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LENINISM OR SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM?

—In Commemoration of the Centenary
of the Birth of the Great Lenin

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao,"
"Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

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era of imperialism and of the
proletarian revolution.**

Stalin: "The Foundations of Leninism"



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I. The Banner of Leninism Is Invincible

THE centenary of the birth of the great Lenin falls on April 22 this year.

Throughout the world, the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people are commemorating this date of historic significance with the highest respect for the great Lenin.

After the death of Marx and Engels, Lenin was the great leader of the international communist movement and the great teacher of the proletariat and oppressed people of the world.

In 1871, the year after Lenin was born, the uprising of the Paris Commune occurred; this was the first attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The world was entering the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries when Lenin began his revolutionary activities. In his struggles against imperialism and opportunism of every kind, and especially against the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism and brought it to a new and higher stage, the stage of Leninism. As Stalin put it, "**Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.**"¹

Lenin analysed the contradictions of imperialism, revealed the law governing it and solved a series of major questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and settled the question of socialism "**achieving victory first in one or several countries.**"² He expounded the thesis that the proletariat must assume leadership in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and led the Russian proletariat in staging a general rehearsal in the revolution of 1905. Under his leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution brought about the fundamental change from the old world of capitalism to the new world of socialism, opening up a new era in the history of mankind.

Lenin's theoretical and practical contributions to the cause of the proletarian revolution were extremely great.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin inherited and defended the cause of Leninism in his struggles against domestic and foreign class enemies and against the Right and "Left" opportunists in the Party. He led the Soviet people in continuing the advance along the socialist road and in winning great victories. During World War II the Soviet people under the command of Stalin became the main force in defeating fascist aggression and made magnificent contributions which will live for ever in the history of mankind.

We Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will never forget that it was precisely in Leninism that we found our road to liberation. Comrade Mao Tsetung says: "**The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism.**" "**They [the Chinese — Tr.] found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change.**"³ He points out: "**The Chinese people have always considered the Chinese revolution a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution.**"⁴

Applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively solved the fundamental problems of the Chinese revolution and led the Chinese people in waging the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complicated revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars ever known in the history of the world proletarian revolution and in winning victory in the people's revolution in China, this large country in the East. This is the greatest victory in the world proletarian revolution since the October Revolution.

We are now living in a great new era of world revolution. The international situation has undergone

world-shaking changes since Lenin's time. The development of world history as a whole has proved that Lenin's revolutionary teachings are correct and that the banner of Leninism is invincible.

But history has its twists and turns. Just as Bernstein-Kautsky revisionism emerged after the death of Engels, so did Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionism after the death of Stalin.

Eleven years after Khrushchov came to power, a split occurred within the revisionist clique and he was replaced by Brezhnev. More than five years have elapsed since Brezhnev took office. And now it is this Brezhnev who is conducting the "commemoration" of the centenary of Lenin's birth in the Soviet Union.

Lenin once said: "It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes."⁵

II. The Fundamental Question of Leninism Is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In his struggles against opportunism and revisionism, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the fundamental question in the proletarian revolution is that of using violence to seize political power, smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He said: "The latter [the bourgeois state—Tr.] cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in the process of 'withering away'; as a general rule, this can happen only by means of a violent revolution."⁶

He added that Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is inseparably bound up with all he taught on the revolutionary role of the proletariat in history. The culmination of this role is the proletarian dictatorship."⁷

The victory of the October Revolution led by Lenin was a victory for the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The road of the October Revolution is the road of the proletariat achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat through violent revolution.

Around the time of the October Revolution, Lenin summed up the new revolutionary practice and further developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that the socialist revolution covers "a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts"⁸ and that "until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration,

This is exactly what the renegade Brezhnev and his ilk are doing to the great Lenin. In their so-called Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, they have the impudence to distort the great image of Lenin, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, and pass off their revisionist rubbish as Leninism. They pretend to "commemorate" Lenin, but in reality they are appropriating the name of Lenin to press forward with their social-imperialism, social-fascism and social-militarism. What an outrageous insult to Lenin!

Today our fighting tasks are thoroughly to expose the betrayal of Leninism by the Soviet revisionist renegades, to lay bare the class nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, point out the historical law that social-imperialism, like capitalist imperialism, will meet its inevitable doom, and further promote the great struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction. Here is the tremendous significance of our commemoration of the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin.

and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration."⁹ Therefore, he maintained that the dictatorship of the proletariat "is necessary . . . not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but for the entire historical period between capitalism and 'classless society,' communism."¹⁰

Today, as we commemorate the centenary of Lenin's birth, it is of vital practical significance to study anew these brilliant ideas of Lenin's.

As is well known, it is precisely on the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has betrayed Leninism and the October Revolution.

Far back, when Khrushchov began to reveal his revisionist features, Comrade Mao Tsetung acutely pointed out: "I think there are two 'swords': One is Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been abandoned by the Russians." "As for the sword of Lenin, has it too now been abandoned to a certain extent by some leaders of the Soviet Union? In my view, it has been abandoned to a considerable extent. Is the October Revolution still valid? Can it still be the example for all countries? Khrushchov's report at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. says it is possible to gain political power by the parliamentary road, that is to say, it is no longer necessary for all countries to learn from the October Revolution. Once this gate is opened, Leninism by and large is thrown out."¹¹

III. Counter-Revolutionary Coup d'Etat by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev Renegade Clique

How was it possible for the restoration of capitalism to take place in the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and how was it possible for the Soviet Union to become social-imperialist? If we examine this question from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and especially in the light of Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall be able to understand that this was mainly a product of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, the result of the usurpation of Party and government leadership by a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road there, in other words, the result of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by the Soviet bourgeoisie. At the same time, it was the result of the policy of "peaceful evolution" which world imperialism, in trying to save itself from its doom, has pushed in the Soviet Union through the medium of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: **"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration."**¹²

In socialist society the class struggle still focuses on the question of political power. Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: **"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."**¹³

Classes and class struggle continued to exist in the Soviet Union long after the October Revolution, although the bourgeoisie had been overthrown. Stalin cleared out quite a gang of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party — Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and the like. This showed that sharp class struggle was going on all the time and that there was always the danger of capitalist restoration.

Being the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union lacked experience in consolidating this dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In these circumstances and after Stalin's death, Khrushchov, a capitalist roader in power hiding in the Soviet Communist Party, came out with a surprise attack in his "secret report" viciously slandering Stalin and by every kind of treacherous manoeuvre usurped Party and government power in

the Soviet Union. This was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat which turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and which overthrew socialism and restored capitalism.

Brezhnev was Khrushchov's accomplice in the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and later replaced him. Brezhnev's rise to power is, in essence, the continuation of Khrushchov's counter-revolutionary coup. Brezhnev is Khrushchov the Second.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: **"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."**¹⁴ **"The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type."**¹⁵

This brilliant thesis of Comrade Mao Tsetung's most penetratingly reveals the class essence and social roots of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and its fascist nature.

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum has greatly expanded its political and economic power and has occupied the ruling position in the Party, the government, and the army as well as in the economic and cultural fields. And from this stratum there has emerged a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, namely, a new type of big bourgeoisie which dominates the whole state machine and controls all the social wealth.

Utilizing the state power under its control, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class has turned socialist ownership into ownership by capitalist roaders and turned the socialist economy into a capitalist economy and a state monopoly capitalist economy. In the name of the "state," it unscrupulously plunders the state treasury and embezzles at will the fruits of the labour of the Soviet people in every possible way. Indulging in luxury and debauchery, it rides roughshod over the people.

This new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is a bourgeoisie that has turned the hope of restoration into attempts at restoration. It has suppressed the heroic sons and daughters of the October Revolution, is lording it over the people of different nationalities in the Soviet Union and has set up its own small counter-revolutionary tsarist court. Therefore, it is reactionary in the extreme and mortally hates and fears the people.

Like all other reactionary and decadent classes, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is riddled with internal contradictions. In their desperate efforts

to keep the power they have usurped, the members of this class are both working hand in glove with each other and scheming and struggling against one another. The greater their difficulties, the fiercer their strife, open and secret.

In order to extort maximum profits and maintain its reactionary rule, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class not only exploits and oppresses the people of its own country, but it necessarily engages in rabid expansion and aggression, joins the company of world imperialism in redividing the world and pursues the most vicious social-imperialist policies.

This new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class constitutes the class basis of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. At present the general representative of this class is Brezhnev. He has frantically pushed and developed Khrushchov revisionism and is completing the evolution from capitalist restoration to social-imperialism, which was already begun when Khrushchov was in power.

Since Brezhnev took office, he has pushed the so-called new economic system in an all-round way and established the capitalist principle of profit in a legal form, thus intensifying the exploitation of the working people by the oligarchy of bureaucrat monopolists. He and his like extort exorbitant taxes in total disregard of the lives of the people, follow Hitler's policy of "guns instead of butter" and accelerate the militarization of the national economy to meet the needs of social-imperialism for arms expansion and war preparation.

The perverse acts of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have caused immense damage to the social productive forces and brought about grave consequences: the decline of industry, the deterioration of agriculture, the reduction in livestock, inflation, shortages of supplies, the unusual scarcity of commodities on state markets and the increasing impoverishment of the working people. The Soviet revisionist renegades have not only squandered a vast amount of the wealth accumulated by the Soviet people through decades of hard work, but have also humbly begged for loans from West Germany, a country defeated in World War II, and are even selling out the country's natural resources and inviting Japanese monopoly capital into Siberia. The economy of the Soviet Union is already in the grip of an inextricable crisis. As friends of the Soviet people, we the Chinese people, along with the people of the world, are extremely indignant with the Soviet revisionist renegades who have brought so much damage and disgrace to the homeland of Leninism; we feel deep sympathy for the broad masses of the Soviet people who are suffering enormously from the all-round restoration of the capitalist system.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique once said that the dictatorship of the proletariat "has ceased to be indispensable in the U.S.S.R." and that the Soviet Union "has . . . become a state of the entire people."¹⁶ But now they are slapping their own faces and asserting

that the "state of the entire people continues the cause of the proletarian dictatorship"¹⁷ and that "the state of the whole people" and "the state of proletarian dictatorship" are "of one and the same type."¹⁸ They are also making a hullabaloo about "strengthening party leadership," "strengthening discipline," "strengthening centralism" and so on. "A state of the entire people" and at the same time a "proletarian dictatorship" — they lump together these two diametrically opposed concepts for no other purpose than to deceive the masses and camouflage the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie. By "party leadership" they actually mean political control over the broad masses of the party members and the people by the handful of social-fascist oligarchs. By "discipline" they mean suppression of all who are dissatisfied with their rule. And by "centralism" they mean further centralizing the political, economic and military power in the hands of their gang. In short, they are putting all these signboards up for the purpose of strengthening their fascist dictatorship and preparing for wars of aggression.

Beset with difficulties at home and abroad, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is resorting more and more openly to counter-revolutionary violence to buttress its reactionary rule which betrays Lenin and the October Revolution. In the Soviet Union of today, special agents and spies run amuck and reactionary laws and decrees multiply. Revolution is a crime, and people are everywhere being jailed on false charges; counter-revolution is a merit, and renegades congratulate each other on their promotion. Large numbers of revolutionaries and innocent people have been thrown into concentration camps and "mental hospitals." The Soviet revisionist clique even sends tanks and armoured cars brutally to suppress the people's resistance.

Lenin pointed out: "Nowhere in the world is there such an oppression of the majority of the country's population as there is in Russia," and nationalities other than Russians were regarded "as *inorodtsi* (aliens)."¹⁹ National oppression "turned the nationalities without any rights into great reservoirs of fierce hatred for the monarchs."²⁰ Now the Soviet revisionist new tsars have restored the old tsars' policy of national oppression, adopted such cruel measures as discrimination, forced migration, splitting and imprisonment to oppress and persecute the minority nationalities and turned the Soviet Union back into the "prison of nations."²¹

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique exercises comprehensive bourgeois dictatorship throughout the ideological sphere. It wantonly suppresses and destroys the proletariat's socialist ideology and culture while opening the floodgates to the rotten bourgeois ideology and culture. It vociferously preaches militarism, national chauvinism and racism and turns literature and art into tools for pushing social-imperialism.

In denouncing the dark rule of the tsarist system, Lenin indicated that police tyranny, savage persecution

and demoralization had reached such an extent that **"the very stones cry out!"**²² One can just as well compare the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique with the tsarist system castigated by Lenin.

In staging the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique played a role which no imperialist or reactionary was in a position to play. As Stalin said, **"The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within."**²³ The fortress of socialism,

which had withstood the 14-nation armed intervention; the Whiteguard rebellion, the attack by several million Hitlerite troops and imperialist sabotage, subversion, blockade and encirclement of every kind, was finally captured from within by this handful of renegades. The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique are the biggest renegades in the history of the international communist movement. They are criminals indicted by history for their towering crimes.

IV. Socialism in Words, Imperialism in Deeds

Lenin denounced the renegades of the Second International as **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism."**²⁴

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, too, has grown from revisionism into social-imperialism. The difference lies in the fact that the social-imperialists of the Second International such as Kautsky did not hold state power; they only served the imperialists of their own countries to earn a few crumbs from the super-profits plundered from the people of other countries. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, however, directly plunder and enslave the people of other countries by means of the state power they have usurped.

The historical lesson is: Once its political power is usurped by a revisionist clique, a socialist state will either turn into social-imperialism, as in the case of the Soviet Union, or be reduced to a dependency or a colony, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic. Now one can see clearly that the essence of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique's rise to power lies in the transformation of the socialist state created by Lenin and Stalin into a hegemonic social-imperialist power.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about Leninism, socialism and proletarian internationalism, but it acts in an out-and-out imperialist way.

It talks glibly about practising "internationalism" towards its so-called fraternal countries, but in fact it imposes fetter upon fetter, such as the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" and the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," on a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic, thereby confining them within its barbed-wire "socialist community" and freely ransacking them. It uses its overlord position to press its "international division of labour," "specialization in production" and "economic integration," to force these countries to adapt their national economies to the Soviet revisionist needs and turn them into its markets, subsidiary processing workshops, orchards, vegetable gardens and ranches, all so that outrageous super-economic exploitation can be carried on.

It has adopted the most despotic and vicious methods to keep these countries under strict control and stationed massive numbers of troops there, and it has even openly dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to trample Czechoslovakia underfoot and install a puppet regime at bayonet point. Like the old tsars denounced by Lenin, this gang of renegades bases its relations with its neighbours entirely **"on the feudal principle of privilege."**²⁵

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its "aid" to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but in fact, under the guise of "aid," it is trying hard to bring a number of these countries into its sphere of influence in contending with U.S. imperialism for the intermediate zone. Through the export of war materiel and capital and through unequal trade, Soviet revisionism is plundering their natural resources, interfering in their internal affairs and looking for chances to grab military bases.

Lenin pointed out: **"To the numerous 'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for 'spheres of influence,' . . . for economic territory in general."**²⁶ Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is moving along precisely this orbit of capitalist imperialism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its "full support" for the revolutionary struggles in other countries, but in fact it is collaborating with all the most reactionary forces in the world to undermine the revolutionary struggles of various peoples. It wildly vilifies the revolutionary masses in the capitalist countries as "extremists" and "mobs" and tries to split and disintegrate the people's movements there. It has supplied money and guns to the reactionaries of Indonesia, India and other countries and thus directly helped them massacre revolutionaries, and is scheming night and day to put out the flames of the people's armed struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and suppress the national-liberation movements. Like U.S. imperialism, it is acting as a world gendarme.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its approval of "struggle against imperialism," mouthing a few phrases scolding the United States now and then, but in fact, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are both the biggest imperialisms vainly attempting to dominate the world. There is absolutely nothing in common between the Soviet revisionists' so-called opposition to the United States and the struggles of the people of the various countries against U.S. imperialism. In order to redivide the world, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are contending and colluding with each other at the same time. What Soviet revisionism has done on a series of major issues, such as the questions of Germany, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Japan and nuclear weapons, is evidence of its crimes in contending and colluding with U.S. imperialism. Both of them are playing imperialist power politics at the expense of the interests of the people of all countries. Whatever compromises may be reached between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are mere temporary agreements between gangsters.

Lenin pointed out: **"Contemporary militarism is the result of capitalism."**²⁷ Contemporary war **"arises out of the very nature of imperialism."**²⁸

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has gone farther and farther down the road of militarism. It has taken over Khrushchov's military strategic principle of nuclear blackmail and energetically developed missile-nuclear weapons, and at

the same time redoubled its efforts to expand conventional armaments, comprehensively strengthening its ground, naval and air forces, and carried out the imperialist "gunboat policy" throughout the world.

On the question of war, formerly Khrushchov hypocritically advocated a world "without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" to cover up actual arms expansion and war preparation. Today, Brezhnev and company have somewhat changed their tune. They have gone all out to stir up war fanaticism, clamouring that the present international situation is "fraught with the danger of a new world war,"²⁹ brazenly threatening to "forestall the opponent" and bragging about their "strategic missiles" being "capable of destroying any target at any place."³⁰ They have been increasing military expenditures still more frantically, stepping up their mobilization and preparation for wars of aggression and plotting to unleash a blitzkrieg of the Hitler type.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has occupied Czechoslovakia by surprise attack, encroached upon Chinese territories such as Chenpao Island and the Tiehlikti area and made nuclear threats against our country. All this fully reveals the aggressive and adventurous nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Like the U.S. imperialists, the handful of oligarchs of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have become another arch-criminal preparing to start a world war.

V. The "Brezhnev Doctrine" Is an Outright Doctrine of Hegemony

In order to press on with its social-imperialist policy of expansion and aggression, the Brezhnev renegade clique has developed Khrushchov revisionism and concocted an assortment of fascist "theories" called the "Brezhnev doctrine."

Now let us examine what stuff this "Brezhnev doctrine" is made of.

First, the theory of "limited sovereignty." Brezhnev and company say that safeguarding their so-called interests of socialism means safeguarding "supreme sovereignty."³¹ They flagrantly declare that Soviet revisionism has the right to determine the destiny of another country "including the destiny of its sovereignty."³²

What "interests of socialism"! It is you who have subverted the socialist system in the Soviet Union and pushed your revisionist line of restoring capitalism in a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic. What you call the "interests of socialism" are actually the interests of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the interests of colonialism. You

have imposed your all-highest "supreme sovereignty" on the people of other countries, which means that the sovereignty of other countries is "limited," whereas your own power of dominating other countries is "unlimited." In other words, you have the right to order other countries about, whereas they have no right to oppose you; you have the right to ravage other countries, but they have no right to resist you. Hitler once raved about "the right to rule."³³ Dulles and his ilk also preached that the concepts of national sovereignty "have become obsolete"³⁴ and that "single state sovereignty" should give place to "joint sovereignty."³⁵ So it is clear that Brezhnev's theory of "limited sovereignty" is nothing but an echo of imperialist ravings.

Secondly, the theory of "international dictatorship." Brezhnev and company assert that they have the right to "render military aid to a fraternal country to do away with the threat to the socialist system."³⁶ They declare: "Lenin had foreseen" that historical development would "transform the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an international one, capable of decisively influencing the entire world politics."³⁷

This bunch of renegades has completely distorted Lenin's ideas.

In his article "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," Lenin wrote of **"transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics)."**³⁸ Lenin meant here to uphold proletarian internationalism and propagate proletarian world revolution. But the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has emasculated the proletarian revolutionary spirit embodied in this passage of Lenin's and concocted the theory of "international dictatorship" as the "theoretical basis" for military intervention in or military occupation of a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic. The "international dictatorship" you refer to simply means the subjection of other countries to the new tsars' rule and enslavement. Do you think that by putting up the signboard of "aid to a fraternal country" you are entitled to use your military force to bully another country, or send your troops to overrun another country as you please? Flying the flag of "unified armed forces," you invaded Czechoslovakia. What difference is there between this and the invasion of China by the allied forces of eight powers in 1900, the 14-nation armed intervention in the Soviet Union and the "16-nation" aggression organized by U.S. imperialism against Korea!

Thirdly, the theory of "socialist community." Brezhnev and company shout that "the community of socialist states is an inseparable whole"³⁹ and that the "united action"⁴⁰ of "the socialist community" must be strengthened.

A "socialist community" indeed! It is nothing but a synonym for a colonial empire with you as the metropolitan state. The relationship between genuine socialist countries, big or small, should be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, respect for state sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and on the basis of the proletarian internationalist principle of mutual support and mutual assistance. But you have trampled other countries underfoot and made them your subordinates and dependencies. By "united action" you mean to unify under your control the politics, economies and military affairs of other countries. By "inseparable" you mean to forbid other countries to free themselves from your control and enslavement. Are you not brazenly trying to enslave the people of other countries?

Fourthly, the theory of "international division of labour." Brezhnev and company have greatly developed this nonsense spread by Khrushchov long ago. They have not only applied "international division of labour"

to a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic as mentioned above, but have extended it to other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They allege that the Asian, African and Latin American countries cannot "secure the establishment of an independent national economy,"⁴¹ unless they "co-operate" with Soviet revisionism. "This co-operation enables the Soviet Union to make better use of the international division of labour. We shall be able to purchase in these countries increasing quantities of their traditional export commodities — cotton, wool, skins and hides, dressed non-ferrous ores, vegetable oil, fruit, coffee, cocoa beans, tea and other raw materials, and a variety of manufactured goods."⁴²

What a list of "traditional export commodities"!

It is a pity that this list is not complete. To it must be added petroleum, rubber, meat, vegetables, rice, jute, cane sugar, etc.

In the eyes of the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs, the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are destined to provide them with these "traditional export commodities" from generation to generation. What kind of "theory" is this? The colonialists and imperialists have long advocated that it is they who are to determine what each country is to produce in the light of its natural conditions, and they have forcibly turned Asian, African and Latin American countries into sources of raw materials and kept them in a state of backwardness so that industrial capitalist countries can carry on the most savage colonial exploitation at their convenience. The Soviet revisionist clique has taken over this colonial policy from imperialism. Its theory of "international division of labour" boils down to "industrial Soviet Union, agricultural Asia, Africa and Latin America" or "industrial Soviet Union, subsidiary processing workshop Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Mutual and complementary exchange of goods and mutual assistance on the basis of equality and mutual benefit between genuine socialist countries and Asian, African and Latin American countries are conducted for the purpose of promoting the growth of an independent national economy in these countries keeping the initiative in their own hands. However, the theory of "international division of labour" is preached by the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs for the sole purpose of infiltrating, controlling and plundering the Asian, African and Latin American countries, broadening their own spheres of influence and putting these countries under the new yoke of Soviet revisionist colonialism.

Fifthly, the theory that "our interests are involved." Brezhnev and company clamour that "the Soviet Union which, as a major world power, has extensive international contacts, cannot regard passively events that, though they might be territorially remote, nevertheless have a bearing on our security and the security of our friends."⁴³ They arrogantly declare: "Ships of the Soviet

Navy" will "sail . . . wherever it is required by the interests of our country's security!"⁴⁴

Can a country regard all parts of the world as areas involving its interests and lay its hands on the whole globe because it is a "major power"? Can a country send its gunboats everywhere to carry out intimidation and aggression because it "has extensive international contacts"? This theory that "our interests are involved" is a typical argument used by the imperialists for their global policy of aggression. When the old tsars engaged in foreign expansion, they did it under the banner of "Russian interests." The U.S. imperialists too have time and again shouted that the

VI. The Soviet Revisionists' Dream of a Vast Empire

In exposing tsarist Russia's policy of aggression a hundred years ago, Marx pointed out: "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the guiding star of this policy — world hegemony — will never change."⁴⁶

Tsar Nicholas I once arrogantly shouted: "The Russian flag should not be taken down wherever it is hoisted."⁴⁷ Tsars of several generations cherished the fond dream, as Engels said, of setting up a vast "Slav empire" extending from the Elbe to China, from the Adriatic Sea to the Arctic Ocean. They even intended to extend the boundaries of this vast empire to India and Hawaii. To attain this goal, they "are as treacherous as they are talented."⁴⁸

The Soviet revisionist new tsars have completely taken over the old tsars' expansionist tradition, branding their faces with the indelible stigma of the Romanov dynasty. They are dreaming the very dream the old tsars failed to make true and they are far more ambitious than their predecessors in their designs for aggression. They have turned a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic into their colonies and dependencies. They vainly attempt to occupy more Chinese territory, openly copying the old tsars' policy towards China and clamouring that China's northern frontier "was marked by the Great Wall."⁴⁹ They have stretched their arms out to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and even Latin America and sent their fleets to the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific and the Atlantic in their attempt to set up a vast Soviet revisionist empire spanning Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The "Slav empire" of the old tsars vanished like a bubble long ago and tsardom itself was toppled by the Great October Revolution led by Lenin in 1917. The reign of the old tsars ended in thin air. Today too, in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse, the new tsars' mad attempt to build a bigger empire dominating the whole world is nothing but a dream.

United States bears responsibility "not only for our own security but for the security of all free nations," and that it will "defend freedom wherever necessary."⁴⁵ How strikingly similar are the utterances of the Soviet revisionists to those of the old tsars and the U.S. imperialists!

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has long gone bankrupt ideologically, theoretically and politically cannot produce anything presentable at all; it can only pick up some trash from imperialism and, after refurbishing, come out with "Brezhnevism." This "Brezhnevism" is imperialism with a "socialist" label, it is outright hegemonism, naked neo-colonialism.

Stalin said: "Lenin called imperialism 'moribund capitalism.' Why? Because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins."⁵⁰

Since Soviet revisionism has embarked on the beaten track of imperialism, it is inevitably governed by the law of imperialism and afflicted with all the contradictions inherent in imperialism.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The United States is a paper tiger. Don't believe in the United States. One thrust and it's punctured. Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too."⁵¹

In carrying out rabid expansion and aggression, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is bound to go to the opposite of what it expects and create the conditions for its own downfall. Soviet revisionism treats the other countries of the "socialist community" as its fiefs, but it can never succeed in perpetuating its colonial rule over the people of these countries, nor can it alleviate its contradictions with these countries. East Europe today is just like a powder keg which is sure to go off. The intrusion of the Soviet revisionist tanks into Prague does not in the least indicate the strength of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, on the contrary it marks the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet revisionist colonial empire. With its feet deep in the Czechoslovak quagmire, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism cannot extricate itself.

By its expansion and plunder in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Soviet revisionism has set itself against the people of these regions. It has so overreached itself and become so burdened that it is swollen all over like a man suffering from dropsy. Even the U.S. imperialist press says: "We've discovered that they [the Russians] blunder as badly as we do — if not worse."⁵²

With Soviet revisionist social-imperialism joining the company of world imperialism, the contradictions

among the imperialists have become more acute. Social-imperialism and imperialism are locked in a fierce rivalry to broaden their respective spheres of influence. The strife between social-imperialism and imperialism, which are encircled ring upon ring by the world's people, must inevitably accelerate the destruction of the entire imperialist system.

At home the rule of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism also rests on a volcano. During the period of the Stolypin reaction, Lenin wrote that the upsurge of the struggle of the Russian working class **"may be rapid, or it may be slow," "but in any case it is leading to a revolution."**⁵³ In the Soviet Union today the conflict and antagonism between the new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class on the one hand and the enslaved proletariat, labouring peasants and revolutionary intellectuals on the other are becoming increasingly acute. Class struggle develops independently of man's will and must lead to revolution sooner or later.

The Soviet Union was originally a union of multi-national socialist states. Such a union can be built, consolidated and developed only under socialist conditions and on the basis of equality and voluntary affiliation. The Soviet Union, as Stalin indicated, **"had before it the unsuccessful experiments of multi-national states in bourgeois countries. It had before it the experiment of old Austria-Hungary, which ended in failure."** Nevertheless, the union of Soviet multi-national states was **"bound to stand every and any test,"** because **"real fraternal cooperation among the peoples has been established"** by the socialist system **"within the system of a single federated state."**⁵⁴ Now the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has subverted the socialist system, exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and substituted national oppression for national equality and the jungle law of the bourgeoisie for mutual help and fraternity among the nationalities. Now that the proletarian basis, the socialist basis, of the original union has been discarded, will not the huge multi-national "union" under the rule of the bourgeoisie of a new type one day undergo the same crisis and end in failure, as the Austro-Hungarian empire did in the past?

To extricate itself from its impasse at home and abroad, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, like U.S. imperialism, feverishly engages in missile-nuclear blackmail and seeks a way out through military adventures and large-scale war of aggression. But will war bring a new lease of life to imperialism and social-imperialism in their death throes? No. Just the opposite. History irrefutably proves that, far from saving imperialism from its impending doom, war can only hasten its extinction.

Chairman Mao points out: **"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."**⁵⁵

Chairman Mao also says: **"People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any**

imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!"⁵⁶

This great call made by Chairman Mao on the basis of the present international situation indicates the orientation of struggle for the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world. The people of the world must maintain high vigilance, make every preparation and be ready at all times to deal resolute crushing blows to any aggressor who dares to unleash war!

In recent years, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, inheriting the old tricks of the old tsars, has been backing and engineering, half openly, half secretly, a new "Movement for Pan-Slavism" and publicizing the "sacredness of the national spirit" of the Russians in a futile attempt to poison the minds of the Soviet labouring masses and younger generation with this reactionary trend of thought and induce the Soviet people to serve as tools for the policies of aggression and war of the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs. In all sincerity, we would like to remind the fraternal Soviet people never to be taken in by "Pan-Slavism."

What is "Pan-Slavism"?

In exposing the old tsars, Marx and Engels pointed out incisively: **"Pan-Slavism is an invention of the St. Petersburg Cabinet."**⁵⁷ Engels said that the old tsars used this swindle in preparation for war **"as the last sheet anchor of Russian tsarism and Russian reaction."** Therefore, **"Pan-Slavism is the Russians' worst enemy as well as ours."**⁵⁸

Like Hitler's "Aryan master race," the "Pan-Slavism" of the Soviet revisionist new tsars is exceedingly reactionary racism. They publicize these reactionary ideas only to serve expansion abroad by the handful of reactionary rulers of their "superior race." For the broad masses of the people, this only spells catastrophe.

Lenin once pointed out: **"The oppression of 'subject peoples' is a double-edged weapon. It cuts both ways — against the 'subject peoples' and against the Russian people."**⁵⁹ It is precisely under the smoke-screen of "Pan-Slavism" that the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs are now working against time both to plot wars of aggression and to step up their attacks on the Soviet people, including the Russian people.

The interests of the proletariat and the broad masses in the Soviet Union are diametrically opposed to those of the Soviet revisionist new tsars but are in accord with the interests of the revolutionary people the world over. If the Soviet revisionist new tsars launch a large-scale war of aggression, then, in accordance with Lenin's principle in dealing with imperialist wars of aggression, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the Soviet Union will surely refuse to serve as

cannon-fodder for the unjust war unleashed by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. They will carry forward the cause of the heroic sons and daughters of the Great October Revolution and fight to overthrow the new tsars and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Two hundred years ago, eulogizing the "achievements" of the wars of aggression of Tsarina Catherine II, a Russian poet wrote: "Advance, and the whole uni-

verse is thine!"⁶⁰ Now the Soviet revisionist new tsars have mounted the horse of the old tsars and "advanced." They are dashing about recklessly, unable to rein in and completely forgetting that their ancestors were thrown from this same horse and that thus the Russian empire of the Romanov dynasty came to an end. It is certain that the new tsars will come to no better end than the old tsars. They will surely be thrown from their horse and dashed to pieces.

VII. People of the World, Unite and Fight to Overthrow U.S. Imperialism, Soviet Revisionism and All Reaction

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."⁶¹

The Chinese people cherish deep feelings for the people of the Soviet Union. During the Great October Revolution led by Lenin, Chinese labourers in Russia fought shoulder to shoulder with the Russian proletarians. The people of our two countries have supported each other, helped each other and forged a close friendship in the course of protracted revolutionary struggles. The handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs are perversely trying to sow dissension and undermine the relations between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, but in the end they will be lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

The Soviet people are a great people with a glorious revolutionary tradition who were educated by Lenin and Stalin. They will under no circumstances allow the new tsars to sit on their backs for long. Though the fruits of the October Revolution have been thrown away by the Soviet revisionist renegades, the principles of the October Revolution are eternal. Under the great banner of Leninism, the mighty current of people's revolution is bound to break through the ice of revisionist rule, and the spring of socialism will surely return to the land of the Soviet Union!

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Whether in China or in other countries of the world, to sum up, over 90 per cent of the population will eventually support Marxism-Leninism. There are still many people in the world who have not yet awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. But anyhow they will gradually awaken and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is

irresistible. The masses of the people will eventually rise in revolution. The world revolution is bound to triumph."⁶²

In commemorating the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin, we are happy to see that, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the cause of the world proletarian revolution is advancing from victory to victory. The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces are steadily growing throughout the world. The liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and people are vigorously forging ahead. All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are forming the broadest united front. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun. The death-knell is tolling for imperialism and social-imperialism.

Invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the powerful weapon of the proletariat for knowing and changing the world, the powerful weapon for propelling history forward. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, integrated with the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions and with the concrete practice of people's revolution in all countries, will certainly bring forth inexhaustible revolutionary strength to smash the entire old world to smithereens!

Long live great Marxism!

Long live great Leninism!

Long live great Mao Tsetung Thought!

NOTES

¹ Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Collected Works*; Chinese ed., Vol. 6, p. 63.

² Lenin, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 23, p. 75.

³ Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 1476 and p. 1475.

⁴ Chairman Mao's speech of April 17, 1957.

⁵ Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 23, p. 117.

⁶ Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 179.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁸ Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 138.

⁹ Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 28, p. 235.

¹⁰ Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 192.

¹¹ Chairman Mao's Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, November 15, 1956.

¹² Chairman Mao's Speeches at the Working Conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year.

¹³ "Circular" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, May 16, 1966.

¹⁴ A talk of Chairman Mao's in August 1964.

¹⁵ A talk of Chairman Mao's on May 11, 1964.

¹⁶ "Programme of the C.P.S.U." adopted at the Soviet revisionist "22nd Congress."

¹⁷ Soviet revisionist Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

¹⁸ Soviet revisionist *Pravda*, March 5, 1970.

¹⁹ Lenin, "Socialism and War," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 285.

²⁰ Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of the Navy," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 26, p. 322.

²¹ Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 392.

²² Lenin, "Review of Home Affairs," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 5, p. 258.

²³ *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*, Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, p. 471.

²⁴ Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 458.

²⁵ Lenin, "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 85.

²⁶ Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 293.

²⁷ Lenin, "Bellicose Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 15, p. 166.

²⁸ Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P. (B)," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 168.

²⁹ Soviet revisionist *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*, February 5, 1970.

³⁰ A.A. Grechko, Soviet revisionist Minister of Defence. See Soviet revisionist *Kommunist*, No. 3, 1969.

³¹ Soviet revisionist *International Affairs*, No. 11, 1968.

³² Soviet revisionist *Krasnaya Zvezda*, February 14, 1969.

³³ *The Nuremberg Trial*, Vol. II.

³⁴ *Foreign Affairs* (U.S.), October 1957.

³⁵ P.C. Jessup, *A Modern Law of Nations*.

³⁶ L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the Polish revisionist "5th Congress," November 12, 1968.

³⁷ K.T. Mazurov's report at the October Revolution "anniversary meeting" in Moscow, November 6, 1968.

³⁸ Lenin, "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Selected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 292.

³⁹ Soviet revisionist *Izvestia*, July 2, 1968.

⁴⁰ "The Fundamental Document" of the sinister Moscow meeting in June 1969.

⁴¹ L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the sinister Moscow meeting, June 7, 1969.

⁴² A.N. Kosygin's report at the Soviet revisionist "23rd Congress," April 5, 1966.

⁴³ A.A. Gromyko's report at the "session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.," July 10, 1969.

⁴⁴ Speech of S.G. Gorshkov, the Soviet revisionist naval commander-in-chief, on Soviet Navy Day, 1969.

⁴⁵ Former U.S. President Johnson's speeches, June 3 and June 20, 1964.

⁴⁶ Marx, "Speech at the Meeting of Poles in London on January 22, 1867," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 226.

⁴⁷ G.I. Nevelskoi, *The Exploits of Russian Naval Officers in the Russian Far East*, p. 124.

⁴⁸ Engels, "Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 17.

⁴⁹ "Statement of the Government of the U.S.S.R.," June 13, 1969.

⁵⁰ Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 6, p. 65.

⁵¹ A talk of Chairman Mao's on January 30, 1964.

⁵² *U.S. News & World Report*, January 5, 1970.

⁵³ Lenin, "The Beginning of Demonstrations," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 357.

⁵⁴ Stalin, "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.," *Problems of Leninism*, Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, 1964, pp. 649-50.

⁵⁵ Comrade Lin Piao, "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China."

⁵⁶ "Usher in the Great 1970's" — 1970 New Year's Day editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*. *Renmin Ribao*, January 1, 1970.

⁵⁷ Marx and Engels, "Socialist Democratic Alliance and the International Worker-Association," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 18, p. 492.

⁵⁸ Engels' Letter to Karl Kautsky, February 7, 1882. *Marx and Engels on Art*, Chinese ed., People's Literature Publishing House, 1963, Vol. 3, p. 361.

⁵⁹ Lenin, "National Equality," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 20, p. 233.

⁶⁰ G.R. Dershavin, "To the Capture of Warsaw."

⁶¹ Chairman Mao's Speech at the Working Conference (Enlarged) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, January 30, 1962.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the Great Revolutionary Teacher of the Proletariat



▲
During his lifetime, Lenin waged uncompromising struggles against opportunism of all shades and inherited, defended and developed Marxism. Photo shows Lenin making a speech at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. At the congress Lenin waged a relentless struggle against opportunism.

In the autumn of 1917, in order to avert the arrest by the bourgeois Provisional Government, Lenin hid in a hut beside Lake Razliv near Petrograd, where he continued leading the preparatory work of armed uprising and completed his brilliant work *The State and Revolution*. In this work, Lenin centred the problem of revolution on the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and explicitly pointed out: "The supersession of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."

(Oil painting)

Lenin works tirelessly. ▶



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◀ On November 7, 1917, Lenin led the Russian proletariat in winning the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founding the first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Photo shows Lenin arriving at the Smolny Palace on November 6, 1917 to direct the armed uprising.

(Oil painting)

▼ After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party put down the counter-revolutionary rebellion at home, smashed the armed attack by fourteen countries and thus safeguarded the young Soviet power. Photo shows Lenin speaking to soldiers in Moscow's Red Square in May 1919.



(Released by Hsinhua News Agency)

An Outspoken Revelation

APRIL 22 this year marks the centenary of the birth of Lenin, the great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. In a big fanfare, Brezhnev and the rest of the handful of renegades who have betrayed Leninism put on a show of "commemorating" Lenin, and on December 23, 1969 dished up the so-called Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In the "Theses" they resort to their usual jiggery-pokery, mix Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism in with Leninism, and pass social-imperialism off as Leninism. To the indignation of all, in broad daylight they viciously attribute to Lenin the nonsense about the five "social factors of force" which Otto Bauer, a chieftain of the Second International and an enemy of Marxism-Leninism, wrote in his sinister book *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* and put words in Lenin's mouth. Such a filthy lie leaves everyone flabbergasted. This scandal has gone around the world. Following is a report by a Hsinhua correspondent on the incident and its background:

What kind of thing was Otto Bauer? How and why does the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pass his words off as Lenin's?

It is quite known that Otto Bauer was a scab in Austria. He was born in 1882 and died in 1938, the same year when the renegade Kautsky died. He was a notorious and typical representative of international opportunism, a chieftain of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, of the Second International and the Two-and-a-Half International. He was a sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism. One time member of parliament and foreign minister of Austria, he took an active part in suppressing a number of uprisings of the Austrian workers and supported Hitler's pan-Germanism. Like the renegade Kautsky, he turned out some pamphlets advocating peaceful transition and the parliamentary road. He did his utmost to oppose violent revolution by the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, wildly attacking the Great October Socialist Revolution and Soviet power led by Lenin. Lenin characterized Otto Bauer aptly: "**This, the best of the social-traitors, is at most a learned and utterly hopeless fool.**" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 30, p. 327.)

Bauer's *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* was published in 1920. It utterly opposed violent revolution and preached peaceful transition, saying that "the distribution of state power is determined by social factors of force." At the same time, it viciously attacked the Soviet state founded by Lenin as "despotic socialism" and slandered the dictatorship of the proletariat as "violence against the social factors of force." What are the "social factors of force" concocted by

Bauer? They are: "First, the number of members of the class; second, the nature, strength and capability of its organization; third, its place in the process of production and distribution, which determines its economic means; fourth, the degree of its political interest, flexibility, activity and capacity for sacrifice; fifth, its educational level, the extent to which its ideas influence members of its own class and other classes and the attraction exerted by its ideology."*

As soon as this pamphlet came out, Lenin strongly denounced it at the Second Congress of the Communist International. In particular, Lenin forcefully refuted Bauer's maligning of the violence used by the proletariat as "violence against the social factors of force" and his fallacy of the "social factors of force." Lenin said: "**It is an example of what Marxism has been reduced to, of the kind of banality and defence of the exploiters to which the most revolutionary theory can be reduced. A German variety of philistinism is required, and you get the 'theory' that the 'social factors of force' are: number; the degree of organization; the place held in the process of production and distribution; activity and education. If a rural agricultural labourer or an urban working man practises revolutionary violence against a landowner or a capitalist, that is no dictatorship of the proletariat, no violence against the exploiters and the oppressors of the people. Oh, no! This is 'violence against the social factors of force.'**" Lenin went on: "**Perhaps my example sounds something like a jest. However, such is the nature of present-day opportunism that its struggle against Bolshevism becomes a jest.**" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 201.)

Interestingly enough, in the 14th point of the "Theses" published in *Pravda*, Brezhnev and company flagrantly quote in full the paragraph containing Bauer's counter-revolutionary fallacy about the five "social factors of force" which Lenin had sharply denounced, and arbitrarily and glaringly attribute it to Lenin. Just look:

In the draft plan for his report on the international situation and the main tasks of the Comintern, Lenin noted five "social factors of strength" of the working class: 1) numbers, 2) organization, 3) place in the process of production and distribution, 4) activity, and 5) education. Since Lenin wrote this the size of the working class has sharply increased. It has become infinitely better organized and politically active, and is better educated and better trained.

Truly, it is most reactionary and at the same time a "jest" for Brezhnev and company to crudely attri-

* Otto Bauer: *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?*, German ed., Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1920, p. 109.

bute Otto Bauer's words to Lenin. But, this is neither surprising nor accidental. It is determined by the "nature of present-day opportunism." Their opposition to violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, their advocacy of peaceful transition and their exercising of a Hitlerite fascist dictatorship at home are in tune with and a continuation of Bauer's revisionist ideas, social-imperialist ideas. Since they are out to oppose Leninism and take over the mantle of the old revisionists, and at the same time try to appropriate the brilliant banner of Leninism, it is only natural for them to make a fool of themselves most preposterously.

In his criticism of Bauer's *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?*, Lenin described it as "a new book against Bolshevism" and "a thoroughgoing Menshevik pamphlet." Lenin said: "We thank in advance the bourgeois and opportunist publishers who will publish it and translate it into various languages. Bauer's book will be a useful if peculiar supplement to the textbooks on communism. Take any paragraph, any argument in Otto Bauer's book and indicate the Menshevism in it, where the roots lie of views that lead up to the actions of the traitors to socialism, of the friends of Kerensky, Scheidemann, etc.—this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated. If you cannot answer this question, you are not yet a Communist, and should not join the Communist Party." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, pp. 200-201.)

Lenin put it very well, making an analysis of where the roots lie of the philosophy of the scab and renegade Otto Bauer is "useful." Its usefulness lies in that "this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated." Brezhnev and company not only approve completely of the Menshevism in Bauer's book but have gone so far as to quote as Lenin's words the revisionist nonsense in Bauer's book which Lenin characterized as expressing "the essence of the views of world opportunism." This should serve as the most telling proof that the handful of the members of the Soviet revisionist leading clique are not qualified at all to join the ranks of the Communist Party and are not Communists at all and that they are out-and-out counter-revolutionary social-democrats, out-and-out renegades to Leninism and out-and-out obedient and filial descendants of Bauer and company! Just as Lenin said in exposing the old scab Ramsay MacDonald, "This is a revelation" of "rare outspokenness." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 200.)

Now, it is crystal clear to the people throughout the world that Brezhnev and company's so-called "observing the birth centenary of Lenin," "loyalty to Lenin's behests," "defending Marxism-Leninism" and so on and so forth, are nothing but lies. To put it bluntly, they are pushing "Bauerism" which is rotten to the core and the revisionism of the Second Interna-

tional! They are devoutly worshipping the "example" of their revisionist ancestors' perversion of Marxism as their infinitely sacred bible! They are taking the trash of an active advocate of Hitler fascism as the source of "strength" of the "working class"! All this seems too ugly and vile indeed. But it is written in black and white, and cannot be lopped off even with an axe!

No dirty deal is too low for Brezhnev and company, that gang of scoundrels. In an attempt to cover up this scandal which had already been known to the world, they stealthily camouflaged what *Pravda* had published by deleting the name of Lenin but retaining Bauer's ideas when the "Theses" were later reprinted in the journal *Kommunist*. This only makes the scandal even more shocking. The more they try to hide it, the more they expose themselves as renegades to Leninism. Like Bauer, they are all enemies of the Soviet people and anti-Soviet villains.

By hook or by crook Brezhnev and company usurp Lenin's name to peddle revisionist, social-imperialist trash. It is by no means an individual or isolated incident that they pass Bauer's words off as Lenin's. It is their customary, despicable practice to tamper with, distort, emasculate and fabricate Lenin's statements. There are numerous such instances in their "Theses." Readers can easily see this by merely checking up what is quoted of Lenin's statements in the "Theses" with the original.

The dishing up of the "Theses" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique shows how far Brezhnev and company have slid down the road of betrayal of Leninism and how despicably and shamelessly they have degenerated. The "Theses" of the Soviet revisionists are as Lenin said, a "peculiar supplement to the textbooks on communism," and indeed are excellent teaching material by negative example since they lay bare the hypocrisy and reactionary nature of their so-called commemoration of Lenin. Yet, Brezhnev and the rest of the handful of renegades have gone so far as to laud these anti-Leninist "Theses," which stink of Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism, as an "important political and theoretical document" which "profoundly expounds" the "organic integrity" of Marxism-Leninism. They raved that "communists and all the working people of the world" "have taken the Theses."* Bragging and boasting, these scoundrels have done all they can to prettify themselves and have lost all sense of shame.

History is inexorable. Khrushchov fell long ago. It is simply futile for Brezhnev to try to don the cloak of Leninism and press on with Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism to deceive and mislead the masses. Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind."

* *Pravda* editorial, "Loyalty to the Great Teachings," January 21, 1970.

Brezhnev and company are precisely fools of this kind. The sinister "Theses" which they concocted have turned out to be a clumsy sleight-of-hand and have shown them up. Now, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is having a hard time. Following in Khrushchov's foot-

steps, Brezhnev and company are heading for the brink of their downfall. If you don't believe this, just wait and see.

(Hsinhua News Agency April 16 dispatch.)

Soviet Revisionists Gang Up With Japanese Reactionaries in Committing New Crimes Against Soviet People

Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent Novikov to Japan for conspiratorial activities. The clique wantonly sells out the sovereignty of the Soviet Union, begs for help from Japanese monopoly capital to "develop" Siberia and encourages Japanese militarism to carry out expansion abroad.

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique has committed new crimes in its betrayal of the Soviet people by sending Novikov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, on a visit to Japan recently and stepping up its collaboration with the U.S. imperialist gendarme in Asia the Japanese reactionaries.

It was in the name of attending "Soviet Day" at the "World Exposition" that Novikov carried out sinister activities in Japan from April 7 to 14 in place of the Soviet revisionist chieftain Podgorny.

On orders from Soviet revisionist chieftains, Novikov did his best to please and flatter the reactionary Sato government. On April 8, he held secret talks with Eisaku Sato, the chieftain of the reactionary Japanese Government, and Kiichi Aichi, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was disclosed that in his talks with Sato, Novikov time and again conveyed to Sato the "regards" of Soviet revisionist chieftains Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny and handed Sato a letter from Podgorny. Soviet revisionism, Podgorny's letter indicated, intends to conclude a peace treaty with Japan and that even without a peace treaty both countries can still develop "friendly relations." Podgorny also talked about the so-called "growing trust between the two countries" and so forth. To curry favour with the reactionary Sato government, it was reported, Novikov obsequiously paid his respects to the emperor of Japan and unabashedly urged Sato to visit the Soviet Union. Novikov also made it clear that Soviet revisionism was ready to "conduct immediately governmental negotiations" on the question of safe fishing operations between the two countries as a necessary step towards Sato's visit to the Soviet Union.

During his stay in Japan, Novikov also peddled Brezhnev's rubbish about an "Asian collective security system" and raved that Soviet-Japanese co-operation should be strengthened "in order to eliminate the Viet Nam and Middle East crises." This exposed the criminal intention of the Soviet revisionist renegade

clique to join hands with the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in further suppressing the vigorous struggle of the peoples of Indo-China and the Arab people for national liberation.

Selling out the sovereignty of the Soviet Union while in Japan, Novikov shamelessly welcomed Japanese monopoly capital to plunder Siberia's rich underground resources. At the "World Exposition," Novikov flattered the Japanese reactionaries by saying that "we are surprised at the astonishing economic development of Japan" and boasted that "Siberia and the Soviet Far East have bright prospects" in order to induce Japanese monopoly capital to "develop" Siberia. He also promised to provide the Japanese reactionaries with data on Siberia's deposits of natural resources. In his "talks" with bosses of pro-American monopoly capital groups in Japan, Kogoro Uemura, Chairman of the Federation of Economic Organizations, and Shigeo Nagano, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Novikov meekly requested that Japanese monopoly capital further help in the Soviet Union's "economic development." He proposed to Japanese Minister of International Trade and Industry Kiichi Miyazawa that negotiations should be held as soon as possible for concluding a Japanese-Soviet five-year trade agreement beginning from 1971 and that the volume of two-way trade between the two countries should be increased from the present annual total of 729 million U.S. dollars to 2,000 million U.S. dollars.

In his April 10 speech at the "World Exposition," Novikov took over Sato's slogan of so-called "progress and harmony for mankind," saying that the slogan is "familiar to us" and talked about such nonsense that "everything for human honour, everything for human happiness is a communist slogan." To describe such bourgeois claptrap as "communist slogans" is an outrageous insult to communism and a glaring new exposure of the renegade features of the Soviet revisionists.

(Continued on p. 38.)

The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

— MAO TSETUNG

Build the Party Organization Into A Militant, Vigorous Vanguard

— Peking University's experience in Party consolidation
and Party building

UNDER the solicitude of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and guided by the spirit of the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, the capital's workers' and P.L.A. men's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team at Peking University has led the Communist Party members and the revolutionary masses there in Party consolidation and Party building and gained important experience in this work. The team achieved this success by holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in Party building and by acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's great programme: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy," and with his great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Deepen Mass Criticism, Re-educate Party Members And Revolutionary Masses in Struggle Between Two Lines

Chairman Mao teaches: "Every Party branch must be reconsolidated in the midst of the masses. This must be done with their participation and not merely by a few Party members; it is necessary for the masses out-

side the Party to attend the meetings and give comments."

Following this teaching, the leadership of Peking University boldly aroused the masses and conducted open-door Party consolidation. From the very beginning, it used Mao Tsetung Thought to arouse the masses and armed them with it. It conscientiously organized the Party members and the masses to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his teachings on Party building, and to repeatedly study Vice-Chairman Lin's political report to the Ninth Party Congress and the new Party Constitution.

Through the study, the Party members and the masses realized that Party consolidation and Party building constituted a vital and fundamental measure for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and an important revolutionary measure guaranteeing that our Party would not turn revisionist and our state would not change its political colour. They linked Party consolidation and Party building with carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. This raised their determination to consciously make revolution and filled them with great vigour and militancy.

"To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically." In the course of Party con-

solidation and Party building at Peking University, mass study and mass criticism were grasped as the key link in ideological consolidation. The Party members and the masses vehemently exposed and criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in Party building pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his agents, Lu Ping and others, in Peking University. They criticized the crimes committed by Liu Shao-chi and his gang in poisoning the minds of the Party members and the masses through the sinister book *Self-Cultivation* and the six sinister theories — the theory of “the dying out of class struggle,” the theory of “docile tools,” the theory that “the masses are backward,” the theory of “joining the Party in order to climb up,” the theory of “inner-Party peace” and the theory of “merging private and public interests.” The Right and ultra-“Left” bourgeois reactionary trends of thought, Liu Shao-chi’s poisonous revisionism which manifested itself in new situations, were also criticized. Grasping the vital questions of “what road to take” and “whom to serve,” questions existing among Party members who are intellectuals, the leadership conducted class education and encouraged Party members to make self-criticism which touched their innermost being.

Party consolidation conducted through mass study and mass criticism has further enhanced the Party members’ consciousness of class struggle, of the struggle between the two lines and of the need to continue the revolution. A teacher who is a Party member thrice helped in compiling and revising some teaching material before the Great Cultural Revolution. Influenced by the poisonous theory of “the dying out of class struggle” advocated by Liu Shao-chi, however, the teaching material became more and more revisionist each time. At first, it attacked reactionary bourgeois ideology. When it was revised, a compromise was made, and when it was revised again, the result was a complete capitulation to reactionary bourgeois ideology. During Party consolidation, this teacher analysed and examined the process of how his thinking had changed and questioned himself intensively. He said: “The process of compiling this teaching material reflects the change in my thinking. If it had not been for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there would have been the danger of my becoming a successor to the bourgeoisie and a victim of capitalism.”

One lecturer in the chemistry department who is a Party member was bent on seeking personal fame and gain in the past. He delved into a certain “curve” in order to write a thesis on it and went so far as to give up a major research project badly needed for construction work. During Party consolidation, he criticized Liu Shao-chi’s fallacy of “putting professional work in command” and his six sinister theories. At the same time, he courageously fought his own bourgeois “self” and thus raised his consciousness of class struggle. He said: “The ‘curve’ which I worked on fitted in exactly with Liu Shao-chi’s counter-revolutionary revisionist

line. I was bent on seeking fame and gain and cast aside the interests of the revolution. I am determined to break with the revisionist line from now on and always advance along Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line.”

Certain Party members who had committed mistakes complained about the criticisms made of them. They were discouraged and would not admit their mistakes. But through Party consolidation, they became determined to continue the revolution. They had the courage to make conscious revolution and were filled with revolutionary vigour to fight the class enemies. The Party members and the revolutionary masses studied and carried out criticism together so as to make common progress. Together they received a profound re-education in Chairman Mao’s proletarian line for Party building.

Lead Party Members in Active Ideological Struggle, Achieve Clarity in Ideology and Unity Among Comrades

Lead the Party members in unfolding active ideological struggle, and achieve clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. This was an important principle Peking University adhered to in the course of its open-door Party consolidation and fruitful ideological consolidation.

Chairman Mao teaches us: “We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.”

When Peking University was under the poisonous influence of Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist line for Party building, the Party’s style of work which entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism was undermined at the university. The Party organization was seriously infected with liberalism, goody-goody-ism and sectarianism. Some Party members were divorced from the masses.

During Party consolidation, Party members and the masses thoroughly criticized the theory of “inner-Party peace” and goody-goody-ism. This enabled them to understand that “the philosophy of the Communist Party is one of struggle” and that without active ideological struggle, it was impossible to “eliminate waste matter” and “get rid of the stale and take in the fresh” ideologically.

The first essential for active ideological struggle was that the Party members should be eager to revolutionize themselves. They should have a correct attitude towards criticism from the masses, emphasize that external causes become operative through internal

causes, and consciously fight self and criticize revisionism.

The revolutionary masses, on the one hand, helped the Party members study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way, raise their revolutionary consciousness and, by taking class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as the key link, come to grips with the essential element that had been preventing them from continuing the revolution, and helped them make self-criticism which touched their innermost being. On the other hand, they were urged to look into Party members and make an all-round analysis, taking their past into account, and to be firm in the belief that the overwhelming majority of the Party members were good or comparatively good. The concept of "one divides into two" should be applied even to those Party members who had committed serious mistakes, and a dialectical viewpoint should be adopted to correctly understand and handle the relationship between comrades within the Party and the revolutionary ranks. We should recognize that certain people made serious mistakes but that the absolute majority of them have an inherent love for Chairman Mao and socialism; we should pay attention to the fact that some people were rather seriously affected by a pernicious revisionist influence, but they have been tempered by the three years of the Great Cultural Revolution and have mended their ways, especially since the working class has exercised leadership over the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. We should see that they still fall somewhat short of the requirements laid down in the new Party Constitution, but we should also be convinced that the great majority of them can play their vanguard role as Party members once they are helped and educated and when they arm themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought. Therefore, we must not consider what we feel as a set policy and lightly apply it to "get rid of the stale," nor must we lower the requirements for Party members, abandon the principles or have the attitude of handling matters perfunctorily.

After raising their consciousness of self-revolutionization, the Party members took the initiative and launched an offensive against egoism, and listened to criticism from the masses with open minds. One Party member in the department of mathematics and mechanics, who had been confined to a sick-bed for many years and could hardly get about, asked his daughter to take him to criticism meetings in a wheelchair and to hear what the masses had to say about him. The revolutionary masses considered their participation in making comments on Party members a task given them by Chairman Mao. They took the initiative and called on Party members and had heart-to-heart talks with them, sent them selected quotations from Chairman Mao and formed "red pairs" with them, thus participating in the "one helps the other" movement. Many Party members said: "During this Party consolidation, criticism is sharp, the attitude is sincere, help is warm-hearted and we are cheerful and in good spirits.

We have not experienced such a profound inner-Party ideological struggle for years."

Sum Up Historical Experience Conscientiously, Raise Consciousness of Continuing Revolution Under Dictatorship of Proletariat

Chairman Mao teaches: "It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously" and "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses."

In Party consolidation and Party building at Peking University, an extremely important matter in ideological consolidation was to get the Party members to use Mao Tsetung Thought to sum up historical experience and draw lessons, so as to be clear on the orientation for continuing the revolution and remove the obstacles that had blocked them from continuing the revolution. The Party members checked up on themselves by examining their own positive and negative experience in the light of the history of the international communist movement, the history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party over the past 48 years, the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the 20 years since liberation and of the three years of the Great Cultural Revolution, and with a view to the historical tasks of continuing the revolution in the future. This helped them solve the major problems that had obstructed them from continuing the revolution and further remould their world outlook.

In summing up historical experience, they held that many of the Party members who are intellectuals come from families of non-working people and the great majority had joined the Party after liberation and had been quite badly poisoned by the revisionist line in education. The most important lesson to be drawn was that they must solve the problem of joining the Party ideologically. Therefore they must first come to grips with the fundamental questions of "what road to take" and "whom to serve," remould themselves, and rid themselves of the pernicious influence of the revisionist trash of "putting professional work in command," and put a firm and correct political orientation above all; second, they should solve the fundamental question of changing their world outlook so as to remove from their minds the obstacles preventing them from continuing the revolution; and third, they should uphold the criteria for the advanced elements of the proletariat; they must not think that since they were "targets of re-education," they could lower the political requirements for themselves or behave as if they were ordinary non-Communists.

After they had raised their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and of the need to continue the revolution, the Party members often considered their own problems from the following five aspects: On which side — the proletarian or the bour-

geois — had they stood in the struggle between the two classes; whether they had persisted in the socialist orientation or the capitalist orientation in the struggle between the two roads; whether they had adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the struggle between the two lines within the Party; whether they had regarded themselves merely as a motive force for the revolution or also as a target of the revolution in the course of the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; and, in transforming the objective world and the subjective world, whether they had behaved as if they were ordinary non-Communists, or had **“set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work and fostering internal unity and solidarity.”** Rank-and-file Party members had this to say: “Through the current Party consolidation, we have summed up historical experience, made our orientation clear and raised our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This serves as a new starting point for us to continue the revolution.”

Correctly Grasp the Party's Policies; Do a Good Job of “Getting Rid of the Stale And Taking in the Fresh”

“A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour.” Peking University abided by this teaching of Chairman Mao's during Party consolidation and Party building. On the basis of ideological consolidation, it undertook to “get rid of the stale and take in the fresh” organizationally. Thus this process was a continuation of “getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh” ideologically.

According to Chairman Mao's great teaching on **“the adoption of a careful attitude in handling cases of individual comrades,”** it is necessary to pay serious attention to policies in deciding whether disciplinary measures should be taken against any Party member. Attention should be given to the distinction between the two demarcation lines: First, a strict demarcation line should be drawn between the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy on the one hand and those among the people on the other; second, a line should be drawn between the advanced elements of the proletariat and the non-Party masses. Only thus, can the Party organization maintain its purity and advanced character.

All those whose crimes put them into the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy should be expelled from the Party. As to Party members

who committed errors or even serious errors, provided they do not persist in their errors or refuse to mend their ways after repeated education, they should be dealt with according to the following principles: **“Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones”** and **“cure the sickness to save the patient”**; be stern in ideological criticism but lenient in adopting disciplinary measures. They should be united with and educated, and helped to raise their political consciousness and correct their errors. One should not confine one's judgment of such Party members to a short period or a single incident in their lives but should consider their lives and work as a whole. One should judge them by their political stand, by their main aspects, by how they have progressed, by their attitude towards their errors and by how they mend their ways. Stress should be laid on analysing the circumstances in which the errors were committed, on the nature of the errors and on their social, historical and ideological roots. Right or “Left” tendencies should be guarded against. Party discipline should be strictly enforced and at the same time comrades who committed errors but have shown repentance should be given an opportunity to mend their ways.

After the new Party branches had been established at the basic levels, an active and prudent policy was adopted and they admitted into the Party advanced elements of the proletariat who had been tempered and tested during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the course of “taking in the fresh,” the branches acted strictly according to the provisions of the new Party Constitution. Free from the influence of the Right or “Left” tendencies and that of bourgeois factionalism, they adhered to the proletarian Party spirit and upheld the advanced nature of the Party being the vanguard organization of the proletariat.

Since their establishment, the university's new Party branches have continued to give top priority to ideological consolidation, paying special attention to revolutionizing the thinking of the leading body. They have repeatedly organized the Party members to study Chairman Mao's theory on Party building and the new Party Constitution. They frequently arrange meetings for Party members to relate their experience in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and make criticism and self-criticism. Non-Party people are invited to take part in these meetings and give their views. The Party branches have also organized the Party members to temper and test themselves in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. In the seething revolutionary struggles, the Party organizations have acted as vigorous fighting bastions, Party members have played the exemplary vanguard role, and the Party and the masses have forged ever closer ties. A lively political atmosphere full of militant solidarity now prevails in Peking University and there is a new upsurge in the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. One success after another has been achieved in the proletarian revolution in education.

Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Writes to Premier Chou En-lai

- **Condemning most sternly the crime of the Lon Nol clique in massacring Chinese and Vietnamese residents in Cambodia and the Khmers.**
- **Expressing the determination to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys completely.**

His Excellency Chou En-lai,
Premier of the State Council of the
People's Republic of China
Peking

Mr. Premier,

I have just learnt with profound grief the news of the abominable and unpardonable crime the fascist and neo-Nazi Lon Nol regime has recently committed against a number of peaceful Chinese citizens living in Cambodia.

This crime coupled with the atrocious slaughter, a slaughter of utter depravity, barbarity and savagery, of hundreds of peaceful Vietnamese — including women, elderly people and children — will subject the Lon Nol clique and its mercenary murderers to condemnation by all mankind.

We the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist Khmers most sternly condemn these murderers and criminals who do not deserve to be called Khmers or even human beings any more.

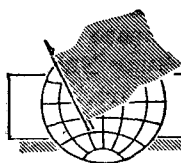
We mourn with respect our beloved Chinese brothers who were killed by the bullets of the despicable servants of U.S. imperialism.

We would like to ask Your Excellency to convey our most sincere and profound condolences to the Government of the People's Republic of China and the heroic Chinese people who have done so much for the Khmer people and the economic development of Cambodia on the basis of national independence, as well as to the families of the victims.

The blood of the Chinese, Khmers and Vietnamese killed by the bullets of the Lon Nol clique will not be shed in vain. It will serve for ever to strengthen the friendship and solidarity of our three peoples, who will together avenge the death of the victims and win complete victory over U.S. imperialism and its lackeys headed by the traitors Lon Nol and Sirik Matak.

It is with these feelings that I ask Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my very high, affectionate and grateful consideration.

N. Sihanouk
April 16, 1970
Peking



"Renmin Ribao" Commentaries

Hail the Victories of Cambodian People's Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

EXCITING news came in quick succession from Cambodia recently about the victories of the people and patriotic armed forces who had struck heavy blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. On April 7, three

companies of U.S. aggressor troops invaded Cambodia's Tamo area in Choe District, Svay Rieng Province. Tamo's people and patriotic armed forces put up courageous resistance to the invaders. Seventy U.S. aggress-

sor troops were killed or wounded and the rest fled helter-skelter. Before this, the Cambodian people and patriotic armed forces had heroically intercepted intruding south Vietnamese puppet troops in Tamo and Tasach areas, killing or wounding nearly 100 of them and destroying ten enemy military vehicles. Of late, the Cambodian people and patriotic armed forces in Svay Rieng Province valiantly attacked the reactionary troops of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and wiped out or badly mauled six enemy companies. The Cambodian patriotic armed forces have also repeatedly engaged the Rightist troops in several other provinces and won victory after victory. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the Cambodian people and patriotic armed forces on their signal victories in the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. The Chinese people acclaim the heroic Cambodian people: You have fought well! You have fought magnificently! You have meted out to U.S. imperialism, which is committing frenzied aggression against Cambodia, and its lackeys the punishment they deserve!

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change."** The fact that U.S. imperialism has flagrantly dispatched its aggressor troops and south Vietnamese puppet troops to intrude into Cambodian territory as part of its scheme to expand its war of aggression from Viet Nam and Laos to Cambodia has laid bare once again the ferocious nature of U.S. imperialism.

After instigating the Cambodian Rightist clique to stage the reactionary coup d'etat, the Nixon government has pretended that it had nothing to do with the coup and hypocritically declared more than once that the United States continued to "recognize and respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers." But now the iron heels of the U.S. aggressors are trampling savagely on Cambodian territory and U.S. pirate aircraft wantonly intrude into Cambodia's air space. The Cambodian Rightist clique is nothing but a bunch of puppets fostered single-handedly by U.S. imperialism. And yet Nixon and his ilk glibly talk about "respecting" Cambodia's sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. This is indeed the height of brazenness!

In order to create a pretext for launching aggression against Cambodia, the Nixon government went so far as to clamour that it is "a part of their inherent right of self-defence" for the U.S. aggressor troops in south Viet Nam to cross the border to intrude into Cambodia and massacre the Cambodian people. "Right of self-defence" indeed! What is this if not out-and-out gangster logic that the U.S. imperialists should send their troops to Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia thousands of miles away from the United States to exercise what they called "right of self-defence"? Wherever they commit aggression, the U.S. imperialists invariably assert that they are there for the purpose of "self-defence." If this gangster logic could stand, would there

be any independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries in the world to speak of and would not all of them become American states?

Predatory U.S. imperialism has all along been the sworn enemy of the people of Cambodia and the rest of Indo-China. After assuming power, the Nixon government has constantly intensified its war of aggression against Viet Nam and at the same time energetically expanded its war of aggression against Laos. It has carried out aggression and sabotage with redoubled efforts against Cambodia. By instigating the Cambodian Rightist clique to stage the reactionary coup d'etat, U.S. imperialism aims at enlarging the aggressive war to the whole of Indo-China, plotting to turn Cambodia into a U.S. colony and military base so as to realize its wild plan of forcibly occupying the whole of Indo-China and committing aggression against Asia.

However, the U.S. imperialists' aggressive designs can never come to pass. In the face of the true bastion of iron of the Cambodian and other Indo-Chinese people, the U.S. aggressors are bound to be badly battered.

Chairman Mao teaches that **"the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries of all countries are paper tigers"** and that **"imperialism is outwardly strong but inwardly weak because it has no support from the people."** The struggle of the Chinese people has proved this and the struggle of the Cambodian and other Indo-Chinese people is proving this.

Blustering and ferocious as it is, the Cambodian Rightist clique bolstered up by U.S. imperialism is in fact extremely weak and is a paper tiger pure and simple. The people and patriotic armed forces of Cambodia have put up heroic resistance to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and their first battles have dealt a staggering blow to the intruding U.S. aggressor troops and south Vietnamese puppet forces and to the troops of the Cambodian Rightists, wiping out one group of enemy effectives after another. Facts have provided another vivid illustration that strength is on the side of the people who compose the majority. Once the people are awakened, organized and armed and take on the enemy and actually fight him with arms and ammunition, imperialism will not look so "powerful" nor will it be so "swashbuckling."

At present, an excellent revolutionary situation exists throughout Indo-China and Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese and Laotian peoples are persevering successfully in their wars against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The just, patriotic struggle of the Cambodian people against U.S. imperialism is developing vigorously. The raging flames of people's war are lighting up the sky over Southeast Asia. The Cambodian people, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples and supported by the peoples of Asia and the world, will surely be able to defeat U.S. imperialism and gain complete national independence and emancipation.

(April 17)

Condemn the Atrocities of the Cambodian Rightist Clique, Running Dog of U.S. Imperialism

THE Cambodian Rightist coup clique fostered by U.S. imperialism, while unscrupulously slaughtering patriotic Cambodians, has been massacring Vietnamese residents in Cambodia. At a disguised concentration camp near Prasaut, this bunch of U.S. imperialist lackeys bared its fangs and wantonly massacred, on one occasion, 90 Vietnamese residents and wounded 20 others. This is an inhuman fascist atrocity which makes one's blood boil. The Chinese people join with the peoples of Indo-China and the whole world in indignantly denouncing and condemning this towering crime committed by the Cambodian Rightist clique, a running dog of U.S. imperialism.

The blood shed by the patriotic Cambodian people and the Vietnamese residents in Cambodia forcefully exposed before the world the Phnom Penh puppet clique fostered by U.S. imperialism as a reactionary clique brutal to the extreme.

The Cambodian Rightist coup clique is following a policy of downright national betrayal against the people. It has led the wolves into the house and thrown itself obsequiously into the lap of U.S. imperialism, counting on the latter's guns and dollars to establish its reactionary rule. It has also colluded with the south Vietnamese puppet troops in jointly suppressing the just struggle of the Cambodian people and co-ordinated with them in attacking the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border. At home, it has resorted to sanguinary suppression of the Cambodian people on the one hand and frenzied massacring of the peaceful Vietnamese residents on the other. All this fully shows that the Cambodian Rightist clique is a downright running dog of U.S. imperialism and a pack of scums of the Khmer nation.

It is a customary tactic of all reactionaries to incite national hatred and engineer racist massacres. Encouraged by the U.S. imperialists, the Cambodian Rightist clique cold-bloodedly massacred the Vietnamese residents. It is trying to use this counter-revolutionary tactic to stir up evil waves against the Vietnamese people so as to divert the spearhead of the Cambodian people's struggle and serve the U.S. imperialist scheme of aggression against Cambodia and the rest of Indo-China.

The Cambodian people have always taken the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples as their own close comrades-in-arms and brothers. They have shed blood together in their protracted struggle against imperialism. Common interests, common destiny and common strug-

gle have closely linked them together. In the past years, the peoples of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos have fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialist aggression in Indo-China. They have always had a glorious tradition of unity against imperialism. Today, in the face of the U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention, they are getting united ever more closely, helping and supporting each other and fighting together. U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Cambodian Rightist clique, will never succeed in their attempt to sabotage the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, thinking that the greater their massacres, the weaker the revolution. But contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution and the nearer their doom. This is an inexorable law."**

Brandishing the counter-revolutionary butcher's knife, the Cambodian Rightist coup clique is frantically carrying out barbarous massacre of the patriotic Cambodian people and the Vietnamese residents. However, this, far from showing its strength, only indicates its extreme weakness and panic. This is the desperate struggle of the puppet clique which has landed itself in a tight spot and is at the end of its tether. Its perverse actions will only serve to accelerate its own doom.

The counter-revolutionary butcher's knife can never frighten the revolutionary people. The barbarous atrocities of the Cambodian Rightist coup clique have aroused utmost indignation among the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples. Responding to the call of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the heroic Cambodian people, in defiance of brute force, are rising to struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in the cities and the countryside and are dealing powerful blows to the Cambodian Rightist coup clique. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples and with the support of the people throughout the world, the Cambodian people will certainly win complete victory in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Cambodian Rightist clique, whose hands are stained with the blood of the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples, will never be able to escape the severe punishment of history.

(April 16)

Joint Statement of China Council for Promotion of International Trade and Japanese Association for Promotion of International Trade and Six Other Japanese Organizations for Friendly Trade

A joint statement of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade and six other Japanese organizations for friendly trade was signed in Peking on April 14.

Present at the signing ceremony were Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Honorary President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, and Li Chiang, Ting Hsi-lin, Wang Hsiao-yi and other leading members of the departments concerned.

The joint statement was signed on the Chinese side by Liu Hsi-wen, representative of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and on the Japanese side by Teiji Hagiwara, Ichizo Kimura and seven other persons, representatives of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade and six other Japanese organizations for friendly trade. Full text of the joint statement follows:

Delegates from the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade and six other Japanese organizations for friendly trade paid a goodwill visit to the People's Republic of China in April 1970.

Delegates of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and the delegates from the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade and six other Japanese organizations for friendly trade held friendly and cordial talks and arrived at complete agreement on the current situation, on the relations between China and Japan and on the question of the future development of friendship and trade between the Chinese and Japanese people.

Both sides unanimously hold that the present world situation is excellent. **"The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily."** The international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. The liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations are surging forward and developing vigorously. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction are beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, find themselves in a blind alley and are bogged down in grave, incurable political and economic crises.

Both sides unanimously condemn the Japan-U.S. joint communique sternly. They solemnly point out that on his visit to the United States last November Eisaku Sato pushed the military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to a new stage, turning the aggressive Japan-U.S. "security treaty" into a new Japan-U.S. military alliance which covers a wider range and poses even greater dangers. In an effort to extricate itself from its predicament, U.S. imperialism is pushing the so-called "new Asia policy" of making Asians fight Asians. It attaches still greater importance to the Japanese reactionaries in order to employ them as gendarmes in Asia and shock troops for opposing the Asian peoples. On their part, the Japanese reactionaries eagerly throw themselves into the arms of U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt to realize their old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere."

Both sides unanimously point out that the "return of Okinawa" advertised in the Japan-U.S. joint communique is a sheer fraud. Nominally, Nixon promised to "return" the administrative right of Okinawa to Japan; in fact, Eisaku Sato, willingly tying the whole of Japan to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism, promised to Okinawanize Japan proper into a military base of U.S. imperialism for aggression in Asia. Thus Eisaku Sato has sold out the state sovereignty and national interests of Japan, and duped the Japanese people who justly demand the immediate, unconditional recovery of Okinawa.

Both sides point out unanimously that in the Japan-U.S. joint communique, Eisaku Sato went so far as to include China's sacred territory Taiwan Province, Korea and the three countries of Indo-China into Japan's sphere of influence. This fully reveals Japanese reactionaries' wild ambitions to annex Taiwan, swallow up Korea and lay their fingers on the region of Indo-China. Stepping up their military collaboration, the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are directing the spearhead of their attack against the peoples of China, Korea, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia as well as other peoples in Asia. This will seriously threaten peace in Asia and other parts of the world and bring great disasters to the Japanese people.

Both sides hold unanimously that as a result of the instigation of U.S. imperialism, the revival of Japanese militarism is no longer a question of a so-called existing danger, but is, beyond all doubt, a matter of reality. The Japanese reactionaries have openly embarked on the road of aggression against the Asian people. The Japanese side holds that opposition or non-opposition to the revival of Japanese militarism is a cardinal issue concerning the destiny of the Japanese nation. One's attitude towards the revival of Japanese militarism is a question of fundamental stand of whether one sides with the Japanese people or with the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, whether one opposes the United States and loves his country or is pro-U.S. and sells out his country, whether one upholds or opposes Japan-China friendship, and whether one upholds peace or stands for wars of aggression. Both sides stress that the Chinese and Japanese people and other peoples in Asia should unite still more closely, persevere in their struggle, oppose Japanese militarism, deal heavy blows at the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and thoroughly smash their new plots of aggression in Asia.

Both sides unanimously point out that the Sato government's ambition of aggression on China's sacred territory Taiwan Province has become increasingly evident and frantic. The Japanese reactionaries have always been tailing after U.S. imperialism in carrying out the plot to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." In recent years, Japanese monopoly capital has frenziedly carried out activities of expansion and infiltration in Taiwan. The Japanese reactionaries and the Chiang Kai-shek clique have energetically been engaged in activities of so-called "goodwill and cooperation." Eisaku Sato now wildly clamours that Taiwan is "a most important factor for the security of Japan." It is obvious that the purpose of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is to perpetuate their occupation of Taiwan and obstruct the Chinese people from liberating their own territory Taiwan Province. Both sides sternly point out that Taiwan Province is an inseparable part of China's sacred territory. Any plot to create "two Chinas" or ambition to carry out aggression on Taiwan will come to no avail. The Chinese people are determined to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan. The Japanese people resolutely support this just stand of the Chinese people.

Both sides strongly condemn the Sato government for redoubling its efforts to follow U.S. imperialism, collude with Soviet revisionism and stubbornly push a policy of hostility towards China. Both sides unanimously point out that the Sato government is the most reactionary and most aggressive government in Japan after World War II. With regard to the relations between China and Japan, no matter what deceptive tricks it plays it cannot deceive the people. Everyone who desires for friendship between China and Japan should wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it.

The Japanese side highly praises the tremendous victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

personally initiated and led by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao. They joyfully note that they came to China for a visit during the first anniversary of the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which is of far-reaching significance in history. They have witnessed the amazing, tremendous achievements which, the Chinese people, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, have scored in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, in response to Chairman Mao's great call "Unite to win still greater victories." The Japanese side holds that every victory won by the Chinese people on their onward march constitutes a great encouragement to the Japanese people, and that it will certainly fire them with added courage in their fight against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, the reactionary Japanese Sato government and the Miyamoto revisionist clique until final victory.

The Chinese side warmly praises the Japanese people for their vigorous anti-U.S. patriotic and just struggle. The Japanese people's dauntless great struggle is also a powerful support for the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people as well as the other peoples of the world. Following the great leader Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people will resolutely support the Japanese people in their fight for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and firmly believe that final victory will surely belong to the great Japanese people. The Chinese side pays tribute to the friendly Japanese trade circles who, together with the Japanese people, have made positive efforts to fight against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and to promote friendship and trade relations between the peoples of China and Japan, and wishes that they would further strengthen unity, make joint efforts to fight the enemy and win new victories.

Both sides are firmly convinced that the Chinese and Japanese peoples' desire for friendship for generations to come reflects the general trend and popular feelings. Nobody can stop this great tide in our era.

The two sides reaffirm that the "minutes of talks" signed in Peking on March 19, 1968 is entirely correct and has given powerful impetus to the promotion of friendship and trade relations between China and Japan and is welcomed and supported by the people of the two countries. Both sides unanimously agree that in the future they will continue to carry forward the spirit of the "minutes of talks," uphold the three political principles regarding the relations between China and Japan, the three principles on China-Japan trade and the principle that politics and economy are inseparable and make concerted efforts to further develop friendship and trade relations between the two peoples of China and Japan.

During the talks, the two sides also discussed and reached consensus of opinion on matters concerning the strengthening of mutual friendly contacts and the fur-

ther promotion of friendly trade, and were determined to make positive efforts for this end.

Representative of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade: Liu Hsi-wen.

Representatives of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade: Teiji Hagiwara and Rinji Miyaishi,

Representatives of the Kansai head office of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade: Ichizo Kimura and Yoshikiyo Hyodo,

Representative of the Ishikawa branch of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade: Yasuo Nomura,

Representative of the Kyoto branch of the

Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade: Kunihiro Toge,

Representative of the Kobe branch of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade: Takao Watari,

Representative of the Tokai headquarters of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade: Tomio Wakahara,

Representative of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade of West Japan: Yoshio Hirayama.

April 14, 1970, Peking

Communique on Talks Between Representatives Of China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office And Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office

A COMMUNIQUE on the talks between the representatives of the China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office and the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office was signed in Peking on April 19.

Present at the signing ceremony were Kuo Mo-jo, Honorary President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, and Ting Hsi-lin, Wang Hsiao-yi and other leading members of the organizations concerned.

Mr. Kenzo Matsumura and members of the delegation to China led by him attended the ceremony.

The communique was signed on the Chinese side by Liu Hsi-wen, representative of the China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office, and on the Japanese side by Yoshimi Furui, representative of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office.

Kinkazu Saionji, well-known Japanese personage in Peking, and representatives of the Peking Liaison Office of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office were also present.

Following is the full text of the communique:

Liu Hsi-wen, representative of the China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office, and others and Yoshimi

Furui, representative of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office and member of the Kenzo Matsumura Delegation to China, and others held talks in Peking from March 10 to April 19, 1970.

Both sides reviewed the situation with regard to the relations between China and Japan since the 1969 communique on the talks between the two sides was issued, and frankly exchanged opinions on questions of common interest to both sides.

Both sides reiterate that the communique issued in 1969 is correct and in conformity with the common aspirations of the people of China and Japan. Both sides once again confirm that the three political principles and the principle that politics and economy are inseparable are the principles that must be adhered to in the relations between China and Japan, and are the political basis of the relations between the two sides. Both sides express the determination to continue to make positive efforts to observe the above-mentioned principles and to uphold this political basis.

Both sides sternly condemn the Japan-U.S. joint communique issued on November 21, 1969.

The Chinese side solemnly points out that the Japan-U.S. joint communique has turned the aggressive

Premier Chou En-lai Receives Japan's Kenzo Matsumura Delegation to China

PREMIER Chou En-lai received April 19 afternoon Mr. Kenzo Matsumura from Japan and all members of the delegation visiting China led by him and had a friendly talk with them.

Present on the occasion were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Honorary President of the China-Japan Friendship Association Kuo Mo-jo, and leading members of the organizations concerned including Liu Hsi-wen and Ting Hsi-lin.

Kinkazu Saionji, well-known Japanese personage in Peking, and a representative of the

Peking Liaison Office of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office were also present.

On the evening of April 20, Mr. Matsumura gave a farewell banquet in Peking. Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Hsi-wen, Ting Hsi-lin, Wang Hsiao-yi and others attended the banquet. Matsumura and Kuo Mo-jo proposed toasts at the banquet.

The 17-member Kenzo Matsumura Delegation to China concluded its visit and left Peking for home via Kwangchow on April 21. Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Hsi-wen, Ting Hsi-lin, Wang Hsiao-yi and others were at the airport to see the delegation off.

Japan-U.S. "security treaty" into a new U.S.-Japan military alliance which covers a wider range and poses even greater menace, directing its spearhead as it does against the people of China, Korea and the three countries of Indo-China, as well as against the people of other countries in Asia. The Japanese reactionaries have become the principal accomplice of U.S. imperialism in pushing the so-called new Asia policy of having Asians fight Asians, and have become a shock force in opposing the people of different Asian countries. The so-called return of Okinawa, advertised in the Japan-U.S. joint communique, is an out-and-out fraud. Under the pretext of the "return of Okinawa," Eisaku Sato has no qualms to sell out Japan's national interests and state sovereignty and to promise to tie the whole of Japan on to the U.S. war chariot, thereby Okinawanizing Japan proper and making it a military base for U.S. imperialist aggression against Asia. In the Japan-U.S. joint communique, Eisaku Sato brazenly asserted that Taiwan was "a most important factor for the security of Japan," that Korea was "essential to Japan's own security" and that Japan was to play a "role" in bringing about "stability" in the Indo-China area. The purpose of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in stepping up military collusion is obvious, that is, to perpetuate the forcible occupation of China's sacred territory Taiwan Province and prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan; to perpetuate the forcible occupation of south Korea, obstruct the reunification of Korea and even invade anew the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; and to keep Viet Nam divided for ever, prevent the Vietnamese people from liberating the south, defending the north and then reunifying the country, and to this end, go to the length of expanding the war of aggression against

Indo-China. Unquestionably, all this serves to reveal the aggressive ambitions of Japanese militarism. The revival of Japanese militarism, backed up by U.S. imperialism, is already a harsh fact confronting the people of Asia and the whole world. This new aggressive move on the part of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries seriously menaces the peace of Asia and the world and will inevitably bring new and ever greater dire catastrophe to the Japanese people. The Chinese people and the people of the whole of Asia, including the Japanese people, should unite and deal the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries crushing blows.

The Japanese side expresses understanding of the stand of the Chinese side and holds that the Japan-U.S. joint communique has pushed the Japan-U.S. military collusion to a new stage, further enlarging and escalating the Japan-U.S. "security treaty." The clause providing for the so-called return of Okinawa in the Japan-U.S. joint communique is deceptive. In the name of the "return of Okinawa," the Sato government has created the danger of turning Japan proper into a U.S. military base like Okinawa. The Japan-U.S. joint communique openly extended the scope of Japan's "security" to Taiwan, Korea and the area of Indo-China; the Sato government is stepping up arms expansion and increasing its military budget, and so on. This situation with regard to the revival of Japanese militarism has constituted a serious threat to the people of China, Korea and the three countries of Indo-China, and to the people of other countries in Asia, and further aggravated tension in the Far East. We cannot tolerate this. The Japanese side expresses further its determination to make greater efforts to renounce and smash the revival of Japanese militarism and to oppose war of aggression.

Both sides reiterate their stand and attitude on the question of Taiwan, as stated in the 1969 communique.

The Chinese side strongly condemns the Sato government for always tailing after U.S. imperialism in energetically taking part in all sorts of scheming activities to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." Japanese monopoly capital is frantically pushing into and penetrating Taiwan, laying bare the Japanese militarists' ambition to occupy Taiwan again. The Chinese side reiterates that the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. This is the Chinese people's sacred and inviolable right. When and how Taiwan will be liberated is entirely the internal affair of China and there must be no interference by any country whatsoever.

The Japanese side agrees with the stand of the Chinese side and, once again, explicitly states: The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people, Taiwan Province is an inseparable part of the territory of China. The Japanese side opposes the plot to create "two Chinas" in any form. Furthermore, it is of the opinion that the fact that the Japan-U.S. joint communique describes the Chinese territory Taiwan Province as "a most important factor for the security of Japan," is barefaced interference in the solemn internal affairs of China, and must be vigorously opposed.

Both sides are unanimous in solemnly pointing out that in the past year the Sato government redoubled its efforts to follow U.S. imperialism and stubbornly pursued a policy of hostility towards China, thus placing

new, grave obstacles in the relations between China and Japan. The present situation of worsened relations between China and Japan is entirely created by the Sato government. The Japanese side further states that from now on it will resolutely oppose the Sato government's policy of hostility towards China, and make new and effective efforts to clear away all the obstacles the Sato government has placed in the way of relations between China and Japan and to promote the normalization of China-Japan relations.

Both sides unanimously hold that the desire of the people of China and Japan for peace and friendship reflects the general trend and popular feelings. No one is able to hold back this great trend of our time. China and Japan are close neighbours and there exists traditional friendship between the people of the two countries. The enhancing of friendly relations between the people of the two countries and the promotion of the *normalization of relations* between the two countries not only conform to the common aspirations of the people of China and Japan but are also beneficial to the safeguarding of Asian and world peace.

The two sides have reached agreement on matters concerning the 1970 memorandum trade.

Signed: Liu Hsi-wen,
representative of the
China-Japan Memorandum
Trade Office

Signed: Yoshimi Furui,
representative of the
Japan-China Memorandum
Trade Office

April 19, 1970, Peking

Afro-American Struggle for Freedom and Emancipation Develops in Depth

IN the past two years since our great leader Chairman Mao issued on April 16, 1968, a statement in support of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression, the Afro-American people's struggle for freedom and emancipation has been developing in depth in spite of the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of fascist repression and political deception applied by the Nixon government in an intensified manner.

Chairman Mao points out in his illustrious statement: "The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class." The wisdom and correctness of this teaching has been borne out fully by

the development of the just struggles of the Black masses and other people in the United States.

The past two years have witnessed mounting strike struggles of the American working class against savage exploitation and oppression by the monopoly capitalist class and struggles, one following the other, of the students and other sections of the American people against the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam and against fascist persecution. Victims of dual oppression, the monopolies' ruthless exploitation and racial discrimination, the Black people have been most active, heroic and resolute in these struggles and have become an important force in the American people's movement. The broad masses of the Afro-Americans have also unfolded incessant struggles against racial discrimination and for freedom and emancipation. All these struggles

have co-ordinated with and supported one another and formed a great torrent of mass movement surging forward in the United States, pounding hard and relentlessly at the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class. This situation fully reflects the aggravating class contradictions in American society, the daily awakening of the Black masses and other labouring people of the United States and the tottering domestic rule of U.S. imperialism.

As soon as he came to power in early 1969, U.S. imperialist chieftain Richard Nixon was confronted with difficulties within and outside the country: the war of aggression in Viet Nam had met with repeated defeats, U.S. financial and economic crises were steadily developing in depth, the U.S. supremacy in the capitalist world was rapidly declining and its baton was becoming less and less effective. Under these circumstances, ever more frightened by the incessant Afro-American struggles against violent repression which were shaking U.S. monopoly capitalist rule, the Nixon government has been trying to suppress and wreck the Afro-Americans' just struggle by stepping up the use of counter-revolutionary dual tactics, so as to stabilize its rule at home and more wantonly carry out aggression and expansion abroad.

On the one hand, the Nixon government has intensified its fascist suppression of the American Black people, and particularly subjected the militant Afro-American organizations persevering in violent struggle against repression to open and sanguinary suppression, unjustifiably tried and imprisoned their leaders and activists on fabricated charges, or even massacred them flagrantly. For instance, of the leaders at various levels of the Black Panther Party which stands for violent struggle against repression, 28 were openly gunned down in 1969 by the Nixon government.

On the other hand, the Nixon government has placed more weight on its tactics of deception, ostentatiously selecting a few Black people who had been bought over to be Congressmen, mayors or other officials, and issuing a statement on the so-called "desegregation" in schools. By so doing, they wanted to fool the increasingly conscious Afro-Americans, lull their revolutionary will and split their fighting ranks.

Moreover, the Nixon government sowed discord between the Afro-Americans and the progressive white people in a futile attempt to undermine their solidarity and co-operation in their common struggle against the reactionary rule of monopoly capital.

However, no flowery words can cover up the reality of class oppression and exploitation. In the grip of steadily deepening financial crisis and new economic crisis, the Nixon government is stepping up its oppression and exploitation of the working people, the Black people in particular. According to U.S. official reports, in the first three months of this year alone, the number of unemployed U.S. workers increased by more than

700,000. The unemployment rate of the American Black people increased to 7 per cent, roughly twice the figure of the white people. The actual situation is much worse. U.S. press reports revealed that in the Afro-American slum area in Watts District of Los Angeles, the average unemployment rate of the Black people is 16 per cent and the rate of Black youth reaches 42.9 per cent. The living conditions of the Afro-Americans are worsening. It was reported that out of every hundred infant deaths 75 are Black. According to the U.S. Department of Labour, the average income of a Black family in 1968 was only 60 per cent of a white family in the middle-income group. Black women workers were worse off, their average wages being one-third lower than that of the menfolk. Most of the Black people are forced to live in slums. Along with the increasingly sharpening class contradictions within the country, the contradictions between the U.S. monopoly ruling circles and the broad masses of the labouring Black people have become more acute.

The bloody suppression has aroused still more powerful resistance from the Afro-Americans. The suppression by the U.S. reactionary ruling clique, with Nixon as its representative, of the Afro-American organizations persevering in violent struggle against repression served in a negative way to teach the broad masses of the Black people in the United States a fresh profound lesson. It has made them understand the reactionary nature of the U.S. governments, courts, police and other state apparatus at all levels. In last December, the reactionary police in Chicago and other places launched an outrageous attack against Afro-American organizations, killed two Afro-American leaders and arrested a great number of Black people. Since then, the white workers, students and people of other strata in Chicago and San Francisco held rallies, demonstrations and strikes to express their strong protest against the U.S. reactionary ruling clique's fascist atrocities and their resolute support for the just struggle of the Afro-Americans.

All this has fully testified to the truth pointed out by our great leader Chairman Mao in his statement on April 16, 1968: **"The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction."** **"The Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States."**

The Afro-Americans are showing greater awakening. Their struggle is bound to merge with the American workers' movement and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class. This is an inevitable trend in historical development. No matter what tricks Nixon and his ilk may play, they can never turn back the wheel of history. With the support of the world's people, including the broad masses of the people in the United States, the Afro-Americans are sure to win final victory in their just struggle.

Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad Interim In Moscow Lays Wreath at Lenin Mausoleum

An Chih-yuan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Soviet Union, paid homage to the Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath there on April 20, before the cen-

tenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, to express the Chinese people's respect and the memory they cherish for the great leader and teacher of the proletarian revolution V.I. Lenin.

An Chih-yuan was accompanied by Lin Feng-shan, military attache, and other members of the Chinese Embassy.

The ribbons on the wreath carried the following inscription:

"To V.I. Lenin, great leader and teacher of the proletarian revolution

"From the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Soviet Union."

Comrades V.G. Wilcox and Ron Taylor Visit China

Comrade V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary, and Comrade Ron Taylor, Acting National Chairman, of the Communist Party of New Zealand, arrived in Peking by air on April 15 for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

They were welcomed at the airport by Comrade Kang Sheng, Member of

the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, and leading members of the departments concerned.

On April 16, Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng, Members of the

Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, gave a banquet warmly welcoming Comrades V.G. Wilcox and Ron Taylor.

Before the banquet, Comrades Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng and Chang Chun-chiao were photographed with Comrades V.G. Wilcox and Ron Taylor.

Albanian Ambassador to China Gives Banquet for Leading Comrades of Chinese Party and Government

Comrade Xhorxhi Robo, Albanian Ambassador to China, gave a banquet on April 19 in honour of leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government.

Attending the banquet were Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee; Chang

Chun-chiao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee; Huang Yung-sheng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Wu Fa-hsien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Deputy Chief of the General Staff of

the Chinese P.L.A. and Li Teh-sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

Also present were Wang Hung-kun, Kuang Jen-nung, Li Chiang, Wu Teh and Chang Ta-chih, Members of the Party Central Committee; Fang Yi and Huang Chih-yung, Alternate Members of the Party Central Committee, and leading members of the departments concerned, including Chiao Kuan-hua, Ma Wen-po, Cheng Shao-liang, Liu Ta-yu, Chang Wen-min, Shen Chien, Yang Yu-heng, Chu Ta-cheng, Pai Hsiang-kuo, Sung Chen-hsien, Ting Hsi-lin, Tai Chin-chuan and Tsai Cheng-wen.

The banquet proceeded in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Ambassador Hyun Joon Keuk Fetes Premier Chou for Visit to Korea

Comrade Hyun Joon Keuk, Ambassador of the Korean Democratic People's Republic to China, gave a banquet on April 20 for the recent visit to Korea of Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, Comrade Huang Yung-sheng, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and Comrade Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council, and leading comrades of the departments concerned attended the banquet.

Both Ambassador Hyun Joon Keuk and Premier Chou En-lai spoke at the banquet, which proceeded in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

In his speech, Ambassador Hyun Joon Keuk said: Comrade Premier Chou En-lai's visit to our country and its successes are of tremendous importance to the further development of the traditional friendly relations between our two countries, to the struggle against U.S. and Japanese imperialism, and to the promotion of the world revolution.

He said: The joint communique of our two governments explicitly expresses the firm determination of the people of the two countries to further enhance the militant friendship and traditional friendly solidarity between the people of Korea and China cemented in blood in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism. It expresses the determination that, in the circumstances in which the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are stepping up their plot of aggression and war in Asia, the people of Korea and China will make concerted efforts against their

common enemy and further develop their relations of mutual co-operation in various fields.

The Ambassador said: The stand of the Governments of Korea and China as shown in the joint communique fully accords with the desire of the people of the countries in Asia and in other parts of the world to oppose imperialism and to strive for independence, progress and peace; it is a telling blow at the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries' schemes for aggression and war.

He said: Korea and China have long been comrades-in-arms who, sharing each other's weal and woe, fight shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy. The Korean people immensely treasure the friendly unity and relations of co-operation between the Korean and Chinese peoples. They are highly satisfied with Comrade Chou En-lai's visit to our country as well as with the achievements made during the visit.

In his speech, Premier Chou En-lai said: During our friendly visit to Korea, we were given a grand reception and warm welcome by Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung, the Korean Workers' Party, the Korean Government and the fraternal Korean people. This fully demon-

strated the Korean people's profound fraternal friendship for the Chinese people and left a deep impression on us.

Premier Chou En-lai said: The success of this visit has further cemented the militant friendship sealed in blood between the people of our two countries and enhanced our determination to unite as one against the common enemy. This gladdens our friends and strikes terror into the hearts of our enemies. It shows all the more clearly that, in the present situation in which the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are stepping up military collusion in an attempt to expand the war of aggression, it is of very great significance to strengthen the close unity and friendly co-operation between the people of China and Korea.

Premier Chou En-lai said: China and Korea are close neighbours. To oppose our common enemy, the people of our two countries have stood together and will continue to do so. The Chinese people will, as always, resolutely side with the Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the reunification of their fatherland until all-round victory is won.

Premier Chou En-lai asked Ambassador Hyun Joon Keuk to convey his cordial regards and friendly wishes to Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung, Comrade President Choi Yong Kun and other leading comrades of the Korean Party and Government.

Yasser Arafat Sends Message of Thanks to Premier Chou En-lai

Premier Chou En-lai has received a message of thanks from Yasser Arafat, Official Spokesman for the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Fateh) and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Full text of the message reads:

Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council:

On passing through the heroic city of Shanghai on my way home, I, in my own name and on behalf of the comrade members of the Delegation of the Palestine National Liberation

Movement (Fateh) and in the name of the young Palestinian revolution, extend to you our deep thanks and sincere respect. We thank you for the hospitality you accorded us in the great People's Republic of China — the home of the revolutionaries and the solid revolutionary base of the world liberation movements. We thank you for your support and assistance to our revolution. At the same time, we wish that you will convey our sincere respect and our people's admiration and warm love to the great Chairman Mao Tsetung and to your militant Party and your heroic fighting people.

Comrade, we will never forget the days we spent in various places in

your country. We have benefited from your advanced experiences. What we want to say can be summed up in one sentence, that is, we assure you that we will always firmly and proudly grasp the rifles in our hands till the will of the people has triumphed in our country over the imperialists, their lackeys and the Zionist aggressors.

Long live the Palestinian-Chinese friendship!

May the solidarity between the Palestinian and Chinese peoples flourish for ever!

Long live Chairman Mao, the teacher of revolution!

Yasser Arafat

April 2, 1970

Spring Export Commodities Fair Opens in Kwangchow

China's 1970 Spring Export Commodities Fair had a grand opening in Kwangchow on April 15.

Guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and inspired by the spirit of the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, who are in the midst of a new upsurge in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, are rallying still more closely around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader. Holding aloft the banner of unity and victory, filled with a sense of pride and with soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, they are winning ever greater new victories. All this is fully reflected at the fair with its abundance of exhibits and illustrations.

A grand opening ceremony took place at 9 o'clock in the morning. Among the several thousand people attending it were businessmen from dozens of countries and regions of the five continents, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao, and the staff of the fair.

Chen Yu, Vice-Chairman of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee and director of the fair, spoke at the ceremony. He said that the fair took place in the first spring of the great 1970s when the situation was excellent at home and abroad. The development of the current international situation, he added, has made the going tougher and tougher for imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. Just as our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, **"The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily."**

Speaking of the excellent situation in China, Chen Yu said: The year since the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has been a year of unity, a year of victory, a year in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. Invincible Mao Tsetung Thought has been popularized on an unprecedented scale among the 700 million Chinese people. Practice has proved that acting in line with Mao Tsetung Thought means victory. Guided by Chairman Mao's great principle **"Grasp revolution, promote**

production and other work and preparedness against war," both industry and agriculture are thriving and a new upsurge in the national economy is taking shape.

China's Export Commodities Fair, he said, has all along followed Chairman Mao's teachings, upheld the foreign trade policy of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of what one has for what one needs, and energetically promoted normal trade contacts with various countries and regions of the world, so as to further China's friendly relations with them.

Every exhibit in the various pavilions is a striking demonstration of the fact that all the successes and victories of our great motherland have been achieved under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and are victories for Mao Tsetung Thought. It can be seen in the Pavilion of Chairman Mao's Works that the people of all nationalities in China are broadening and deepening the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and that the great spiritual force of Mao Tsetung Thought has been transformed into a powerful material force in China.

Arranged in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, the fair is made up of many pavilions, where a wider range of products than ever are on display. With the exception of Taiwan Province, all the other 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country have given the fair a rich variety of industrial and agricultural products. These vividly reflect China's outstanding achievements in developing the national economy under the guidance of the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism"** formulated by Chairman Mao and his great principles of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own**

efforts" and "hard struggle." Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and side-line occupation products from different parts of the country fully reflect China's excellent situation in agriculture resulting from successive good harvests.

Holding high the banner of the **Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company** and with revolutionary aspirations to win honour for our great leader Chairman Mao and for the great socialist motherland, Chinese industrial workers have launched a vigorous socialist revolutionary emulation drive and a vigorous mass movement for increasing production and practising economy, thus providing the fair with a large number of new products. Among the many machines and precision instruments being shown at the machinery and instruments pavilion are more than 20 important new products. These are the fruitful

results which the Chinese workers, inspired by the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress, have created by relying on Mao Tsetung Thought. They include a model showing the installation and operation of a Shanghai-made 125,000-kilowatt steam turbo-generating set with inner water-cooled stator and rotor, the first of its kind in the world, and a model of a 12,000 h.p. low-speed marine diesel engine which is up to world standards.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."** The heroic deeds of many outstanding units and people on China's industrial, agricultural and other fronts vividly stand out in pictures, articles and models. Of these, 20 are nationally known outstanding units on the industrial and

agricultural fronts. Their heroic deeds as well as the multitude of exhibits at the fair show that Chairman Mao's great principle **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and his principles of **"self-reliance"** and **"hard struggle"** are being carried out and translated into enormous strength in factories and rural areas throughout the country.

Under the impact of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many of China's provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in the interior and border areas have made rapid progress in production and consequently in foreign trade. The Tibet Autonomous Region has sent representatives to the fair for the first time. With the exception of Taiwan Province, all the other 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of China have their representatives at the fair.

(Continued from p. 21.)

To demonstrate by actual deeds the "harmony" between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism, Novikov unblushingly made a special visit to the "American pavilion" at the "World Exposition." The representative of the U.S. Government had the pavilion closed to ordinary visitors for the day to express his appreciation for the "attendance" of this representative of Soviet revisionism.

The reactionary Sato government also seized on Novikov's visit to Japan as an opportunity to suck up to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Prior to Novikov's arrival, the Tokyo metropolitan police board set up a "high-level police guard system." After arriving, he was under strict police protection wherever he went. The Sato government mustered as many as 2,000 armed policemen in Osaka to provide protection to Novikov. Sato also sent a government representative to attend the "Soviet Day" ceremony at the "World Exposition," and this representative strenuously advocated that "Japan and the Soviet Union" should "further tighten their co-operation." Japanese monopoly capitalists arranged a special itinerary for Novikov to "visit" a number of monopoly companies and factories so that

he could have contacts and talks with representatives of the Japanese monopoly capitalist groups. Obviously, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's rapprochement with the reactionary Sato government has been seized upon by the Japanese reactionaries as a good opportunity to create conditions for their penetration into Siberia and to further intensify all-round collaboration with the Soviet revisionists in the political, economic and military fields.

By having such amicable relations with the reactionary Sato government, sending Novikov to visit Japan and even selling out the sovereignty of the Soviet Union in order to gang up with the Japanese reactionaries, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in effect encourages Japanese militarism to carry out expansion abroad, increases the strength of the Japanese reactionaries, and reinforces the U.S. imperialist position in Asia. All these traitorous acts of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have brought disgrace on the Soviet people and affronted their dignity. The perverse actions of the Soviet revisionist chieftains will surely arouse stronger opposition from the Soviet people, and eventually the clique will reap only the whirlwind it has sowed.

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