

LO JUI-CHING

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AND THEY CAN CERTAINLY
DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM
TOO**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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Speech at the Rally of the People of All Circles in
Peking in Celebration of the 20th Anniversary of
the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This was a speech made in Peking on September 3, 1965 by Lo Jui-ching, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Lo Jui-ching spoke at a mass rally held in celebration of the 20th anniversary of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

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Comrades and friends!

Today the people of Peking, the people of the whole country and all the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are enthusiastically celebrating the great occasion of the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

This victory achieved by the Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung was a victory of immense historic importance. During the War of Resistance, the anti-fascist people of the world gave powerful support to the Chinese people, while the War of Resistance waged by the Chinese people in turn extended tremendous support to the World Anti-Fascist War. Our victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan was a major victory in the world war against fascism!

For almost a hundred years after the Opium War of 1840, the Chinese people had waged heroic struggles against imperialist aggression, advancing wave upon wave. But none of these struggles was able to end in complete victory. In the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, were eventually able to defeat Japanese imperialism after eight years of heroic resistance amid untold difficulties, and won the first great victory in modern Chinese history in their wars against aggression. On the basis of this victory, the Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese people in defeating the Kuomintang reactionaries, who had

brazenly launched the counter-revolutionary civil war with the support and guidance of U.S. imperialism, and in founding the great People's Republic of China. The long-suffering Chinese people stood up like a giant, overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, which had weighed them down like three great mountains.

By her victory in the War of Resistance and in the subsequent War of Liberation China, with nearly one quarter of the world's population, was transformed from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country subject to the bullying and aggression of the imperialist powers into a great socialist country, a mighty stronghold firmly opposing imperialism and supporting the liberation movements of all the oppressed nations and peoples. The triumph of the Chinese revolution drastically changed the world balance of forces as between revolution and counter-revolution. This was another world historic victory in succession to the October Revolution, a historic victory for Marxism-Leninism and for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Our victorious experience in the War of Resistance and in China's revolutionary wars as a whole has taught us that the correct way for an oppressed nation in a colony or semi-colony to achieve emancipation is for the party of the proletariat to hold aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and of national liberation, lead the broad masses of the people, form the broadest united front against imperialism and its lackeys on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, wage self-reliant revolutionary armed struggle, build a people's army of a new type, and put into operation the whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war; it is of particular importance for the party of the proletariat to go deep into the rural areas, establish

revolutionary base areas there, and use the villages to encircle and finally capture the cities until nation-wide victory is achieved.

In his article *Long Live the Victory of People's War!* written in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Lin Piao has given a systematic and penetrating explanation of the rich experience gained by the Chinese people in their more than twenty years of people's war and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war and its profound international significance. In connection with the present struggles against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, he has shown that the Khrushchov revisionists are betrayers of people's war and that people's war waged by the revolutionary peoples is the victorious path for defeating U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. We should all study his article seriously. We relied on people's war to defeat Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. We must likewise rely on people's war to defeat any war of aggression which U.S. imperialism may launch against us and to defend our socialist motherland and world peace.

In commemorating the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must enhance a hundredfold our confidence in our ability thoroughly to defeat U.S. imperialism, and must resolutely fight the Khrushchov revisionists' perfidy in playing up the horrors of war to intimidate the people of the world.

As soon as the German, Japanese and Italian fascists collapsed, U.S. imperialism took over, followed in their

footsteps, and actively pursued a counter-revolutionary global strategy in its vain efforts to dominate the world. The U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war have become still more blatant and blood-thirsty under the present Johnson Administration. The Johnson Doctrine is neo-Hitlerism, neo-fascism; it means aggression and war!

Imperialism, though ferocious in appearance, is not all-powerful in reality and can definitely be defeated. The really invincible forces are those of the people. This truth has been borne out by the Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Just as the Japanese and the German and Italian fascists of the 1940s were defeated, so the U.S. imperialists of the 1960s can surely be defeated too.

But is not U.S. imperialism the strongest of all the imperialist powers? Does it not possess atom bombs, which Japanese, German and Italian fascism did not have? Why do we say that the United States, too, can definitely be defeated? The course of history has provided the answer to this question. Compare the conditions under which Japanese, German and Italian fascism unleashed war with those now confronting U.S. imperialism, and the answer becomes quite clear.

We say that U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated because, in the first place, the world balance of forces has drastically changed. U.S. imperialism is in a much less favourable position than were German, Japanese and Italian fascism in the past.

The balance of forces as a whole was temporarily favourable to the fascist aggressors and unfavourable to the people of the various countries when Japanese, German and Italian fascism launched their wars of aggression in the 1930s. The Soviet Union was then the only socialist

MEMORANDUM
FOR THE RECORD
DATE: 10/10/50
BY: [illegible]

country. China was still an extremely poor and backward colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, our Party was still very weak, and the army it led was barely more than 40,000 strong. Whether we consider the world as a whole or China by herself, the people's cause was going through a period of acute hardship. Abyssinia's war of resistance against Italy failed, and the Spanish revolution was stamped out. Hitler swept across the continent of Europe in a matter of months. In the East, the Japanese fascists not only occupied half of China's territory, but seized almost the whole of the Western Pacific.

But what is the situation today? The socialist countries, whose population has grown from 200 million to more than 1,000 million, form a powerful socialist camp. The national-liberation and people's revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have erupted like volcanoes; country after country and region after region which used to be backyards of imperialist rule have become fronts of anti-imperialist struggle. There have been new developments in the working-class movements in the capitalist countries. The imperialist system is heading for total collapse and the general crisis of capitalism is becoming sharper than ever. In the world arena, the East wind is prevailing over the West wind, the forces of socialism are surpassing those of imperialism, the forces of peace are surpassing those of war, and the revolutionary forces are surpassing the counter-revolutionary forces. The united front against U.S. imperialism today is much broader than the anti-fascist front in the past. The Japanese, German and Italian fascists were utterly defeated in the wars they launched when the balance of forces was temporarily in their favour. How can U.S. imperialism fare better today in provoking and

expanding wars under conditions in which the balance of forces is so unfavourable to it?

We say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated also because the United States is now beset by all the revolutionary peoples waging anti-imperialist struggles; militarily speaking, it has become weaker and more helpless in the face of people's war as compared with the predecessors, fascist Germany, Japan and Italy.

When the Japanese, German and Italian fascists started their wars, they enjoyed temporary military superiority and could boast of some "impressive military successes". But U.S. imperialism is now suffering one defeat after another and its much vaunted "naval and air superiority" is no longer of any avail. Today, the United States has only one thing they did not have — the atom bomb. But its nuclear monopoly has long been broken, and its nuclear blackmail is growing less and less effective. The peoples want revolution and liberation, and there is no weapon that can intimidate them. The atom bomb can scare only cowards who have lost their revolutionary will, it cannot scare revolutionary people. Despite the increasing U.S. stock of atom bombs, the flames of anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation have been raging more and more fiercely in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the last twenty years, while U.S. imperialism met with ever more ignominious defeats in its wars of aggression. U.S. imperialism has suffered — and continues to suffer — heavy blows and disastrous defeats in every place where the people have risen to resist its aggression — in China, Korea, Viet Nam, Laos, the Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, the Dominican Republic, etc. So dismal is its defeat in South Viet Nam that its own press officers have had to admit that for all their air and naval superiority, the

American forces are being defeated "by a few tens of thousands of barefooted Vietnamese peasant guerrillas armed with rifles, hand-grenades and sometimes only home-made knives". They have sorrowfully observed: "We [the United States] could go to the moon, but not to a Vietnamese hamlet without an armed escort."¹ U.S. imperialism has met with ignominious defeats in its war of aggression and it absolutely cannot avoid complete defeat in the future.

The heroic South Vietnamese people are valiantly waging their great war of resistance against U.S. aggression. They are growing stronger and stronger in the course of the fighting; they have reduced the U.S. aggressors to utter helplessness and have thus set a shining example to the people throughout the world in their struggle against U.S. aggression. The defeat of U.S. imperialism in South Viet Nam is a foregone conclusion, which cannot be altered no matter how many reinforcements it sends and whatever new tricks it plays. Only the graveyard awaits the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression. The heroic Vietnamese people will certainly achieve the liberation of South Viet Nam and the reunification of all Viet Nam.

We say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated because further the counter-revolutionary military alliances rigged up by the United States are in the process of disintegrating. The contradiction between the inordinate ambitions of U.S. imperialism and its shortage of troops is even more acute than that experienced by its predecessors. The farther it stretches out its claws,

¹ John Mecklin, former director of the U.S. Information Service in Saigon, *Mission in Torment*, New York, 1965, pp. 294 and 311.

the more numerous the nooses round its neck, and the nearer the day when it will be hanged by the people of the world.

Although many contradictions existed among the German, Japanese and Italian fascists in the 1930s, they did manage to form an axis for a time and unleash World War II. However, the aggressive military alliances painstakingly organized by U.S. imperialism since World War II are in an unenviable plight. The Baghdad Treaty, now known as the Central Treaty Organization, has long been non-existent except in name, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization has become paralyzed, and the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are uneasy bedfellows, trying hard to keep up an appearance of unity. U.S. imperialism organized these military alliances under the banner of anti-communism and anti-socialism, but its real aim is, in the first place, to control and seize the middle zone in the vast areas between the United States and the socialist camp. Bound by these treaties, the participating countries have become the first to taste the bitterness of U.S. military control, economic infiltration and political interference. This U.S. policy not only meets with the resolute opposition of the people of these countries but also gives rise to or sharpens the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the ruling classes of those countries. All this entails the growing disintegration of the aggressive military alliances knocked together by U.S. imperialism.

The present position of the United States in its war of aggression against Viet Nam is a case in point. To quote the U.S. bourgeois press, "We can search the globe and look in vain for the true and active supporters of

our policy."¹ When the United States launched its war of aggression in Korea, it managed to assemble a U.N. force composed of troops from sixteen countries. Today, only a little over a decade later, it can no longer pull the same trick in Viet Nam.

The imperialists and reactionaries are always conceited and insatiably greedy; they overestimate their own strength and underestimate that of the people. This is their incurable malady. Both Hitler and Tojo turned round to attack new opponents when their troops were already scattered, their battle lines were already far-flung and the war on the existing front was not yet concluded in their favour. They thus hastened their own defeat. These are historical lessons for the imperialists, but they never learn. Isn't U.S. imperialism today going down the old road and committing the same error as its predecessors? U.S. imperialism has less than three million troops all told, yet it is scattering them all over the world. South Viet Nam alone has already proved too hard a nut for it to crack, yet it has extended the war to North Viet Nam and is even attempting to spread it to China. What will this bring about except a speedier defeat? U.S. imperialism's accelerated application of its strategy of "escalation" in the war of aggression against Viet Nam can only speed up its complete defeat.

We say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated also because the people of the world today are awakened as never before, and because it is still more difficult for U.S. imperialism to expand a war by exploiting anti-Communist propaganda and playing on racist sentiments.

¹Walter Lippmann, *New York Herald Tribune*, April 21, 1965.

In the 1930s the Japanese, German and Italian fascists concocted a host of reactionary theories and shameless lies to fool the people and fan up anti-Communist and racist hysteria, and thus provoked the World War II in which tens of millions of people were slaughtered. But as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "War has educated the people; the people will win the war, and win peace and progress."¹ Through the Anti-Fascist War, the people have come to a better understanding of the Communist Party and socialism. More and more people have turned to the Communist Party and to socialism. People of every colour have come to see through the deceptive nature of racist propaganda more and more clearly. Fascist anti-Communist propaganda and the theory of superior races have met with ignominious defeat.

Today U.S. imperialism still plays the hackneyed tune of U.S. superiority and still repeats the old anti-Communist and anti-socialist platitudes, but fewer and fewer people believe these fabrications. People have come to realize from a mass of evidence that by "anti-communism" the U.S. imperialists mean opposition to all who refuse to be their slaves, who defend their country's independence, sovereignty and national dignity, and who resent U.S. imperialist bullying, interference, control and aggression. The crimes of U.S. imperialism under the banner of "anti-communism" are forcing over 90 per cent of the people of the world to rally against it and are isolating it as never before. In the United States itself, the mass movement openly opposing the Johnson Administration's policies of aggression and war and the

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

struggle of the American Negroes against tyranny are both unfolding on a scale unparalleled in American history.

The fundamental reason why imperialism is bound to be defeated in its wars of aggression is that it alienates itself from the people and is hostile to them. In the end, whoever is alienated from the people and hostile to them will invariably be defeated, even though sometimes he may hoodwink the people. A small war will cost him a small defeat, a major war will cost him a major defeat, and an all-out war will cost him thorough defeat. This is the irrevocable outcome of any imperialist war of aggression against the people. In the past Japanese and German fascism, swaggering like conquering heroes for a while, failed precisely for this reason. The U.S. imperialism of today is likewise bound to fail for the same reason.

Finally and most important of all, we say U.S. imperialism can definitely be defeated because since World War II Marxism-Leninism has registered tremendous developments and become the mighty ideological weapon of the revolutionary people of our time for achieving liberation.

Victory in China's War of Resistance Against Japan and in the Chinese revolution as a whole was a triumph for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has developed and become richer in the practice of the Chinese people's revolution and of socialist construction. Not only has it proved itself a science and proved itself the truth in

the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, it is daily proving itself a science and proving itself the truth in the contemporary world-wide struggles against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the asset of all the oppressed nations and peoples and of the proletarian world revolution as well as of the Chinese people's revolution. It is a powerful ideological weapon for combating imperialism and reaction and for combating modern revisionism and modern dogmatism.

The history of the Chinese revolution has shown us that once the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is integrated with the concrete practice of the revolution in a given country, it engenders infinite strength, enables the revolution to take on a totally new complexion and assures it of victory. One aspect of the historic significance of the debate of the last few years between the two lines in the international communist movement is that it has enabled Marxism-Leninism to spread on an unprecedented scale and has promoted the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the people's revolution in every country. This is bound to hasten the destruction of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys! It is bound to hasten the total bankruptcy of modern revisionism! It is bound to hasten the victorious development of the people's cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, the victorious development of the cause of proletarian world revolution!

Kowtowing to U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail, the Khrushchov revisionists are everywhere spreading fear of the horrors of war and of nuclear weapons. They claim that no one who lacks nuclear weapons can ever

expect to defeat a nuclear power in war; that if a single spark of a national-liberation war is not immediately extinguished, it will inevitably touch off a nuclear world conflagration which will destroy the whole globe; and that if the socialist countries firmly resist imperialist aggression, alack and alas, they will see the gains of years of peaceful construction reduced to ashes. In short, the Khrushchov revisionists are forbidding other people to make revolution by threatening them with war and nuclear weapons. Occasionally, they make a gesture of opposition to U.S. imperialism and put up a pretence of helping the people of other countries in their revolutionary struggles. But they play such tricks simply for the purpose of deceiving the people, so as to gain control over their revolutions, subordinate these revolutions to their revisionist line and capitalize on them in their political bargaining with U.S. imperialism. They are simply seeking to live in docile peace, they want to dominate the world jointly with the U.S. nuclear overlord, and to this end they do not scruple to sell out their friends and brothers. Their actions have greatly encouraged U.S. imperialism in its war adventures and have swollen its aggressive arrogance. But since U.S. imperialism cannot frighten the people with its war blackmail, how can the Khrushchov revisionists succeed in frightening them by propaganda about the horrors of a nuclear war? Their actions will neither extinguish the raging flames of the people's struggle against imperialism nor ensure their own security. Like all other revisionists in the past, they can only come to an ignominious end.

In commemorating the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must remember the

historical lesson which the Japanese, German and Italian fascists taught us by launching war behind the smokescreen of "peace", and we must redouble our vigilance against the U.S. imperialist plots to launch and expand wars of aggression by means of peace swindles. We must firmly oppose the Khrushchov revisionists' perfidy in trying to deceive the people of the world.

Imperialism has always used the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and peace swindles to deal with the oppressed nations and peoples. Since U.S. imperialism today finds itself in a still less favourable strategic position than Japanese, German and Italian fascism, it is meeting with more serious difficulties than they in unleashing and expanding wars. Therefore, it has now become more cunning and, along with its military activities, it has more frequently resorted to peace tactics so as to deceive the people.

History has shown that when unleashing a war of aggression, imperialism invariably invents such pretexts as "defending freedom" or "standing for peace and order", so as to cover up its aggression and hoodwink the people. Did not the Japanese fascists launch their all-out invasion of China under the signboard of establishing "a new order in East Asia"? Did not the German fascists unleash war under the banner of establishing "a new order in Europe"? Since World War II, every U.S. president has repeatedly resorted to the same trick as his predecessors. Johnson blustered that "the U.S. government is history-bound to assume responsibility

for the leadership of the free world".¹ He declared that the U.S. aim in Viet Nam, as in the rest of the world, "is to help restore the peace and re-establish a decent order",² and that the U.S. troops in Viet Nam are "also there to strengthen world order".³ Isn't this the tune formerly sung by the Japanese, German and Italian fascists?

What kind of "freedom" does Johnson want to defend? As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has penetratingly pointed out,

It is the freedom to use aeroplanes, warships and guns to slaughter the people of other countries. It is the freedom to seize the territory of other countries at will, the freedom to trample their sovereignty underfoot at will. It is the freedom of pirates to loot and kill. It is the freedom to tread every country and people under its heel.⁴

What kind of "order" does Johnson want to establish and strengthen? It is the order of gangsters, which would allow them to burn and kill but forbid the people to strike back in self-defence. The Japanese fascists set up its "new order" in China by resorting to the policy of "kill all, burn all and loot all". The German fascists established their "new order" by setting up concentration camps such as Auschwitz. Today, people are witnessing this new order in the plunder, aggression

¹ Johnson's election speech, October 12, 1964.

² Johnson's speech to the U.S. Bar Association, August 12, 1964.

³ Johnson's speech at Johns Hopkins University, April 7, 1965.

⁴ Mao Tse-tung's Statement Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance to U.S. Armed Aggression, *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)*, May 12, 1965.

and massacre perpetrated by the United States in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the military bases set up by the United States in various parts of the world. They are witnessing a specimen of the "new order" — the "new order" of U.S. fascism — especially in the "strategic hamlets" the United States has set up in South Viet Nam, in its massacres of the South Vietnamese people, in the atrocity it commits by spraying huge amounts of toxic chemicals in order to destroy the means of subsistence of the South Vietnamese people, and in the wanton bombing raids it is making on the peaceful inhabitants, the dams and dykes, the hospitals and schools of North Viet Nam. Can this kind of "order" be tolerated by any nation which cherishes freedom? Isn't it right for the people to stand up and firmly resist the U.S. imperialists' attempt to impose this kind of "order" on them?

Both the record of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the current facts of the struggle against U.S. imperialism teach us that the people have no freedom wherever the "freedom" of the imperialists and reactionaries prevails, and that if the people are to have freedom they must abolish the "freedom" of the imperialists and reactionaries. When all countries and people subjected to bullying, oppression, control, plunder and aggression by U.S. imperialism stand up and wrest their freedom from it, the day will not be far off when the people of the whole world will gain their freedom.

History has also shown that as a rule, imperialism lays down a heavy smokescreen of "peace" to dull the people's vigilance and undermine their fighting will whenever it is preparing for or expanding a war, whenever the war is going badly for it, or whenever it wants

to divide and soften up the forces of resistance in the country it has invaded. Did not the Japanese imperialists actively spread propaganda in favour of a so-called "peaceful settlement" of the Sino-Japanese question at the very moment when they launched their all-out war of aggression against China? Then again, after their occupation of Wuhan, when they had attained their first objectives in the war, wanted to consolidate their position and were anxious to split the anti-Japanese front in China, did they not dangle peace baits before the Kuomintang government in the form of the proposal to withdraw their troops from central and southern China on certain conditions?

For some time now the Johnson Administration has been most energetically waving olive branches and has kept singing its old tunes of "unconditional discussions" and "peaceful settlement" while continuously sending reinforcements to South Viet Nam and extending its bombing of North Viet Nam. Despite the severe rebuffs rightly administered by the Vietnamese Government and people, it has not abandoned hope but is continuing to spread the story that "the window to peace is still open"¹ and is talking of employing "all the resources . . . of the United Nations" to "bring peace".² Why is the Johnson Administration so actively seeking "peace"? To put it bluntly, it is because the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam has exposed it to the strong condemnation and opposition of the people of the whole world, including also the American people, and because the people's war in South Viet Nam has battered the

¹ Johnson's statement on Viet Nam, April 17, 1965.

² Johnson's press conference of July 28, 1965.

U.S. imperialist colossus and reduced him to impotence. It is this that compels the Johnson Administration to resort to the trick of "peace negotiations" in order to deceive the people, allay world opinion, sow discord among the forces opposed to U.S. aggression and weaken their morale, and so gain a breathing space to consolidate its position and gather strength for still bigger ventures.

We have pointed out long ago that every time the U.S. imperialists sanctimoniously talk "peace", they add another faggot to the fire of their war of aggression in Viet Nam and escalate the war another notch, and the more loudly they talk it the bigger the flames of war. While assiduously hatching peace frauds, the Johnson Administration is hastening reinforcements to South Viet Nam and continuously extending its bombing of North Viet Nam. It is threatening the Vietnamese people by saying that it will direct them to the conference table by "death and desolation".¹ It is threatening the Chinese people and the peoples of Southeast Asia by declaring that the United States is ready to fight an Asian war. It is even indulging in open military provocations against the Chinese people and blustering that "the idea of the sanctuary is dead",² and has brazenly sent aircraft in harassing flights over Hainan Island and Yunnan Province. In the face of such frenzied war acts and war blackmail, isn't what Johnson really means by "peaceful settlement" clear enough?

In short, like the Japanese, German and Italian fascists, the U.S. imperialists wear white gloves after slaughter-

¹ *Ibid.*

² Dean Rusk's interview with American journalists in "Questions and Answers", American Broadcasting Corporation Programme, July 11, 1965.

ing people in order to cover up their blood-stained hands and hide their odious wolf-like features with a Buddha's mask. But their very actions belie them. The more they attempt to hide their blood-stained hands and wolfish teeth, the more they show themselves up for what they really are under the harsh glare of daylight, and thus they serve as the best teachers of the people by negative example. Thousands of sanguinary lessons have taught a growing number of people not to be duped. They have come to understand that genuine peace can only be won by resolutely carrying the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end and by shattering its plans of aggression and war.

Just as this U.S. imperialist trick was becoming less and less effective, the Khrushchov revisionists, singing in chorus with the U.S. imperialists, came forward with the proclamation that Johnson is "sensible" and "reasonable", that the United States is willing to seek a peaceful solution of the Viet Nam question, that help should be given to the United States to find an honourable way out, and so on and so forth. They spare no efforts to embellish U.S. imperialism and help the Johnson Administration to dupe the people. This is a most shameful betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the fraternal countries and the people of the world. But the U.S. imperialist lies have long been exploded. Of what avail can the help of a handful of Khrushchov revisionists be to the U.S. imperialists? If these revisionists keep on offering such help, they will only further expose themselves as renegades and go on serving as teachers by negative example for the people of the world.

The Khrushchov revisionists are a mere handful of people; they are seriously alienated from the people of

their own country and of the world, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of their country or the world. Their emergence is a bad thing which has brought temporary losses to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. But it has educated the people by negative example, sharpened their vigilance, helped to enhance their political consciousness and powerfully promoted the great revolutionary unity of the people of the world. It is therefore also a good thing. However much trouble the Khrushchov revisionists may stir up, this cannot change the situation in which the East wind is prevailing over the West wind or stem the world tide of people's revolution; inevitably, U.S. imperialism will be utterly defeated!

In commemorating the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must carry on and develop the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army, strengthen our preparations to resist U.S. imperialist aggression and give still more effective support to the Vietnamese and other peoples in their struggles against U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism is doing nothing but evil and is committing error after error; its days are numbered. But it is the strongest of the imperialist powers; it will not reconcile itself to defeat, still less give up altogether. At present it is accelerating the escalation of its war of aggression in Viet Nam and keeps on shouting about spreading the war to China. This is simply an expression of desperate recklessness in the face of heavy defeats in Viet Nam and other parts of the world. It is possible that U.S. imperialism may go mad in trying to save itself

from its doom; we must take this into full account and make preparations against its expansion of the war of aggression in Viet Nam and against any war it may impose on us.

A thousand and one things need to be done in preparation, but the most important and most fundamental thing of all is to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to make preparations in all fields for a people's war in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war. The people throughout the country are now unfolding a vigorous mass movement to study the works of Chairman Mao, and in reality this is the basic measure by which to arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism and ensure the success of all our work, including the task of preparing for war. Comrade Lin Piao's article published in the press today provides us with a good textbook on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war. There is therefore no need for me to dwell on this.

Now I would like to discuss in greater detail the question of inheriting and carrying forward our revolutionary tradition. Doing this successfully is an important guarantee for the thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism.

What is the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army? It is what people often call the Ching kangshan tradition, the old Red Army tradition, the Yen an tradition, the old Eighth Route Army tradition or the People's Liberation Army tradition. It is the revolutionary tradition which was established by Comrade Mao Tse-tung during the Ching kangshan struggles when he built the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and which was continuously enriched and developed in the subsequent twenty-two years of people's revolutionary wars. It is

also the tradition of the "Three-Eight Working Style" and of "democracy in the three main fields" repeatedly stressed by Comrade Lin Piao in recent years, and the tradition of "giving first place to politics" and of the "Four Firsts" recently formulated by Comrade Lin Piao. In recent years, the main purpose of the whole people in diligently learning from the Liberation Army has been precisely to further popularize and develop this revolutionary tradition of our Party.

This tradition is the concentrated expression of the fine working style and noble qualities which were gradually developed by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the course of protracted revolutionary wars. It is extremely rich in content and its primary and fundamental point is the revolutionary spirit, which means closely integrating oneself with the people and serving them wholeheartedly, devoting oneself to others without any thought of self, concerning oneself solely with the supreme interests of the people and the revolution, and regarding it as the greatest happiness to devote oneself to the cause of the people's liberation. Imbued with this spirit, one will show superlative heroism and face death with equanimity; in revolutionary struggle one will not fear hardships but take pride in them; one will give full play to his initiative, creativeness, talents and wisdom; one will overcome any unhealthy tendencies and be able correctly to understand and execute the Party's policies and decisions, surmount one difficulty after another and advance from victory to victory in revolutionary war or other revolutionary work. If a person is imbued with this tradition, he will be most courageous, intelligent and resourceful. If an armed unit has this tradition, it will be a unit

which is most militant and staunch, most flexible and invincible.

Thanks to this revolutionary tradition, we defeated the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries in the past. In future, we shall rely on the same tradition thoroughly to defeat the U.S. imperialists and any reactionaries who dare to unleash a war against us. Now that the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their preparations to expand the war, it is more necessary than ever for us to be soberly aware of the warlike character of U.S. imperialism, to be mentally prepared for all emergencies, to remember our old days of hardship, to encourage and develop the spirit of the years of revolutionary war, the dauntless spirit with which our men worked hard and fought bravely and with which they were afraid neither of hardship nor of death. The imperialists and reactionaries invariably try to subdue the revolutionary people by subjecting them to hardship and death. And the reason why the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army can defeat all its enemies instead of being overpowered by them is that, having been taught by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, they possess this thoroughly revolutionary spirit, fearing neither hardship nor death. For the sake of revolution, they are afraid of neither hardship nor death. What else on earth is there to be afraid of? What on earth can overpower us? Is there any miracle beyond our reach?

The imperialists have always conquered other countries and maintained their rule by killing people. They are armed to the teeth and have all the machinery for slaughter. Whoever is afraid of death when confronted by imperialist aircraft, artillery and atom bombs, whoever submits to the threat of death, has no alternative but to

surrender to the enemy. In that case, how would it be possible to speak of national liberation or people's emancipation?

At the start of the War of Resistance, the weapons and equipment of Japanese imperialism were many times greater than ours, and the disparity was such as is rare in military history. Relying on their military superiority, the Japanese imperialists launched thousands of inhuman "mopping-up" campaigns against our anti-Japanese base areas, operated the ultra-barbarous policy of "burn all, loot all and kill all", and created barren "lands with not a living soul". In a word, they tried to cow the Chinese people with the threat of "death". But through their protracted war against aggression, the Chinese people came to realize the truth that liberation involves bloodshed and death. Bloodshed and death can only be curtailed by not being afraid of them. It is only through the sacrifice of the blood and lives of the few that the vast majority can avoid the sacrifice of their blood and lives.

Taught by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and tempered in revolutionary wars, the Chinese people have fostered collective heroism so that, imbued with this spirit, one will go through fire and water and even face death unflinchingly for the liberation of his motherland, the people and all mankind. The Five Heroes of the Langya Mountain in the War of Resistance are fine examples of such revolutionary heroism. This tradition was carried forward in the War of Liberation, the War to Resist America and Aid Korea and, more recently, in the struggle to defend the airspace, territorial waters and borders of our motherland and in the counter-attack on the Sino-Indian border made in self-defence. In these

struggles there have emerged heroes and heroines such as Liu Hu-lan, Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Yang Ken-szu, An Yeh-min, Tu Feng-jui, Lo Kuang-hsieh and Szumayimaimaiti, such as Chen Tai-fu whom people call a living Huang Chi-kuang, and such as Wu Yuan-ming who stood his ground at the head of the Che-jao bridge without yielding an inch in the face of provocations and encirclement by scores of Indian troops. In the course of our socialist revolution and construction there have emerged heroic and exemplary figures such as Lei Feng, Hsiang Hsiu-li, Ouyang Hai, Hsieh Chen and Hsu Hsueh-hui. They are among the noblest of our sons and daughters, and their spirit of self-sacrifice for the revolutionary cause will for ever remain worthy of emulation.

The imperialists create difficulties for the people who resist their aggression not only by killing but also by imposing an economic blockade and by destructions through war; in these ways the imperialists try to make survival impossible for the people so as to make them submit in the end. This was what the Japanese imperialists did to the people and the armed forces resisting them. And this is what the U.S. imperialists are trying to do to us today. If we lack backbone, if we cannot stand hardships and the test of privation, we cannot possibly win victory in our wars against aggression.

During the War of Resistance, our difficulties were indeed immense, since we faced pincer attacks and blockades both by the Japanese imperialists and by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and had to keep on fighting without any external material aid. In the most difficult stages we had a great scarcity of food or clothing. But in response to the call made by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people and

the army in the anti-Japanese base areas resolutely fought the difficulties and showed the same dauntless spirit as did the Red Armymen when they climbed snow-clad mountains and crossed marshlands on the Long March. Responsible comrades and ordinary personnel, cadres and soldiers, the army and the people all ate chaff or wild herbs and co-operated in reclaiming wasteland, and everyone vied to be the first to endure any hardship and the last to enjoy himself. What was the result? The enemy's blockade and the material difficulties did not conquer us; we conquered the difficulties and vanquished the enemy. This tradition of strenuous struggle amidst difficulties is our revolutionary heritage. It has been carried forward and developed since our nation-wide victory. For more than ten years, the "Good Eighth Company on the Nanking Road" firmly resisted contamination by bourgeois ideas of all types and maintained the true quality of the working people and the revolutionary army. Bringing into full play the spirit of self-reliance and of strenuous struggle amidst difficulties, the Taching oilfield and the Tachai brigade achieved great successes and set up model examples in the fields of industrial and agricultural construction. These are all new developments of the same revolutionary tradition. The spirit in which they maintain and develop the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army in new historical conditions is worthy of being vigorously encouraged and spread on all the fronts of our socialist revolution and construction.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 650 million Chinese people are determined to carry the revolution through to the end, fearing neither hardship nor death, daring to fight and to win and showing proficiency in fighting and skill in achieving victory.

Thus no difficulty can daunt us and no force can overpower us. It is easier to move a mountain than to move the Chinese people! The imperialist-reactionary dream of enslaving the Chinese people afresh will be shattered.

We are firmly convinced that, taught by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and guided by the Party's correct Marxist-Leninist line, the Chinese people will undoubtedly be able to carry on and develop the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution and the glorious tradition of strenuous struggle amidst difficulties, and adopt all the effective measures needed to ensure that our impregnable state will never degenerate, will successfully carry on the socialist revolution and construction, help the other peoples' revolutionary movements to overthrow imperialism and its lackeys, and guarantee the future transition from socialism to communism.

Comrades and friends! At the present time, U.S. imperialism is pressing forward with its counter-revolutionary global strategy for world hegemony and is intensifying its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. We must once again warn the Johnson Administration that we the Chinese people are firm and unshakable in our policy of supporting other peoples' struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and aiding the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. We have been so in the past and the present, and will remain so in the future, till the U.S. aggressors withdraw lock, stock and barrel from South Viet Nam and the other foreign territories they have invaded and occupied.

U.S. imperialism which has always set itself against the Chinese people is still occupying Taiwan. We will

definitely liberate Taiwan and fulfil the sacred task of reunifying our motherland.

We Chinese people love peace but we have never been afraid of war. If U.S. imperialism insists on imposing war on us, there is nothing terrifying about that. The more men it throws in, the better — whether by air, by sea or by land, whether in tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands or millions. And if it chooses to dispatch all its troops, that will be better still. We will wipe them out if they come; the more they come, the more we will wipe out; if the whole lot of them come, we will wipe out the whole lot. The U.S. aggressors have already become irretrievably bogged down in South Viet Nam by a war of the entire people. If U.S. imperialism should dare to send its troops to invade China, the fate awaiting it can be none other than complete destruction.

U.S. imperialism is trying to use the handful of Japanese fascist forces to revive Japanese militarism as an instrument for launching new wars in the East. On their part, the fascist forces in Japan are vainly seeking resurrection with the support of U.S. imperialism in order to stage a comeback, set themselves against the Chinese and the other Asian peoples and renew their old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". But all this is wishful thinking. Today, China is already a great socialist country; a number of countries in Asia are victoriously waging revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; the great Japanese people have awakened as never before and launched angry campaigns against the U.S. policy of aggression and the resurgence of militarism. In these circumstances, if the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries persist in forcing the Japanese people to be cannon fodder for

aggression, the only possible result will be the speedy emergence of an independent, free and new Japan that will have completely shaken off U.S. military occupation.

Comrades and friends! Already in the initial period of the War of Resistance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

Our war is sacred and just, it is progressive and its aim is peace. The aim is peace not just in one country but throughout the world, not just temporary but perpetual peace. To achieve this aim we must wage a life-and-death struggle, be prepared for any sacrifice, persevere to the end and never stop short of the goal. However great the sacrifice and however long the time needed to attain it, a new world of perpetual peace and brightness already lies clearly before us. Our faith in waging this war is based upon the new China and the new world of perpetual peace and brightness for which we are striving.¹

After eight years of war, the Chinese people, acting on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, defeated the Japanese imperialists who had subjected them to bullying and aggression for so long, and thus made an important contribution to the World Anti-Fascist War. Today, if U.S. imperialism dares to launch a war of aggression against China, the Chinese people will unquestionably be able thoroughly to defeat the U.S. aggressors and make a new contribution to still greater victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism by co-operating with the other peoples of the world in thoroughly defeating U.S. im-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

perialism, the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world, and its lackeys. Victory is certain to go to the Chinese people! Victory is certain to go to all the oppressed peoples and nations!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

人民战胜了日本法西斯
人民也一定能够战胜美帝国主义

羅 瑞 卿

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