted support to the patriotic struggle waged by the people of the south against U.S. aggression. Likewise, our people in the south are duty-bound to fight with all their forces to contribute to the defence of the northern part of their fatherland." He added, "We are determined not to submit to U.S. imperialist aggression," and "Our people are determined to persevere in the fight, and undergo sacrifices for ten or twenty years or a longer time, till final victory." U.S. imperialism will never succeed in its aim of intimidating the Vietnamese people by what it calls "raising the cost".

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by U.S. imperialism has not only further entitled the people of both the southern and northern parts of Vietnam to support and assist each other but also further entitled the people of the whole world to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Since U.S. imperialism has broken the bounds in its war of aggression with its own hands, it can no longer expect all the countries and peoples that

oppose aggression to be restricted in any way in their actions.

The U.S. action of expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam once again proves that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will not change. It remains the same no matter what appearance it assumes. Chairman Mao says:

. . . U.S. imperialism while outwardly strong is inwardly weak. We must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the "nice words" of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster.

No wild illusions must be cherished about such a ferocious and cunning enemy as U.S. imperialism, and the only thing to do is to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. We are firmly convinced that through protracted struggle, the heroic Vietnamese people can thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors and realize their lofty aspiration of liberating the south and reunifying their fatherland.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique has gone further in playing its ignominious role of accomplice in the U.S. imperialist schemes of "forcing peace talks through bombing". The present U.S. imperialist bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is entirely the result of the collusion of the United States and the Soviet Union. The U.S. State Department has admitted that the United States informed in advance "various key interested governments", including that of the Soviet Union, of its decision to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong. Dean Rusk has bluntly urged the Soviet revisionist leadership to "get busy and start helping us [the United States] make some peace out there". Since the U.S. imperialist bombing of Hanoi and Hai-

phong, the Soviet leading clique has continued to propagate the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question and repeatedly indicated that the U.S. bombing would not affect the reaching of a disarmament agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. This has completely laid bare the sinister collaboration and collusion between the U.S. and Soviet Governments on the Vietnam question, and further exposed the traitorous features of the Soviet revisionist leading clique in its sham support but real betrayal of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The Soviet leading clique has all along worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question and served Lyndon Johnson's peace talks schemes in the vain hope of bringing the Vietnam question into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration. It is seeking a *detente* and a reduction of armed forces in Europe so that the United States can draw away forces and use them against the Vietnamese people. It is making military deployments along the Chinese border in co-ordination with the U.S. imperialist encirclement of China. It is fabricating and spreading rumours and slanders everywhere, accusing China of obstructing the transit of aid material to Vietnam, in an attempt to undermine the unity between the peoples of China and Vietnam and to sabotage the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It is very clear that the Soviet revisionist leading clique is redoubling its efforts to take "united action" with U.S. imperialism in a big way to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of all the peoples of the world. Therefore, all countries that genuinely oppose U.S. imperialist aggression must, at the same time, oppose the traitorous acts of the Soviet revi-

sionists and must draw a clear line of distinction between themselves and the Soviet revisionists' "united action" for selling out the revolutionary interests of the people of Vietnam and the whole world.

In the face of U.S. imperialism's frantic expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam, the more than 30 million heroic Vietnamese people are waging a national war of resistance against U.S. imperialist aggression with one heart and one mind, bringing into full play the power of a people's war and scoring one victory after another. The people of northern Vietnam have exploded the myth of U.S. "air superiority", while the people of southern Vietnam have dealt the U.S. aggressors one telling blow after another. The Vietnamese people's victories in their struggle against aggression most vividly prove that a people's war is the most effective weapon in dealing with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and that it is not the modern weapons of U.S. imperialism, but the revolutionary people daring to fight and daring to win, that are really powerful.

Vietnam and China are neighbours and brothers as closely related as lips and teeth. The Chinese people have in all fields consistently and unreservedly supported and assisted the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Now that U.S. imperialism has pushed its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new stage, the Chinese people will under no circumstances tolerate the continued evil-doing of U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese Government has already solemnly stated: In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary. However much U.S. imperialism

may expand the war and however heavy the price, we will definitely carry the struggle to aid Vietnam against U.S. aggression through to the end till the Vietnamese people win final victory.

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

美国侵略没有界限，
我们反侵略也没有界限

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