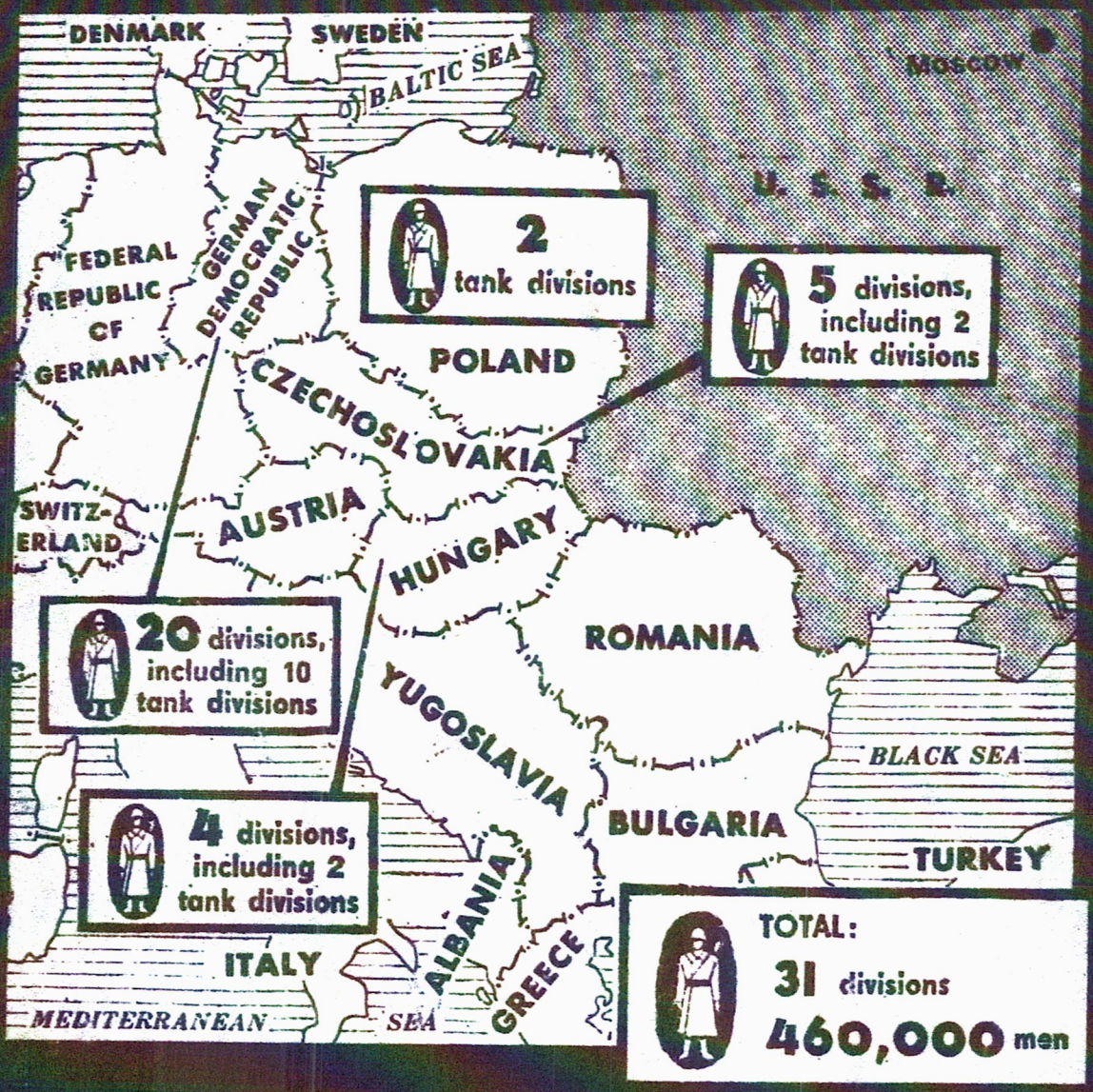
SOCIAL IMPERIALISM: THE SOVIET UNION TODAY



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- Is the Soviet Union still a socialist country? Does it continue to act in the interests of all oppressed peoples? Or has the Soviet Union become a fascist country with an imperialist foreign policy?
- Does the Kremlin's call for "detente" reflect a genuine interest in peace? Or is it a cover for war preparations in competition with the US for world domination?
- What is it like to live in the Soviet Union today?

These articles are taken from Peking Review, an official English language publication of the People's Republic of China expressing the views of China on domestic and foreign issues.

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SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM—MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR

Peking Review, No. 5
January 30, 1976

With the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, locked in ever fiercer contention for world hegemony, the danger of a new world war is visibly growing and it is bound to break out someday. The most dangerous source of war today precisely is the wildly ambitious Soviet social-imperialism.

Characteristics of Social-Imperialism

Engaged in unbridled aggression and expansion abroad in contending for world hegemony, Soviet social-imperialism inevitably will go to war. Above all, this is determined by its social system.

Once a socialist state, the Soviet Union has degenerated into a social-imperialist state ever since the renegade Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique usurped Party and state power, pursued a revisionist line and restored capitalism in an all-round way. Having placed itself in the ranks of the imperialist states, it inevitably comes under the basic law of imperialism and is enmeshed in a multitude of inherent imperialist contradictions. Social-imperialism is, therefore, entirely the same as capitalist-imperialism in nature. Lenin pointed out on many occasions that imperialism is war itself. Modern war is born of imperialism. Certain characteristics of the Soviet social-imperialist system, however, make it more rapacious and more truculent in its aggression and expansion abroad.

Its political system is brutal fascist dictatorship. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." "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."** This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's profoundly exposes the class nature of Soviet social-imperialism and its reactionary character. The Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique is

utterly reactionary, inveterately hostile to and morbidly afraid of the people and it only can rely on the most barbarous fascist dictatorship to buttress up its reactionary rule. It has called out both military and police forces, supported by tanks and armoured cars, in sanguinary suppression of mass strikes, demonstrations and uprisings in many parts of the country like Tbilisi, Chimkent, Kharkov, Dnieprodzerzhinsk, Kaunas, Tallin, Minsk, Leningrad and Novosibirsk. It has issued numerous decrees, ordinances and decisions for the suppression of the people while setting up new repressive organs and continuing to expand existing ones. Military and police units and special agents in particular keep civilians, cadres and servicemen throughout the country under close surveillance and persecute them whenever they see fit. Even more brutal, there is the oppression of the minority peoples by the new tsars. One certainly will be persecuted in the Soviet Union today for showing any discontent with the clique's dark rule and defying it, or even if one is merely suspected. Millions have been either thrown into prison, detained in so-called psychiatric hospitals and labour camps or exiled. As in the old days, the country has become a prison of nations. Soviet social-imperialism, which exercises fascist dictatorship at home, is pushing hegemonism abroad. The Brezhnev clique has in recent years trotted out an assortment of imperialist "theories" to facilitate its rabid drive for world hegemony, "theories" known as "limited sovereignty," "international dictatorship," "big community," "the interest involved" and so on.

The economic base of Soviet social-imperialism is state monopoly capitalism which came into existence after the revisionist renegade clique seized political power. Lenin pointed out: **"The deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly."** (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) This has found the most striking manifestation in Soviet social-imperialism. In capitalist-imperialist countries, **"private and state monopolies are interwoven,"** (ibid.) and private monopoly is the principal economic form with a number of big financial groups existing side by side. State monopoly, in essence, is an instrument which private monopoly groups use to grab maximum profits with the help of the state machine. In the case of the social-imperialist Soviet Union, state monopoly capitalism directly takes the form of ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, with its members—a handful of people—represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique running the state machine and directly controlling the entire national economy and all economic lifelines. The state under the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class becomes "the ideal personification of the total national capital" while all monopoly capital in the Soviet Union is under the exclusive control of this centre. Compared with the capitalist-imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union is more monopolistic by nature, has a higher degree of concentration and exercises tighter state control. A handful of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists assume complete control of the country's economy and home market, bleeding the Soviet working people white at a rate of exploitation doubling

that in tsarist Russia. Hence the various sharpening contradictions in the country. Domestic monopoly will, of course, grow into international monopoly. As Lenin put it, **"The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits."** (ibid.) To obtain maximum profits, the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class sets out to step up aggression abroad, annex new territories, expand spheres of influence, make off with other countries' raw materials at low prices, dump commodities on foreign markets, export capital and shift its burden of crises on to others. Thus, Soviet social-imperialism has become one of the world's biggest exploiters. Although monopolistic domination has replaced free competition in the age of imperialism, competition persists and is bigger in scale, greater in depth, and fiercer in intensity and destructiveness. Lenin noted: **"It is this combination of antagonistic principles, viz., competition and monopoly, that is the essence of imperialism."** (*Materials Relating to the Revision of the Party Programme.*) Both superpowers' monopoly capitalist classes try their utmost to monopolize the world's resources and markets on the basis of monopoly over their domestic economies. So they are bound to compete fiercely with each other in all fields. The degree of concentration and monopoly of the domestic economy by the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class throws into the shade private and state monopoly capital in any capitalist-imperialist country. This explains why it is trying desperately to edge out competitors everywhere in the world.

A Peculiar Form of War Economy

Owing to the uneven development of imperialism, a change has taken place in the balance of forces between the two superpowers in the last few years. With the swelling of its military strength, Soviet social-imperialism has become more unrestrained in its ambition to attain world hegemony through war.

Modern history has proved that wars among imperialist powers for world domination are closely linked with their uneven development. Lenin observed that **"uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism"** (*On the Slogan for a United States of Europe.*) and that **"any other basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the *strength* of the participants in the division, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc., is *in*conceivable."** (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) In the stage of imperialism, the further aggravation of uneven development of the imperialist powers brings about rapid changes in their relative strength. This inevitably sharpens their contradictions and causes them to scramble fiercely in order to redivide the world. Both the first and second world wars broke out against such a background.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has been hit hard in its wars of aggression against Korea and Viet Nam and its political and economic crises

have steadily deepened. It no longer is in its prime and is going downhill every day. On the other hand, the newcomer, Soviet social-imperialism, does all it can to act as the global overlord in place of U.S. imperialism. As it lags behind its opponent U.S. imperialism in economic and financial strength and other fields, it is bound to desperately increase its military strength in a bid for world domination. The state apparatus of fascist dictatorship in the Soviet Union, combined with highly concentrated state monopoly capital, facilitates militarization at an accelerated tempo.

The entire Soviet economy has taken a peculiar form of war economy. With stress laid on "an economy which can guarantee the waging of war by either nuclear fragmentation means or conventional weapons," the new tsars all along have given arms expansion and war preparations top priority and have geared ever more manpower, material resources and money to military objectives, steadily intensifying the militarization of the national economy. Military spending has spiralled year after year. The proportion of military outlay in the national income also has registered a yearly increase. It was about 13 percent in 1960 and 19.6 percent in 1974. As far as the proportion is concerned, the Soviet Union has not only surpassed prewar Hitlerite Germany (19 percent), but also greatly outstripped U.S. imperialism at the time of its wars of aggression in Korea (15 percent) and in Viet Nam (10 percent). According to obviously doctored official Soviet statistics, national income is said to be about 66 percent that of the United States, but actual military spending tops the United States by 20 percent. In 1974 it accounted for about 35 percent of over-all Soviet expenditure. With 60 percent of the industrial enterprises bound up to military purposes, the Soviet revisionist leading clique for years has channelled more than 85 percent of industrial investment to production of capital goods, mainly to sectors connected with armament production; only less than 15 percent is earmarked for production of consumer goods. The malignant development of the armament industry has gone hand in hand with serious backwardness in other industries and agriculture, short market supplies, soaring prices and the impoverishment of the labouring people.

While the Soviet Union rapidly increased its weapons and military equipment of various kinds, the strength of its armed forces has grown from about 3 million men in the 1960s to the present 4.2 million. The Soviet revisionists have also taken a series of measures including a new enlistment act to enlarge sources of reserves and put its mobilization system on a wartime footing. According to data prepared by the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, Soviet reserves of both men and officers total 25 million, of whom nearly 6 million have served in the armed forces in the last five years.

Certain noticeable changes have taken place in the balance of forces between the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. As present military strength stands, both now match each other in nuclear weapons as a result of the much faster pace of the Soviet arms drive.

Although the Soviet Union still remains behind the United States in total naval craft tonnage, the former has outstripped the latter in the number of vessels, particularly submarines. Though Moscow has less long-distance bombers, it has more combat aircraft. Soviet ground forces are now better equipped, with four times as many tanks as the U.S. forces. The Soviet Union has surpassed the United States by almost 100 percent in the numerical strength of military forces.

In terms of economic strength, the Soviet Union on the whole is far behind. However, the growth rate of some Soviet heavy industrial sectors closely connected with armament production and war and the absolute quantity of their products have caught up with or surpassed those of the United States. The cunning tactics of the new tsars who are making more and more use of Western resources to keep up their arms expansion and war preparations are especially noteworthy. Since 1965, the Brezhnev clique has obtained from the West tens of thousands of millions of U.S. dollars in credits and imported considerable advanced industrial know-how and equipment and nearly 100 million tons of grain to cope with the staggering consequences of a militarized economy and boost military strength further. Some sober-minded people in the West have pointed out the perils of giving such blood transfusions to the Soviet war economy.

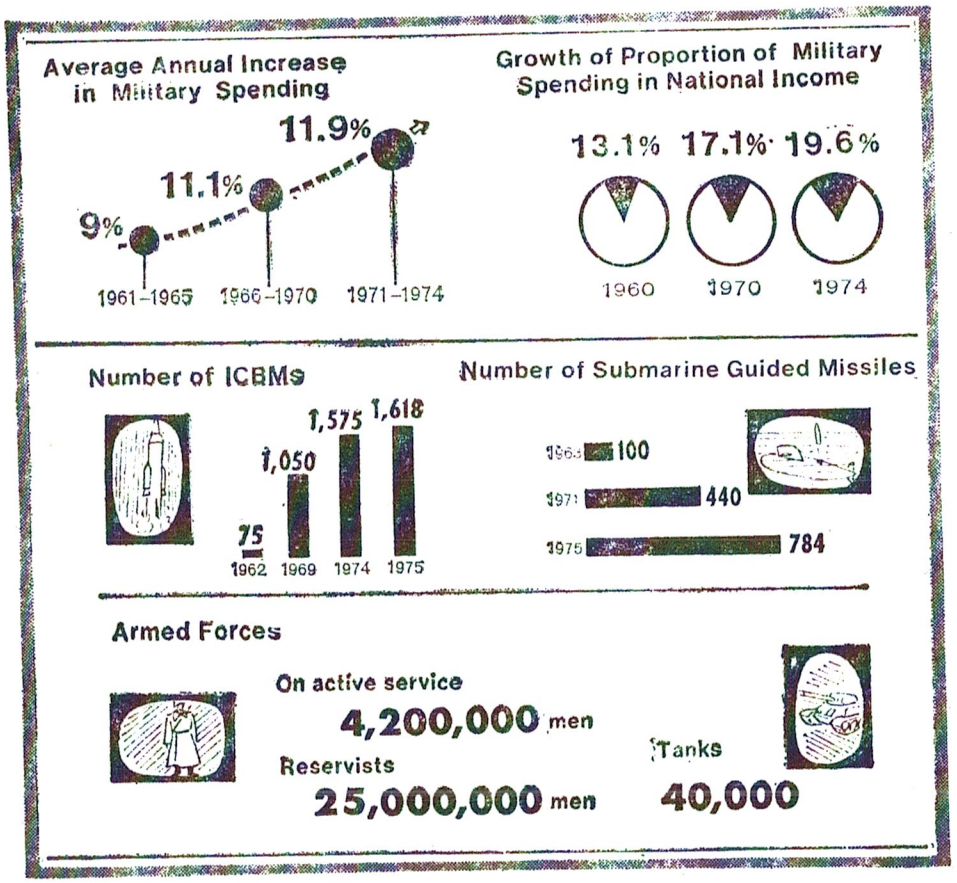
Europe is Focus of Contention

Goaded on by their frenzied ambitions for aggression and expansion, the Soviet social-imperialists pursue a policy of war adventure, ready for both nuclear and conventional wars. From a strategical point of view, it is very clear where the focus of contention is.

As a latecomer at the feast of world imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism is not happy with what is left for it to devour. It is going all out to redivide the world and taking the offensive in its global contention with U.S. imperialism. Over the last few years, apart from political control, military occupation and economic plunder of some "fraternal countries" within the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," it has tried to make its way into and undermine U.S. imperialism's spheres of influence while carrying on feverish penetration and expansion in both the second and third worlds. Soviet revisionist leaders have clamoured repeatedly that the Soviet Union is on the "historic offensive" on the "entire front of global confrontation" and, "backed by its military might," must "start an extensive and real general attack" abroad. At a recent Moscow meeting, Brezhnev arrogantly declared that the Soviet Union will "start an active offensive in the international arena" with its "strengthened economic and defence capabilities."

The Brezhnev clique has stressed the necessity to be "ready to fight a war with any weapons," "with nuclear weapons or otherwise" and, "under certain conditions, probably only with conventional weapons." The Soviet revisionists have tended more and more to make a show of force and engage in threats of force. They boast that "in all circumstances, the Soviet Army and

FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT SOVIET INTENSIFIED, ALL-ROUND ARMS EXPANSION AND WAR PREPARATIONS



Navy will use or will not use nuclear weapons to carry out combat tasks in great depth and at a high speed, and successfully accomplish their tactical and strategical missions on whatever scale," and that "the role of a surprise attack has become ever greater and, therefore, surprise attacks have become a factor of strategic importance." They tell the Soviet armed forces to be prepared at all times to "fulfill offensive tasks."

Europe has always been an area of contention among imperialist powers and was the main battlefield in the last two world wars. Today, it is also the focus of Soviet-U.S. rivalry. Placing Europe in the "central position" of its global strategy, the Soviet Union has declared its own "fate depends on how

developments evolve in Europe." Having kept Eastern Europe in a firm grip, it tries hard to swallow up Western Europe, a piece of juicy meat. Three-fourths of its troops are deployed in Europe (including the European part of the Soviet Union proper), with their weapons and equipment constantly renewed and the number of soldiers increased. Soviet ground and other forces totalling more than half a million are stationed in the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Soviet Union is stepping up military deployment on the southern and northern flanks of Europe in an effort to outflank Western Europe. It is very aggressive. Meanwhile, the Brezhnev clique is resorting to "detente" tactics in the European arena to cover up its arms expansion and war preparations, and is intensifying its political expansion and economic infiltration in Western Europe, doing everything it can to split and disintegrate Western Europe and squeeze the United States out. Numerous events since the conclusion of the European security conference masterminded by the Brezhnev clique with painstaking effort indicate that far from being a "milestone" of European security, the conference was a new starting point towards war for the Soviet social-imperialists. Historical experience merits attention. It was precisely amidst the lullaby of "peace," "security," and "disarmament" that Hitler abruptly unleashed a "blitzkrieg" and the Nazi iron heel trampled over nearly the whole West European mainland. Several years ago, Brezhnev and company suddenly sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia while holding talks with Czechoslovak leaders and issuing joing statements of "friendship" with them. These facts are most useful for the people to see clearly the current European situation and the Soviet social-imperialist policy.

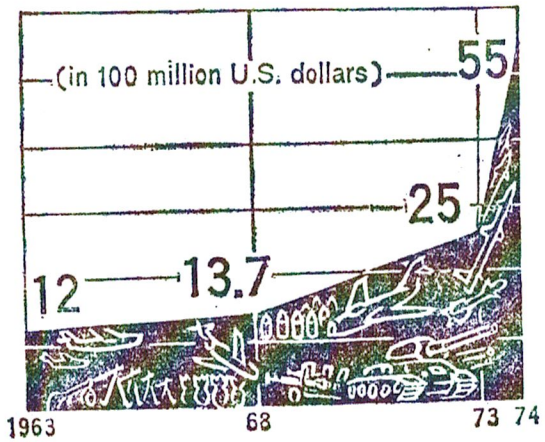
Sure Destruction

Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. This is stark reality. Against this, the revolutionary people and many nations the world over are heightening their vigilance and making preparations. In history, past and present, those who start an aggressive war all come to no good end. At present, the world situation has undergone profound changes. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible trend of our time. Despite their truculence and ferocity, the Soviet social-imperialists are strong only in appearance but brittle inside; they are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and plagued by crises. Class antagonism and national contradictions at home are sharpening day by day with political and economic crises deepening. The resistance of the people of all nationalities is growing in depth and the new tsars are, so to say, sitting on a volcano. Internationally, the third world nations and people have seen more and more clearly the true features of Soviet social-imperialism in their struggle against the two superpowers. The struggle of the second world against the superpowers, the Soviet social-imperialists in particular, continues to surge forward. The tendency of the West European nations to combat hegemony in unity is gathering

momentum. Chairman Mao pointed out that **"imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers"** (quoted in the explanatory note to *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong.*) and that **"revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too."** The Soviet social-imperialists are doomed to sure destruction if they dare unleash a new world war. It is the people who will win the war, the peace and progress.

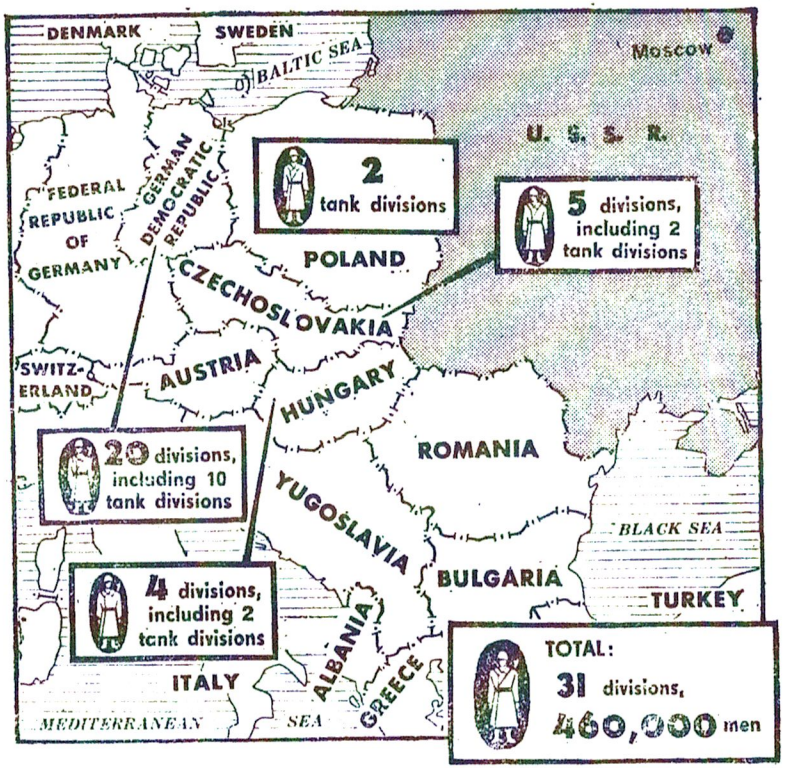
(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

GROWTH OF SOVIET ARMS EXPORTS



ONE OF WORLD'S BIGGEST ARMS DEALERS

The Soviet Union, which first entered the world's munitions market in 1955, is now one of the world's biggest dealers. By 1972 the aggregate value of its arms exports came to about 28,500 million U.S. dollars. According to Western reports, the Soviet Union in the late 1950s sold yearly to six third world countries around 95 million dollars' worth of arms, or 11.3 percent of the world's arms sales. By the early 1970s, it had extended supplies to more than 20 countries with sales amounting to 37.5 percent of the world's total. In 1974, the Soviet Union exported 5,500 million dollars' worth of arms, more than double the 1973 figure which stood at 2,500 million dollars.



SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Apart from deploying large numbers of troops in the European part of the Soviet Union, Soviet social-imperialism has sent a massive number of armed forces to a number of East European countries with a view to consolidating and strengthening its position in Europe so as to strive for hegemony. Soviet ground forces permanently stationed in the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland alone now amount to almost half a million. The Soviet Union constantly renews the weapons and equipment of its troops there, adds new combat forces and holds frequent and large-scale military exercises, thus seriously threatening the peace and security of Western Europe.

THE BREZHNEV CLIQUE IS FOLLOWING HITLER'S BEATEN TRACK

Peking Review, No. 29
July 18, 1975

The Brezhnev clique is following Hitler's beaten track. Compare their words and deeds with Hitler's and you can see that the Soviet revisionists not only indulge in a Hitler-like pipe dream to rule the world, but behave in an astonishingly similar manner to achieve this wild ambition.

Hitler openly clamoured for the Germans to take over the whole world after he set up a sanguinary fascist dictatorship in Germany. He embarked on arms expansion and prepared for war. Only the strong, he asserted had the right to enforce their will.

After usurping Party and state power in the Soviet Union, the Brezhnev clique pursued a policy based on seeking world hegemony. A TASS report on May 19 publicly plumped for "transforming international relations" in accordance with the Soviet revisionist "programme." The ballyhoo of ranking Soviet revisionist figures includes these mouthings: In foreign activities they would "launch an extensive, real general offensive," they would "back up" foreign policy with "military might," they would "organize on a large scale" the production of missile nuclear weapons to "gain superiority in strength." One put on the airs of a world maritime overlord. "Navigation on all areas of the world oceans," he blustered, "is our inalienable and legitimate right" and "the national interests of our motherland call on us to do so." Another bellowed: "The long-cherished dreams of our people have come true. The flag of the Soviet fleet is flying in the farthest corners of every sea and ocean."

In those days, when Hitler stepped up his arms programme and war preparations, aggression and expansion, he invariably professed a sincere desire for "peace" merely to lull the people of all countries into a false sense of security

Isn't the Brezhnev clique today resorting to the same tactics?

Hitler repeatedly expressed his intention of "unconditionally upholding peace," and prated about arms reduction, and particularly "restrictions on air battles, noxious gas and submarines." But at the same time he was expanding

the army in a big way and accelerating the manufacture of aircraft, gas bombs and submarines.

Brezhnev also talks glibly about the "securing of real and lasting world peace for generations" and advocates the realization of "general and complete disarmament," particularly the "prohibition of nuclear weapons." But he, too, is at the same time pushing the expansion of armaments, nuclear armaments in particular, to a level never seen before.

Pretext for Invading and Occupying Czechoslovakia

Hitler fabricated all sorts of absurd pretexts to justify his invasion and occupation of other countries. When the *Reichswehr* invaded Norway, Hitler's pretext was to "ensure the Norwegian people's freedom" and "prevent the British and French troops from occupying bases in Norway." And he did not blush when he declared: "Neither at present nor in the future, does Germany intend to take action in violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of the Kingdom of Norway."

When the armed forces of the Brezhnev clique overran Czechoslovakia, this was put down as an act to "safeguard socialism in Czechoslovakia" and keep the country "from the encroachment of the West German militarist forces with their daily-growing revanchist ambitions." Neither did the Brezhnev clique feel ashamed when it professed respect for Czechoslovakia's "territorial integrity" and "non-intervention in its internal affairs."

Before the outbreak of World War II, Hitler resorted to the tactic of "making a feint to the east but attacking in the west." He repeatedly declared that "Germany had no intention of waging war against Britain and France" and that Germany would "co-operate with all European countries." But in fact he directed his attention, first and foremost, to Western Europe. It was Hitler's calculation that only by taking Western Europe and relying on its economic strength and resources could he go on to conquer the world.

Taking advantage of the war fears of British and French government leaders and their appeasement policy, Hitler gobbled up Czechoslovakia and other countries and fattened on their conquest. To be sure, it was Germany's war with Britain and France that ignited World War II.

Today the Brezhnev clique also does not tire of going on record that the Soviet Union wants to "ensure peace and security on the European continent" and to "have good-neighbourly relations and co-operation" with West European countries. But in fact the clique considers Europe to be the focal point in its efforts to achieve world domination. It is constantly beefing up its military deployment there and eyeing West European countries covetously. Like Hitler, the Brezhnev clique exploits war fears of certain people and the desire for peace in the West to get its way.

Hitler set to militarizing the national economy for aggression and expansion soon after coming to power. The Brezhnev clique took a leaf from Hitler's book, too. Fuming and fretting in a speech on July 6, 1967, Brezhnev said that "the question of national defence takes first place of all our work."

The Soviet revisionists make no bones about following Hitler's policy of guns instead of butter and "calls on the Soviets to make material sacrifices" and "use a large portion of the national income for national defence." At present, the militarization of Soviet national economy has reached a new high. Reports say that about 60 percent of Soviet enterprises are geared to war production and Soviet military expenditures are climbing steadily. Estimates put the present expenditures at about one-third of the state budget, or around 20 percent of its national income.

As in Hitler Germany, the Soviet national economy has been put, to a large extent, in the orbit of a war economy. *The Question of Methods of Military Theory and Practice,* a book which came off the press in 1969 in the Soviet Union, admits that the Soviet policy calls for "an economy which can guarantee the waging of a war by either nuclear fragmentation means or conventional weapons." Reports show an increase of 15-fold in Soviet ICBMs in a decade and a 50 percent increase in military aircraft from 1968 to 1973. There also has been a rapid increase in the numbers of tanks, artillery pieces and other conventional weapons. The Soviet monthly *Communist of the Armed Forces* (No. 6, 1975) feverishly advertised that "the fire volume of [Soviet] cannon and mortars of the motorized infantry division has increased over 30-fold in postwar years." Moreover, the Soviet Union is doubling its efforts to develop MIRVs and build aircraft carriers. In the last ten years or so, Soviet expenditures on nuclear weapons alone amounted to over 100,000 million U.S. dollars. Why do the Soviet revisionists want to produce military hardware on such a big scale? Because, as they themselves admitted, they want to "gain military technical superiority," "effectively support Soviet foreign policy" with "military action," "fulfil offensive tasks" and even make active "preparations for waging a war with every type of weapon."

Intensified Naval Expansion

What warrants attention is the expansion of the Soviet navy. The tonnage of Soviet naval vessels was nearly doubled in the last decade and the number of nuclear submarines was increased over five and a half-fold in the past four years. In a speech on July 25, 1969, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy S.G. Gorshkov bragged about the Soviet naval fleets already being able to "fulfil their offensive tasks anywhere in the world." The afore-mentioned issue of the *Communist of the Armed Forces* boasted that "the Soviet navy has already outgrown its coastal waters and inland seas and become familiar with the vast oceans" and that it "has all the necessary facilities to engage in long-term military operations simultaneously on all oceans" and "can hit naval and ground targets at a long distance" and "swiftly land on the territory of its enemy."

One important aspect of Hitler's preparations for his wars of aggression was to poison the minds of the German people by spreading the Herrenvolk theory and giving them heavy doses of militarist education.

Today, the Brezhnev clique is also frenziedly poisoning the minds of the Soviet people by inculcating in them Russian big-nation chauvinism and militarism as part of its "all-round war preparations in advance."

During the past few years, Brezhnev & Co. have developed a particular mania for advertising the so-called "unchanging Russian spirit." They openly boasted that "nowhere in the world is there anything comparable to the character of the Russian nation." History has indicted E. P. Khabarov and such like aggressors, but the clique revered them as "fine sons of the Russian nation," and called on the Soviets to carry on the "glorious fighting traditions of their predecessors" in tsarist Russia.

Lenin pointed out that social-chauvinists, social-imperialists glorify **"the imperialist war, describing it as a war for 'defence of the fatherland.' "** (*A Turn in World Politics*) Today, the Brezhnev clique is also glorifying its preparations for aggressive wars under the pretext of "defence of the fatherland." It says that "the training of youth to defend the fatherland is of great significance" and that it is necessary "to carry out sufficient and effective patriotic military education among the youth." At present, the Soviet revisionists have "military affairs offices" in all middle schools, secondary vocational schools and technical schools where military instructors drill the students in war. The revisionist authorities also direct their paid scribes to produce novels, films, plays, drawings and what not with so-called "military patriotism" as the master theme to dope Soviet youth. What is this "military patriotism"? It is something best demonstrated by the novel *Dawn Here is Quiet . . .*, published in the Soviet journal *Yunost* [Youth], No. 8, 1969, which has been highly praised by the Soviet revisionists. The chief character in the novel, extolled as a model for young people, is a man who "carries out orders all his life." He never gives a thought to where his own action "will lead and what consequences will ensue." The men who run the Kremlin want to train and turn Soviet youth into automatons like the soldiers of Hitler's Wehrmacht who, interested only in "executing orders," couldn't care less about their actions and consequences. The Kremlin wants Soviet youth to be so moulded that they can "be sent anywhere their services are needed, including remote and desolate areas and even foreign territories" (as editorialized by the Soviet paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* on September 28, 1971) to act as faithful tools in the social-imperialist aggressive wars. "Fundamental attention should be given to the training of youth to prepare for a big nuclear war"—this remark in the Soviet journal *Voprosy Istorii K.P.S.S.* [Problems of the History of the C.P.S.U.], No. 4, 1971, is a confession by the Soviet revisionists of the purpose of their "military patriotism."

Lenin pointed out that **"modern war is born of imperialism."** (*The Draft Resolution Proposed by the Left Wing at Zimmerwald.*) In the era of imperialism, the expansion of any imperialist country, as Lenin said, **"could take place only at the expense of others, as the enrichment of one state at the expense of another. The issue could only be settled by force—and, accordingly, war between the world marauders became inevitable."** (*Speech in Polytechnical Museum.*)

In the years before the outbreak of World War II, Germany as an imperialist power found its feet again after the defeat in World War I. It tried

hard to capture the positions from the old-line imperialist powers and this set off another world conflagration. So Hitler Germany became the hotbed of World War II.

Sources of a New World War

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters of today. U.S. imperialism lords it over in many parts of the world. Though it has long since toppled from its pinnacle, it is making desperate efforts to preserve its foothold. In the case of Soviet social-imperialism, which became a superpower after joining the world's imperialist ranks, it has been doing everything it can to squeeze into and take over the U.S. spheres of influence. The fierce contention between them will lead some day to a world war. They are the sources of a new world war. Motivated by their wild ambitions, the Soviet social-imperialists are making a "general offensive" and stepping up mobilization and preparations for a war of aggression. They even threaten to launch a "pre-emptive attack." As a breeding ground of a new world war, Soviet social-imperialism is far more dangerous.

The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: **"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."** Chairman Mao also said: **"All the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. The reason was that they were divorced from the people. Was not Hitler a paper tiger? Was Hitler not overthrown?" "Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too,"** he said. Thirty years ago, Hitler, a paper tiger, not only failed to gain world hegemony, but was burnt to ashes by the flames of the anti-fascist struggle of the people of all countries.

Earth-shaking changes have taken place in the world since that time. Following in Hitler's footsteps, the Brezhnev clique, another paper tiger, will come to an end worse than Hitler's.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

FACTORS FOR BOTH REVOLUTION AND WAR ARE INCREASING

Peking Review, No. 1
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by Jen Ku-ping

The world's people went through another year of great disorder in 1975, a year that saw a vigorous development of the popular revolution and national-liberation struggles. Strikes took place one after another. Contention and contradictions between the two superpowers grew more intense. Political uncertainty prevailed in many countries. The entire capitalist world floundered in serious political and economic crises. Beset with difficulties and crises at home and abroad, Soviet social-imperialism fared worse than ever.

During the year, Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in various countries developed and grew in strength in the fight against modern revisionism; the third world countries and peoples made new victorious advances in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. At the same time, behind the smokescreen of "detente," both superpowers stepped up their rivalry for world domination and quickened their pace towards a new world war.

Awakened Third World Grows in Strength

The practice of struggle by the people of the world in the past year provided added proof that the concept about the actual existence of three worlds fully conforms to reality and the scientific analysis of classes. The third world countries and peoples, who have strengthened unity against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism and superpower hegemonism, have become a force to be reckoned with, a force which is playing an increasingly important role in determining the fate of the world.

Over the year, the third world wrote a new and brilliant chapter in the annals of its struggle. Especially prominent were the great victories won after bitter and heroic fighting by the peoples of the three countries in Indochina—Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos—in their national-liberation wars. The Palestinian and other Arab people's struggle against the Israeli aggressor developed in depth. There was a growing trend towards independence and

united struggle against hegemonism in the Asian countries. The Korean people's struggle to bring about an independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland won increasingly powerful support from the third world as well as countries and peoples upholding justice in international affairs. Rising up against Soviet military menace and intervention in Japan's internal affairs and strongly demanding the unconditional return of the four northern islands, the Japanese people ushered in a new high tide in their struggle. There was major progress in the struggles of the people in the Southeast Asian countries to safeguard independence and sovereignty and oppose superpower intervention, control, infiltration and expansion. The countries and people of Asia universally opposed and boycotted the so-called "collective security system" peddled by Soviet revisionism. They gradually came to see the necessity of being vigilant against "letting the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate" and would not permit any superpower to establish hegemonic rule in Asia.

Once the sleeping dark continent, Africa is now seething with activity. Portuguese colonial rule which lasted there as long as five centuries collapsed completely. The people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania persevered in their armed struggle against racist rule. Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe as well as the Comoros and Angola won their national independence. The African countries and people resolutely dealt counterblows against Soviet social-imperialist intimidation and blackmail. They repeatedly withstood crude Soviet pressure and the intimidating messages telling Africa what to do or not to do. This fully shows that the African countries and peoples having stood up have the heroic spirit of daring to look down upon superpower hegemonism.

Also developing in depth was the struggle of the Latin American countries and people against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The people of Surinam gained independence, and a number of new emerging small Caribbean countries or island countries were playing a positive role as they got active in the international arena. The Latin American countries which kept strengthening their unity in the struggle noted that, while striving to get rid of their dependence on one superpower, they must guard against any hegemonic endeavour by the other superpower.

In 1975, a large number of poor and small countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America took further action, determined to break the imperialist monopoly, the superpower monopoly in particular, and establish a new international economic order. The oil exporting countries, mainly the Middle East countries, withstood superpower intimidation and threats, firmly holding oil resources and the right to fix oil prices in their own hands. Following the example of the oil struggle, many African and Latin American countries used their own resources as a weapon and set up various organizations for countries producing the same raw materials. With the Latin American countries in the van, the struggle against superpower maritime hegemony won the response and support of a growing number of countries in

the world. There was a steady increase in various bilateral, multilateral or regional co-operation between the third world countries. Meanwhile, "dialogues" and contacts between the second and third worlds also were widened. The entire third world echoed with the common call: defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy and oppose economic hegemony.

However, the superpowers refused to take their defeat lying down. The Soviet social-imperialists, in particular, did all they could to undermine the just struggle of the third world countries and peoples. They strove to drive a wedge between the Arab countries and disrupt the Palestinian people's struggle for liberation. In its contention for hegemony with the other superpower, the Soviet Union instigated and kept intensifying the civil war in Angola so as to fish in troubled waters and step up its aggression and expansion in Africa. The other superpower had no desire to be outdone. The notorious South Africa too shoved its hands in. In the face of the various intrigues and conspiracies of the two superpowers, the third world countries and people sharpened their vigilance, closed their ranks and persevered in their fight. The third world as the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism has given full play to its might of united struggle within and outside the United Nations, as well as in international affairs. Gone for good are the days when the small and poor countries were ignored by imperialism and the superpowers.

Contention Between the Two Superpowers More Acute

The two superpowers in their bid for world hegemony during the past year did their utmost to create the false impression of "detente." This was particularly so in the case of Soviet social-imperialism which, "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west," most furiously chanted its "peace" litany and put up the thickest "detente" smokescreen. It lauded to the skies the so-called Helsinki conference and the documents signed there, which are mere scraps of paper, claiming that an "atmosphere of peaceful development" had arisen in Europe, that "the dark clouds of a third world war have dispersed," etc. Its aim was to hoodwink the European people and the world's people as a whole in order to disarm them mentally and lull their vigilance.

But the stark reality was entirely different from what Moscow has advertised. The dark clouds of a new world war have not dispersed but are gathering and the danger of war has never abated but looms large.

The arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States is proceeding at a feverish pace unseen before. Though they concluded three accords on "nuclear disarmament" or on "limitation of strategic arms," one in 1963, the other in 1972 and a third at the end of 1974, the signing of each accord was followed by an even bigger increase in nuclear weapons on either side in both number and quality. The Soviet nuclear arsenal, in particular, swelled most rapidly and its nuclear arms, which previously lagged far behind, have nearly equalled those of the United States. Each side is competing for

nuclear superiority in quantity and quality to overpower the other. Even if more agreements are reached, the arms race will continue and there will never be any balance. It should be noted as well that conventional weapons also include strategic arms. The superpowers are preparing for both nuclear war and a war to be fought with conventional weapons. Soviet troops in recent years have soared from over 3 million to 4.2 million. In conventional weapons, the Soviet Union has outstripped the United States and gained the upper hand. The number of weapons in the hands of the superpowers is far too many, but they are still multiplying them with a vengeance. With stockpiles of such things which cannot be used as food or clothing, they will one day become trigger-happy.

Soviet--U.S. contention for hegemony over the year became all the more intensified and acute, extending to all parts of the world, with Europe the focus of the scramble. In the past year, they were locked in a fierce tussle in Southern Europe. Moscow was meddling in the affairs of Portugal through the pro-Soviet forces there; the United States openly sounded warnings and took corresponding measures. Both Spain and Italy became objects for the Soviet revisionists to lay hands on. In the Middle East, a flank of Europe, one superpower gained the predominance as a result of its strenuous efforts but the other superpower awaited the opportunity to turn the tables. Soviet revisionism stepped up subversion and intervention in the Balkan countries and posed a greater military threat to them. At the same time, the Soviet Union and the United States intensified their contention in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and even in the South Atlantic Ocean. Both superpowers may have reached some agreements, but these cannot be reliable, because they are transient and deceitful. Behind these agreements, they mainly engage in contention. In an attempt to make all Europe fall step by step into their hands, the Soviet revisionists are bound to adopt the tactics of sowing dissension, causing disintegration and engaging in subversion, infiltration and even military occupation. Failing that, war will be the last resort.

The Soviet revisionists today have deployed three-fourths of their military forces and their best modern offensive weapons in Europe. Militarily, they try to encircle Western Europe from the southern and northern flanks while deploying heavy troops in Central Europe. At the very time the European security conference was in session, they sent reinforcements totalling over 100,000 to some East European countries and carried out on a large scale "the programme of replacing equipment" for its armed forces in Central Europe, thus completing the armament for an offensive war. The ink on the "Final Act" of the Helsinki conference had not yet dried when Soviet aircraft intruded into the airspace of European countries; Soviet missiles were tested in the Barents Sea and military deployment for attacks on Europe was intensified. There were frequent tit-for-tat war exercises by both the Warsaw Pact and NATO blocs, each sending warships and aircraft to track and monitor the other's activities. There is no "detente" or "atmosphere of peaceful development" to speak of.

Modern war is born of imperialism. In the world today, only the Soviet Union and the United States are in a position to start a world war. They are the source of a new world war. After World War II, U.S. imperialism established its spheres of influence all over the world. On the decline today, it is trying hard to maintain its vested interests, while Soviet revisionism, a late-comer, is trying to outstrip U.S. imperialism. Carrying out rabid expansion abroad, it is seeking world hegemony. It is wildly ambitious and more adventurous. Whenever it makes a step forward, United States is pressed a step backward. Since the beginning of 1975, Moscow has been openly boasting about the so-called "offensive strategy," launching more threatening offensives politically and militarily. Soviet oceangoing fleets are intensifying competition with the United States for control of the seas of the world. Last April, the Soviet Union held a global naval exercise involving over 200 surface ships and large numbers of submarines in preparation for an offensive war. Of late, the Soviet union not only has stretched its hands to Portugal but also to Angola with a view to seizing control of the South Atlantic. Portugal and Angola are the two strategic points the Soviet Union is working hard to control at the moment. Facts have clearly shown that the danger of war comes mainly from up-and-coming social-imperialism which carries out arms expansion at top speed and has inherited the barbaric tradition of the old tsars.

In face of the increasingly serious military threat from the Soviet revisionists, more and more West European countries want to increase strength through unity and develop their independent defence forces. Many enlightened people and the press in the West have seen ever more clearly the Soviet revisionists' intention to sow dissension among the West European countries behind the smokescreen of "detente" and then annex the whole of Europe. They have seen that it is very dangerous to cherish illusions about "detente" and seek momentary ease by compromising with the aggressor force of Soviet social-imperialism. They have pointed to the historical lessons of Munich over 30 years ago, something the European countries and peoples will of course never forget.

The People Decide the World's Future

The two superpowers are feverishly expanding armaments, pushing hegemony and pursuing policies of aggression and expansion all over the world. Both are arrogant with Soviet social-imperialism more rotten in behaviour. The fact is that the superpowers are not so formidable, but are weak in essence. They are in dire straits at home and abroad and riddled with crises.

In the past year, the United States failed to get out of its gravest postwar economic crisis. Production fell by a wide margin. Although there was a slight production upturn in the last few months, it was still beset with difficulties. Under the impact of the economic crisis, unemployment rose, class contradictions at home sharpened, strife within the ruling clique went on and

the society was in greater turmoil.

Soviet social-imperialism was likewise in the grip of serious political and economic crises. To seek hegemony and aggrandizement, the Brezhnev clique resorted to militarization of the national economy, diverting a large proportion of the country's manpower, material and financial resources to arms expansion and war preparations. This brought about a lopsided development of the war industry and threw the national economy into chaos. Its ninth five-year plan proved to be another flop, with severe scarcities of light industrial products and serious crop failures. Grain output last year was estimated to be 30 percent less than that of 1974. So 1975 was the year in which the reduction in grain output was the biggest in the last two decades. Moscow was compelled to purchase tens of millions of tons of grain from world market; it also had to borrow heavily from the West and beg for Western technology and capital to strengthen its military machine. The Soviet Union was heavily in debt at home and abroad, the national and class contradictions were sharpening and strife within the ruling clique was developing. For all its wild ambitions, Soviet social-imperialism has inadequate strength and this has fully laid bare its feeble nature.

The dialectics of history are ruthless. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want to make revolution—this has become the tide of the time. Any force trying to swim against the historical current is bound to come to grief in the end. Setting themselves against the people of the world, the hegemonists will inevitably stir up ever stronger opposition and find themselves encircled by the world's people.

The offensive launched by the aggressor contains the seed of its defeat—this is the law of history. The Kaiser Wilhelm II ended in ignominious defeat after provoking World War I. Hitler met his doom after attacking many European countries and the Japanese militarists ended in debacle after attacking China and starting the Pacific War. After World War II, U.S. imperialism sent troops to attack the people of Korea and Indochina and met the same fate. Soviet social-imperialism too cannot escape its doom in trying to launch aggressions and attacks as it pushes hegemonism and expansion. Final victory belongs to those who rise to defend themselves against aggression. There is no doubt about it.

A violent storm is gathering on the horizon and nothing can stop it. This is something independent of man's will. Historical experience teaches us that to be prepared can avoid trouble, and that without preparation one will suffer. One should have a clear understanding of the aggressive nature of the superpowers, discard illusions about peace, expose the source and danger of war, fully mobilize the people to get prepared mentally and materially for resistance against a war of aggression. Only then can one cope with all eventualities, stand on firm ground and seize the first opportunity to lead the struggle to final victory.

While the road has twists and turns, the prospects are bright.

Chairman Mao says: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** (*On Coalition Government.*) History moves on in struggle and humanity makes headway in storms. It is the millions upon millions of the world's people who decide the future of the world, not one or two superpowers. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, the people will emerge victorious and win the future.

SOVIET-U.S. CONTENTION FOR HEGEMONY WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO WORLD WAR

Peking Review, No. 44
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by Shen Chin

Intensifying contention for world hegemony by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, has brought greater turbulence to the world and the danger of a new world war is visibly growing.

Rivalry for Military Superiority and Spheres of Influence

Full of rabid ambition, the Soviet social-imperialists in particular are going full speed ahead in their expansionist designs. They would like to swallow up the whole world in one gulp if they could. To overpower their rival militarily, they have plunged into feverish arms expansion and war preparations. Though their gross national product is only a little over half that of the United States, their military outlay actually is more. Under the signboard of "limiting nuclear weapons" and "preventing nuclear war," they have stepped up nuclear arms expansion. Their intercontinental ballistic missiles are 15 times those of 10 years ago. In the conventional armaments race, the Soviet social-imperialists have rushed ahead much faster. They have manufactured large quantities of tanks, planes and artillery pieces in the past few years, overall tonnage of naval ships is nearly double that of 10 years ago and total troop strength has increased to over 4,200,000. To show their ability to fight a war throughout the world, the Soviet social-imperialists stage incessant military exercises. In April this year they carried out a global naval exercise on an unprecedented scale involving more than 200 warships.

Responding to the threatening Soviet arms expansion challenge, the other superpower bragged that it would maintain a military position next to none and sizably increase its military spending. It has steeply pushed its military budget for fiscal 1976 to an all-time high of 94,000 million dollars.

Stalin pointed out: **"The bourgeois states are furiously arming and rearming. What for? Not for friendly chats, of course, but for war."** (*Political Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.—B.*) Today, both superpowers have spent enormous amounts of money and manufactured such a mass of arms which can neither be eaten nor used as clothing. Why do they do this if not to launch a new world war?

In their rivalry for military superiority, the two hegemonic powers are at the same time engaged in a feverish scramble for spheres of influence. From Europe to the Middle East, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, nearly everywhere and every incident is overshadowed by the bitter Soviet-U.S. rivalry.

A continent of high strategic importance, Europe is the centre of fierce contention between the two superpowers. The old tsar Nicholas I of bygone days howled that the Russian monarch was the master of all Europe. Today, the Kremlin rulers, acting like the overlord of Europe, declare that their fate depends on the development of events in Europe. In a presumptuous attempt to devour Europe — a succulent piece of meat in the eyes of the Soviet gluttons — Moscow has deployed three-quarters of its armed forces, three-fifths of its air force, two-thirds of its medium-range missile bases and a greater part of its naval vessels in or around Europe. What is more, it is constantly replacing arms there with more up-to-date ones. Right now it is exerting itself to reinforce military dispositions on both flanks of the continent in a pincers movement against Western Europe. In the north, Soviet naval activities have been pushed to the Greenland-Iceland-Faeroe Islands line. To force its way into Southern Europe, the Soviet Union has considerably increased its military strength in the Mediterranean and is reaching out to the Balkan and Iberian Peninsulas. Soviet-U.S. contention for Europe has grown fiercer than ever since the "European security conference." Washington is trying to breach Eastern Europe and undermine the Soviet hold there, while Moscow takes great pains to break the West European union and estrange the West European countries from the United States. Thus, dark clouds are gathering over the whole European continent and fresh storms are in the offing.

Of high strategic importance, the Middle East region is also known as a "sea of oil" and is the focus of the bitter Soviet-U.S. contention. The two superpowers bared their fangs during the October Middle East War in 1973 and at one point were almost at each other's throat. After the October War the Soviet Union and the United States became locked in a tense and bitter political-diplomatic contest for the initiative in manipulating the so-called "peaceful settlement" of the Middle East question. Trying to outdo the other in selling arms to the Middle East, Moscow and Washington have kept the region in a tense situation all along.

The Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are an important theatre of maritime contention between the two hegemonic powers. To control these waters, the Soviet Union, besides permanently stationing many warships there, is doing its best to get military bases in the region. To offset this Soviet push, the United States is tightening political control over the region while steadily increasing the number of its warships there. Washington is also about

to expand its Diego Garcia military base.

In Asia, the Soviet Union has used the opportunity provided by the U.S. withdrawal in defeat to worm its way into the region to carry out aggression and expansion. Since the "European security conference," it has been actively peddling its sinister "Asian collective security system" in the vain hope of "filling the vacuum" and covering up its vicious scheme of "making a feint to the East while attacking in the West." In Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world, the contention between the two hegemonic powers is sharpening daily.

Danger of War Comes Mainly From Soviet Social-Imperialism

All this fully shows that the fierce contention between the two hegemonic powers is the root cause of intranquility in the world today. Tension mounts wherever they contend. Their contradictions are irreconcilable. Their contention can only result in one "gobbling up" the other. The so-called "balance of power," if anything, is only transient and superficial. It will not do to depend on such a "balance of power" to maintain peace. Soviet social-imperialism has a voracious appetite and is stretching its tentacles in all directions. It is more frantic and more dangerous than old-line imperialism. The danger of war today comes mainly from Soviet social-imperialism.

However, the Soviet revisionists are loudly singing the tune of "detente" and chanting "peace" psalms. They are energetically spreading a heavy fog of "detente" to lull the vigilance of their rival, deceive the people of the world and cover up their quickening pace towards world war.

Historical experience tells us that the usual trick of the imperialists is to use "detente," "disarmament," "peace" and similar high-sounding slogans as a smokescreen to cover up their arms expansion and war preparations. Hitler pledged to the people throughout the world that Germany was completely willing to give up all offensive weapons because it did not want to attack other countries but only wanted to be secure. A German military goodwill mission was still on a visit in Poland a few days before the "blitz" against Poland, and a German-Polish peace talk plan had been drawn up several hours before the invasion. Furthermore, fascist Germany annexed Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland by taking advantage of the notorious Munich agreement concluded with the British and French Governments. A German-British "declaration" was issued at the same time, pledging to eliminate differences through consultation in order to ensure European peace. British Prime Minister Chamberlain waved the "declaration" in glee, claiming that he had brought "peace in our time" to Europe. But shortly afterwards, Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia and Poland with his troops and declared war on Britain and France, thus starting World War II. The Soviet revisionists had several "talks" with Czechoslovak leaders on the eve of their invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. They had reached an agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops that had taken part in a military "exercise" and had issued a communique on the talks about strengthening "friendship." But

amidst the din of "friendship," the Soviet revisionists suddenly occupied Czechoslovakia with troops, adopting Hitler's stratagem of the "blitz" attack on Poland. All this historical experience is of much value to a clear understanding of the present international class struggle in its essence, despite the misleading appearance.

The danger of a new world war visibly confronts the people of the world today. Against this, the revolutionary people and many countries throughout the world are heightening their vigilance and strengthening their defence. Having suffered for many years from imperialist aggression and plunder, the Chinese people have long experienced the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the imperialists and have known it well. We do not believe in the imperialists' "nice words," nor are we afraid of their war threats. We will continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line and uphold proletarian internationalism. Together with the people of the third world countries, we will unite with all the forces that can be united with and carry the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism through to the end. We will continue to abide by Chairman Mao's great strategic policy — **"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony"** and **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,"** and make effective preparations in real earnest against a new world war unleashed by the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The path ahead is full of twists and turns but the future is bright. Should imperialism and social-imperialism dare to launch a new world war, they will certainly be completely buried by the revolutionary people of the world who are prepared to fight in unity.

SOVIET-U.S. RIVALRY FOR HEGEMONY IS IRREVERSIBLE

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Huang Hua Exposes Soviet "Detente" and "Disarmament" Fraud at the U.N. General Assembly First Committee meeting

Huang Hua, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation, in his speech on November 8 at the U.N. General Assembly First Committee meeting on disarmament, comprehensively exposed the high-sounding "detente" and "disarmament" fraud peddled by the Soviet Union and expounded China's principled stand on the disarmament issue.

Dwelling in the first place on the characteristics of the current international situation, Huang Hua said: "In discussing the question of disarmament, one must at no time deviate from the general international situation. What are the characteristics of the current international situation? As Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, the current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and it is excellent. As a result of the further sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the world, the world situation has been in a state of great turmoil. On the one hand, there are the rise of the third world, the constant elevation of the political consciousness of the people of the third world countries and the world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and the irresistible surge of revolutionary struggles. On the other hand, there is the intensified rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers, which has spread to all parts of the globe. The international situation has grown tenser. It can be seen clearly that in the present world the factors for both revolution and war are visibly increasing."

"The rhetoric about 'detente' cannot cover up the stark reality," Huang Hua pointed out. "The development over the past year shows that the rivalry between the two superpowers, far from mitigating, has been further aggravated. Europe is the strategic focus of contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony. Despite the European security conference which was meant for appeasement and concessions, the Soviet Union has not shown any restraint in its wild ambitions but has become even more rampant. It has kept on stepping up its military threat and political subversion against Western Europe."

After recounting the aggressive approaches taken by Soviet social-imperialism against Western Europe in many fields in the past year and more, Huang Hua said: "What is more, it is carrying out expansion everywhere in its rivalry with the other superpower for world hegemony under the signboard of 'extending detente to all the continents.' "

All this shows that it is not "detente" but the contention for hegemony which is "irreversible," he said.

He added that, in order to contend for world hegemony, the two superpowers are bound to step up their arms expansion and arms race. That superpower which shouts that it "is doing all it can to achieve progress along the road leading to general and complete disarmament" is actually "doing all it can" to press forward at an unprecedented pace along the road leading to "general and complete arms expansion."

Listing facts about the two superpowers' wanton military buildup and arms race, Huang Hua said: "Since the superpowers are bent on desperate arms expansion, why should they, particularly the Soviet Union, make such high-sounding talk about disarmament? Superficially this seems self-contradictory, but in point of fact their words and deeds are mutually complementary. Like all aggressors in history, they cry out for disarmament precisely because they are going all out for arms expansion. Their shout for disarmament is for the very purpose of covering up their intensified arms expansion. The time when they are most vociferous in clamouring for 'detente' and 'disarmament' is exactly the time when they are stepping up arms expansion and preparing for new aggression. The most dangerous source of war today is precisely the biggest peace swindler of our time."

Referring to the Soviet "memorandum on ending the arms race and disarmament" submitted to the General Assembly, Huang Hua said that this "memorandum" unabashedly declared that first of all there should be a "cessation of nuclear arms race," that one should "stop manufacturing nuclear weapons" and bring about a "reduction of conventional armaments." He went on: "One cannot help asking: Who is it that is frenziedly engaged in the nuclear arms race and going all out to expand conventional armaments? Is it not the Soviet Union itself?"

Huang Hua then exposed the hypocritical nature of the so-called "general prohibition of nuclear tests" and "nuclear non-proliferation" contained in the Soviet "memorandum." He said that with the two superpowers already in possession of huge nuclear arsenals, a mere cessation of nuclear tests cannot in the least hinder them from continuing to produce, stockpile and use nuclear weapons. While propagating so energetically the complete prohibition of nuclear tests, Mr. Gromyko has totally evaded the question of the need to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons first, and he has all along adamantly refused to undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states and nuclear-free zones, still less has he any intention to realize the

complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. This fully shows that the "complete elimination of all types of nuclear weapons" as alleged by Mr. Gromyko is nothing but a clumsy lie.

On the suggestion for a special General Assembly session on disarmament, Huang Hua pointed out that "under the present circumstances in which the two superpowers are engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations and in fierce contention for world hegemony, particularly when the Soviet Union is carrying out aggression and expansion everywhere while peddling the fraud of sham detente and sham disarmament, the convening of a session in whatever form devoted exclusively to the question of disarmament could only spread illusions about peace, lull the vigilance of the world's people and bring unfavorable consequences to the struggle of the people of the world against hegemonism, imperialism and colonialism."

He said: "It is fully understandable that the people of various countries who experienced the sufferings of two world wars eagerly wish to prevent imperialism from starting a new world war. However, one must be soberly aware that imperialism remains the source of war today. So long as social-imperialism and imperialism exist, there will be no lasting peace in the world. The elimination of war can only happen after the elimination of imperialism, the elimination of exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another and not before."

He continued: "At present, the United States has vested interests to protect around the world, and the Soviet Union seeks expansion. This state of affairs is unalterable. The continued fierce rivalry between the two superpowers is bound to lead to war some day. This is independent of man's will."

He said: "Historical experience tells us that imperialism used to sing loudly the hymns of 'peace' and 'disarmament' when it was stepping up its preparations for a new war. This is the habitual tactics of all imperialists."

He said: "Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Government and people will carry out the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung's behests, continue unswervingly to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, persevere in proletarian internationalism, never seek hegemony and never be a superpower. We are determined to implement earnestly Chairman Mao's teaching **'Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,'** make all the necessary preparations against wars of aggression and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dare to invade us."

He stressed in conclusion: "The pressing issue before the numerous small and medium-sized countries now under the threat of superpower military expansion is to fully mobilize the people and get prepared against wars of aggression. At present, a number of small and medium-sized countries stress the importance of developing their independent armed forces for self-defence; a number of other countries have put forward the proposition of strengthening co-operation on defence matters in a united striggle against hegemonism. We support these correct views. All countries that are subjected to the superpowers' aggression, subversion, intervention, control and bullying should unite and form the broadest united front to wage tit-for-tat struggles against them." "We should get rid of the supersition – fear of social-imperialism. Blustering and swashbuckling, social-imperialism is in fact outwardly strong but inwardly weak and beset with diffiiculties. It has wild ambitions but lacks strength. It is politically unpopular, its economic base is weak and its battle lines are too far-flung. Its acts of aggression and expansion everywhere breed in themselves the seeds of defeat. Neither nuclear weapons nor conventional arms of the newest type can save the aggressors from their doomed defeat. Final victory will certainly belong to the billions of world's people who dare to fight."

THE JAPANESE PEOPLE FIGHT SOVIET HEGEMONISM

Peking Review, No. 35
August 29, 1975

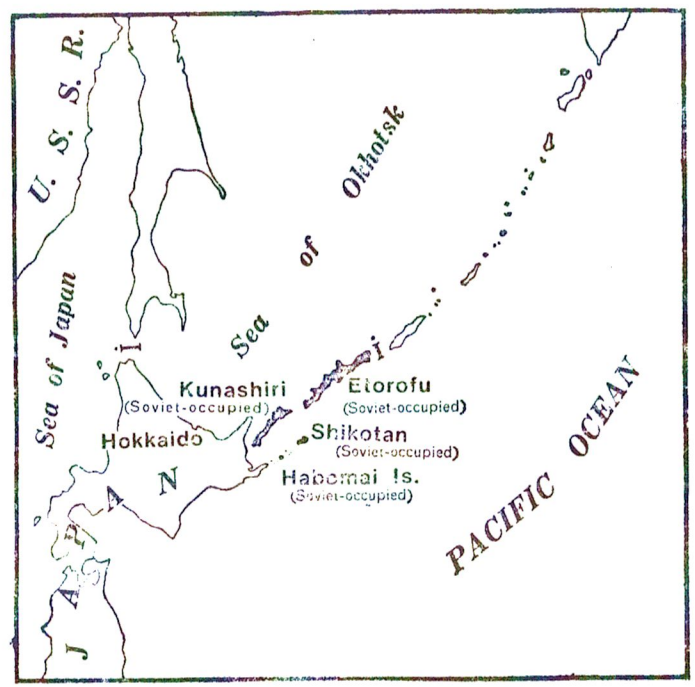
The struggle against Soviet hegemonism by the people of Japan is gathering momentum. They are resolute in their demand for the return of Soviet-occupied northern territories and in their denunciation of the Soviet Union for its intervention and threats.

The Japanese people strongly demand that the Soviet Union return to Japan its northern territories. But the Soviet revisionists, clinging to the old tsar's mantle, have to this date refused to give up these Soviet-occupied islands. Moreover, they continue to persecute Japanese fishermen operating near the Kunashiri, Etorofu, Habomai and Shikotan Islands, and they keep on slandering and intimidating the Japanese people who uphold their just demand. In doing so, the new tsars have succeeded only in arousing the Japanese people's indignation. Mass rallies have been held since the beginning of the year in various parts of the country to denounce the Soviet revisionists for the crimes they committed. Forums and exhibitions about the importance of the struggle to recover the northern territories have also been organized in many places.

Demand for Northern Territories Reversion

The struggle for the return of the northern territories is developing in depth and breadth in Hokkaido. In Nemuro, the return of the northern islands is made one of the city government's tasks. August is set aside as "the month for northern territory reversion" and a movement has been launched to collect signatures of 10 million people. In Kushiro, a students' puppet-show troupe travelled over Hokkaido giving performances about the Japanese people's struggle for the return of the northern islands. In a middle school in Abashiri, boiler worker Yusuke Hosoya who once lived in one of the islands gave an exhibition of a dozen of his oil paintings with the northern islands as motif to show his love for the homeland and his hatred for Soviet

hegemony. To educate the younger generation to persist in the protracted struggle for the recovery of the northern territories, the Hokkaido Education Commission has decided that education about the northern territories is conducted this year and hereafter among students in the middle and primary schools in this region. These activities show that the Japanese people, determined to safeguard state sovereignty and national dignity, have realized more and more clearly the nature of Soviet social-imperialism and are prepared to wage a protracted struggle. The youth in Kushiro have put forward this clarion call: "The movement for restoring the northern territories should not be confined only to yearnings for the homeland. We must hold high the banner of opposing hegemonism to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against Soviet social-imperialism."



"Asian Collective Security System" Opposed

Opposition to the Soviet "Asian collective security system" forms an important part of the Japanese people's struggle against Soviet hegemonism at present. As the movement for the recovery of the northern territories goes

forward, they further expose the Soviet sinister motive in concocting its "Asian collective security system." In a pamphlet published last March, the Japan Northern Problem Research Society points out: "The Soviet Union is contending for hegemony with the United States on a global scale. Like the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, the Pacific is also a target of the rivalry. Therefore, the Soviet Union is pursuing a stick-and-carrot policy towards Japan in an effort to place the country under its thumb." Leaflets distributed by Tokyo students last February say, "The purpose of the Soviet Union in trying to drag Japan into its 'Asian collective security system' is to put the country under its control and continue its occupation of our northern territories."

By rising against Soviet sabotage of their coastal fishing operations, the Japanese fishermen have added new strength to the struggle against hegemonism. According to the Japanese press, Soviet fishing fleets began to appear in the seas off the coasts of Japan in the late 50s, but the number has sharply increased since 1971. The Soviet fishing fleet comprising a 10,000-ton mother ship and scores of large trawlers and transport ships, intruded into the seas near Japan during the fishing season. They messed up fishing nets, gears and buoys of Japanese fishermen and seriously threatened their security, thus making their fishing operations impossible in some places over a long period of time. Victimized Japanese fishermen are found everywhere in Hokkaido, and Aomori, Ibaraki, Kanagawa, Aichi and six other prefectures in Honshu.

The outrageous acts of Soviet fishing fleets in seas off Japanese coasts have met with stiff resistance from indignant Japanese fishermen. Over 140 Japanese fishing boats near Oshima off the west coast of Funkawan, Hokkaido, encircled an intruding Soviet fishing vessel when they were operating and forced it to leave. Representatives of fishermen of Tokyo, Hokkaido, Aomori and five other places held a rally in Tokyo to denounce the Soviet piratical acts.

Against Sabotage of Japan-China Friendship

The Japanese people also take a firm stand against the despicable Soviet attempt to sow discord in Japan-China relations and thus undermine the friendship between the two countries. They want an early conclusion of a Japan-China peace and friendship treaty with an anti-hegemony clause explicitly written into the text. But the Soviet revisionists have tried their utmost to intervene. They hurled abuses against some noted Japanese figures and issued a TASS statement to threaten Japan. This aroused angry denunciation by the Japanese people and helped to strengthen their determination to demand a peace and friendship treaty with China.

The Japanese people's struggle against Soviet hegemonism takes shape as they perceive that the Soviet threat to their country grows in proportion. They are compelled to struggle because of Moscow's outrageous acts. To intimidate the Japanese people who dare to oppose hegemonism, Moscow has labelled them "revanchists," "chauvinists" and "provocateurs." However, the

Japanese people will not be taken in nor will they allow themselves to be bullied. So long as the Soviet Union does not cease to threaten, deceive and bully Japan, the Japanese people will never call off their struggle against hegemonism.

WHO STANDS TO GAIN AFTER ALL?

Peking Review, No. 30
July 25, 1975

By jacking up the prices of raw materials and fuel sold to other C.M.E.A. member states, the Soviet revisionists are clearly making profits at the expense of others, and yet they use such claptrap as "it is in the interest of all" to deceive people.

The Soviet revisionists have raised by a big margin the prices of raw materials and fuel they sell to the other C.M.E.A. (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) member states in contravention of the agreements reached within that body. This has been denounced by public opinion in a number of countries. Flying into a rage, the Kremlin bosses instructed TASS to release an article on April 29 in defence of their action.

In the article TASS asserts that the current C.M.E.A. price adjustment is "to safeguard the common interests of the community." It denied flatly that the raising of raw material and fuel prices, first of all oil price, by the Soviet Union is "a selfish act." "The conjectures that some countries have got one-sided advantage from the current adjustment," the article says, "are absolutely groundless." "The new prices have been fixed in the interest of the whole socialist community, and will promote the development of economy and foreign trade of these countries," and so on and so forth.

Who, after all, stands to gain from the C.M.E.A. price adjustment, especially the jacking up of Soviet raw material and fuel prices? Will the benefit accrue to the Soviet Union alone, or, as TASS claims, "the entire community?" Facts give the most convincing answer to this question.

The basic TASS "argument" is that in the adjustment not only are the prices of Soviet raw materials and fuel raised but "so also are the prices of machines and equipment" the Soviet Union imports from other C.M.E.A. member states. "According to their value," the article says, "these goods constitute over 40 percent of the total Soviet imports from the other countries of the great socialist community." It sounds rather plausible. But an analysis of the trade structure between the East European countries and the Soviet Union and a comparison of the margins of increase between the prices of raw materials and fuel and those of machines and equipment will readily knock the bottom out of the TASS "argument" and turn it into an excellent material for exposing the Soviet revisionists.

For a long time, the raw materials, semi-finished products and fuel exported by the Soviet Union to the five C.M.E.A. member states—the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland—constitute in terms of value about a half to two-thirds of the total Soviet exports to these countries, while machines and equipment they supply the Soviet Union amount to 40 percent of total Soviet imports from them. In the recent price readjustment, the Soviet revisionists raised raw material and fuel prices by a much bigger margin than those of machinery and equipment and farm products, with oil price soaring 130-140 percent per ton. This places the C.M.E.A. member states in an unfavourable position in their trade with the Soviet Union.

Take Hungary and Bulgaria as examples. The fuel, raw materials and semi-finished products imported from the Soviet Union every year amount to about 70 percent of Hungary's total imports from it in terms of value. According to the readjustment, the average price of energy fuel and industrial raw materials imported by Hungary from the Soviet Union this year will be 52 percent higher than last year, while the prices of machinery and equipment and means of communication and transport which constitute 50 percent of Hungary's exports to the Soviet Union have only gone up 15 percent on the average. As a result, in the trade between the two countries the Soviet Union will gain 370 million rubles, while Hungary will earn less than 75 million rubles, a loss of nearly 300 million rubles on the Hungarian side. This is a harsh blow to Hungary's international balance of payments, turning its favourable trade with the Soviet Union into an unfavourable one and reducing it to a debtor nation.

Bulgaria is a main farm produce exporter among the East European C.M.E.A. member states. Most of Bulgaria's farm produce and finished products are shipped to the Soviet Union, from which it imports most of the oil, coal and iron ore it needs. The per-ton price at which Bulgaria will import 9.8 million tons of Soviet oil this year has more than doubled while the prices of its agricultural exports to the Soviet Union have gone up only 30 percent or more. What Bulgaria gains from the increase in farm product prices can only offset two-thirds of the increase in Soviet oil price.

The German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Poland also suffer varying degrees of losses in their trade with the Soviet Union. The big price increase in Soviet raw materials and fuel will put the G.D.R. on the debit side for over 600 million rubles this year. Czechoslovakia will lose over 370 million rubles this year from its imports of Soviet oil, natural gas and iron ore alone. In a report in early April 1975 the Austrian Institute of International

Comparative Economic Surveys pointed out: "Recent price boosts within the East European economic grouping (C.M.E.A.)" has been only "to the Soviet Union's advantage, as energy and raw material prices had risen at a faster rate than other commodities." The report continued: "This meant that East European states will only be able to offset one-third of the increased cost of their imports [from the Soviet Union] by raising the prices of their exports." (An April 3 DPA dispatch) Expressing similar views in a dispatch from Vienna dated June 23, AFP said: "The rise in the cost of Soviet raw materials is thus causing anxiety to its partners in Eastern Europe from the balance of payments standpoint" because these "partners" would have to bear the losses from the big increases in the cost of Soviet raw materials this year. The dispatch pointed out: "Although the Soviet Union has allowed increases in the prices of its imports from its partners, these are not sufficient to keep the balance."

Facts are more eloquent than words. In the face of the above-mentioned facts, how can the Soviet revisionists deny that the price hike in raw materials and fuel, particularly oil, sold to other C.M.E.A. member states "is a selfish act?"

Only those who are suffering know what suffering means. In an article last March 5, the Hungarian weekly *Observer* complained that the price hike in Soviet raw materials and fuel "has created new difficulties and problems" for Hungary. Debunking the Soviet revisionists' argument at the time of the price readjustment about "realization of contract price" within the C.M.E.A., the Bulgarian journal *International Relations* (No. 4, 1975) wrote: "The so-called realization of contract price" is actually to "directly shift" the "evil influences of the capitalist market" on to other C.M.E.A. member states. "This is unacceptable," it said. The Czechoslovak paper *Rude Pravo* (March 1) said that the Czechoslovak economy "is facing new and quite arduous tasks" as a result of "changes in the external conditions" regarding raw material supplies. In an interview with a *Neues Deutschland* correspondent on February 18, a G.D.R. leader also complained that "increases in import prices have added burden to the G.D.R. national economy." Isn't it quite clear who gains from the latest C.M.E.A. price readjustment?

In their relations with other countries, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists know nothing but making profits at the expense of others and yet they always try to fool others with such claptrap as "it's in the interest of all." Hypocrisy is nauseating.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

MOSCOW TIGHTENS CONTROL OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Peking Review, No. 36
September 3, 1976

Eight years ago, the Soviet revisionists exposed themselves as social-imperialists in a big way by invading Czechoslovakia. In the years since trampling that country underfoot, the Soviet Union has taken various steps to tighten its control and intensify its plunder of countries in Eastern Europe. It made big play with its so-called "socialist integration" and left no stone unturned in the economic, political, diplomatic, military and ideological spheres to keep these countries under cruel Soviet control, enslavement and oppression.

The "integration" plan was dished up by the Soviet revisionists in 1968. In July 1971, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) adopted a "comprehensive programme for economic integration" under which the C.M.E.A. countries were required to carry out "integration" in production, science and technology, foreign trade as well as in the monetary and financial spheres within a period of 15 to 20 years.

In March 1969, the Soviet Union proposed the setting up of a so-called permanent organization for co-ordinating the foreign policies of the Warsaw Treaty member countries to achieve "diplomatic integration." It was a bid to bring the diplomatic sovereignty of these countries under Moscow's control.

Since October 1969, the Kremlin's chieftains have time and again called summit conferences or foreign ministers' conferences of the Warsaw Treaty countries to plot feverishly to hold the European security conference. One of their aims is to make sure that post-World War II borders are "inviolable," i.e., to ask the West to recognize their spheres of influence in Eastern Europe so as to preserve their dominant position there and, subsequently, intensify their contention for hegemony in Europe as a whole.

In February 1970, the Soviet Union proposed to the East European countries the establishment of joint radio broadcasting stations and publishing houses. In addition, it suggested joint publication of journals and touted a "programme for ideological co-operation" to bring about

"ideological integration." These moves made clear that Moscow was out to gain control over the whole superstructure of Eastern Europe.

In his report at the 24th congress of the Soviet revisionist party in March 1971, Brezhnev preached that the new "treaties of friendship and mutual assistance" and other bilateral treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and some East European countries jointly form an "extensive system (of a 'new type') that undertakes mutual obligation for the allies." They virtually provide the Soviet revisionists with a legal excuse for repeating such incidents as the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In December 1972, Brezhnev announced in unequivocal terms that the "principle" of uniting all the union republics in a unified Soviet Union was applicable to "all socialist sovereign countries" of the C.M.E.A. This is as much as an open admission that he intends to turn other C.M.E.A. member countries into union republics of the U.S.S.R.

Since 1974, the Soviet Union has established three war theatre commands—one each in Northern, Central and Southern Europe—in Poland, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria respectively and formed several "integrated armed forces" comprising the three armed services.

The Soviet revisionists, acting in flagrant violation of the agreements they had signed, openly and drastically raised the prices of oil and other fuels for export to Eastern Europe. They also asked East European countries to contribute money and manpower to the "joint construction" of 30 large projects, with most of them located within the Soviet Union. The recent 30th session of the C.M.E.A. even decided on the drafting of long-term integrated programmes for fuel, raw materials, machine-building, foodstuff, industrial consumer goods and transport and communications. This is an attempt to bind the Soviet Union's partners in a tighter economic bondage so that the Soviet revisionists may have a free hand to plunder and exploit them.

What the above-mentioned facts all come down to is that the Soviet revisionists are trying their utmost to control, exploit and enslave some East European countries. They remind people of Brezhnev's monologue of the 25th congress of the Soviet revisionist party on Soviet relations with Eastern Europe.

Of the 215 political bureau meetings held in the five years since the 24th congress, he said, "not a single one missed a review of" the question of Eastern Europe. In the "peace programme," Brezhnev gave a place of prime importance to "unity" and "all-round co-operation" with other members of the "community" and the promotion of the latter's "common and positive contributions to the strengthening of peace." This serves to prove that in their global contention with U.S. imperialism with Europe as the main arena, the Soviet revisionists just cannot dispense with Eastern Europe, that they cannot do without Eastern Europe if they want to shake off economic difficulties at home, and that they must try to stabilize the unstable Eastern Europe if they want to maintain the new tsars' fascist rule. It also demonstrates that the more ruthless the oppression, the greater the resistance.

The anxiety of the Soviet revisionists is only natural now that both the popular struggle in East European countries against their colonialist domination and the tendency of some of the ruling groups in Eastern Europe to drift apart from the Kremlin are developing these years. That is why Brezhnev used the pretexts of "unity" and "all-round co-operation" to fasten East European countries to his war chariot and turn them into a tool for Soviet aggression and expansion abroad.

Soon after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia took place, people pointed out clearly that it was no more than a death-bed struggle of the Soviet revisionists who, beset with troubles at home and abroad, were locked in the horns of a dilemma. The ensuing measures taken by Brezhnev and his like to tighten their colonialist domination of East European countries are nothing but another death-bed struggle of the clique.

NEW MOVE FOR CONTENTION IN EUROPE

Peking Review, No. 46
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On new U.S.S.R.-G.D.R. treaty

The Soviet Union recently concluded a so-called "treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance" with the German Democratic Republic. This is a new step by the Soviet social-imperialists to carry out flagrant aggression and expansion in Europe under the veil of sham detente as peddled at the "European security conference."

As early as 1964, the Soviet Union concluded with the G.D.R. a similar "treaty" effective for 20 years. Why did the Soviet revisionists hastily conclude this new "treaty" with the G.D.R. when the old one just passed mid-point in its validity and only two months elapsed after the "European security conference"? This is food for deep thought.

To force the Western countries to recognize their spheres of influence in Eastern Europe, the Soviet revisionists tried hard to make them agree to write down the "principle" of the "inviolability of frontiers" in the "Final Act" of the "European security conference." Meanwhile, they hypocritically agreed to insert into the same document the sentence "frontiers can be changed in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement" in exchange for the early convening of the summit session of the "European security conference." Now, shortly after that conference, they have revealed to the hilt their sinister double-faced features by signing the treaty with the G.D.R. This new treaty stresses "the inviolability of the state borders in Europe" and "the unchangeability of the frontiers" between the two German states since World War II. This is a demonstration before the Western countries and clearly warning them that they must not lay hands on the Soviet spheres of influence.

In doing so, the Soviet social-imperialists are guided by the logic: hold tight what you have got, and try to grab what you have not. After the "European security conference," the Brezhnev clique hurriedly signed this treaty with the G.D.R. to consolidate "the Soviet military outpost on the Western front." The move is an important component part of Moscow's

intensified aggression and expansion in Western Europe and its contention for hegemony in Europe with U.S. imperialism. In the treaty, the Soviet revisionists asked the G.D.R. to abide by its "obligations in the Warsaw Treaty." The new treaty stipulates that "should one of the high contracting parties become subject to armed attack by some state or group of states," the other high contracting party "shall without delay render it all kinds of assistance, including military assistance." Thus, the G.D.R. is forced to serve the Soviet revisionists' policy of aggression and expansion. According to Western press reports, of the 500,000 Soviet troops in Central Europe, 350,000 are stationed in the G.D.R. Shortly after the signing of the treaty, Soviet brasshat Grechko went there to "inspect" the "combat readiness" of the Soviet army groups. A correspondent of the Federal Republic of Germany's Suedwestfunk held that the main purpose of the treaty was to provide the Soviet troops in the G.D.R. with a consolidated foothold.

To lord it over Europe, the Soviet revisionists want to keep Germany perpetually divided. World public opinion has taken notice of the fact that a provision in the old U.S.S.R.-G.D.R. treaty states "the creation of a peace-loving, democratic, united German state can be achieved only through negotiation on an equal footing and agreement between the two sovereign German states." However, the new treaty makes no mention at all of "a united German state." A Western news agency pointed out that this signals that the Kremlin "would act to prevent any moves towards the reunification of East and West Germany." The German people have suffered more than enough from the prolonged division since the war and have therefore cherished the strong desire to realize the reunification of Germany for which they have been fighting together for years. But going against the will of the German people and unscrupulously interfering in their internal affairs, the Brezhnev clique insists on perpetuating the division of Germany in order to further its aggressive and expansionist designs against Western Europe and dominate the whole continent.

The Soviet revisionists badly need to further tighten their control over Eastern Europe so as to strengthen their position in the contention for Europe with the U.S. imperialists. Brezhnev has publicly admitted that "the kernel of the treaty" is to bring the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. closer to each other and demanded that other member states of the "big community" pool their knowledge, experience, material resources and energy in the common interests of the "community," in other words, in the hegemonic interests of the Soviet revisionists. Brezhnev's "theory of limited sovereignty" and "theory of international dictatorship" have been inserted into the new treaty, which is replete with compulsory duties imposed on the G.D.R. by the Soviet revisionists. The G.D.R. is required to accept the idea that "safeguarding the socialist gains" "is the common internationalist duty of the socialist countries" and to agree to "take the necessary measures to safeguard and protect" these "gains." In a statement issued in Cologne on October 9, the Communist Party of Germany noted that every article in the new treaty is

permeated with Soviet aggressiveness and its big-power chauvinist interests.

The stark fact of the Soviet revisionists' stepped-up offensive in Europe has helped the European people to see more clearly social-imperialism's aggressive ambitions. The Communist Party of Germany said in its statement that "like Hitlerite fascism as a motive force in the redivision of the world during World War II, Soviet social-imperialism is the arch enemy of the European countries and peoples today."

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

MOSCOW HAWKING "ALL-EUROPE ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION"

Peking Review, No. 16
April 18, 1975

by Cheng Wei-Min

With its concentration of modern industry, banking and trade, Europe holds an important strategic position. It has always been the key point of their all-out contention in the global strategy of the Soviet Union and the United States for world domination. The rivalry between the two hegemonic powers rages on not only in the political and military but also in the economic fields.

On the one hand, Soviet social-imperialism is spreading smokescreens like "security in Europe" and "disarmament in Central Europe" in an effort to create among the European people a false impression of "detente." On the other, it is intensifying expansion and infiltration in Western Europe under the signboard of "all-Europe economic co-operation," while tightening its control, exploitation and plunder of some East European countries. Taking advantage of the most serious postwar economic crisis in Western capitalist countries, Moscow is all the more energetically hawking its "all-Europe economic co-operation" wares for further economic penetration of Western Europe so as to squeeze out U.S. influence and shake off its own economic difficulties.

So-called "all-Europe economic co-operation" actually is a variant of the "socialist integration" and "economic co-operation" the Soviet revisionists have advocated in the "socialist community" of the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance." The Soviet revisionists' aim not only is to continue their domination over Eastern Europe, but also to undermine the West European Common Market and obstruct the West European countries from achieving union, thereby extending their sphere of influence from Eastern Europe to the whole continent.

Covetous of West European Capital and Technology

In selling "all-Europe economic co-operation" to Western Europe, the

Soviet Union above all has in mind acquisition of West European capital and technology. This is because it is in the grip of a dislocated national economy, capital shortage and technological backwardness in many key production sectors, all resulting from its frantic arms expansion and war preparations and inflated military spending in its contention with the United States for world domination.

The Soviet Union has been begging all over for loans, especially long-term, low-interest loans, in Western Europe. Figures show that from 1964 to April 1974, it borrowed over 8,000 million dollars from the West, mainly from West European countries. According to incomplete figures, in the four months beginning last October, Brezhnev himself borrowed some 5,000 million dollars from France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain.

The Soviet Union is also using West European technology to equip its enterprises through so-called "co-operation in production." For example, it courted West European monopolies' partnership in building big enterprises beyond its own capability, such as the Volga and the Kama auto plants. The "Zhiguly" cars which the Soviet revisionists have paraded as something to be proud of in recent years were turned out with equipment provided by an Italian monopoly, the Fiat Company.

Taking advantage of Western Europe's thirst for energy and other raw materials, the Soviet Union uses oil, natural gas and other resources as bait to attract the former's technology and capital for exploitation of Soviet domestic resources. This has become an important means in its "economic co-operation of mutual benefit" with Western Europe. The Soviet revisionists' aim is to increase their energy supply to Western Europe so as to make it dependent on them economically.

Rivalry for West European Market

While redoubling efforts to get hold of West European capital and technology, the Soviet Union tries to expand commodity exports to Western Europe. This has led to growing Soviet-U.S. rivalry for the market there. As before, U.S. exports to Western Europe still rank first in its total exports. For more than a decade, the Soviet Union has also tried desperately to infiltrate that market and has registered a steady increase in trade with countries in the region. The volume rose more than fivefold from 1,100 million rubles in 1958 to 5,600 million in 1973. Though lagging behind the United States in terms of absolute figure of exports to Western Europe, the Soviet Union has surpassed it in terms of growth rate. From 1965 to 1972, the average annual growth rate of Soviet exports was 9.2 percent as against 6.8 percent for the United States.

The Soviet revisionists have used all possible means to expand their exports to Western Europe. They repeatedly demand that it provide preferential treatment and open the market to Soviet goods. They run "joint companies" in "co-operation" with West European corporations locally or in a third country.

Apart from the "new form" of the aforesaid "economic co-operation,"

they solicit Western Europe for more extensive "scientific and technological co-operation" in the fields of atomic energy, space, oceanography, environment, medicine and computing technology. And they ask West European countries for more patents, advanced technological methods and exchange of technological information.

Setting up a banking network in the financial centres of Western Europe is also an important part of intensified Soviet penetration of the region. In their search for capital, foreign exchange and wider economic penetration in Western Europe, the Soviet Union has opened banks in big cities such as London, Paris, Frankfurt and Zurich.

Obviously, the Soviet Union is stepping up its economic infiltration in Western Europe, the aim being to kill two birds with one stone: it wants to alleviate its economic difficulties and increase its economic power in the scramble for world hegemony by passing the burden of its own crisis on to others; and at the same time it does its best to disintegrate the West European countries' economic alliance, edge out the United States and expand further in Western Europe.

U.S. Retaliatory Measures

However, the Soviet social-imperialists have failed to achieve what they wish. The United States has taken retaliatory measures to deal with the Soviet manoeuvre to undermine its influence in Western Europe. Taking advantage of some East European countries' tendency of drifting away from the Soviet revisionists, it is stepping up its infiltration of Eastern Europe and tries hard to prevent Western Europe from exporting advanced technology to the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the countries there have become increasingly aware of the Soviet plot to sabotage West European union. They are increasingly vigilant against Soviet revisionist economic infiltration and have taken counter-measures against it. Last year, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Italy and other West European countries signed a "gentlemen's agreement" with the United States and Japan on the administration of loans to other countries. Under the agreement, the interest on such loans should not be less than 7.5 percent and it was specially stipulated that an industrial recipient country must repay loans within three years. This naturally is a blow to the Soviet revisionists who crave long-term loans at low interest from the West. Moreover, in view of the serious inflation, the West European countries demand price hikes for machinery and equipment earmarked for the Soviet Union, and put off or freeze granting loans to the Soviet revisionists.

But, despite these setbacks, the Soviet revisionists' established strategic objective—European domination—will not change. The serious political and economic crises gripping the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, determine that their economic, political and military contention for European domination will become more and more intense.

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS COVET SOUTHEAST ASIA

Peking Review, No. 33
August 15, 1975

"Asian Collective Security System" Is a Pretext for Expansion

Moscow has been working overtime to tout its "Asian collective security system" in Southeast Asia. Now that the United States has readjusted its strategy in Asia following its defeat in and withdrawal from Indochina, the Soviet Union is making a fresh attempt to step into the shoes of the United States and establish hegemony in Southeast Asia.

Soviet envoys in Southeast Asian countries have been particularly profuse these days in talking about the benefit of having an "Asian collective security system." No less enthusiastic are Soviet newspapers and Radio Moscow. This so-called "security system," which has long been rejected by the Southeast Asian countries, would, according to Soviet propaganda, turn Southeast Asia into "a region of lasting peace." A TASS commentary on July 21 had the effrontery to describe "the European security conference" as an "example for other parts of the world, including Asia." It made known Moscow's intention to cash in on the Helsinki conference to peddle so-called "collective security on the Asian continent." Particularly noteworthy is the fact that Moscow has linked the "Asian collective security system" with the proposal for the neutralization of Southeast Asia put forward by the five member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (A.S.E.A.N.). The attempt is to confuse fish eyes with pearls. The commentary alleged that the two "have many points in common with regard to the objective of safeguarding the security of Asia" and are even "consonant with" each other. After the Indochina war, it asserted, acceptance of the "Asian collective security system" is "particularly realistic" and "urgent."

What "common points" and "consonance" are there between the Soviet "Asian collective security system" and the proposal for the neutralization of Southeast Asia? A cursory comparison and analysis of the two will show up Moscow's sinister designs on Southeast Asia.

As is well known, the proposal for the neutralization of Southeast Asia

was formally tabled at the A.S.E.A.N. Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Kuala Lumpur in 1971. The Kuala Lumpur Declaration signed then by the Foreign Ministers of Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia clearly states that the five countries are determined to make Southeast Asia "a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside powers." This has been reaffirmed time and again by leaders of the five countries who went on record to make the whole of Southeast Asia "a region free from the contention and conflicts of all big powers," to put "an end to foreign interference in our internal affairs" and to "establish regional co-operation and build a new Southeast Asia free from foreign domination and influence." Over the years the five A.S.E.A.N. countries, intent on speeding up the neutralization of Southeast Asia, have forged closer relations among themselves, strengthened their economic co-operation, actively developed relations of friendship and co-operation with other third world countries. Together with them, they pressed forward their just struggle to oppose superpower hegemonism and power politics and safeguard their national independence, sovereignty and economic rights and interests. This shows that the proposal for a zone of neutrality in Southeast Asia reflects the desire of countries and people in the region to rid themselves of superpower interference and control and thus has won the sympathy and support of many third world countries.

The "Asian collective security system" dished up by the Soviet social-imperialists under the signboard of "peace" and "security" is designed to serve nothing but the Kremlin's policies of aggression and expansion. It is contrived for the purpose of contending with the United States for hegemony in Asia, dividing the Asian countries, and bringing small and medium-sized Asian countries into their sphere of influence. Lenin said: **"We judge a person not by what he says or thinks of himself but by his actions."** (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.*) Now let us see some of these Soviet actions, see how the Soviet Union has threatened and undermined the independence and sovereignty of countries in Southeast Asia.

For years the Soviet social-imperialists have been scheming to secure military bases in Southeast Asia. Motivated by their quest for sea supremacy, they have sent large numbers of warships to sail between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean in a show of force which threatens the peace and security of the Southeast Asian countries. Back in 1969, Malaysia and Indonesia declared a 12-nautical-mile territorial water limit to ensure their sovereignty over the Strait of Malacca. In 1971, the Governments of Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore together issued a statement declaring joint control of the Malacca and Singapore Straits. However, ignoring the strait countries' sovereignty, the Soviet Union obstinately insisted on the right of "free passage" for its warships through the Strait of Malacca. And on many occasions Soviet vessels did sail through the Strait of Malacca without prior permission, thus turning the territorial waters of the strait countries into the high seas. This lays bare Moscow's hegemonic stand toward these countries.

To achieve its objective of expansion and penetration, the Soviet Union has been stepping up its espionage activities in the Southeast Asian countries too. Here it collected political, economic and military information, groomed pro-Soviet forces and interfered in the internal affairs of these countries. Official Thai sources disclosed that the number of Soviet spies in Thailand has more than trebled since the U.S. defeat in Indochina. Soviet spy ships in various guise make a point of intruding into the territorial waters of Southeast Asian countries to gather intelligence. In the first half of this year alone, there were three illegal Soviet intrusions into Indonesian territorial waters. The military commander of the Nusatenggara Region was compelled to bar all Soviet crews from going ashore and to take measures against their illegal activities.

Moscow has all along tried to sabotage the proposal for the neutralization of Southeast Asia. In 1971, shortly after it was signed by the five A.S.E.A.N. Foreign Ministers, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration was slandered and attacked by the Soviet Union which asserted that the proposal "provides no answer to the problem of security of that continent," and that turning this area into a zone of peace and neutrality "cannot be implemented without a reliable system of guarantees." *The China Press*, a Malaysian paper, pointed out penetratingly that the Soviet Union's derisive interpretation of the proposal as "a battle on paper" "shows that in the mind of the Soviet Union, there is no place for any proposal from other nations or groups of nations except 'Brezhnevism.' "

But now Moscow has changed its tune, chanting that the neutralization proposal is "consonant" with its "Asian collective security system." This is really ridiculous.

The proposal for the neutralization of Southeast Asia and the "Asian collective security system" are two diametrically opposed ideas. There are no "common points" or "consonance" between them. The Soviet Union's design is, in its own words, to have the neutralization proposal "included in the framework of the idea of an Asian collective security system." In fact, it is trying to bring Southeast Asian countries into the orbit of the Soviet "Asian collective security system."

Today, the growing awakening of the Southeast Asian peoples has enabled them to see more clearly than ever that the bitter rivalry between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, especially the intensifying Soviet expansion and penetration in Southeast Asia, is the source of turbulence in the region. In a recent issue the Thai weekly *Mahanakon* wrote editorially: "The fact that Thailand demands a U.S. pull-out does not mean that she will open her door to the Soviet security system." The Brezhnev clique "has really underrated the wisdom of the Asian people when it tried to use its 'Asian collective security system' as bait to lure Asian countries into the Soviet trap." A Philippine paper, *The Orient News*, said: "The Kremlin's sinister designs cannot be covered up for good. Public opinion in Asia has seen through ever more clearly the essence of the 'Asian collective security system.' "

A Malaysian paper, *Kuang Hua Yit Pao*, said editorially that the Soviet Union's real aim in trying to set up an "Asian collective security system" is "to achieve its design of contending with the other superpower for hegemony in Asia."

Countries in Southeast Asia have long discerned Soviet social-imperialism's machinations to supplant U.S. imperialism and establish hegemony in Southeast Asia. They are keeping their vigilance sharp. They are determined to prevent a situation in which the tiger is let in through the back door while the wolf is repulsed at the front gate.

(*A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent*)

THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONY IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

Peking Review, No. 39
September 26, 1975

The third world countries have set off mounting struggles in the international economic sphere and won important victories since the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on the questions of raw materials and development (April-May, 1974). Many have taken bold steps to this end—tightened control and supervision of transnational companies and step-by-step nationalization of foreign monopoly enterprises which had a stranglehold on their economic lifeline. Oil-exporting countries have stood up to superpower intimidation and defended and enhanced the fruitful results of their joint struggle. And they have carried on this struggle in co-ordination with other developing countries, supporting each other in the course of action.

In the wake of the oil struggle, a number of new raw material producers' associations have come into being and grown in strength. Economic co-operation among developing countries has been proceeding on a wide scale. From their own experience, many have gained a deeper understanding of the fact that independence and self-reliance is the fundamental principle for developing their national economies and getting rid of poverty and backwardness.

The following articles cover some aspects of the exploitation of the third world countries by the two superpowers and the former's struggle in the international economic sphere.

Biggest Exploiters in International Trade

The two superpowers have become more and more relentless in exploiting and plundering the third world. They have intensified their rivalry for sources of raw materials, overseas markets and spheres of influence and their moves to shift the burden of their crisis on to others at a time when the capitalist world is in the throes of its most severe postwar economic crisis.

Price Differentials Between Raw Materials and Manufactured Goods

One of the usual practices of imperialism, especially the superpowers, in trade is to mercilessly exploit the third world countries by exchange of unequal values through buying cheap and selling dear. This practice has become increasingly sharp in recent years. According to statistics of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, prices (in terms of U.S. dollars) of primary products exported by developing countries (not including fuel) went down 56 percent in April this year as compared with the same period last year. Copper price on the London international market dropped from 1,268 pounds to 561 pounds per metric ton. The price of Philippine copra was down to 287 U.S. dollars per metric ton from 700 dollars. West Africa's palm oil fell from 1,455 U.S. dollars to 444 dollars per metric ton. Prices of other major commodities, such as palm core, natural rubber, cotton, wool, cocoa, coffee, sugar and coconut oil, all dropped drastically.

On the other hand, prices of manufactured goods, though very high already, keep rising. The U.N. *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* shows that the price index (taking 1950 as 100) of industrial goods exported by developed countries to developing countries shot up to 193 in 1973 and to 230 in 1974. Such a big margin of increase topped that of the previous few years. It is noteworthy that prices of goods, large quantities of which are needed by the third world countries, went up even more sharply. According to newspapers in Southeast Asian countries, prices of chemical fertilizers that they imported from developed countries rose over 100 percent in June 1974 against the same period of the previous year, steel, 65 percent, metal ware, 51 percent and machinery, 33 percent. *International Financial Statistics* of the International Monetary Fund shows that in 1974 the developing countries paid 23,000 million U.S. dollars more for imports from developed countries as a result of price hikes.

The two superpowers are the biggest exploiters in this regard. Statistics indicate that in the last few years the United States through exchange of unequal values has grabbed an average of 2,000 million U.S. dollars in profits from developing countries annually. By taking advantage of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, the Soviet Union has been wildly robbing the developing countries. The chart on this page clearly shows this.

Apart from this, the profit it reaped by reselling at higher prices the Arab oil obtained in exchange for arms, reached the rate of 300 percent.

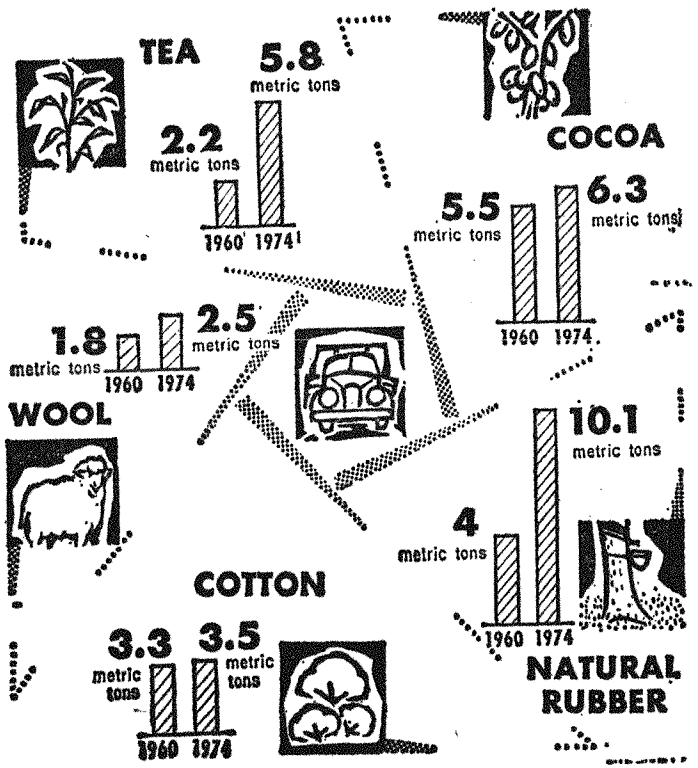
Dumping Commodities

Dumping commodities by boosting exports and restricting imports is another way the superpowers exploit the third world countries. According to *International Financial Statistics,* U.S. exports to these countries came to 31,700 million dollars in 1974, or 57 percent more than in 1973. Statistics released recently by the U.S. Department of Commerce show that the

favourable balance of trade with developing countries in Asia and Latin America reached 3,200 million U.S. dollars in the first half of 1975, five times the 600 million dollars in the same period of 1974. As a result of the 1974 Trade Act, the United States withholds preferential tariff treatment from the OPEC member states, members of the associations of raw material producers, and countries that have nationalized properties of U.S. enterprises which had a grip on their national economies. On its part, the Soviet Union has taken every opportunity to dump manufactured goods on third world markets. According to the Soviet *Economic Gazette,* Soviet exports to developing countries in 1974 were valued at 4,620 million U.S. dollars, some 630 million more than in 1973. As a result, the Soviet Union had a 1974 favourable balance of 1,360 million dollars.

SOVIET REVISIONIST EXPLOITATION AND PLUNDER OF THE THIRD WORLD

—Primary products which can be exchanged for a Soviet truck



Exports from the developing countries, however, present an entirely different picture. According to *International Financial Statistics,* third world countries' exports in the world's total for 1974 did not reach the 1950 level, even with the greatly increased exports of the OPEC members included. If the few petroleum exporting countries were excluded, third world countries' exports would account for a mere 12.4 percent of the world's total. At the same time, these countries' imports in 1974 increased by 79 percent over 1973.

To obtain cheap labour and plunder the natural resources, the superpowers have stepped up the pace of their capital exports to the third world in recent years. This in turn has stimulated their commodity exports. Transnational companies set up by the United States in third world countries control production and sales of many raw materials to ensure markets and superprofits for the holding companies. These companies control nearly 30 percent of the exports of developing countries the world over.

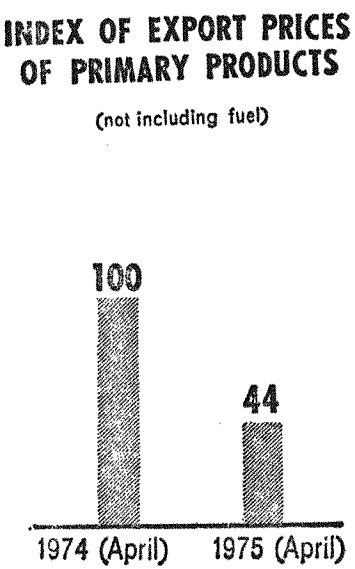
The Soviet Union does not allow itself to be outdone in this aspect. While greatly increasing capital exports to Asia, Africa and Latin America by means of loans, "assistance" and "co-operation," it treads in the steps of Western transnationals by setting up "joint enterprises" or "companies" and extending their tentacles into mining, processing, transport, trade and other important sectors of the developing countries. It is also plundering these countries by selling outmoded machinery and equipment and other manufactured goods at high prices and buying agricultural and mineral products cheaply.

Arms Dealers

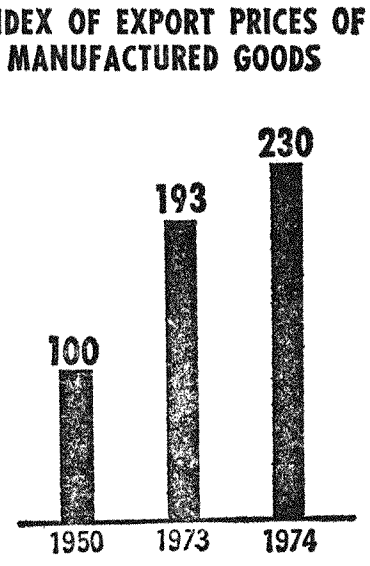
What merits special attention is that since the outbreak of the current economic crisis in the capitalist world the superpowers have been going in for arms deals in a big way, turning the third world into their principal munitions market. According to a UPI report, the United States exported 8,300 million dollars worth of munitions in fiscal 1974, more than doubling the 3,900 million dollars in 1973. Of this, some 7,000 million dollars worth of munitions went to the Middle East.

The Soviet Union is not reconciled to falling behind. According to the Japanese weekly *Toyo Keizai,* Soviet munitions exports totalled 5,500 million U.S. dollars in 1974, more than double the figure of 2,500 million dollars in 1973. The U.S. magazine *Time* reported that 45 percent of the 1974 Soviet munitions exports were sold to Middle East countries.

The two superpowers have made enormous profits from munitions sales. The *Toyo Keizai* reported that the export price of the U.S. F-14 plane more than doubled in 1974, the year which saw a drastic drop in prices of primary products on the world market. The Soviet Union, on its part, is selling out-of-date weapons to developing countries at high prices. According to an August 16 report in *Oman,* a paper in the Sultanate of Oman, Ahmed al Ghasmi, Vice Commander-in-Chief and concurrently Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Yemen Arab Republic, said the arms his country



—The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development



—The U.N. *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*

obtained from the Soviet Union "are outmoded leftovers from World War II, some are mere trash from World War I. They should be sent to the military museum."

The Significant Oil Struggle

The third world oil-producing countries have persevered in united struggle since the 6th Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly last year. They have made common cause with other raw material producing countries. This has resulted in new victories in the struggle against hegemonism.

The oil struggle in the last year or so has been revolving mainly around the price question. With the aggravation of the capitalist world's economic crisis and the decline in oil sales on the world market, the United States seized the opportunity to make a big noise about "overproduction of oil," in an attempt to force the producing countries to lower prices. The Soviet Union time and again has advocated that prices should be "beneficial to all countries" and accused the producing countries of "unilaterally raising the oil price." Maintaining equitable oil prices thus has become the focus of the third world oil-producing countries' struggle against hegemonism.

Because of the grave economic crisis in the major capitalist countries, oil consumption last year in the United States, Western Europe and Japan

dropped 5 percent by a total of 80 million to 100 million tons. The United States thus put economic and even military pressure on the producing countries to cut the price. The latter, however, refused to be cowed. Instead, they cut production to maintain the price. Since the beginning of this year, the U.S.-controlled "International Energy Agency" has threatened to cut oil imports by 100 million tons this year, that is, 2 million barrels a day. OPEC member states responded by reducing production—by over 10 percent in the first quarter of the year, or about 4 million barrels a day—thereby thwarting the superpowers' schemes. Owing to the struggle of the producing countries, the posted price of crude oil has been frozen at 11.651 U.S. dollars (nearly four times that before the 1973 October War in the Middle East) per barrel since January last year. Meanwhile, they have raised the rate of taxation. Rent for oilfields of foreign companies has increased to 20 percent from 12.5 percent in a year and the oil tax to 85 percent from 55 percent so as to limit the profits of foreign capital and guarantee an increased real revenue of the oil-producing countries.

Inflation and the dollar devaluation in the capitalist world, however, has caused prices of manufactured goods imported by the third world oil-producing countries to skyrocket (the average increase was 26 percent in 1974 alone) while the real purchasing power of oil earnings has declined by a big margin. To safeguard the purchasing power, it was decided at the OPEC ministerial conference in Gabon last June that oil prices would be readjusted from October 1 and the oil trade would be carried on in terms of the International Monetary Fund's Special Drawing Rights instead of the devaluated U.S. dollar.

Stepping Up Nationalization

Meanwhile, to safeguard state sovereignty, the third world producing countries over the last year and more have stepped up nationalization and tightened their control of foreign oil companies' shares. In 1974, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates controlled 60 percent of these companies' shares, eight years in advance of the agreements signed with Western oil companies at the end of 1972. Furthermore, Kuwait and Dubai in the United Arab Emirates took over 100 percent of the shares of foreign companies last January. On the basis of the nationalization of a major part of their oil industry, Iraq and Libya and other countries nationalized some more foreign-owned companies or took over more foreign shares. Nigeria holds 55 percent of the shares in foreign oil companies. Venezuela will nationalize the entire oil industry from January 1 next year.

The producing countries now own a major part of the crude oil turned out in their countries. One-fifth (approximately 300 million tons) of their total output can be sold freely on the international market without having to resell it to foreign companies. Moreover, step by step they have taken control of prospecting, exploiting, processing, storage, transport, sales and use of oil.

These tremendous changes marked the collapse of the oil concessions imposed on the producing countries by the imperialists in past decades and the important move to deepen the oil struggle.

As a result of the price rises, the third world oil-producing countries have greatly increased their income. In 1974, the oil revenue of the 13 OPEC members totalled more than 100,000 million dollars, more than four times the figure for 1973. "Petrodollars" have strengthened the third world's economic power against hegemonism. They not only help the oil-producing countries develop their national economies and strengthen their national defense, but facilitate their efforts to support other developing countries and promote economic co-operation. The OPEC in 1974 granted to other developing countries 17,000 million dollars in aid. Of this, 3,870 million dollars have been allocated. This has dealt a heavy blow to the two hegemonic powers in their schemes to sow discord in the third world.

Oil Struggle Sets Example

The oil struggle gives a new impetus to the third world's struggle in the economic sphere. From the victories in this struggle, the third world countries see the light of their hopes. At the conference of developing countries on raw materials in Dakar last February attended by delegates of more than 80 countries a resolution was adopted in support of the oil struggle, and it was declared that the oil struggle would be integrated with the struggle in connection with other raw materials. In the past year or so, a number of new organizations of raw material-producing countries have been set up in the third world. Organizations for regional co-operation are also growing. These struggles have merged into a powerful current changing the old international economic order and battering at the biggest raw material plunderers in the world, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The third world oil-producing countries are in favour of the policy of "dialogue" adopted by certain major oil consuming countries in the second world. Brushing aside the superpowers, some West European countries are developing their economic and trade relations with oil-producing countries. They have advanced from concluding barter agreements to exchange arms, machinery and other equipment for oil to establishing long-term co-operation with the oil-producing countries in the economic, trade and technical fields. A number of East European countries which have depended on the Soviet Union for oil supplies have, one after another, made direct deals with the producing countries, a trend that is worrying the Soviet Union.

NEW TSARS STEP UP CULTURAL AGGRESSION AGAINST MONGOLIA

Peking Review, No. 10
March 5, 1976

Simultaneous with their political control, economic plunder and military occupation of the People's Republic of Mongolia, the new tsars are stepping up their cultural aggression through various channels.

Russian—A Compulsory Subject

An important policy followed by the old tsars was to replace gradually the languages of subjugated nations with Russian. The tsarist rulers declared: "So long as a nation still keeps its belief, language, customs and laws, it cannot be regarded as subjugated." Today, the new tsars are obviously pursuing the same policy in Mongolia. For years, they have been forcing the Mongolian authorities to popularize the use of Russian in educational departments and make it a compulsory subject in schools. The present educational programme in Mongolia, drawn up under the new tsars' manipulation, stipulates that Russian is to be taught from the 4th to 10th grade in ordinary schools, with a total of about 900 hours. Students study Russian for two to three years in secondary technical schools and three to four years in institutes of higher learning. Part of the curricula in the Mongolian State University and the greater part in its polytechnical college and agriculture and animal husbandry college and the entire curricula in its medical college are taught in Russian. In these colleges, both Soviet and Mongolian teachers give lessons in Russian. Most of the textbooks and reference books in Mongolian institutes of higher learning are textbooks published in the Soviet Union and other Russian books. A dispatch by a TASS correspondent in Mongolia said that in the future all Mongolian schools and establishments of national education will "greatly increase their teaching programmes of Russian." To meet the needs of extending the compulsory use of Russian in Mongolia on a large scale, the

Soviet revisionists, apart from training Mongolian teachers of the Russian language in Soviet colleges and universities, also ran ten-month courses of advanced Russian in Mongolia.

Pushing an Education of Imperialist Enslavement

To achieve their aim of making the Mongolian people docile slaves, the new tsars have intensified poisoning the minds of the younger generation in Mongolia. They push with redoubled efforts social-imperialist education of enslavement and revisionist education in Mongolia. The teaching system and teaching programmes, materials and methods in Mongolian schools from primary schools to universities are almost entirely the same as in the Soviet Union. Some curricula spread revisionist fallacies, others advertise social-imperialist material civilization, and still others prettify the old tsars' aggression and expansion and praise their "concern" for and "friendship" with the Mongolian people. Not content with all this, the new tsars send their own men to hold leading posts in Mongolian schools. Today, Mongolian schools of ten grades and above generally have Soviet "advisers." Soviet teachers or "experts" not only teach but are in charge of research sections or appointed deans or even rectors in Mongolian schools, taking a direct part in school administration.

In recent years, the Soviet revisionists have tightened their control of Mongolian educational departments by maintaining so-called direct "co-operation" and "links" with them. An agreement on "direct co-operation" signed in September 1973 between the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education and the Mongolian State Committee of Higher and Secondary Special Technical Education calls for "further expanding co-operation between the institutes of higher learning of the two countries."

In addition, the Soviet revisionists make the Mongolian authorities send large numbers of students every year to the Soviet Union for "further studies," that is, to be indoctrinated with Soviet revisionist ideology. Upon returning home, many of these students are assigned to leading posts at all levels. They are in fact tools of the Soviet revisionists in controlling Mongolia.

Ideological Control

Exporting books and journals is another important method used by the Soviet revisionists to exercise ideological control over the Mongolian people. In recent years, Soviet books have poured into Mongolia in large numbers. Nearly half of the books in many Mongolian bookshops are imported from the Soviet Union. In 1973 there were over 1,000 kinds of Soviet newspapers and periodicals in Mongolia with more than 260,000 copies for each issue, or an average of one Soviet journal for every five Mongolians.

The export of Soviet films is another means stressed by the Soviet revisionists in trying to poison the minds of the Mongolian people. For many years now, Mongolia's cinema industry has been monopolized by the Soviet revisionists. Soviet and Soviet-Mongolian films glut the country, propagating great Russianism, capitulationism, class reconciliation, renegade philosophy and the decadent idea that love is above everything else. Especially in recent years, the Soviet Union has exported to Mongolia films with militarist themes in an effort to inculcate militarist ideas in the Mongolian people, spruce up the new tsars' reactionary features of aggression and expansion abroad and make the Mongolian people serve as cannon-fodder for the Russia of the new tsars.

Soviet films also hold a dominant position in television. According to incomplete figures, two-thirds of the feature films shown on television in Mongolia in 1973 were Soviet films.

Under the signboard of "friendship" and "co-operation," the Soviet revisionists send artists to visit Mongolia every year. There were 30 such visits in the past five years alone. Many of the programmes which spread decadent ideas, were reactionary in content and vulgar in taste. The new tsars' cultural aggression and enslaving education have met with resistance from the broad masses of the Mongolian people, including intellectuals and young students, who uphold national culture. The colonialist undertaking of the new tsars will, in the end, only increasingly arouse the awakening and discontent of the Mongolian people.

LATIN AMERICAN OPINION CENSURES SOVIET HEGEMONISM

Peking Review, No. 7
February 14, 1975

More and more clearly, Latin American countries and people have seen through the ugly features of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and they have risen to expose and oppose its hegemonic acts. This is a significant development in their current struggle against hegemonism.

Soviet revisionist and U.S. imperialist contention has become daily fiercer in recent years. Taking advantage of U.S. imperialism's declining position as an overlord in Latin America, Soviet revisionism has been stepping up its penetration and expansion on that continent. It has talked glibly about "detente" and "disarmament" and flaunted the banner of "supporting" and "assisting" the third world countries in a vain attempt to deceive the people of various countries and cover up its wildly ambitious aim of pushing hegemonism. Its manoeuvres in Latin America and elsewhere, however, have further awakened Latin American countries and people and they have escalated their struggle against hegemonism into fighting not only U.S. imperialism but Soviet social-imperialism as well.

Source of Insecurity

Not to be misled by the Soviet revisionists' deceitful "detente" and "disarmament" propaganda, Latin American countries and people have realized that it is precisely this superpower which talks a blue streak about "peace" that has up to now refused to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and has repeatedly sent strategic reconnaissance planes, guided missile cruisers and nuclear submarines to the Western Hemisphere to menace the peace and security of Latin American countries. Since the beginning of 1974, public opinion in many Latin American countries has scathingly exposed and repudiated the Soviet revisionists' frantic preaching of "international detente" and "balanced disarmament."

The Mexican paper *El Nacional* pointed out editorially that in the past six

years the United States and the Soviet Union have been waxing eloquent about peace, coexistence and co-operation, promising to reduce their nuclear arsenals, but during the said period they have stepped up nuclear tests and increased their military budgets by a big margin. "It is these two superpowers that are the source of insecurity in the world," the paper added. The Argentine paper *Mayoria* noted that the so-called "detente" played up by Soviet revisionism and the other superpower was only a "false illusion," adding that the "arms drive of the superpowers has never been carried out in the past, even during the most difficult times of the cold war, with such vigour and dimension as today." *Panorama,* an Argentine weekly, carried a series of articles to show that the Soviet Union and the United States paid lip-service to "detente" and "peaceful co-existence" merely "to cloak their intrinsically aggressive diplomacy." Condemning Soviet revisionism for interfering in the affairs in Cyprus, the Brazilian paper *O Estado de Sao Paulo* said that at the present time, "any important problem in world politics can be transformed into a weapon in the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States."

At the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, representatives from Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil and other Latin American countries repeatedly exposed the practice of the Soviet Union and the other superpower which use sham disarmament to cover up actual arms expansion and false detente to hide real tension. Ecuador's representative noted that the propaganda about "detente" is in a way like an anaesthetic, making people forget the presence of potential hotbeds of conflict in the Middle East, the Gulf Area and other regions. The Venezuelan representative said: Achieving disarmament is a complete illusion so far. Representatives of Mexico and other countries demanded that the Soviet Union and the United States end without procrastination all nuclear tests and discontinue their armament race. The Latin American countries also demanded that the Soviet Union sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Their solemn stand won warm support from the majority of member states. A related resolution was adopted by the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly. Sticking to its social-imperialist stand, however, Soviet revisionism refused to sign the protocol, thus arousing great indignation and dissatisfaction on the part of many Latin American countries.

Using "Aid" as a Cover

Latin American countries and people have also become increasingly aware that trade and "aid" are two important means customarily used by the Soviet revisionists in carrying out their activities of infiltration, expansion and plunder in Latin America and in other third world countries. It is this superpower that often sells its outmoded equipment to developing countries at high prices while reselling at a huge profit the strategic raw materials and certain traditional export goods it has bought from these countries below world market prices. The "joint ventures" established by the Soviet

revisionists in some Latin American countries are nothing but "trans-national companies" with a new label. Their joint investments with Western monopoly groups in Latin American countries are precisely capital exports by social-imperialism. They have also extended the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—their tool for controlling and plundering small countries—to Latin America under the signboard of the "international division of labour." These neo-colonialist practices, however, are being seen through by Latin American countries and people. The Argentine paper *No Transar* pointed out that the "internationalist assistance" offered by the Soviet leading group "is nothing but a dirty trick" and that it follows the same track as the "Alliance for Progress" of U.S. imperialism. The Mexican paper *El Universal* said that the two superpowers have never ceased to "exploit the weak nations within their spheres of influence through the practice of buying cheap and selling dear." An article in the Guyana journal *New Nation* condemned the Soviet revisionists for its large-scale munitions trade during the Middle East October War and raking in a fortune by buying cheap petroleum from Arab countries and selling it to European countries at high prices. An article in a recent issue of the Brazilian journal *A Classe Operaria* pointed out that Soviet revisionism "disguises itself as a friend of the Arabs," but in reality its objective, like that of the other superpower, is "to put this region (the Middle East) under its control in an attempt to plunder its resources and benefit from the strategic advantages it provides."

The Trick That Fails

Latin American countries and people are the initiators of the current vigorous and concerted worldwide struggle to defend the 200-mile maritime rights. They have seen more and more clearly the true colours of the Soviet revisionists through their repeated tests of strength with the superpowers which persist in maritime hegemonism. With the convening of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea last year, Latin American countries started a new wave of struggles against the maritime hegemonism of the two superpowers and in defence of their state sovereignty and maritime resources. Latin American journals carried editorials, commentaries and articles exposing and repudiating the Soviet revisionists' wild bid for maritime hegemony. They bluntly pointed out that the Soviet revisionists, who style theirs a "socialist" country and "friend" of the third world, are in fact, like the other superpower, following an "imperialist maritime policy" and are opposed to the maritime rights of the third world countries. The Panamanian paper *Critica* said: "The two superpowers, Russia and the United States of America, are the leaders of the fierce opposition to the rights of the weak nations." At the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, the representatives of Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Guyana, Jamaica, Brazil and other Latin American countries, in close unity with representatives from other third world countries, upheld the stand of safeguarding the maritime rights and

resources of the developing countries, and exposed and opposed all sorts of manifestations of Soviet revisionism's maritime hegemony. The representative of the Soviet revisionists resorted to various tricks and even professed to "agree" to the 200-mile economic zone idea just to try to lure the Latin American and other third world countries into accepting their acts of maritime hegemony. But their trick failed. As soon as this despicable plot was dished up, it was exposed and repudiated by the representatives of the developing countries in Latin America and other regions.

As the struggles against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism mount daily, leaders of many Latin American countries have called upon the states on the continent to maintain vigilance and fight against the two superpowers' aggression, interference and plunder. Mexican President Luis Echeverria stressed that Latin American countries should not substitute one dependence for another in the circumstances in which the big interests contend for world hegemony. Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado said: "We reject all attempts and ideas of hegemonism and all forms of foreign domination—political, economic, cultural and ideological—regardless of the place of origin." Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham reiterated his opposition to colonialism in all its manifestations. Referring to the negotiations and consultations between the two superpowers, he said: "We should guard against being led astray."

SOVIET BETRAYAL OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

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The Soviet revisionists have for years resorted to counter-revolutionary dual tactics in regard to the Palestine question, alternating abuses of the fighting Palestinian people at one time with ingratiating smiles at another, giving them the brush-off at one time and pledging "positive support" at another. Despite their constant change of face they have not departed from their real stand, which is to betray the fundamental interests of the Palestinian people and advance the Soviet social-imperialist interests of aggression and expansion in the Middle East and contention for hegemony with the U.S. imperialists.

Attitude Towards Armed Struggle

To support or oppose the Palestinian people's armed struggle is a touchstone by which to judge the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Palestinian revolution.

The launching of the armed struggle against the Israeli aggressors by the Palestinian people in 1965 ushered in a new stage in their just struggle to restore their national rights. This gladdened the revolutionary people the world over who gave them their warm support. But the Soviet Union looked with indifference at this great development in the history of the Palestinian people's struggle as if the Palestinian revolution had never taken place at all.

After 1967, the Palestinian commandos advanced triumphantly along the road of armed struggle. This constituted a stern challenge to the attempt of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to keep the Middle East in a state of "no war, no peace." Infuriated by the humiliation it had suffered, the Soviet Union tried to suppress the Palestinian revolution and poured out a barrage of invective against it. A review of Soviet press comments then shows that the armed struggle of the Palestinian people was cursed with the greatest ferocity and in the most abusive language. They vilified the Palestinian fighters as "extremists" and their armed struggle

"extremist action," "blunders," "unrealistic," "irresponsible adventurism," and calumniated the Fateh as adopting a "Trotskyite approach," etc. Indeed, they nursed an inveterate hatred for the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and wanted to crush it.

However, the Soviet invectives failed to frustrate the Palestinian people's struggle which went from one victory to another. The Palestinian people won a say for themselves with their guns and blood. At that time, the Soviet revisionists suffered a setback in their infiltration and expansion in Egypt and the true features of the new tsars were increasingly exposed before the Arab people. Under such circumstances, the Soviet revisionists suddenly made a complete about-face in their attitude towards the Palestinian revolution. They boasted endlessly that the Soviet Union is "the most reliable natural ally" of the Palestinian and Arab people and with an ulterior motive sent arms to the Palestinian commandos.

One aim of this Soviet move was to deceive Arab and world public opinion. The other aim to which the Kremlin attached greater importance was to cash in on the excellent situation brought about by the heroic sons and daughters of the Palestinian people at the cost of their blood and lives. It was in Moscow's books to divert the struggle of the Palestinian people into its own orbit and use it as a pawn in its contest for hegemony in the Middle East with the United States. In an article published in July 1974, the editor-in-chief of the Soviet paper *Isvestia* Leo Tolkunov bluntly advocated that the Palestinian movement should have a "tactical aim." He said: "In the present phase, the Palestinian movement, apart from having a strategical aim, must also have a definitely formulated tactical aim; that is to say, to have a programme linking with the international efforts to seek a just solution for the Near Eastern conflict." In other words, the Soviet revisionists want the Palestinian revolution to be "linked with" their "political solution" of the Middle East issue. This is clearly asking the Palestinian people to give up the armed struggle and act according to the Soviet revisionist tactics of "no war, no peace" so as to meet the needs of Soviet contention for hegemony in the Middle East with U.S. imperialism.

Attitude Towards National Rights

The attitude towards the national rights of the Palestinian people is another touchstone by which to judge how the Soviet revisionists see the Palestinian revolution.

For years and especially since 1967, the Soviet authorities and press have clung to Resolution 242 adopted by the U.N. Security Council on November 22, 1967, and clamoured that the Middle East issue should be solved on the basis of the resolution which calls the Palestine question a "refugee" question.

It is known to all that Resolution 242 does not denounce the Israeli aggressors, nor does it refer to the Palestinian people's national rights. The resolution describes the Palestine question as a "refugee" question, which is

very unjust to the Palestinian people and other Arab people. The Soviet revisionists' attitude towards the resolution has made it crystal clear that they have totally ignored the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab people. N. V. Podgorny said explicitly, "As regards the Middle East question, I would not like to argue which one is the aggressor, that is not the substance of the matter." Therefore, the Soviet proposal for solving the Middle East question on the basis of Resolution 242 is nothing but a trick to deceive the entire Arab people, because it sacrifices the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Precisely, these rights are the crux of the Middle East question. Without a settlement of this matter, the Middle East question can never be solved.

Attitude Towards Palestine Liberation Organization

The attitude towards the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—to recognize it or not as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—is also a touchstone to test whether the Soviet Union gives genuine or sham support to the Palestinian revolution.

Various Arab countries have long recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Many other third world countries have also confirmed this position of the PLO, which has set up representative offices in the capitals of these countries. Since 1973 quite a number of second world countries have begun to develop their relations with the PLO. The United Nations also decided to let the PLO set up an observer's office, asked its representatives to take part in discussions on the Middle East question and honoured the PLO chairman as head of state or government at the U.N. Headquarters.

But the Soviet social-imperialists spared no effort to belittle the political position of the PLO and refused to recognize it as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat has paid several visits to the Soviet Union, but each time the invitation came from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Soviet top leaders steered clear of him. In the past, the Soviet Union all along refused to permit the PLO to set up a representative organ in Moscow. It was not until 1974 that it reluctantly allowed the PLO to establish an office within the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the office was actually set up as late as last June. Since the Soviet revisionists have gone so far as to place obstacles and procrastinate on such a problem, how are they qualified to talk profusely about so-called "support" for the Palestinian revolution?

The variations of the Soviet revisionists' counter-revolutionary tactics in dealing with the Palestinian people's armed struggle completely serve their counter-revolutionary general aims. With the intensification of the Soviet-U.S. rivalry for hegemony and the development of the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people and the raising of their consciousness, more and more people have come to see the Soviet revisionists for what they are.

Nevertheless, they will never call a halt to their schemes but will surely harp on the same old tunes and put on a show as if they would support the Palestinian people in real earnest.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

LOOK AT ITS PAST, AND YOU CAN TELL ITS PRESENT

Peking Review, No. 51
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Soviet social-imperialism's outrageous intervention in Angola by provoking and expanding the civil war in that country is known to all and is something the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cannot deny.

For some differences to exist among the three Angolan liberation organizations was normal and they could have been settled through consultations without outside interference. In fact, as early as last January, all three jointly arrived at the Alvor agreement with the Portuguese Government and then jointly formed the transitional government in preparation for the country's independence. In mid-June, they signed the Nakuru agreement to cease armed conflict and jointly greet national independence. National unity of the three organizations was in sight. But the treacherous new tsars by supporting one and attacking the other two have single-handedly provoked a civil war in Angola and poured oil on the flames of war.

While inciting civil war in Angola, the new tsars cranked up their entire propaganda machine to confuse world public opinion by ranting that they "support the liberation struggle of Angola" and are "performing their internationalist obligation."

Are the new tsars "performing their internationalist obligation" or carrying out imperialist expansion?

In analysing the reactionary nature of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: **"Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future."**

Opposing National-Liberation Wars

Look at the history of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique and its approach to just national-liberation wars, and you can tell its ulterior motives regarding Angola today.

The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique invented the theory that "any small

'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" which might even "destroy Noah's ark—the globe." Therefore, to "safeguard world peace" and protect "Noah's ark—the globe," they have all along opposed just national-liberation wars.

The Algerian national-liberation war in the late 50s and early 60s won the sympathy and support of the people throughout the world. But Khrushchov and his like, basing themselves on the theory that any small war might spark a big one, described the Algerian people's just national-liberation war as "an internal affair of France" and never gave it any support.

Early in the 70s after the U.S. imperialists had instigated the traitorous Lon Nol clique to set off a coup d'etat and then invaded Cambodia, the Cambodian people waged a vigorous patriotic national-liberation war against imperialism. Calling it "fratricidal" fighting, the new tsars aided and abetted the Lon Nol clique instead of supporting the Cambodian people's just war. They colluded with the clique so as to sabotage the Cambodian people's liberation war.

The new tsars are guided by the same absurd theory with respect to the just war of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggressors. They oppose any attacks by the Arab countries on the aggressors. If the Arab countries refuse to obey their orders, the new tsars rush to put out the fire with no scruples as to the means they use.

The Middle East war of October 1973 was a case in point. The Soviet ambassador to Egypt even lied to President Sadat, saying that Syria demanded a "ceasefire." Then the Soviet Representative to the U.N. Malik made use of a U.N. Security Council resolution to force Egypt and Syria to enter into a ceasefire with Israel.

All these hard facts of history explicitly show that both Khrushchov and Brezhnev are opposed to just wars for national liberation. Whenever there is one, they demand a ceasefire.

Starting Wars of Aggression Directly or Indirectly

But by single-handedly provoking the civil war in Angola, the Brezhnev clique suddenly changed from an opponent and saboteur to a "supporter" of just wars.

One will not be deceived by such sleight of hand if one goes back through the history of the new tsars.

In August 1968, they perfidiously occupied Czechoslovakia in a surprise assault as Hitler had done 30 years ago.

After their treacherous invasion of Czechoslovakia, the new tsars carried out an armed aggression of China's Chenpao Island in the spring of 1969. But they were given head-on blows and were duly punished.

In the winter of 1971, the new tsars instigated and fully supported a "sub-superpower" to launch a war of aggression against Pakistan. In sharp contrast to their attitude towards the Middle East war which erupted later, the new tsars resolutely opposed a ceasefire in the subcontinent. The U.N.

Security Council put a draft resolution on a ceasefire to a vote three times in December that year. But the resolution was vetoed each time by the Soviet representative.

This is the history of the new tsars starting armed invasions directly or indirectly from 1968 to 1971.

One can see that the new tsars' clamour that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" is to justify the theory of opposing all national-liberation wars. But they would not hesitate to unleash a war to achieve their ambition of world domination.

Look at their past, and you can tell their present. After the signing of the Alvor agreement the new tsars sent to Angola large quantities of missiles and armoured cars—never before supplied to Angolan liberation organizations—to support one faction against the other two. Soviet war vessels entered an Angolan port and fired rockets, thus adding fuel to the flames of the civil war in Angola. This by no means was support for a just war or carrying out "internationalist obligation," but an effort to replace the old colonialists in controlling Angola.

Angola's coast is on the eastern part of the South Atlantic. If the new tsars can control Angola, they will be in a very advantageous position to contend with the other superpower for world hegemony, posing a direct threat to NATO's shipping lanes in the South Atlantic. With impatient expectancy, the new tsars have long been hungering for the treasured land of Angola.

But they have miscalculated. The African people have awakened. They will never allow the new tsars to play the tyrant on the continent and will never let the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, December 8)

RAPACIOUS SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

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At the recent Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Soviet Representative Malik bragged about Soviet "help" and "support" for the developing countries' "effort to achieve economic independence." He also spoke of the "economic integration" experience inside the Council for Mutual Assistance (C.M.E.A.)), suggesting that the developing countries follow suit and join the Soviet-designed "international division of labour."

How does the Soviet Union "help" and "support" the developing countries? What does C.M.E.A. "economic integration" amount to? The answer is found not in the Soviet revisionists' self-praise but in the objective facts—the cold reality. The following article provides some facts and analyses.

"Paragon" of Neo-Colonialism

India ranks first on the list of recipients of Soviet revisionist economic "aid" to the third world. It alone, for instance, took nearly 20 percent of the total "aid" between 1954 and 1972. The chieftains of Soviet revisionism and its press try to make the most of this by calling it "fruitful co-operation for mutual benefit" which, they boast, is a "paragon of [its] relations of friendship and equality with the developing countries." What kind of "paragon" is this?

Vampiric Creditor

Lenin hit the nail on the head in his comment on treaties for loans to foreign countries concluded by imperialism. He called this **"the export of capital" "a solid basis for imperialist oppression and the exploitation of most of the countries and nations of the world, for the capitalist parasitism of a handful of wealthy states!"** (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) Soviet social-imperialism today is exporting capital to India in this very form

of loans to rob and exploit the Indian people.

India is so overburdened with heavy debts that sometimes new loans do not cover what it has to pay back. According to figures released by the Indian Ministry of Finance, in fiscal year 1973-74, the loan extended as "aid" to India by the Soviet Union totalled 139 million rupees, whereas what India paid back to it in the same period came to 567 million rupees in both principal and interest.

In every "loan" by the Soviet Union to India which has to be paid back with interest, it is stipulated that the loan is to be used only to import Soviet goods. Besides, India is also required to export raw materials to the Soviet Union as repayment. In other words, India is to become a market for dumping goods and a supplier of raw materials for the Soviet Union. In 1974, the Soviet Union exported to India machinery and transport equipment worth 82.95 million rubles, about two-thirds of which (54 million rubles) were spent on projects built with Soviet "aid." Moreover, many Soviet exports are industrial goods of inferior quality. As a creditor nation, the Soviet Union has taken out of India huge quantities of mineral ore, jute, leather and spices for a song.

Public opinion in India has for quite some time been expressing discontent with the Soviet rip-off. India's *Economic Times* made the following estimates on June 24, 1974: By the time India has cleared its debts, the Soviet Union will receive a sum that is 565.7 percent of the principal loaned to it. This kind of exploitation is even harsher than that carried out by the other imperialists.

Indian sovereignty in monetary and financial matters has also been infringed on. Arbitrarily and unilaterally, the Soviet revisionists changed the parity of the Indian rupee and the Soviet ruble to its advantage. Last March, using the devaluation of the rupee as a pretext and going back on a previous agreement, they demanded that India recalculate the principal and interest on Soviet loans in making repayment. This means India has to pay back an additional sum of 4,000 million rupees.

Control Is the Word

The Soviet revisionists brag that their "aid" to India is meant to "help India build up independent national industries." But what is the reality?

Soviet economic "aid" to India is mainly in the heavy industrial and basic industries, such as steel mills, heavy-duty machinery plants, oil refineries and hydro- or thermo-power stations, enterprises which belong to the "public sector" in India's economy. It is clear that having control of these industrial departments signifies the control of India's economic lifeline to a very great extent. At present, the proportion of the output of enterprises built with Soviet "aid" and controlled by the Soviet Union in their respective branches is as follows: heavy machine-building industry, 85 percent; heavy electric equipment, 60 percent; oil, 35 percent; steel, 40 percent; and electric power, 20 percent.

The Indian press has disclosed that all enterprises built with Soviet "aid"

are completely placed under direct Soviet control from designing, installation of equipment and supply of appliances down to their management.

One typical case is the Bokaro Steel Plant, the construction of which has caused India to incur a debt of nearly 1,700 million rupees to the Soviet Union. The latter stepped in by first taking over the exclusive right to design this plant from an Indian company previously entrusted with the job. Originally scheduled for 1971, completion of the first stage of construction has been postponed eight times up to now. As revealed in the Indian Parliament, the equipment provided by the Soviet Union fell far below what the contract called for. Although this steel plant was expected to produce 7 million tons by 1977, the present estimate is it will only be able to produce 4 million tons by then. Nevertheless, the Soviet revisionists have tried to shift the blame on to the Indians, accusing them of failing to do a good job and being "not worth their salt."

After all these years of Soviet "aid" to India's iron and steel industry, steel output has registered little increase. Statistics show that 1974's national output was only 6.8 million tons, hovering around the 1963 level.

The Soviet Union has sent a vast number of experts to India as a means of getting its hands on the latter's heavy industry. These experts who enjoy amazing special privileges there lord it over the Indian enterprises. There are as many as 500 Soviet experts and advisers in the Bokaro Steel Plant alone. They live grandly in separate quarters, with pay so much higher than that of Indian workers that there is no comparison between the two. In addition, India is also required to pay for these experts' air trips home and return, life insurance policies and their family dependents' travel expenses, subsidies for moving, medical expenses, transportation fees, etc. Ordinarily, these "service remunerations" alone make up 15 to 20 percent of the Soviet loans for the "aid" projects.

This is the state of affairs in Bokaro and other enterprises. In the Bhilai Steel Plant, built many years ago with Soviet "aid," there still is a Soviet set-up parallel to the management and this "Soviet shadow cabinet" to this day still controls production there.

Dishonest Merchant

With the foray by Soviet capital into India, the total volume of Soviet-Indian trade has grown scores of times. Using the position of a creditor nation, the Soviet Union robs India of its wealth through trade.

One usual way of doing this is to buy cheap and sell dear. The Soviet loans deprive India of much of its freedom of choice in foreign trade; many important products have to be shipped to the Soviet Union in large quantities as repayment for debts and the price it gets is as a rule 10 to 15 percent, or in some cases as much as 30 percent, lower than on the international market. Soviet machinery and equipment sent to India as part of a loan are of poor quality and high-priced, some costing 20 to 30 percent more than on the international market. Staggering superprofits have been taken away from the

Indian people in this way.

Extortion by taking advantage of the other party's difficulties is another means employed by Moscow. Under a Soviet-Indian agreement, the Soviet Union was to export 45,000 tons of newsprint in fiscal 1974-75. But in carrying out the agreement, the Soviet revisionists, seeing the acute shortage of paper in India, quickly raised the price, wanting India to pay 50 percent more than the market price. This "newsprint extortion" incident for a while was quite a shock to the Indian people. But in the end the price the Soviet revisionists got was still 30 percent more than the world market price. The Soviet Union also supplied India with fertilizer in late 1974 and afterwards charged 60 to 70 percent more than the price prevailing at the time of the shipment.

There also is the trick of buying and selling to make a killing. In the name of "division of labour and co-operation," the Soviet revisionists insist that India buy some raw materials from the Soviet Union at high prices and sell it the finished products at low prices. When India in 1972 processed some textile goods for the Soviet revisionists the price per bale of imported Soviet cotton was 30 percent more than the then price on the Indian market. Later, the Soviet revisionists bought the finished goods at a price lower than that on the Indian market and then re-sold them to other countries at a high price. It was reported that in that deal India suffered a loss to the tune of 2.5 million U.S. dollars.

Numerous facts prove that the Soviet-Indian relation is not the "paragon of relations of friendship and equality" the Soviet revisionists have bragged about, but a "paragon" of neo-colonialism pure and simple.

RISE OF THIRD WORLD AND DECLINE OF HEGEMONISM

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The people of the Third World scored successive victories in their sustained, vigorous offensive in 1974 against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The course of the struggle last year showed that the people of the Third World are the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the motive force of revolution propelling history forward.

The imperialist powers previously divided the world among themselves, and world affairs were once forcibly decided by a few colonial empires. Today, the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are locked in a fierce battle to redivide the world. But the days when power politics held complete sway are gone for ever. The present-day world is neither one where the two hegemonic powers decide everything, nor a "multipolar world." The Third World has now entered the international arena and is playing an increasingly important role.

The Third World's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle in the past year has brought to the surface a number of fundamental problems in international relations that once were distorted or covered up:

In international relations, should the strong bully the weak and the big oppress the small, or should all countries, big or small, be equal? Today, despite the two hegemonic powers' dream of maintaining the old international order under their hegemony, the Third World countries' resolve to master their own destiny has become an irreversible trend. A case in point is Middle East developments. The "no war, no peace" situation painstakingly created by the two overlords in their own interests was upset by the Arab people in the 1973 October War. Last year both again set new traps in the Middle East. The U.S. Secretary of State made seven visits to the region with the intention of bypassing the Soviet Union and manipulating the Middle East problem through a U.S.-designed "phased solution." The Soviet Union, eager to intervene, pressed for holding a "Geneva peace conference" which would give it a voice in any settlement. But the Arab people want to take their own

road—fight to the end in closer unity to recover their lost territories and regain the Palestinian people's national rights. This determination found expression at the Arab summit in Rabat.

As in the past, the superpowers always want to continue to dictate the internal affairs of the Third World. According to their logic, the medium-sized and small countries cannot exist on their own without "protection" from them. If one superpower does not provide the "protection," the other will have to "fill the vacuum." Hence the proposals for things like systems and blocs with all sorts of superpower tags, such as the "Asian collective security system" designed for the Asians by Moscow, the "Western Hemisphere community" designed by Washington for the Latin Americans. But the Third World is not interested in such items because it wants to follow its own road. At the Inter-American Foreign Ministers' Meeting in February 1974, Latin American representatives rejected the U.S. proposal for a "Western Hemisphere community." The Asian countries, too, stood up to Soviet revisionist pressures and turned down the "Asian collective security system." To run their own affairs, the Asian, African and Latin American countries have set up or reinforced many regional organizations excluding the two overlords, and transformed some others formerly dominated by the big powers.

Who is to play the leading role in various international conferences and organizations? The series of major 1974 international conferences point to the trend that it is not the one or two superpowers but the Third World which plays the main part.

In the past the United Nations served as a voting machine manipulated by the United States. Later it became a tool of the United States and the Soviet Union in their contention for hegemony. Today the United Nations as a voting machine is not so effective as it was, and it is gradually losing the function as a tool for contention. Now and then it looks rather like an international court, with the United States and the Soviet Union in the dock as the Third World makes the charges and holds the trial. The Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development last April was a meeting initiated by the Third World which worked out the agenda and drew up the documents, a meeting which finally adopted a declaration in the interest of the Third World. At the conference the Third World settled accounts with imperialism and the superpowers for their crime of exploitation and strongly demanded the establishment of a new international economic order. Despite all their machinations, the two superpowers failed to disorient the conference. At the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea in Caracas last summer, the Third World once again bombarded the two overlords, resolutely upheld 200-mile maritime rights and bared the two overlords' effort to hold on to their maritime hegemony.

In the 1940s imperialism used the United Nations to set up an Israel and imposed it on the Arab people. Again at the United Nations in the 1960s, the superpowers tampered with the fundamental question of restoring Palestine's national rights by posing it as a "refugee problem." However, as a result of

the protracted and unyielding struggle of the Palestinian and Arab people, the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, which was attended by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, corrected this distortion of history and adopted a resolution which confirms that the Palestinian people are entitled to restore their national rights. This is another instance attesting to the power of the Third World.

To enable the United Nations to reflect today's realities, the Third World countries in 1974 raised the just demand for the revision of the U.N. Charter. At this, the two hegemonic powers flew into a rage and poured out a torrent of abuse. One asserted that revising the Charter would lead to a nuclear war, while the other alleged this was a "tyranny of the majority." These fallacies were sharply denounced by the Third World. The adoption of the Third World countries' resolution by an overwhelming majority vote testifies to the decline of hegemonism in the United Nations.

In the test of strength between the oppressed nations on the one hand and colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism on the other, which actually fears which? Which will emerge the victor? In 1974 the African national-liberation movements continued to mount fierce attacks on the remnant positions of old-line colonialism in Africa, ending with the defeat of the Portuguese colonialists who for 13 years had been fighting a colonial war on the continent. Lisbon was compelled to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Following the defeat of the U.S. aggressors by the Indochinese peoples, this event provides yet another instance of the weak triumphing over the strong. Colonialism is losing its position in southern Africa and the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa are trembling with fear. The superpowers are also worried. This proves anew that the law of the jungle practised for centuries has been relegated to the junk pile.

The independence and liberation of weak and small nations are achieved mainly through the united struggle of the people in these countries, especially through protracted armed struggle, and are never "bestowed" by a saviour. Independence cannot be a gift on a silver platter from the colonialists, much less a trophy of social-imperialism in its contention for world hegemony. But the odd thing is that whenever victory is won in a war of national liberation somewhere, Moscow hastens to claim it as an outcome of the "peace programme of the 24th congress" and a fruit of its policy of "detente." Such pronouncements not only are contemptible attempts to take the credit for the arduous liberation struggles by the people of the small countries for itself but also reveal its evil intent to incorporate a new-born country into its sphere of influence. But since small countries are capable of toppling the brutal rule by a colonial empire, they must be equally capable of smashing the superpowers' schemes for hegemony.

Who actually depends on whom in international economic relations? An important feature in the Third World's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle last year was the intensified fight in the economic field. This very struggle points to the following truth: It is not the poor countries that

depend on the rich, but quite the opposite. (See "Earth-Shaking Struggle," *Peking Review*, No. 1, 1975.)

The Arab people achieved great success through the use of the oil weapon. In doing so, they brought to light one of the secrets of how the contemporary imperialists and superpowers amassed their wealth—making superprofits through plundering Third World raw materials by forcing down their prices. Inspired and encouraged by the use of the oil weapon, countries exporting raw materials and primary products have got together, set up organizations among themselves and reinforced existing ones to safeguard national resources and defend raw material prices. The Third World's conscious application of their raw materials as a weapon against imperialism and hegemonism is something new. This worried the imperialists and superpowers all the more because one important source of their wealth has been taken over by the Third World.

The Third World has also long been regarded by the imperialists and superpowers as a market for their industrial products. At the U.N. General Assembly special session last year, the Third World denounced the rich countries for taking away raw materials from them at low prices while selling manufactured goods and food at high prices. The Third World strongly demanded a change in these inequitable economic relations. The significant thing is that countries of the Third World now do not expect the rich countries to suddenly become "benevolent," but have begun transforming single-product economies imposed on them by colonialism, reducing their dependence on imported industrial products and food, developing agriculture and industry and diversifying economies in accordance with their own resources by relying on their own efforts. As a result, there is less and less room for imperialism to exploit the Third World through the "scissors differential" and shift the burden of the economic crisis on to the Third World.

The Third World's fight against plunder and its national economic development have caused the imperialist and superpower world markets to shrink, and as a result, have aggravated the capitalist economic crisis. The imperialists and superpowers now find themselves in the plight as a Chinese verse describes: "Flowers fall off, do what one may."

* * *

Of course, the two moribund imperialist overlords, the Soviet Union and the United States, are waging a death-bed struggle and will continue to make trouble. There can be no plain sailing in the struggle of the Third World against imperialism and hegemonism. But in the course of struggle the Third World has gradually become aware of its own strength and has seen through the hypocrisy and essential weakness of the superpowers. It has closed its ranks and raised the art of struggle to a new level. It is bound to achieve new and greater victories in the days ahead.

Imperialism and hegemonism are like a sinking ship. The new emerging Third World, in contrast, has swept ahead full sail to greet the struggle in the new year with boundless confidence.

C.P.S.U.—A FASCIST PARTY WITH THE SIGNBOARD "PARTY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE"

Peking Review, No. 10
March 5, 1976

As a result of the usurpation of leadership by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique which pushes a revisionist line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin and Stalin, has degenerated into a political party of the bourgeoisie and a fascist party with the signboard "party of the whole people."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."** The Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique which represents the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie consists of a handful of revisionists who have hidden in the Party for a long time and are persons in power taking the capitalist road. Once they came to power, they changed the nature of the proletarian party, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, reversed the socialist orientation and tampered with the Party's programme and line.

Marxism-Leninism holds that a political party is always an instrument of class struggle and the state a machinery for class rule. Events in the past two decades show that, in replacing the Marxist-Leninist theories on the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the "party of the whole people" and the "state of the whole people," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique aims not at abolishing the dictatorship of any class but at replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Although it still retains the name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and often calls itself "Lenin's party" and even flaunts such terms as "socialism," "communism" and "internationalism," the C.P.S.U. today, judging by its class nature, its line, its policies and the role it plays, has nothing in common with a proletarian political party.

As every Marxist-Leninist knows, a Communist Party is the political party of the proletariat built on the revolutionary theory and in the revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism and is the vanguard of the proletariat. When the

Soviet revisionist renegade clique churned out the so-called "party of the whole people," Marxist-Leninist Parties the world over scathingly denounced this sinister stuff, criticized it and pointed out that this "party of the whole people" was every inch a political party of the bourgeoisie.

The Brezhnev clique, with a guilty conscience, has in recent years kept saying that its party "has tightened control over the growth of its membership" so that "the working class has occupied a leading position in the social composition of the party." It hopes that this will make people believe its so-called "party of the whole people" still "retains its class nature."

Lenin pointed out more than half a century ago: **"Whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat."** (*The Second Congress of the Communist International.*) This statement is also a profound exposure of "the social composition of the party" trick now played by the Brezhnev clique.

The C.P.S.U. is now an instrument used by the Soviet revisionist leadership—a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists—to enforce a barbarous fascist dictatorship in the country. When Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their cohorts flaunt the tattered banners of the "party of the whole people" and the "state of the whole people" and harp on the shopworn theory of the "dying out of class struggle" and "the democracy of the whole people," their sole purpose is to cover up their fascist dictatorship both inside and outside the party. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has recruited deserters and renegades and engaged in factional activities in pursuit of personal gains; it ruthlessly persecutes all genuine Communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism and those who show any signs of upholding justice. It can be recalled how Khrushchov, on the pretext of "combating the cult of personality," lashed out at Stalin and stirred up the evil wind of reversing previous correct verdicts, and how he came out in the open to "rehabilitate" old-line revisionists, counterrevolutionaries and bourgeois representatives of all shades, "restore" their party membership and glorify them. At the same time he promoted his trusted men and lackeys to leading posts at all levels. Even more unscrupulous than his predecessor, Brezhnev has enlisted and empowered old and new bourgeois elements and promoted them to leading positions in all fields of social endeavour. In the meantime, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique has time and again conducted large-scale purges and suppression of party members and cadres. A case in point is the recent "renewal of party membership cards." In the two years between March 1973 and February 1975, nearly a million party members said to have "alien thoughts" were purged. It has been acknowledged by the Soviet journal *Party Life* that "in the course of renewing membership cards, party organizations have punished still more severely" those members alleged to have "violated

the requirements as set forth in the party constitution." In the said period, large numbers of party cadres at the grass-roots level in different parts of the country were removed from their posts. In the armed forces, 30 percent of the party cadres were dismissed. Like the previous purges, the recent one was directed first of all at party members who dissent from and resist the revisionist ruling clique.

Numerous facts show that fascist rule in the Soviet "party of the whole people" and the "state of the whole people" is even more brutal than that of Hitler's. The nationwide Soviet spy system is even more closely-knit than Nazi Germany's *Gestapo,* or the secret police, and the SS (*Schutzstaffel*) or the party *corps d'elite.* And in the Soviet Union today there are more and a greater variety of prisons, concentration camps and "psychiatric hospitals" than there were in Germany under Hitler's rule. All the talks about strengthening the "legal system," "order" and "discipline" by the men in the Kremlin are reminiscent of Hitler's outcry for people's submission to the regimentation of his Third Reich.

In the Soviet Union today, only the bourgeois overlords are free to do what they like, whereas the working class and other working people, living in terror and uncertainty, are deprived of all political rights. Whoever upholds Marxism-Leninism or is bold enough to voice discontent and revolt against the new tsars' reactionary rule is sure to be watched, shadowed, subpoenaed, arrested and punished. Khrushchov, Brezhnev and company have again and again called out troops and police, supported by tanks and armoured vehicles, to conduct sanguinary suppression of mass resistance. Genuine Communists and revolutionaries have been thrown into prisons in large numbers, some are kept in "lunatic asylums" as alleged "mental patients" and many more are detained in concentration camps all over the country.

The C.P.S.U. today is an instrument used by the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists of the Soviet revisionist leading clique in ruthlessly exploiting the working people. The clique's monopoly of the means of production, its control over the entire national economy and its series of resolutions and "plans" on economic affairs issued in the name of the party and state are all designed to force the working people and the rank-and-file party members to docilely create more surplus value for the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists. On the pretext of "establishing party organs according to the principle of production," Khrushchov divided the Communist Party into "industrial" and "agricultural" parties, advocated "material incentives," and his phoney communism—"goulash" communism—and intensified the exploitation of the Soviet people. Brezhnev, on his part, has put forward a so-called "welfare plan," urging party cadres to master the "art of money-making" to ensure maximum "profits." The polarization of the Soviet society has become more and more marked under the rule of these renegades in the last 20 years. While the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists appropriate as they please the Soviet people's fruit of labour and live in extravagance and dissipation, the broad

masses of the working people are often canned, forced to roam from place to place and live in poverty. The relationship between the Soviet revisionist ruling clique on the one hand and the working people and the rank-and-file party members on the other is clearly one between the oppressor and the oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited. Accordingly, every law or decree on economic matters cooked up by the Brezhnev clique is meant to intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The C.P.S.U. today is also an instrument used by the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists of the Soviet revisionist leading clique to carry out aggression and expansion abroad and contend for world hegemony. In recent years the Brezhnev clique has invented a series of social-imperialist theories such as "limited sovereignty," "international division of labour," "international dictatorship" and "the interests involved" to justify aggression and expansion. While stepping up arms expansion and war preparations at home, the new tsars have been engaged in unbridled espionage activities in foreign countries, interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, carried out subversive activities and brought pressure to bear on them. The Brezhnev clique's clamour for "peace," "disarmament" and "detente" and its profession about a "party of peace" are just smokescreens to cover up the true colours of the Soviet social-imperialists who are bent on aggression and expansion overseas.

Chairman Mao has pointed out, **"The masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, ... they desire revolution and ... revisionist rule will not last long."** Since the usurpation of power and restoration of capitalism by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the masses of the Soviet people and the rank-and-file party members have put up resistance in various forms. Underground revolutionary organizations have distributed leaflets calling on the Soviet working class and other labouring people to rise and overthrow the reactionary rule of the clique and rebuild the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is beyond doubt that fascist suppression by the Soviet revisionist renegades can never save them from inevitable doom.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF CAPITALIST RESTORATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Peking Review, No. 8
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After usurping power in the Party and state, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has brought about an all-round restoration of capitalism, turning the first socialist state in the world into a social-imperialist country and the socialist economy into capitalist economy and state monopoly capitalist economy.

The clique's perverse actions have ruined the social productive forces with disastrous consequences: decline in agricultural production, decrease in livestock, inflation, heavy debts and growing poverty of the working people. Following are some relevant facts and figures.

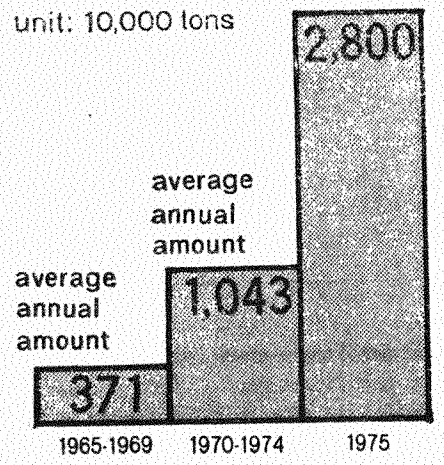
1. Grain Production in a Mess

In the 11 years since Brezhnev came to power in 1964, agricultural production in the Soviet Union showed a decrease in seven years, four of which saw an annual drop of over 20 million tons. Last year, which witnessed the lowest yield in the last decade and the biggest drop in the last two decades, was even more disastrous. Total grain output was 80 million tons short of the planned target, or 30 million tons less than in 1972, a year of serious crop failure. The per-capita grain output in 1975 was even lower than in 1913 in the tsarist era.

2. Animal Husbandry in a Sorry Plight

Animal husbandry is in a wretched plight due to acute fodder shortage resulting from crop failure. In the decade from 1965 to 1974, the number of pigs each year was on the average about 9.8 million less than in 1963. The number of milch cows and sheep did not show any increase; there was even a big decrease in some years. Total output of major animal products including meat, milk and wool in the first four years of the 9th five-year plan and the average annual output failed to meet the planned targets. In 1974 more than 500,000 tons of meat were bought in foreign markets. The mass slaughter of animals due to acute shortage of fodder last year resulted in a sharp decrease

SOVIET GRAIN IMPORTS IN THE LAST 11 YEARS



in their number.

3. Hike in Retail Prices of Major Foodstuffs in The Soviet State Market

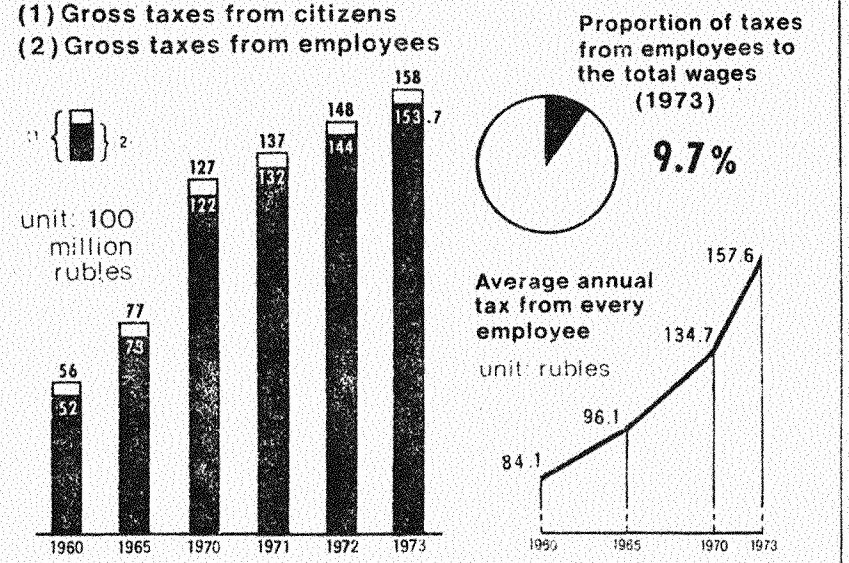
unit: rubles

Items	Unit	State Retail Prices	
		December 1959	July 1974
flour	kilogramme	0.31	0.46
pork	"	1.60	1.90
beef	"	1.50	2.00
milk	"	0.22	0.30
cabbage	"	0.10	0.20
tomato	"	0.40	2.50

4. Exorbitant Taxes and Miscellaneous Levies

To maintain a huge military expenditure and make up for its enormous financial deficits, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has bled the working people white with heavy taxes and miscellaneous levies. The amount of taxes has kept increasing. According to figures released by the Soviet revisionists themselves, the average tax for every employee in 1960 was 84.1 rubles; it jumped to 157.6 rubles in 1973, an increase of 87.4 percent. The taxes paid by the citizens in 1973 accounted for 9.7 percent of the total amount of

INCREASE OF TAXES PAID BY SOVIET CITIZENS



wages they earned, as shown in the chart on this page.

5. Heavy Internal and External Debts

The Soviet Union has become one of the biggest debtor countries in the world today.

Internal debts: According to incomplete statistics, by the end of 1974 the Soviet Government had owed the Soviet citizens a debt of 34,400 million rubles or 45,400 million U.S. dollars.

External debts: According to incomplete statistics, from 1958 to 1969 the Soviet Government secured loans from Western countries to the tune of 2,400 million U.S. dollars. Since the beginning of 1970s, it has been "escalating" its efforts in seeking loans from the West, while the sums it borrowed have kept increasing. Statistics show that between 1970 and 1975, it received about 18,200 million U.S. dollars in loans from the West.

6. The Reality of Unemployment Cannot Be Covered Up

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always been trying its utmost to cover up the stark reality that the Soviet working people have been reduced to wage-labourers.

But what is false will sooner or later be exposed.

The *Sovietskaya Rossiya* and other Soviet newspapers and periodicals have reported that since 1969 the so-called "employment bureau for residents" has

been set up in many places in the Soviet Union. These bureaux, whose function is to find jobs for those not engaged in social production, are found in all the capitals of the autonomous republics and the capitals of practically all the territories and regions, capitals with a population of 100,000 people or more. In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic alone, there are such bureaux in 116 cities. Since their establishment, the Soviet press has revealed, these bureaux have been kept very busy, and in some places, the waiting rooms are often swarmed with an endless stream of people. In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Kazakhstan, jobs applicants totalled several million from 1969 to 1974. The Soviet authorities, however, quibble that it is not unemployment but "mobility of cadres."

What the Soviet authorities mean by "mobility of cadres" is in fact the migration of jobless workers and other labouring people to find new employers to sell their labour power. There are a considerable number of such "mobile" labourers every year in the Soviet Union today. The Soviet revisionists have admitted that "they make up 20 percent of the workers in industrial enterprises and 30 percent in the building industry." Reckoned by above-mentioned rate of "mobility," the number of floating labourers in industrial branches alone has been about six million each year since 1970. According to the Soviet revisionists' doctored estimates, these people have to wait on the average for about 28 days or longer in order to find new jobs. The *Sotsialisticheski Trud* has disclosed that of the 207,000 people in the Kazakh Republic who went to the "employment bureau" in 1973 to apply for jobs, more than one-fourth was jobless for several months or over a year. These floating labourers neither belonged to any organization nor had any work to do for such a long time. Isn't this unemployment?

Next, let's look into the reasons for this "mobility" of workers. Unemployment in the capitalist world is caused mainly by the capitalists' insatiate desire for profits and massive layoffs. This is also the case in the Soviet Union today. In order to secure the greatest possible amount of surplus-value, the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class in the Soviet Union has adopted the notorious "Shchekino System" to lay off large numbers of workers. It is reported that 1,300 workers and staff members were dismissed by the Shchekino Chemical Complex from 1967 to 1973. With the Soviet revisionists actively publicizing the system, many factories and mines have followed suit. By July 1, 1973, 70,000 workers and staff members in 292 enterprises in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic alone had been discharged. What is more, the heads of various enterprises in the Soviet Union have used various pretexts to dismiss the old and the weak, pregnant women and mothers with unweaned babies. In particular, those who refuse to be pushed around often get the sack. As a result of all this, the number of dismissed workers has increased considerably. In the Armenian Republic, one-fourth of the workers in industrial enterprises was fired in 1974, and another 12.3 percent in the first half of 1975. The ranks of industrial reserves have thus been swollen with the influx of the dismissed into the contingent of floating labourers. Isn't it clear what the truth about the so-called "mobility of cadres" is?

FIVE YEARS OF CONTINUAL BACKSLIDING

From the Soviet revisionists' 24th congress to their 25th congress

Peking Review, No. 9
February 27, 1976

by Hsiao Lou

Five years have gone by since the Soviet revisionists held their 24th congress in 1971. To give the current 25th congress a shot in the arm, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has in recent months been shamelessly bragging about their so-called "achievements" obtained since the 24th congress. What have the Soviet revisionists done in the past five years and what are the results?

Five-Year Plan on the Rocks

The 9th five-year plan adopted by the Soviet revisionists at the 24th congress has gone on the rocks. This fact which is known to all shows that the militarization of the national economy has brought serious consequences to the Soviet economy; it reveals the extremely decadent nature of Soviet state monopoly capitalism and completely explodes the lie of "high-speed" development and the "welfare plan" trumpeted by Brezhnev and company at the 24th congress. Let's look at the facts.

The basic targets of the national economy all came a cropper. The national income merely attained the target set in the five-year plan for 1974; that is, it took five years to accomplish the tasks set for four years.

The production of consumer goods was astonishingly low. Statistics show that the gross output value in the production of consumer goods only came to about 89 percent of the target and there is a serious shortage of many important consumer goods on the market.

Agriculture showed a decline. In the five years, the average annual total output value of agriculture was far short of the target. Grain production was even worse, showing a decrease in output in four of the five years with the average annual output coming only to about 91 percent of the planned quota. In the "disastrous" year of 1975, in particular, even the official figures given out by the Soviet authorities showed that grain production met only two-thirds of the planned target. If we reckon on a per-capita basis, grain

output was even lower than in 1913 when the tsars ruled. The amount of grains imported during the 9th five-year plan was five times that of the 8th five-year plan period.

The people's standards of living are low. According to reports in the Soviet press, one-quarter of the total population are now living below the level "guaranteeing the lowest standard of material life." Retail prices of major foodstuffs and others goods have been constantly rising and exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies are continually on the increase. According to what the Soviet revisionist authorities themselves have published, every Soviet employee paid, on an average, 157.6 rubles in taxes in 1973 as against 84.1 rubles in 1960—an increase of 87.4 percent.

Debts have piled high. Incomplete figures show that since Brezhnev came to power in 1964, the Soviet Union has borrowed more than 20,000 million U.S. dollars from the Western countries, more than 80 percent of which were secured in the period of the 9th five-year plan.

Such examples are numerous and are quite revealing.

However, it should be pointed out that there is indeed "high-speed" development of certain projects in the Soviet Union and these are the munitions industry and certain related heavy industries, which have all developed like a malignant growth. It is estimated that in the Soviet Union today, about 60 percent of the industrial enterprises are directly or indirectly involved in arms production and they employ some 3.5 million people. During the 9th five-year plan, the output of the machine-building industry, of automatic meters, instruments and tools and of computer technology—all linked with arms production—have grown by 70, 80 and 300 percent respectively. According to an estimate by Western countries, the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States in expenditures on military research since 1973.

The Soviet Union's all-out drive for arms expansion and war preparation inevitably reduces the people's consumption, sacrifices agriculture and light industry and brings about a serious lopsided development of the national economy. The result: a huge industry but a very weak agriculture, with heavy industry, particularly the machine-building industry, steadily expanding while production in light industry is extremely poor; technology in the arms industry has developed rapidly while technology in industries producing goods for civil use is backward; there is a large number of nuclear weapons while the people's standards of living are on the decline; and more and more investments are made in capital construction centred on expanding military might while there is a steady fall in the effects of investments in all fields. Such a situation was particularly pronounced during the period of the 9th five-year plan.

The decadent nature of state monopoly capitalism determines that the Soviet revisionists' 9th five-year plan is simply impossible to fulfil. They want to tighten the monopoly and control by the bureaucrat state and at the same time boost the incentive for profits. This is in itself an insurmountable

contradiction. The contention for the right over profits between the central monopoly clique and the local monopoly cliques and between the capitalist cliques in the various enterprises and the central and local monopoly cliques has brought with it much in-fighting and a host of contradictions. To seek profits, accounts are often falsified and embezzlement and theft as well as extravagance and waste are rampant within the enterprises, while new technology is not being fully utilized. In particular, the labouring people who are unwilling to sweat for the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists, resist or fight back by work stoppages, slowdowns and other forms of struggle. All this has caused complete failure to the state plan—the chief means of the Soviet revisionists to implement monopoly and control.

Facts fully show that the past five years are five years of failure for the Soviet revisionists' 9th five-year plan, of bankruptcy for their "welfare" slogan, of stepped-up militarization of the national economy and of ever-aggravating economic difficulties.

Internal Contradictions Sharpen

At the 24th congress, Brezhnev bragged that efforts would be made "to further develop socialist democracy," that "harmony" in the relations and "rock-firm unity" between the "various classes, social strata and big and small nationalities" in the Soviet Union were maintained. But facts have proved the exact opposite.

In the last five years when it has become increasingly isolated and its rule more and more feeble, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has doffed the guise of "developing socialist democracy" and steadily strengthened its fascist dictatorship. Its armed forces, which are used to suppress the people at home and perpetrate aggression and expansion abroad, have in recent years grown rapidly from over three million to more than 4.2 million. Its intelligence agency K.G.B. (the State Security Committee) and the Ministry of the Interior, whose power has considerably increased, have made their way into every nook and corner. They have armed their secret agents and spies with sophisticated detection and interrogation equipment and up-to-date monitoring and telecommunications devices. Its "psychiatric hospitals" have become places of political persecution with increasing intensity. What is more, the Soviet revisionists have in the last few years expanded and set up many auxiliary organizations to enforce their fascist dictatorship. They have expanded the so-called "voluntary pickets" and "supervisory groups," which are directed against the people, and set up pickets and operative detachments for various specialized fields. In addition, they have established many "mass" organizations exclusively controlled by secret and police agencies. The main task of such organizations as "public committees," "law-breaking prevention committees" and "public and police social security stations" is to deal with persons holding "views and habits incompatible with" Soviet revisionist rule.

However, the Soviet people have not been cowed by the ruthless fascist rule of terror. Discontent and resistance on the part of the Soviet people have

been on the rise in recent years. It is reported that underground organizations and secret publications have emerged continually in the last five years. In Kiev, Rostov, Lvov, Dniepropetrovsk, Dnieprodzerzhinsk, Vitebsk, Tibilis and many other cities, workers' strikes and demonstrations have taken place while slowdowns have swept the country's towns and villages. Despite strict ideological and organizational control, the broad masses of Party members have never ceased in their struggle. During the two years beginning March 1973 when "Party membership cards were renewed," an estimated total of nearly one million "passive members" charged with "alien thoughts" were purged. Protests by many intellectuals against the Brezhnev clique's reactionary rule have gradually become a component part of the Soviet people's struggle.

Sharpening contradictions among the various nationalities have become another serious problem confronting the Soviet revisionists. Brezhnev and company are stepping up the implementation of the Great-Russian chauvinistic policy under the deceitful slogan of "a new historical entity of the people." From Transcaucasia to the Central Asian region, from the Baltic coast to the shores of the Black Sea, there have been large-scale struggles waged over the past five years by the people in various union republics against Great-Russian chauvinistic oppression and assimilation of nationalities. This has been proved by the big purges carried out one after another by the Brezhnev renegade clique in these republics. For instance, large-scale "ideological rectification" and organizational purges have been carried out first in the Georgian, then in the Ukrainian and Armenian Republics since 1972, mercilessly persecuting and crushing the cadres and masses and removing the first secretaries of the central committees of the revisionist party in these three republics. Discontent is rife among the people and resistance struggles have surfaced one after another in these union republics.

Social problems have become more serious than ever in the last five years. Speculation is rampant and bribery has become a common practice, while theft, embezzlement, prostitution, alcoholism, the taking of drugs and juvenile delinquency are quite commonplace.

Class contradictions and contradictions among the nationalities are reflected in the upper stratum of the ruling clique, thereby aggravating internal strife and rocking its rule.

It is clear that the last five years have witnessed the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of social-fascism and the further isolation of the Brezhnev renegade clique. And in these five years the working people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union have waged indomitable struggles to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Peaceful Programme"—A Flop

The notorious "peaceful programme" was dished up by Brezhnev at the 24th congress. Since then, the Soviet revisionists have linked up all their acts of aggression abroad with this "programme." In fact, what the Soviet Union

has done in the last five years in the international arena precisely shows that it is not "seeking lasting peace," but stepping up its contention for world hegemony under the smokescreen of "detente." Far from "opposing the threat of a new world war," it is trying its utmost to create the danger of a new war; instead of "supporting" national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, it stoops to anything in carrying out infiltration, interference, subversion and sabotage in a vain attempt to dominate and enslave the world's people.

Contention between the Soviet Union and the other superpower in the last five years has spread all over the globe. The intranquillity in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, southern Africa and other regions of the world invariably is tied up with the expansion and infiltration by the Soviet social-imperialists. After many years of preparations, they concocted a so-called European security conference which was actually a European insecurity conference. While clamouring about "materialization of detente," "the irreversibility of detente," and "supplementing political detente by military detente," they have deployed and reinforced their forces and replenished their armaments in Eastern Europe. They have stirred up troubles in Southern Europe and in the Balkans, engaged in feverish infiltration in Portugal and other countries and strengthened their military dispositions in Northern Europe, thereby aggravating and complicating the situation in Europe. While mouthing disarmament, they have piled up more and more nuclear and conventional weapons, rapidly increased the number of troops and continually raised their military expenditures which have in the last few years outstripped those of the United States to make the Soviet Union the leading nation of the world in this field. They have conducted global military exercises, and warships of their huge navy prowl the waters of the world to make a big show of their strength. By signing so-called "treaties of friendship and co-operation," they have grabbed military bases abroad and, through so-called military and economic "aid," they have stepped up their plunder of some countries and tightened their political and military control over them. They regard some revisionist political parties as their special detachments in pushing their social-imperialist policies. They brazenly supported India in dismembering another sovereign state. They resort to blackmail and intimidation to refuse to return the four northern Japanese islands which they have occupied. Now, flouting public opinion the world over, they have blatantly interfered in the internal affairs of Angola. This is a concentrated exposure of the gangster features of the ferocious social-imperialists and is a very good footnote to the essence of their "peaceful programme." In short, this overly ambitious superpower assumes a menacing offensive posture in its contention with U.S. imperialism for world domination; it is more adventurous and it has become the most dangerous source of a new world war.

But madness does not mean real strength. The more places to which it stretches its tentacles, the more nooses it puts around its own neck. More and

more people in the world today are clear about its expansionist and hegemonic features. Numerous facts over the past five years have pointed up the plight of the Soviet social-imperialists who have run up against stone walls and found themselves in a bad fix. The fraud of detente they have cooked up to conceal their contention with the United States has been exposed by more and more people. At the so-called strategic arms limitation talks, the Soviet Union and the United States, each with its own ulterior motives, are locked in both overt and covert struggles, both refusing to make concessions. The Soviet-U.S. trade agreement, which was once flaunted as having made "fruitful contributions" to the strengthening of Soviet-U.S. relations, has been declared null and void. Despite ceaseless preparations, the Soviet revisionists have so far failed to convene the conference they have set their mind on holding, to be attended by various European parties. The absurd theory of "peaceful transition" which they advocate has gone bankrupt in what they call a "model" Latin American country.

Following the expulsion of 105 Soviet spies by the British Government in September 1971, large numbers of Soviet secret agents and spies have been exposed in various parts of the world in the past few years. The tens of thousands of Soviet advisers and military personnel sent to Egypt to control that country were forced to pack up and go home. Since the October War in the Middle East, the traitorous features of the Soviet revisionists in betraying the liberation struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people have been more and more bared. The great victory of the Cambodian people put to shame the Soviet revisionists who, as counterrevolutionary double dealers, had throughout maintained friendly relations with the Lon Nol clique. Their agitation for the establishment of an "Asian collective security system" aimed at dominating Asia met with little response. The Soviet revisionists have aroused fresh discontent among some East European countries for limiting the supply of raw materials and fuel to them, forcing up prices and intensifying the plunder of capital and manpower in these countries. All these have given headaches to the Brezhnev renegade clique and caused internal strife.

It can thus be seen that the past five years were years in which the Soviet revisionists engaged feverishly in aggression and expansion and intensified their contention for world domination; they were also years in which the "peaceful programme" has gone bankrupt and the Soviet social-imperialists have become more isolated in the international arena.

Bankruptcy of "Developed Socialism"

The Soviet revisionists formally flaunted the banner of "developed socialism" at their 24th congress. Now what is their so-called "developed socialism?"

People may recall that at the 22nd congress, Khrushchov dished up the slogan of "basically building communism within 20 years" between 1961 and 1980, which was nothing but a bluff. When he gave that dud cheque,

Brezhnev was his accomplice. Later Khrushchov's "goulash communism" went bankrupt; this, coupled with other reasons, finally toppled this clown. Taking over the mantle from Khrushchov, Brezhnev took down the tattered banner of "all-round construction of communism" and replaced it with the banner of "completion of developed socialism" in an attempt to cover up the bankruptcy of sham communism and the reality that the Soviet Union has moved from capitalist restoration to social-imperialism. The so-called "all-round construction of communism" and the "completion of developed socialism" are as like as two peas. The only difference is that since Brezhnev came to power the pace of all-round restoration of capitalism has been accelerated and the degree of monopoly by state monopoly capitalism and of capital concentration has been steadily increased, with the result that contradictions and difficulties are developing in depth.

Brezhnev and his ilk also have a political motive in trotting out the so-called "developed socialism." They prattle that a "developed socialist society" has "a corresponding political superstructure—a state of the whole people which replaces the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Obviously, they are creating a theoretical basis for the fallacy of a "state of the whole people" which has already been completely repudiated. It seems as if the state of the whole people is the "result conforming to the laws" of "developed socialism" and, since there is the "completion of a developed socialist society," the fallacy of a state of the whole people is viable. Their aim is, in reality, to cover up the harsh fact that, under the signboards of the state of the whole people and democracy of the whole people, the Soviet Union today is practising a fascist dictatorship.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also using the fallacy of "developed socialism" to serve its social-imperialist policies of aggression and expansion, the argument being that "developed socialism" is necessarily linked with "socialist integration." Brezhnev and company say that "developed socialism" makes all countries' "economic and political life highly internationalized" and demands a "more perfect form of socialist internationalism" to suit the needs; they also claim that implementation of economic integration "is the most important factor in establishing a developed socialist society" and so on and so forth. What they have said boils down to this: Since the Soviet Union has "established a developed socialist society," it has every reason to control and plunder the other members of the "big community" in the name of integration while the other member countries in the "big community" will have to be Soviet social-imperialism's appendages if they want to build "developed socialism." Acting on this fallacy, the Soviet revisionists have not only energetically worked for economic integration but have taken a step further in putting forth and bringing about ideological integration, military integration and diplomatic integration. The objective is to exercise all-round control over its partners in the "big community." At present, the Soviet Union is wooing and inveigling some Asian, African and Latin American countries to join the Council of

Mutual Economic Assistance, an integration organization. Doesn't this mean that the Soviet Union which has "established a developed socialist society" also has reason to stretch its aggressive talons to all parts of the world with "integration" as a tool? It is thus clear that the so-called "developed socialism" is only a euphemism for social-imperialism, social-fascism, state monopoly capitalism and hegemonism.

With nothing much left up its sleeves, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has concocted the "theory" of "developed socialism." Such action is aptly described by what Lenin said: **"The old word socialism had been desecrated by the traitors to socialism."** (*The Third Communist International.*) The clique's action, however, can in no way save it from utter failure. Countless facts over the past five years and the as yet unhatched new constitution which the Soviet revisionists have worked for a long time to sum up and embody "developed socialism," all prove that Brezhnev and company are extremely weak and poor politically and theoretically.

* * *

In short, the five years since the Soviet revisionists' 24th congress show that, whether in theory or in deeds and in domestic or international affairs, Soviet social-imperialism with its wild ambitions is outwardly fierce but inwardly feeble, is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and is on the decline. It is sliding down in accordance with the law that imperialism will inevitably perish. "Flowers fall off, do what one may" is a Chinese verse which aptly portrays the plight of the Soviet revisionists. Like imperialism and all other reactionaries, **"revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too."** History will show that Soviet social-imperialism which is out on a limb will sink ever more deeply in insoluble political and economic crises. With the third world as the main force, the people of the whole world, including the people of the Soviet Union, will raise still higher the banner of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-hegemonism and march forward valiantly.

FICTITIOUS OWNERSHIP BY WHOLE PEOPLE IN SOVIET UNION

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The existing state-run enterprises in the Soviet Union, though still retaining the "socialist ownership by the whole people" tag, have already changed in nature as a result of degenerating into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie.

This change of the socialist ownership by the whole people, prevailing in the days of Stalin, into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, which was brought about by the ruling clique in the Kremlin, began with the seizing of leadership. After Stalin's death in 1953, through all sorts of underhand means, Khrushchov-Brezhnev and company, representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie, usurped the party and state leadership and transformed the dictatorship of the proletariat into one of the bourgeoisie. With the change in the nature of the Soviet state, the nature of the ownership by the whole people has undergone fundamental changes. Once in power, they began replacing those not associated with them with their own men by removing group after group of Bolshevik veterans and cadres of worker and peasant origin from their posts of leadership from the central to grass-roots levels and filling them with their agents. In this way, they took the state apparatus into their own hands, monopolized the nation's economic lifeline and put the entire social wealth under their control.

Having seized control of the leadership at all levels, the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by the renegade clique, waving the banner of the Party of Lenin and the signboard of socialist enterprises, used the state machinery to adopt all kinds of resolutions and bylaws to bring into effect a complete set of the revisionist line and revisionist policies—from those regarding the principle of industrial management and mutual human relations to those regulating the distribution system—and fully restored the capitalist relations of production.

Profit-Seeking: The Guiding Principle

Soon after assuming office, Khrushchov introduced so-called "economic reforms" in the industrial departments. Their essence was to abolish certain principles of management befitting socialist ownership by the whole people and replace them with principles of capitalist management, taking profit-making as the guiding principle for all economic operations so that this became the ultimate aim of production.

Brezhnev, who snatched power from Khrushchov in 1964, took over the mantle of the latter's "economic reforms" and in the following year ordered the introduction of the "new economic system" with profit at its core. A resolution and some regulations for the "new system" were drawn up to further confirm through legislation the capitalist relations of production already restored in industry. This "new system" not only ensures that the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, of which the Brezhnev clique is the chief representative, has rigid control over the various enterprises through the state apparatus but, at the same time, also gives extensive powers to its managers to run and manage these firms along capitalist lines, thereby making the state-run enterprises degenerate completely into firms under the ownership of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie.

Under these circumstances, managers and directors are "fully responsible" to these establishments and can issue "orders" to workers and employees "in the name of these enterprises without authorization." They are entitled to "take possession, use and dispose of" the property of the enterprises, buy or sell the means of production, fix plans for production and sales and freely produce goods that can bring in high profits, and recruit, dismiss and punish workers and fix workers' wages and bonuses on their own, etc. In short, the power to handle and use the means of production in the enterprises and the power of distribution and personnel all rest in the hands of the agents sent there by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, while the workers are deprived of the basic right to take part in the leadership of the enterprises and running them. One manager appointed by Soviet revisionism once bluntly said: "The trust is my domain and I am the master. I do what I like." (*Izvestia*, May 29, 1969.)

The harsh oppression and exploitation of workers by the bourgeois privileged stratum are, in some instances, sanctioned by the Soviet Government and popularized throughout the country. One case in point is the notorious "Shchekino experience." Run on capitalist lines, the Shchekino Chemical Combine near Moscow succeeded in intensifying the exploitation of its workers and raising their labour intensity and laying off 1,300 workers in a few years' time. The lion's share of the wages fund "saved" after firing them went to the managers and directors and left dismissed workers unemployed or semi-employed. As disclosed on May 11, 1974 by the Soviet paper *Trud*, 292 enterprises in the Russian Federative Republic alone, which had applied the "Shchekino experience," had dismissed 70,000 workers by July 1, 1973. And

when thousands of workers lost their jobs and became destitute, the founders of the "Shchekino experience"—from the Minister of the Chemical Industry down to the leading members of the combine—were awarded the state orders together with fat sums of money.

The mode of the ownership of the means of production and the position of people in production as well as their inter-relations determine the mode of the distribution of products. As Karl Marx pointed out: **"The prevailing distribution of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves."** (*Critique of the Gotha Programme.*)

In the Soviet Union where capitalism has been reinstated, a handful of new bourgeois elements who monopolize the means of production have at the same time the exclusive right to distribute consumer goods and other products. Apart from getting large sums of surplus value in the form of profits into their hands, the Soviet revisionist authorities also make great efforts to increase unearned income for the privileged stratum through "material incentives." They are highly paid and, besides instituting a system of distribution including large bonuses, extra pay for additional jobs and special salaries, have set up many kinds of allowances. All these have permitted them to gobble up the surplus value created by the workers. While paying lip service to the principle of "to each according to his work," Soviet revisionism is actually practising the principle of distribution to each according to his capital and power.

New Version of the Exploitation System

"Material incentives," the means which a handful of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie use to force the workers to produce still greater surplus value for them, is a new version of the system of intensified exploitation of workers by capitalists. The result of pushing "material incentives" is increasingly serious exploitation of the workers. At the Aksaisk Plastics Plant, for instance, to get one ruble as a bonus, a worker is required to create an additional surplus value of 16 rubles and 60 kopeks for the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. And the surplus value created by the working class is, first of all, grabbed by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie headed by Brezhnev in the name of the state through taxation and profits. This is in turn spent to keep the fascist state machine running, cover military outlays for aggression and expansion, and by the privileged stratum of the bourgeoisie to lead a life of extravagance; a portion of it is put away for capital accumulation to expand the exploitation of the working people at home. As to that part of profits laid aside for the enterprises themselves, most of it goes to fill the purses of the privileged stratum in the form of unearned high salaries and big bonuses.

High salary is one form of taking the surplus value away from the workers by the new bourgeois elements. Besides their regular pay, a handful of the latter are also entitled to allowances for academic qualifications, extra pay for

additional posts and special salaries. The sum total may come to several hundred or even a thousand rubles.

Bonus is another form the bourgeois privileged stratum uses to pocket for itself the fruits of the workers' labour. There are bonus systems galore in Soviet enterprises and, in some, regulations governing the issuance of bonuses run into the hundreds. The amount of bonus to be distributed, moreover, varies in direct proportion to one's position and the amount of one's wage. This being the case, most bonuses feather the nest of a few highly paid people of the privileged stratum. According to statistics compiled by 704 firms which were the first to introduce the "new system," of the profits allocated under the heading of day-to-day monetary awards, workers only got an 18.1 percent share while the rest went to members of the management and engineering and technical personnel. The ratio between bonus and wage is also different, depending on who is to get it. Obviously watered-down government figures show that in 1969 in Soviet industrial firms a worker's bonus was only 4 percent of the wage, whereas for managerial personnel it could constitute more than 40 percent of the salary, and even double or triple the salary in some cases.

The actual income of the bourgeois privileged stratum in Soviet enterprises acquired by these means is scores of times, or even a hundred-fold more than, the income of ordinary workers. Lenin pointed out at the Eight Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B.) that the difference in wages between the bourgeois experts and unskilled workers in tsarist Russia before World War I was 20 times. The difference in income between the new bourgeois elements and workers in the Soviet Union now has far exceeded even that in tsarist days.

Political Prerogatives Utilized

Taking advantage of their political and economic prerogatives, the bourgeois privileged stratum, furthermore, makes big money through all kinds of means. Embezzlement, graft, corruption, appropriating public property for private use, all are ways to amassing fortunes. Many people have become millionaires in a short time. The Soviet paper *Zarya Vostoka* (August 23, 1974) revealed that in a single killing leading managerial personnel of the Tbilisi Synthetic Products Plant, abusing their power, stole 1.1 million rubles. Those in the Sukhumi Tobacco Company lined their pockets with several million rubles through embezzlement and bribery.

By taking possession of large amounts of commodities and money through different means, both "legal" and illegal, the elements of the bourgeois privileged stratum lead a sumptuous and parasitic life. At the same time, the working masses, with meagre incomes, are being impoverished daily and a considerable number of them have no security of both subsistence and work.

To quote Lenin: **"And what are classes in general? Classes are what permits one section of society to appropriate the labour of the other section."** (*The Tasks of the Youth Leagues.*) In the Soviet Union today, the

bourgeois privileged stratum, by various ruses, is taking over the largest part of the fruits of the labour of the masses of workers without compensation. The higher one's position and the greater one's power, the more surplus value one gets.

Under Soviet revisionist rule, state-run enterprises, though still keeping the signboard of socialist ownership by the whole people, have in fact become firms under bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois ownership. No matter how hard Brezhnev and his ilk may try to make apologies, they simply cannot whitewash this fact.

COMBINES—STATE CAPITALIST MONOPOLIES WEARING A "SOVIET" TAG

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Combines of all sorts are very much in vogue in Soviet industry today. Alongside the "two-level or three-level" organizational system, they are an effort by the Brezhnev clique in recent years to underpin the economic base of state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union. But its endeavour to wring more out of the working people through combines will, of course, invite a mounting struggle by the Soviet working class against oppression and exploitation.

Following the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's usurpation of state power, the socialist economy of the Soviet Union has degenerated into one of state monopoly capitalism. A handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique have for years been working to perfect the organizational form of state monopoly capitalism and the economic management structure.

"Thorough reorganizations" took place on many occasions in the days of Khrushchov's rule. When Brezhnev took over, the first thing he did was to introduce to industrial enterprises throughout the country a "new economic system," the core of which is the capitalist principle of profit. This was followed by a large-scale establishment of combines in the late 1960s and early 70s. In 1973, the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party and the Council of Ministers mapped out "certain measures for the further perfection of industrial management," deciding that transition to the two-level or three-level system in industry was to be completed in three years. It was stipulated that the various ministries were to set up, depending on the circumstances, either a two-level managerial system consisting of the ministry and production combine enterprises or a three-level system consisting of the ministry, the industrial combines and production combine enterprises. Official Soviet data disclose that by early 1975 the whole country had

already had 1,715 combines encompassing more than 6,700 enterprises and production units which made up some 14 percent of the overall figure.

Using Capitalist Organizational Forms as a Blueprint

These Soviet social-imperialist combines, however, are in no way a novelty, but are copied from the blueprint of the capitalist-imperialist monopoly organizations like trusts, big concerns and syndicates—with a "Soviet" tag on them of course.

The Brezhnev clique also issued "regulations of production combine enterprises" to make these enterprises "unified management complexes" embracing factories, scientific research institutes, designing offices, technological and other production units. Generally of considerable magnitude, the combines incorporate enterprises of not only a particular industry in a given area but of other industrial branches and in other areas as well. A big enterprise or a big scientific research institute, which exceeds the others in capital and profit-making, becomes the "sinew" of the combine and the head of the said enterprise or institute normally serves as the combine's general manager.

As to the remaining enterprises in the combine, some retain relative independence, except that their main managerial functions, such as the supply and sales of products and financial matters, now rest at the combine enterprise level. Others lose their independence completely and become a mere subsidiary of the combine.

Of much greater magnitude are the all-Soviet or the various republics' industrial combines, which usually take in all or most enterprises in a certain industry. A Soviet combine has many powers: It holds the funds for "scientific research, mastering new technical know-how and development of production of goods for export," in addition to the funds allocated for development of production in general, for payments by way of material incentives and for social and cultural facilities, etc. It not only is in charge of the production matters of its subsidiaries but also exercises in a centralized way all managerial functions related to sales, supplies, scientific research, designing and finance, etc. It even has the authority to make scientific and technical contacts and sign agreements with foreign countries.

With the introduction of the two-level or three-level managerial system, all production combine enterprises and economic administrative departments at the ministerial level are to practise "complete economic accounting" where profit is the main concern and economic incentive is above everything. Thus, the relations between a ministry, an industrial combine and production combine enterprises are not just administrative relations but those between a holding company and its subsidiaries with a common economic interest. This has put the organizational form of the Soviet state monopoly capitalist economy on a more systematic footing.

Concentration of Capital and Production Accelerated

The bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class in the Soviet Union has accelerated concentration of capital and production through the establishment of the combines, and also tightened its control and monopoly of enterprises all over the country. Statistics show a fall in the number of industrial enterprises from over 200,000 in the 1950s to about 48,000 in 1974. Since the combines were formed, the number of enterprises under the Ministry of Oil Industry has dropped from 1,600 to 1,000, under the Gas Industry Ministry from 560 to 357, and under the Coal Industry Ministry from 2,000 to 300. Though the number of enterprises as a whole has registered a sharp decline, there has been a marked increase in the number of big enterprises.

According to the *Yearbook of the Soviet National Economic Statistics*, in 1960 only 0.8 percent of the industrial enterprises were big ones, with output value upwards of 50 million rubles. By 1973 the percentage was up to 3.2 with the number of these big firms more than tripled.

The proportion of big enterprises and the number of workers they employ today are greater in the Soviet Union than in the United States. According to official Soviet and U.S. statistics, enterprises employing more than 1,000 workers in the processing industry constitute 5.9 percent of the total in the Soviet Union and 0.8 percent in the United States. The number of workers in these Soviet enterprises accounts for 96.3 percent of the total as against 50.6 percent in the United States.

Giant combines in the Soviet Union are playing an increasingly important role in production. As revealed by the Soviet press, in 1973, the industrial output value of big enterprises, which accounted for 3 percent of all industrial enterprises, was 45.6 percent of the total. Their fixed production funds were almost half the total for all industrial production. In 1971 these enterprises consumed two-thirds of the electric power used by industry. Twenty-one combines under the Ministry of Oil Industry control 98 percent of the total oil output, while the all-Soviet combine organized by the Ministry of Chemical Industry exercises exclusive control over all establishments in the chemical industry. The result is that a handful of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists have tightened their grip on the lifelines of the whole national economy.

Seeking Higher Rate of Profit

The Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class has further intensified its exploitation of the working people and reaped more profits through these combines. High profits thus made are ploughed back to line the pockets of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists by means of "economic levers." One of the goals in establishing combines," the Brezhnev clique stressed, "is to merge small factories together and raise rates of profit through specialization" and "it is necessary to strengthen the role played by economic levers." In short, the principle in running the combines and their planning and management are

all geared to making huge profits.

Under the aforesaid "regulations," a combine is free to work out its own production plans on the principle of profit-seeking, study market conditions by itself, fix the prices of its own products and market them directly. It is also entitled to do its own "accounting and distribution in financial matters, materials and manpower." For the monopoly capitalist class, the more capital for free activities, the greater the surplus-labour it absorbs. Marx said: **"All methods for raising the social productive power of labour that are developed on this basis, are at the same time methods for the increased production of surplus-value or surplus-product."** (*Capital.*) And the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class in the Soviet Union, which is only a handful, is making greater efforts to have the sweating wage system—including the "perfection of remuneration for labour" and "scientific working units"—work in the combines for enormous profits.

Before the combines, the rate of profit at the Moscow Likhachev Motor Works, for instance, was 10.3 percent, but soon after they were formed, it went up to 23.4 percent.

The Brezhnev clique's all-out efforts to set up combines have further deepened the contradictions within Soviet social-imperialism. There is contention inside the capitalist class for a redistribution of power and capital. To keep their vested interests intact, the heads of some departments, local governments and enterprises have been opposing, under various pretexts, merging of enterprises. This has resulted in very slow progress in establishing combines. By the end of 1975, only one-fourth of the country's enterprises had joined. With the formation of combines, contradictions have grown more acute between social production and ownership by a handful in the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. The struggle by the Soviet working class against oppression and exploitation is mounting. Soviet social-imperialism is staggering in political and economic crises that become deeper and deeper.

SOVIET COLLECTIVE FARMS DEGENERATE

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Soviet collective farms have turned from undertakings of the socialist collective economy into those of a capitalist economy.

Not every kind of co-operative system falls into the category of socialist collective ownership. The nature of a co-operative system is connected with a given state power and with the economic form that holds the dominant position. In the Soviet Union under the revisionist renegade clique, state power has degenerated into a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and the dominant state-owned economy has been reduced to a bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois economy. Therefore, the Soviet collective farms are no longer undertakings of the socialist collective economy.

The actual relationship between members of collective farms and the means of production attests to the degeneration of collective ownership. Abusing the state power in its hands, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has usurped the leadership of the collective farms by replacing their former leading cadres with large numbers of its agents under the pretext that the "educational level" of cadres of worker and peasant origin is "very low" and the farms should be led by "experts" with "specialized education." These new bourgeois elements in the rural areas monopolize all power on collective farms in matters of production, materials, finance, distribution and personnel management and carry out in an all-round way the line of restoring capitalism on the farms. Under the Soviet revisionists' Standard Regulations for Collective Farms and Standard Rules for Internal Regulation of Collective Farms, collective farm chairmen are empowered to dispose of farm property and funds, draw up production plans, buy or sell machines and other means of production freely, sell farm and animal products without restraint, lease or transfer the farms' land, decide on farm members' remuneration and bonuses and punish members by administrative and economic means.

Capitalist Management

The principle of socialist management on collective farms has been

scrapped in favour of a revisionist line which makes "profits in command" and "material incentives" its core. Making money has become the ultimate aim of all collective farm activities and material incentives are the principal means of achieving this. First pushed by Khrushchov, this revisionist line has been greatly stepped up and developed by Brezhnev. At the plenary session of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party in March 1965, which was extolled as having "worked out the principled basis of the C.P.S.U. policy on present-stage agriculture," Brezhnev babbled that "the level of profit-making should become the basis for the objective assessment of the management of collective farms and state farms." He proposed the extensive use of "economic incentives" in "all realms" of productive activities on collective farms and state farms and advertised that "various measures of economic incentives" will become "one of the most important levers" in "raising labour productivity" and "overcoming backwardness in agricultural production." To carry out such a profit-making capitalist management principle, the Soviet revisionists have taken a series of measures and used all "economic levers" to stimulate the growth of capitalist forces in the countryside.

Production arrangements on collective farms are now determined by the amount of profit from farm and animal products. The capitalist law of value again plays the role of production regulator. To make super-profits and get bonuses, collective farm leaders try their utmost to develop and expand those departments which earn more income and profit while they pare down or even abandon those with less income and profit. For example, livestock breeding has long been the most backward department in agriculture mainly because it requires more labour and money to produce animal products which yield little profit or even incur losses. This has brought dislocation and confusion in various agricultural departments like farming and livestock breeding.

Collective Farm Members Reduced to Wage Labourers

Along with the change in the ownership which plays a decisive role in the relations of production, radical changes also have taken place in the other two fields of the relations, that is, the mutual relations between people in the process of production and the mode of distribution. The relationship between those who exercise leadership on collective farms and the farm members is no longer one of social division of labour, but between employer and employee, and between oppressor and oppressed.

The collective farm members are denied all power. In the Standard Regulations for Collective Farms, despite the stipulation that the collective farm will "exercise leadership in all activities in the fields of organization, production, finance, cultural life and education" through its managing council and that its chairman will be "elected at the meeting of collective farm members," most farm chairmen are assigned from above. They often

have protectors in higher organizations and no one can touch them. The managing council is purely nominal. The farm chairman is the "natural" chairman of the managing council who takes all power into his own hands, has the final say in the council and can even create a situation in which all farm members are deprived of the right to carry out supervision over the council. The farm authorities can usually make regulations as they wish to punish farm members.

Viewed from the mode of distribution, the exploitation of man by man again is practised on Soviet collective farms. The socialist principle "to each according to his work" is violated. The farm members' labour remuneration is merely the price and value of their labour power in a modified form. Part of their surplus-value is grabbed by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie in the name of the "state" through income tax, interest on bank loans and price disparity between industrial goods and farm produce. The other part goes to the farm authorities through such "legal forms" as high salaries and bonuses, as well as illegal means. Reduced to the status of hired labourers earning their living by selling labour power, farm members must do back-breaking jobs, working the longest hours while getting the lowest pay. According to official Soviet figures, there are about 30 million collective farm members, nearly 30 percent of the total rural population, whose remuneration from the farms and income from side-occupations are insufficient to maintain what the Soviet revisionists themselves regard as the lowest living standards.

Upstarts Multiplying

The salaries of those usurping farm leadership are several times, a dozen times or even 20-30 times those of ordinary farm members. Moreover, they have all kinds of additional remuneration and bonuses of which profit bonuses allocated from the material encouragement fund and bonuses allocated from the state fund because of deliveries exceeding the required quota amount to 60 percent of the yearly salaries at the highest, or to 70 percent in the land reclamation areas. To obtain bonuses by trickery, collective farm authorities have such as sordid practices as lowering their planned targets and cheating on the quantities of farm produce delivered. Thus, without much effort, they line their pockets with large amounts of rubles.

In addition to salaries and bonuses which are the "lawful income" of collective farm leaders according to regulations, they obtain illegally large amounts of income by embezzling and stealing, speculation and extortion. By these "lawful" and unlawful means, they greedily squeeze the blood and sweat out of the collective farm members, thus exacerbating polarization in the countryside.

The all-round capitalist restoration line pursued by the Soviet revisionists in agriculture has not only changed the nature of collective farm ownership but also expedited the development of private capitalism in the countryside. The private economy in the Soviet Union today accounts for a considerable

portion of the commodities in circulation. The Soviet press admitted in 1972 that commodities supplied by individual side-occupations constituted 12 percent of marketable farm products. (This is obviously a watered down figure. According to Western sources, it has been estimated at about 25 percent.) One-third or more than half of some farm and animal products are supplied by the private economy.

Speculation is rampant in today's Soviet countryside and speculators, upstarts as well as owners of underground farms and underground livestock farms are multiplying. Private capitalist economy is rife everywhere and has become virtually legal. The Brezhnev clique is its political representative.

The all-round restoration of the capitalist relations of production has seriously disrupted the agricultural productive forces. This is the root cause of the long-existing backwardness in agricultural production under the rule of Soviet revisionism.

THE BREZHNEV RENEGADE CLIQUE DAMAGES SOVIET AGRICULTURE

Peking Review, No. 21
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In the vast countryside of the Soviet Union, land resources have been seriously damaged, crops have declined and the peasants' living standards are going from bad to worse. These are the inevitable evil results of the all-round restoration of capitalism in the country by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which has stopped at nothing to grab maximum profits in the rural areas.

The following two articles expose how the clique has brought this about.

Land Resources Seriously Spoiled

After usurping political power, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique has thrown Soviet agricultural production into an increasingly grave crisis. To extricate itself from the predicament in grain production, this clique has resorted to land reclamation. Vast areas of wasteland were opened up in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Ural, areas along the Volga River and some regions in north Caucasus. Brezhnev has on many occasions bragged about the "results" of land reclamation in Kazakhstan, alleging that it has "rejuvenated" Kazakhstan and brought about "radical changes in economy, culture and the complexion of this vast region."

But facts are the very reverse. The living cover in the steppe of the newly reclaimed areas has been gravely damaged as a result of the Soviet revisionists' policy of land reclamation, which is aimed at grabbing grain for the year without paying attention to capital construction on the farms. This is a capitalist method of management, namely, draining a pond to catch all the fish.

Dust Storms

The Soviet journal *Agricultural Economy* admitted that dust storms have been caused "mainly by the shortage of ordinary and field-protecting forests

and by the unsatisfactory conditions and distribution of existing shelter belts." Another Soviet journal *Our Contemporary* disclosed in its 12th issue last year that dust storms occur "more frequently indeed" in the country and have almost become "ordinary phenomena." "Beginning from 1969, nearly every spring there has been wind erosion," it added.

The Soviet press reported that two dust storms in the spring of 1960 swept the vast southern part of the great Russian plain and more than 4 million hectares of spring crops in reclaimed areas were affected. In 1963 dust storms affected a larger area than in 1960. The affected cultivated land in the reclaimed areas in Kazakhstan came to 20 million hectares. A dust storm in 1969 destroyed in a few days all the wheat on 820,000 hectares in Krasnodar, Stavropol and Rostov. The Soviet publication *Moscow* admitted: "Dust storms sweep over all reclaimed land in Kazakhstan every year."

The Brezhnev clique's militarization of the national economy has resulted in a shortage of funds for capital construction of farmland. Its management policy of "profit comes first" has led the leading members of collective and state farms to confine their attention to immediate interests at the expense of farmland protection.

Water Erosion

Construction of new water conservancy projects has become sluggish in recent years while existing establishments have been rapidly out of commission owing to lack of maintenance. According to obviously doctored data released by official Soviet quarters, every year, the newly increased irrigated acreage accounted for only 0.4 percent of the total arable land of the country, while the rejected irrigated land was equal to one-sixth of the increase. Woods have been felled at random in many places. As a result, soil erosion has become more serious year after year. The journal *Agricultural Economy* in its 8th issue last year reported that in Azerbaijan alone, "48 million tons of fertile soil are washed away every year . . . 3.3 million hectares of land are eroded. It is not difficult to conceive what great losses erosion has brought to the national economy in Azerbaijan."

Take the Don River basin in the Russian Federative Republic. "In Rostov, water erosion brings longer and more serious damage than wind erosion," according to a report by *Our Contemporary* in its 12th issue last year. "The arable land decreases by 8,000 hectares every year in the Don River basin as a result of the washing away of soil" and "the losses caused by water loss and soil erosion in the Don River basin amount to 40 million rubles every year," it noted.

The journal *Moscow* also revealed that "more and more ravines have appeared" owing to water erosion, and that "in the Ukraine about one million hectares of land are criss-crossed with many ravines. In the Russian central black-soil belt, the average length of ravines per square kilometre is 580 metres and, in Kursk and Orel Regions, 700 metres."

Land Turning Alkaline

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped political power, vast tracts of fertile Soviet land have become barren. *Agricultural Economy* in its 8th issue of 1975 disclosed that "owing to bad management fertile land in some areas is undergoing a process of erosion, becoming alkaline or turning into swamp land. Eventually the land becomes too poor to be used as arable land again." The journal also reported that in the Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia there were 9.6 million hectares of swamp, alkaline, wasted and erosive land and shrubbery in 1973, constituting 52 percent of the total land area. It is reported that in Volgograd of the Russian Federative Republic erosive and alkaline land accounts for over 80 percent of the arable land.

According to the fifth issue of *Agricultural Economy* last year, in Vietebsk Region of Byelorussia 361,000 hectares of arable land were overgrown with shrubs, constituting 20 percent of the total arable land. In a state farm of this region, "all the arable land has become wild, swampy and full of shrubs and rocks." The *Moscow* revealed that one-third of the farmland in the Ukraine has turned poor as a result of water erosion. Thirty-one thousand hectares of fertile land in Rostov turned barren in the decade of 1961-70.

Arable Land Shrinking

The acreage of Soviet arable and grazing land decreases year after year as more and more farmland lies waste. The Soviet press has to admit that "owing to various causes, arable land in some areas has kept shrinking." Becasue of "neglect and violating elementary rules of utilization, large stretches of natural grazing land and grassland are covered with shrubs, dunes and swamps." *Agricultural Economy* disclosed in its 8th issue last year that "arable land in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia decreased by 961,900 hectares, or 9.8 percent in 1973 as compared with 1950; and cultivated land by 676,400 hectares, or 22 percent. In this respect, the problem in Georgia is more serious. In the same period, its cultivated land contracted by 486,400 hectares, or 41.1 percent."

The damage done to land resources affects grain production. It is precisely in Kazakhstan where Brezhnev once took charge of land reclamation, that harvests have fallen for three years running since 1972 and grain output in 1975 was down 60 percent compared with 1972.

Ruthless Oppression and Exploitation of Peasants

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, cashing in on the position and power it has usurped, plunders at will the fruits of labour of collective farm members and state farm workers and staff.

Policy of High Procurement Rate

In the last 20 years or so, the Soviet revisionists have all along enforced the

policy of procuring large quantities of grain produced by collective and state farms. Figures published by Soviet authorities in recent years show that in the period of Khrushchov's rule, grain procurement usually stood at 30 to 40 percent of the yearly output. After usurping state power, Brezhnev denounced Khrushchov's policy as "sabotaging the economy of collective and state farms." However, the procurement rate under his own "system of procurement on fixed scale" and above-plan purchase is really much higher than it was under Khrushchov and is steadily increasing. Between 1965 and 1974, the average annual rate of procurement was 24 percent higher than in the previous ten years.

During the period of 1971-74, the Brezhnev clique, by means of its procurement system, grabbed 47.1 percent of the grain, 66 percent of the meat and 56 percent of the milk produced by the broad masses of labouring people through hard work. Its plunder of non-Russian areas is even more ruthless. For instance, nearly 58 percent of the average annual output of grain of Kazakhstan was "procured" from 1971 to 1975.

Yawning Gap

The Brezhnev clique has since 1965 enforced "the new economic system" centring on profit. Seeking the maximum profits, the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie has kept raising the prices of industrial products, thus accelerating the scissors movement of prices between industrial and agricultural products and stepping up its exploitation of peasants. Soviet journals reported that in recent years the prices of machinery, fuel, fertilizer and other industrial products used in agricultural production have all gone up considerably. For example, from 1965 to 1973, the prices of gasoline and diesel oil in some areas rose by 30 to 124 percent. The price of chemical fertilizer shot up 25 percent; fodder, 60 percent; and tractor trailers, 80 percent. The price of tractor spare parts went up by as much as 550 percent. The collective farms in the Russian Federative Republic alone spent an additional sum of 800 million rubles in production costs per year owing to the spiralling prices of industrial products. Expenditures for the repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery also increased considerably. A Soviet journal admitted that the repair fees for a tractor during its life-span greatly surpass the price of a new one. The production costs of Soviet agricultural produce, as a result, grow higher and higher. The Soviet journal *Agricultural Economy* revealed in its fourth issue last year that from 1965 to 1973, the increment rate of production cost for the collective and state farms in the Soviet Union outstripped that of their output value by 44 percent.

Turnover Tax

Turnover tax is another instrument which the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie uses to plunder the peasantry. Under Khrushchov's rule, an annual turnover tax of 20,000 million rubles was levied on the peasants. The tax rose to over 36,000 million rubles in 1974, an increase of 80 percent in a

decade.

These are only some of the methods used by the Brezhnev clique to plunder the Soviet peasantry. There are still other exorbitant taxes, miscellaneous levies and various kinds of exploitation which it imposes.

Mercilessly fleeced by the Brezhnev clique, many collective and state farms are up to their necks in debt. The Soviet press disclosed that in the last few years about 40 percent of the state farms have been running at a loss, 33 percent of the collective farms are "economically weak" with 90 percent of them in debt. According to *The Yearbook of National Economy of the Soviet Union for 1974*, the total amount of debt incurred by collective farms up to that year reached 17,100 million rubles, or 6.3 times that of 1960. In terms of the population of all collective farms in the country, every member owed a debt of 1,091 rubles in 1974, which cannot be repaid even with a member's annual income. Collective farm members and staff and workers of state farms are heavily in debt, receive a meagre income and lead a miserable life. The Soviet press admits that about 30 million people in the countryside find it difficult to maintain the lowest living standards.

The Brezhnev clique's ruthless exploitation inevitably has aroused strong resentment and resistance among the Soviet peasantry. The exodus of the labouring people from the countryside, particularly the young people, is a manifestation of this resistance. The resultant serious shortage of farm labourers is one of the important reasons for the decline of Soviet agriculture and repeated crop failures.

VICE RIFE IN SOVIET SOCIETY

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Vice inherent in capitalist society is rife in the Soviet Union today.

Rampant Graft, Theft and Embezzlement

Graft and embezzlement have become a characteristic of Soviet society. Revelations in the Soviet press show that "numerous leading officials and responsible cadres of party organizations" from the central committee down to the grass-roots units, in cities and rural areas, and in government organs and schools, "have made easy money at the expense of the people." Some "have personally directed gangs specializing in graft and embezzlement" and not a few have become "millionaires" in a short period.

For instance, a member of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party managed to embezzle as much as half a million rubles—the equivalent of the total yearly earnings of over 400 average workers and built a magnificent house for herself.

In Armenia, one postmaster embezzled over 120,000 rubles by various means.

Graft and embezzlement in Georgia are also rife in industrial, commercial, cultural, educational and health circles. The chairman and vice-chairman of the central co-operative of the republic banded together with many other leading officials and embarked on large-scale embezzlement. The chief cashier of the co-op was in cahoots with this gang.

Criminal activities like theft, embezzlement of public funds and stealing public property are commonplace in the Russian federative republic and other republics.

Following the example set by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and under their protection, many of those entrusted with management of enterprises, collective farms, stores or cultural and educational departments have lost no opportunity to help themselves to public funds and property. For example, the boss of a Tbilisi factory pocketed over 1.1 million rubles at

one stroke; a Sukhumi tobacco company head's ill-gotten wealth amounted to millions of rubles.

Booming black markets and free markets where speculators and profiteers are in their heyday present another feature of Soviet life today. American cigarettes, chewing gum, jeans and even foreign currencies and narcotics are quite common on Moscow's black markets. Means of production such as machine tools, cranes, generators and locomotives are also put on sale on the free markets. Group after group of speculators and upstarts are multiplying in such fertile soil.

The chief of an administration in Azerbaijan, in league with some of the managerial staff of enterprises under it, was found to be black-marketeering in a big way. He dealt in gold coins and jewellery and in money involving chiefly U.S. dollars and British pounds in Moscow, Tula, Lvov and other places. The gold and jewels found in his home weighed as much as 32 kilogrammes. The speculative profit he amassed amounted to over 280,000 rubles.

The manager of the store Tadzhikistan in downtown Moscow and his cronies embezzled 40 kilogrammes of gold and over 2 million rubles in cash and valuables, surreptitiously sold at a high price over 220,000 metres of silks and colluded with people travelling abroad to bring in foreign goods to sell on the black markets.

The conditions in the educational and cultural fields are even worse. Scandals have multiplied as the gaps between various social strata have widened and class differentiation become more marked. Vices such as abuse of administrative authority, bribery and extortion run rampant throughout the country. Many people seeking diplomas and fame and fortune do not hesitate to resort to plagiarism, and buying and selling degrees or diplomas or faking diplomas are quite common. There are such things as underground factories producing fake scholars and pseudo-doctors of sciences and enterprises set up nominal colleges that do not teach but confer diplomas. The *Literary Gazette* disclosed in its issue No. 23, 1974 that a certain Gorbatenko managed to obtain the degree of doctor of economics at Yakut State University by faking his credentials and bribery. When he became a professor, he set up a university's scholarship committee which, under his control, was bribed to confer the title of "associate doctors" on 33 people in three years.

Depraved Social Morals

Widespread prostitution is another perceptible sign of the demoralization of Soviet society. A Belgian journal in June last year quoted an official in the Soviet Ministry of the Interior as remarking that some 16,000 prostitutes had at one time registered in Leningrad. There are bars, night clubs and even thinly disguised brothels in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and other big and medium-sized cities as well as at health resorts. Venereal diseases have spread far and wide as streetwalkers have increased in number. Quoting from a Soviet underground publication, a French magazine disclosed that

prostitution, the ulcer of capitalism, definitely exists in the Soviet Union. At night in many parts of Moscow streetwalkers are at work, some protected and supported by the police.

With the revisionists in power over the last 20 years, divorce has become an increasingly serious problem in the Soviet Union and family relations have become very abnormal. The journal *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, No. 4, 1974, said that the country's divorce rate jumped from 3 percent in 1950 to over 30 percent in 1972. Sixty percent of the divorced couples had been married less than five years and 21 percent less than a year. The Soviet Union has become one of the nations with the world's highest divorce rate.

Alcoholism and Drugs Becoming More Serious

Alcoholism is another serious social problem over which the Soviet revisionists find themselves helpless. Average annual consumption of liquor per person in the Soviet Union is twice as much as in the United States. Every year 13,000 million rubles are squandered on vodka alone and 6-7 million drunkards sent to "sobering up wards." Soviet workers often take to drinking because they cannot give vent to their strong resentment to revisionist rule. As Engels pointed out in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, what else can be expected than workers taking to drink under a capitalist system. A case in point is a plant in the Urals, where about 30 percent of its workers have been sent to "sobering up wards" annually. In a Moscow factory, a surprise morning check-up showed that 280 of the factory's work force of 410 had hangovers and were unable to turn up for work. The number of youth and women alcoholics grows year after year. Numerous youths and women can be found dead drunk in the streets or causing disturbances in public places while drunk so that they had to be sent to "sobering up wards." An article in the October 15, 1975 issue of *Literary Gazette* said that 75 percent of the boys in the eighth grade, 80 percent in the ninth grade and 95 percent in the tenth grade indulged in drinking alcohol.

Drug addiction and the drug traffic are also becoming rampant in the Soviet Union. Drug addiction is widespread in the southern and the central Asian parts of the country, especially among the youth. The First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers in Georgia revealed that "narcotic addiction, among Soviet youth in particular, had given rise to grave worry among the public." (*Zarya Vostoka*, June 15, 1972.) The paper *Socialist Industry* reported on August 6, 1972 that the arch-criminal of a "morphine traffic group" in Kazakhstan had obtained large quantities of morphine from a pharmaceutical plant and sold the drug in small packages in other parts of the country. Another report said that a group of scientists secretly made narcotics in a lysergic acid plant in Moscow, that some units in the Caucasus produced heroin and that opium was grown in the central Asian part of the Soviet Union.

Juvenile delinquency also has become increasingly grave in the Soviet Union. Quite a proportion of young people have taken the path of crime. Even Soviet authorities admit that in recent years there have been numerous

cases of juvenile delinquency and 50 to 80 percent of the crimes were committed in groups. *Pravda* on June 2, 1971 disclosed that at night, hooligans (mostly adolescents) became masters of the streets. The paper *Young Communist* revealed that a youth gang in Balashov, Saratov region, had committed robbery, theft and murder over a long period, its members sealing their pledges in blood. A young gang of criminals in Kharkov engaged in group killing, looted stores, broke into houses at night and committed all kinds of crimes. In Karaganda, a mob of students imitating the hero of a murder film they had seen committed seven killings in one night.

Inevitable Result of All-Round Capitalist Restoration

The malignant development of these social evils in the Soviet Union is the inevitable consequence of the all-round capitalist restoration by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique and a manifestation of the reactionary nature, parasitism and decadence of Soviet social-imperialism. With the continuous degeneration of social-imperialism, these social evils will spread on a more extensive scale.

In recent years, the Soviet revisionist authorities pretentiously have taken decisions on the "struggle" against alcoholism, adopting "anti-alcoholism" measures, promulgating regulations on "reform through labour" and laws banning prostitution, restricting the spread of venereal diseases, combating drug addiction, etc. But this is merely a deceptive trick of thief crying "stop thief" on the part of Brezhnev and company. Petty thieves are punished while arch-brigands are honoured with high official titles. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a gang of arch-brigands who have usurped state power and its huge bureaucratic structure is the nerve centre of all criminals. So long as the clique's reactionary rule continues, its so-called campaigns against "theft," "alcoholism," "drug addiction" and "prostitution" will only make these social evils more rampant in the Soviet Union.

REACTIONARY AND DECADENT EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

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In the Soviet Union under the rule of the revisionist renegade clique, capitalism has been completely restored in the field of education, with the bourgeoisie exercising dictatorship over the proletariat. Today, schools in the country have become instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Educational Institutes Monopolized by Bourgeois Intellectuals

In pushing its revisionist line in the field of culture and education, the said clique has energetically carried out the policy of "relying on experts in running the schools." It plants bourgeois scholar-tyrants and reactionary authoritative persons donning the cloak of "Communists" in leading posts in the educational departments. Consequently, schools are now under the exclusive control of bourgeois intellectuals while the working class is completely deprived of its leadership in these institutions and the right to run them.

As Lenin repeatedly emphasized, schools should be able **"to train a generation that is fully capable of building communism"** (*Draft Programme of the R.C.P.* [*B.*]), a generation who goes beyond the narrow bounds of bourgeois right; education as a whole **"should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man."** (*On Proletarian Culture.*) The revisionists in the Kremlin, while profusely talking about the need for the young people to study communism, are actually instilling bourgeois ideology into their minds and indoctrinating youths with the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" to cover up the stark reality of brutal class oppression and fascist dictatorship over the broad masses of the Soviet people by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. With ulterior motives, they twist the meaning of studying

communism and make it primarily a matter of mastering science and knowledge. They spread the nonsense that technical expertise would pave the way towards communism. The Soviet youth league paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* put it bluntly, saying the task of the young people is "to acquire knowledge," thereby leading them astray to place technique above everything else and to seek personal fame and gain.

In pushing a reactionary educational line, the Soviet educational undertakings trumpet with might and main the theory of "genius" and the idea of "giving first place to intellectual development." They also zealously eulogize so-called "extraordinary talent" and "innate quality," saying that there should be special schools for "talented children" and boarding schools in scenic spots for students with "extraordinary talent."

Especially shocking is the fact that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its agents in educational circles have gone so far as to pick up the spittle of German fascism and peddle the reactionary theory of "genius by inheritance." A correspondence academician of the Soviet Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has elaborately classified, in accordance with bourgeois classification of the human race, Soviet middle school students into six categories belonging to either one of the two types. According to him, children of the privileged fall into the categories of "theoreticians," "social activists" and "organizers" because it is preordained that they are persons with real talent; those from the countryside belong to the so-called category of "indolence" and are at best useful labourers and "law-abiding" citizens. In the eyes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, children of the labouring people are "mediocrities" who should be barred from schools and are destined to be slaves, whereas only the children of the privileged are "geniuses" who are entitled to a good education and are undisputed rulers.

So that the children of the privileged can receive a special "training," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has set up special "schools for geniuses," offering such courses as military affairs, mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign languages and the arts. Over 95 percent of the "talented graduates" from these schools will become postgraduates and later "experts." They are regarded as the "elite" of the Soviet students and "the future leaders of the Soviet Union." They "live like aristocrats of the tsarist times."

It is quite obvious that this so-called "education for geniuses" is bourgeois through and through. It is a vehicle to exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over workers, peasants and their children and train successors to the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie.

Workers, Peasants and Their Children Discriminated Against

To whom are the school doors open? This is a vital issue concerning which class education serves. In the time of Lenin and Stalin, priority was given to education of workers and peasants and their children and favourable conditions were created for their enrolment. Lenin said that as far as receiving an education is concerned, there should be **"no actual or legal privileges for the propertied classes"** and **"priority must certainly go to workers and poor peasants."** (*Admission to Higher Educational Institutions of the Russian Federation.*) The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has, since it usurped power, done exactly the opposite, depriving the workers, peasants and their children of this priority. It ostentatiously claims that all Soviet citizens, regardless of their property and social status, "enjoy equality" in education. This is a big lie. "Equality" in education and other aspects of social life is out of the question in a class society where the political and economic status of the different classes is not the same. In the Soviet Union today, an all-round restoration of capitalism has taken place and the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique controls the state apparatus and leadership at all levels and appropriates the entire social wealth. The broad masses of workers and peasants have again been reduced to wage-labourers, deprived of their right to run state affairs and subjected to oppression and exploitation. How can their childen enjoy "equality" in education with the children of the privileged class? In fact, broad sections of Soviet workers and peasants and their children who have entered schools are discriminated against. Brezhnev himself has to admit that 34 percent of the workers have received only a primary school or still lower education. To many children of workers and peasants, life is so hard that they are forced to quit school before graduation. Under the guiding principle of "giving first place to intellectual development" and "putting stress on getting good marks," many children of the workers and peasants are thrown out of school on the charge that they are "backward in intelligence" and have "low level of knowledge."

Children of workers and peasants of course have no access to higher education since they cannot even complete their primary education. As noted by a Japanese journal, "Soviet college entrance examinations offer the objective right of 'equality in education' to children of all social strata" but, as a matter of fact, "practically all the children of the intellectuals pass the examinations while nearly all the peasants' children fail." This is because "family conditions have given rise to inequality among the Soviet youths before the entrance examinations." In a Soviet report on an investigation into the youths in Novosibirsk, it is acknowledged that the chances for young people of various social strata to further their studies are not equal. The report discloses that only 18 percent of middle school graduates from families of collective farm members and state farm workers go to college, but in the case of the children of urban intellectuals (including those in authority), the percentage is 82. Some children from families of the working people, even if they have managed to get in by sheer luck, are likely to be "eliminated" on various pretexts, and quite a few are forced to leave school because of failure in examinations. In the Ural region, the drop-out rate among workers' and peasants' children is as high as 45.7 percent. All this gives the lie to the so-called freedom and equality bragged by Brezhnev and company.

A Rigid Hierarchy

With the Soviet revisionist renegade clique boosting bourgeois right in the educational field, a handful of privileged bourgeois elements now have monopolized education, particularly higher education, by both "legal" and illegal means. On the strength of their parents' political position, power and money, practically all the sons and daughters of the privileged class can enter college if they so desire. They can get good marks at entrance examinations because they can afford to go first to "supplementary classes" and "preparatory classes" or get instruction from private tutors; they can also enter college through all sorts of back doors. Today, in the entrance examinations of the Soviet institutions of higher learning, all social abuses under capitalism such as reliance on political clout, bribery and fraud are prevalent. It is now a common practice for the privileged class to use their official power to get their children and relatives into colleges. A factory director in Tbilisi actually paid a Party committee secretary and professors of a medical college 13,000 rubles (this is about the annual wage of ten average workers put together) to have his daughter enrolled in that "institution of higher learning." Children of bureaucrats and other privileged people can go unpunished when they have committed any crimes and can still worm their way into institutes of higher learning. According to *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (January 29, 1975), a member of collegium and concurrently department head of the Engineering Ministry not only got his son who was sentenced for rape pardoned, but also found him a job and made him a member of the communist youth league and sent him to college. There are also agencies where examinees may hire people to take part in examinations on their behalf, agencies issuing fake diplomas or running phantom colleges, which are always at the service of the sons and daughters of rich families as long as they are ready to pay a handsome sum.

A strict system of ranks prevails in Soviet education. It is very difficult for sons and daughters of workers and peasants to enter universities. Awaiting them is "menial" labour when they finish primary schools, middle schools or vocational schools. As for sons and daughters of the privileged class, they become "experts" or "scholars" and hold leading posts after graduation from institutes of higher learning, thus inheriting the privileged position of their parents. All this clearly reflects the class nature of Soviet education. This system of ranks in Soviet education is determined by the antagonism between classes in Soviet society and serves to consolidate the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class' ruling position.

Facts show that schools are used by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to foster the reactionary idea that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" so as to consolidate cultural autocracy by a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists over the working people.

Since coming to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has carried

out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the entire field of ideology. It not only frantically destroys the proletarian ideology and culture existing in the days of Lenin and Stalin but also allows the decadent ideology and culture of the bourgeoisie to inundate the country. It spreads the bourgeois way of life in schools and poisons the minds of the youth by imbuing them with the bourgeois world outlook of "regarding knowledge as private property" and "pleasure-seeking before everything else." Thus bourgeois intellectual aristocrats are spawned group by group in institutes of higher learning, the hotbed of revisionism, to constitute the social foundation of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique.

SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS

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The new tsars in Moscow have thrown into concentration camps Soviet people of all nationalities in large numbers who dare to oppose or resist their fascist rule, thereby subjecting them to torment mentally and physically.

A report issued by the Legislative Proposals Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities states that the overwhelming majority of prisoners who are deprived of freedom after trial are kept in "labour reform camps." The location of more than 250 such concentration camps has been revealed by their former inmates. Information from various sources indicates that there are more than 1,000 such camps in the Soviet Union. The number of prisoners which is now more than a million is steadily growing.

Since coming to power the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has promulgated many decrees aimed at stepping up political suppression of people who dare to voice discontent or oppose its rule. These people are branded as having committed "especially dangerous crimes against the state."

It is reported that the number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union today is far greater than in tsarist Russia. Using the laws and decrees to charge those who resist their reactionary rule with the crime of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" or "slanders on the Soviet state and social system," the Soviet authorities throw them into concentration camps.

A number of former inmates of concentration camps have testified that people have been thrown into concentration camps for merely expounding and spreading beliefs and views contrary to those of the official circles, for openly expressing dissent on this or that government decree or for criticizing the present Soviet state and social system. An assistant professor in a university in Kiev was sentenced to many years of imprisonment for holding aloft a placard with the words "Shame on the C.P.S.U. leadership!" during a parade.

The Brezhnev clique's oppression of the people of non-Russian nationalities is even more ruthless. Reports show that political prisoners of

non-Russian nationalities are imprisoned in remote areas and they are forbidden to use their own national languages when addressing officials, corresponding with others, or meeting their families. Following in the footsteps of the old tsars, the new tsars are pushing ahead with Great-Russian chauvinism.

Three women political prisoners from the Ukraine sent a letter to the United Nations in May 1973. In it they disclosed that the Soviet authorities launched a "new wave of repression" in the Ukraine in the previous year. Their letter said: "We have been persecuted and imprisoned simply because we, as Ukrainians, advocate the preservation and development of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine." The Western press reported that the number of so-called "nationalists" arrested in 1972 by the Soviet authorities was greater than in any previous year.

In 1969 the Brezhnev clique issued a so-called "corrective labour code" which pompously proclaimed: "Punishment does not have as one of its aims the incurring of physical suffering or the lowering of human dignity." But in actual fact the Moscow revisionists have resorted to a whole series of despicable measures to inflict both physical and mental torture on political prisoners in concentration camps. Some political prisoners have disclosed: "Through these camps passes an uninterrupted flow of human beings, millions of them. They are sent back into society physical and moral cripples. This is the result of a deliberate penal policy, worked out by experts and presented by them . . . with a cynicism worthy of the concentration camp experts of the Third Reich."

There are four categories of so-called "labour reform camps," namely, ordinary, hard (or intensified), strict and special regimes. Each camp is encircled by barbed-wire entanglements, electrified iron railings and tall watch towers. The prisoners are forced to have their heads shaved and wear prison uniforms. Those in the special regime are subjected to the ignominy of having a number prominently stamped on their clothes. Imitating Hitler, the Soviet authorities torture prisoners by keeping them in a constant state of hunger.

Every known form of savage punishment is used in concentration camps. Nine political prisoners disclosed in a letter to the International Red Cross: "In the camps every method is put into service with one objective—to break our will and force us into submission. . . . The entire establishment of the camp is aimed at transforming human beings into terrified and subservient animals. . . ." They also pointed out that anyone not subservient would be confined in a damp and cold "punishment cell" or "solitary confinement cell." Some are handcuffed, or put in straitjackets, and their daily ration is reduced to the minimum. Prisoners emerging from such a "prison within a prison" stagger and lurch in their gait.

The camp authorities aid and abet the guards to use barbarous means such as setting dogs on the prisoners, stripping and searching them in the open air when the temperature is 30-40 degrees below zero. The guards even get two

weeks of holidays for killing any prisoner trying to escape from the camp. The concentration camp on Wrangel Island is a veritable Nazi "death camp"; it carries out various experiments on political prisoners.

Cruel torture and slaughter, however, cannot cow the people who show discontent and resist Soviet revisionist rule. Tyranny only intensifies their hatred for the new tsars. Political prisoners in concentration camps often wage all kinds of struggles including refusal to work, hunger strikes and insurrections. Through many channels which make themselves heard by the Soviet people and the people of the world, they also expose and denounce the fascist crimes of the Soviet revisionist authorities. All this constitutes a constant source of distress and anxiety to the Brezhnev clique.

Hunger strikes occurred in concentration camps in Mordovia and Perm in December 1973 and from April to August in 1974. Prisoners in a camp in Kazakhstan refused to work in the summer of 1969 and demanded improvement in their conditions. In reply, however, the Soviet authorities dispatched troops to open fire on the 6,000 prisoners. When the prisoners in the Potma concentration camp launched an insurrection in 1970 in protest against the authorities' persecution, armed police and K.G.B. agents suppressed them in cold blood. Rather than surrender, over 50 prisoners fought to the bitter end.

A Ukrainian lawyer, who was put into a concentration camp because of his opposition to the Great-Russian chauvinism pushed by the Soviet new tsars, said: "The longer I suffer here, the more I feel I have taken the correct road." An Armenian engineer, thrown into the Perm concentration camp in 1973, said: "We know what is in store for us. But there cannot be freedom without sacrifice. We can be annihilated, but we will never submit. We will fight until final victory. That is our oath." One Communist, who had been put into a concentration camp for opposing the dark rule of the Soviet revisionists, fearlessly declared in court: "I was, am and will be a Communist. . . . My ardent love for socialism has made me the defendant. But even if I were put on trial ten times I will safeguard my communist ideal as long as I have the strength to do so."

With the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, the Soviet people will certainly not permit the Brezhnev clique to ride roughshod over them for long. As Lenin pointed out when he denounced the old tsars, **"The wholesale arrests are doing their job—they are a powerful weapon of agitation among the workers and socialist intellectuals, . . . the places of the fallen revolutionaries are being taken by new people who are ready, with fresh energy, to join the ranks of the champions of the Russian proletariat and of the entire people of Russia."** (*The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats.*)

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM PURSUES A POLICY OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION

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Since its usurpation of power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has brought about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, frenziedly trumpeted big-Russian chauvinism and brutally exploited and oppressed the non-Russian nationalities. The policy of national oppression pursued by the Soviet revisionist authorities has aroused strong indignation and resistance among the people of various nationalities in the country.

The following four articles tell from different angles how the Soviet social-imperialists push their policy of national oppression at home.

Soviet Revisionists Zealously Push Big-Russian Chauvinism

To oppress the non-Russian nationalities at home and contend for world domination, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is feverishly preaching big-Russian chauvinism.

Trumpeting "Russian Spirit"

Soviet revisionist chieftains, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, have taken every opportunity to make reports or speeches publicizing big-Russian chauvinism and pan-Slavism. Soviet literature and art and the press also are replete with nauseating muck about big-Russian chauvinism.

Speaking of the national question, Lenin stressed: **"In any really serious and profound political issue sides are taken according to classes, not nations."** (*Critical Remarks on the National Question.*) Out of its counter-revolutionary needs, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed Lenin's teaching by wildly preaching a supra-class "Russian spirit" and openly advertising that an "eternally immutable Russian spirit" has existed since ancient times.

Engels pointed out in 1882 that pan-Slavism was a deceitful plan, under

the mask of a non-existent Slav nation, in the scramble for world domination. It is also for world domination that the new tsars today should be so effusive about pan-Slavism. Time and again they have given publicity to the "traditions of Slav identity from time immemorial" between the Russians and other Slavs and to "the ever-growing political, economic and cultural role of the Slavs in the modern world." The *Outline History of Southern and Western Slavs* published in the Soviet Union says that the southern Slavs "have been linked with Russia from time immemorial because of the closeness of their languages, culture and religious beliefs." The book even terms the Russian nation as the "grandad" and other nations as "junior relatives." "This strong, kind and brave 'Grandad Ivan,' " it goes on to say, "will liberate his junior relatives—the Balkan Slavs." A Soviet revisionist chieftain has even openly threatened that "those who oppose the Russians are opposed to all Slavs."

Moscow's Racial Superiority Mentality

All national chauvinists take "racial superiority" as their theoretical basis. Hitler's great Germanism was based on the allegation that the Germanic race was superior to all others. This is also the case with Brezhnev and company. They have the effrontery to say that "there has never been greater human character than that (of the Russian nation) at any time and in any place of the world" and that only "the Slav nation, the Russian nation in particular, is most capable of inheriting and developing the wisdom created by all nations for generations." Marxist-Leninists maintain that a nation is divided into classes, and that the working people of all nations, including those of the Russian nation, are industrious, and have inexhaustible wisdom and creativeness and their own fine traditions and culture. The theory that a certain nation is superior to others has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. It is Hitler-type fascism advocating aggression and domination of other nations.

According to the logic of the Soviet revisionists, the Russian nation, being the best of all nations, should naturally play the role of "saviour." They make no secret of this unbridled ambition. They said that the occupation of Central Asian countries by tsarist Russia "brought an era of happiness" to the land of Central Asia, that the annexation of Moldavia "ensured the possibility of a quicker economic and cultural development for the Moldavians," and that "the Balkan peoples regard the Russians as their liberators," and so on and so forth. The new tsars today want to go a step further to perform their mission as "liberators" throughout the world. An alternate member of the political bureau of the Soviet party central committee openly claimed at a meeting last October that the Russian nation is a "leading nation" which "undertakes the major responsibility of striving for social progress and happiness of mankind." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique boasted that the Soviet Union under its rule is now "the prop of international revolutionary liberation movements" and that without allying themselves with the Soviet Union, the developing

and liberated countries "cannot have genuine national independence." This is a malignant development of big-Russian chauvinism.

"Aggression is Justified"—A Fallacy of the Old Tsars

The new tsars have lavished praises on those Russian "heroes" who had performed service in aggression against other countries. This is part of their effort to instil the theory that "aggression is justified" into the Soviet people so as to drive them to serve as cannon fodder in the scramble for world hegemony. They openly proclaim that the "lust for conquest of unexploited land is a key factor of encouragement to the Russians." They describe tsarist Russia's aggression and expansion as a "process," accomplished in the early 20th century, of "amassing Russian land and seizing unclaimed land for centuries under the powerful hand of overlords." They laud the tsarist Russian aggressors' conquest of Siberia and the Far East as "enabling Russia to be very soon in sight of far-away and vast land as her soul." A Soviet admiral of the fleet has twaddled that tsarist Russia conquered the Astrakhan Kingdom simply because "the Astrakhan Kingdom blocked (Russia's) waterway to the Caspian Sea." Therefore, he added, the three nations along the Baltic Sea should also be conquered by Russia because they were in the way of Russia's passage to the Baltic Sea. It is the logic of both the old and new tsars that any nation which happens to be in the way of their access to the sea must be brought under their rule. Referring to tsarist Russia's contention with Britain for maritime hegemony, that Soviet admiral stated: "How good that the Russian peasant from the provinces of the interior, without waiting for the Englishman to finish speaking, climbed down from his stove-bench and went to conquer the oceans." In the eyes of the self-styled "loyal Leninists" it was "good" indeed to be cannon fodder in tsarist Russia's conquest of the world! What they preach does not even have the slightest semblance of Leninism. They are echoing the words of the old tsars!

The Soviet revisionist authorities glorify the aggressors who rendered extraordinary services to tsarist Russia's expansion, describing them as "heroes" and even erecting monuments abroad as a tribute to them. The play *Gorchakov Free From Trial* portrays this tsarist Russian prime minister, who participated in the suppression of European revolution and served tsarist Russia in its contention for world domination, as a man symbolic of the "soul of the Russian people." In the novel *The Landmark of the Amur River*, Muraviev who forced China into signing the "Treaty of Aigun" and occupied large tracts of Chinese territory was portrayed as the "vanguard of the explorers in the Amur River area." On orders from Brezhnev and his like, a bronze statue to Alexander II who was mocked by Engels as an aggressor in carrying out **"Czarist variety of liberation"** (*The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism*) is still preserved intact on the Russia Boulevard in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. Soviet diplomats in Sofia pay homage to the statue every year and the Bulgarian people are also made to do so. Such cases are too

numerous to be mentioned here. The all-out efforts made by the Soviet revisionist authorities in this respect are motivated by their attempt to turn the younger generations in the Soviet Union into "worthy successors" to the aggressors to "exploit new land" for Russia now under the rule of the new tsars.

Despicable Tactics in Moldavia

The Soviet revisionists have resorted to despicable and malevolent tactics to Russify Moldavia.

Afraid to Acknowledge Historical Facts. In 1853 Marx and Engels pointed out that **"the Wallachians or Daco-Romans"** were **"the chief inhabitants of the district between the Lower Danube and the Dniester."** (*British Politics—Disraeli—The Refugees—Mazzini in London—Turkey.*) Both the old and new tsars are mortally afraid to acknowledge this fact because it is detrimental to their vicious scheme to Russify the Moldavian people. The old tsarist Russian ruling clique asserted that the Moldavians "were but slightly modified Russians," while the new tsars stress that "an independent nation of Moldavia" only came into being in the early years of the 20th century, and that, with regard to the Moldavian nationality group, the predecessor of this nation, "a number of Slav tribes (mainly the southern and eastern Slav tribes) also partook in its formation."

It is a well-known fact that the territory now under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Moldavia was grabbed by tsarist Russia by force. In 1791 Russia obtained the territory east of River Dniester through the Peace Treaty of Jassy and in 1812 it occupied the area west of this river and east of River Prut through the Peace Treaty of Bucharest. Later this area was renamed Bessarabia. Referring to this, Engels explicitly pointed out: **"Here we are dealing with the naked conquest by force of foreign territories, with robbery pure and simple."** (*The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism.*)

Having taken over the old tsars' mantle, the new tsars are especially afraid of the exposure of the old tsars by the people. They fear most the narration by Moldavians of historical facts about the old tsars' occupation and oppression of their country. The Soviet revisionist authorities have openly declared against any permission "to make use of the Moldavians' respect for the past and their sense of national independence." While the new tsars have time and again criticized noted Moldavian scholars for their appraisal of "past events and phenomena," they themselves have distorted history by every possible means in defending the old tsars.

Destruction of Moldavian Culture. To ensure the Russification of Moldavia, the old tsars tried desperately to destroy Moldavian culture. The *Bigger Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1954 states in its 28th volume that, under pressure by the tsarist authorities, schools where teaching was conducted in the Moldavian language in the first half of the 19th century were closed, and

Russian was used instead in all organizations. The new tsars, pursuing the same tactics as the old tsars, have forced the use of the Russian language and repressed the use of Moldavian under the cloak of the "system of simultaneously using two languages."

The report by the first secretary of the Moldavian party central committee carried in *Soviet Moldavia* on April 27, 1973 declared that Russian must be studied from the kindergarten to the college in Moldavia. *Soviet Ethnography,* in its fifth issue last year, urged "popularization of Russian among the inhabitants of the (Moldavian) Republic." Moldavian language schools have declined under this policy, and the above-mentioned first secretary had to admit that little has been achieved in national education in some areas of Moldavia.

Publications printed in the Moldavian language have decreased in number. According to the *Yearbook of Soviet National Economic Statistics,* the number of newspapers in Moldavian decreased by 50 percent between 1960 and 1974. Only 33 percent of the books published in the republic in 1974 were in the Moldavian language as against 64 percent in 1950. The Kremlin authorities banned the use of Moldavian terminology, denouncing it as "an attempt to substitute terms alien to the nature of mutual linguistic relationship among the Soviet peoples for unified internationalist scientific terminology." The Soviet Central Television Station disclosed in its "Answers and Viewers" programme on September 27, 1974 that viewers had written letters to the station complaining that in Moldavia "the native language is practically not used."

Increasing Number of People Compelled to Move. To speed up Russification and tighten their control of Moldavia, the Soviet revisionist authorities, under the pretext of "cadres exchange," have moved large numbers of Moldavian people from their homeland. *Moldavian Inhabitants,* published in the Soviet Union, admits that, compared with the 1959 figure, the number of Moldavians living in all other republics increased in 1970 with the increase being twofold and even sixfold in some republics. The 1970 census indicated that more than 390,000 Moldavians (that is, 14.6 percent of the entire Moldavian people) had been forced to leave the republic. Those who had left were quickly Russified and, according to the results of the 1970 census, 17 percent of them had adopted Russian as their own language.

The Soviet-published handbook *World Population* says: "Those people who have adopted another language will eventually lose their ethnic (national) identity." That is to say, they have been completely Russified.

Repressing Moldavian Cadres. With the Moldavians having now been reduced to a powerless position politically, the new tsars have done everything they can to repress the Moldavian cadres. After the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party considered the training of large numbers of non-Russian cadres as one of the most important tasks in non-Russian regions. But the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is now doing exactly the opposite. *Soviet Moldavia* stressed in a report on April 27, 1973 that in Moldavia "the

question of cadres should be handled in an internationalist way" and that cadres should have "received a higher education and be multinational." For years, the new tsars have on this pretext replaced many Moldavian cadres with so-called Russian experts with a higher education. The working people of Moldavia have lost their right to be masters of their own affairs. Many have been arrested and put into concentration camps merely because they wrote to the Moldavian authorities opposing forced Russification.

Lowest Level of Development in the Soviet Union. The old tsars turned Moldavia into a vast garden for growing grapes, vegetables and tobacco. The new tsars, flaunting the banner of "regional division of labour," have followed the old tsars' example. Today, Moldavia has the lowest level of industrial development in the Soviet Union. Its per-capita output of grain in 1974 was about 33 percent below that of 1913 in tsarist Russia. The living standard of the Moldavian people also is the lowest in the Soviet Union.

Indignation and Resistance of the Moldavians. The new tsars' deeds have aroused strong indignation among the Moldavian people. Moldavian writers have used references to the evil doings of the old tsars to express their discontent with the new tsars. The first secretary of the Moldavian party central committee has complained that articles which deal with nationalism, give vent to apolitical views and distort past and contemporary history are found in certain Moldavian publications. The Soviet press has from time to time disclosed that some Moldavians have published books or distributed leaflets exposing the new tsars. It is reported that organizations whose aim is to get rid of the new tsars' domination have been set up. The Moldavian people's struggle against the new tsars is gaining strength.

Kirghizia's Economy Worsens

Since the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the non-Russian nationalities. As a result, the economy of the Kirghiz Republic has been seriously damaged and class contradictions and the contradictions among the various nationalities have become increasingly acute. This is best illustrated by the numerous facts given in a report by T. Usubaliev, first secretary of the central committee of the party of Kirghizia, which was carried in the Soviet paper *Sovietskaya Kirghizia* on January 17 this year.

Agricultural Plan Unfulfilled. Referring to agriculture in Kirghizia, the report admitted that "the republic has failed to fulfil adequately the tasks of producing grain, meat and milk set in the five-year plan. Our output of vegetables and potatoes is low and their quality poor." "Many regions and districts have failed to accomplish both the production tasks of the five-year plan and the procurement plans of the national economy," the report added.

According to the report, the republic's purchase of agricultural and animal products fell far short of the plan. It disclosed that "167 collective and state farms have failed to sell or deliver livestock and poultry to the state according to plan."

Farmland water conservancy is in a sad pass. The report admitted that "many important questions concerning the rational use of land and water resources have not been solved satisfactorily here. For instance, over half of the water from irrigation networks has seeped away without being utilized and about 40 percent of the irrigation networks are being operated in the absence of necessary facilities, while more than half of the farmland in need of soil improvement lacks a drainage network that is fully reliable."

Industry in a Mess. Industrial production is also in a mess in Kirghizia, with one-tenth of the enterprises failing to fulfill the sales plans every year.

The report pointed out: "Many enterprises under the Ministry of Building Materials Industry, the Ministry of Local Industry and the Ministry of Construction as well as machine-building and metal-processing departments have suffered heavy losses owing to the rejects they turned out." The report continued: "Shoddy products have brought considerable losses to the national economy" and "in the past two years alone, shoddy products ran to 5.8 million rubles in value in the total sales volume." "Do we consider it normal that only 3 percent of our industrial products are up to the best-quality mark? The proportion of quality products turned out by enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry is even smaller, ranging from 0.6 to 0.4 percent only," the report disclosed.

Regarding problems existing in the construction departments, the report noted: "The situation in the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Rural Construction is even worse, with more than one-half of their bureaux unable to fulfil their plans for years running."

No Welfare for the People. The Brezhnev clique has time and again professed "concern for the people's welfare." But as a result of ruthless oppression and exploitation by the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, the so-called "people's welfare" is nothing but a humbug. The report had to admit that in Kirghizia, "many of the working people's needs are far from being fully satisfied. Housing is both backward and shoddy. Party organizations and local Soviet organs have shown little concern for service facilities, particularly those in rural settlements."

The Brezhnev clique's line of intensifying national oppression has led to the daily sharpening of class contradictions and the contradictions among the various nationalities in Kirghizia. The report disclosed that the so-called "Zlobin method," a new trick used by the Soviet revisionist authorities to step up the exploitation of workers in the construction departments, has met with resistance from the people in Khirghizia. As a result, out of the 84 building brigades that have adopted the "Zlobin method," only eight met their targets last year. The working people also show their resentment by absence from work and slowdowns. The report lamented that "the waste in working hours in enterprises of local and light industries is enormous, resulting from absenteeism, work stoppages and groundless leaves approved

by the management." "In the republic's building units alone, absenteeism in the past five years amounted to a loss of more than 325,000 workdays," it added.

While boasting that "the objective prerequisites for any antagonistic contradictions in the relations between nationalities have been eliminated," the report wildly attacked the so-called "nationalist remnants," "localism" and "national conceit," and trumpeted the need to step up "the struggle against these manifestations."

In the face of the deteriorating economy and sharpening class contradictions and contradictions among the various nationalities, the Brezhnev clique has resorted to its stock tricks: wholesale removal of cadres in the economic departments as scapegoats and sweeping purges of cadres considered to be incompetent in repressing non-Russian nationalities. Kirghizia is no exception. The report admitted that "1,184 people in the list of leading personnel under the direct charge of the Kirghiz party central committee were removed from office in the last five years."

Another Big Purge in the Ukraine

The Brezhnev clique recently removed a large number of cadres in the Ukraine. This is yet another big purge since 1972.

Purge Wave. The President and two Vice-Presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine as well as 14 Vice-Chairmen, Ministers and Commission Chairmen of the Council of Ministers, all appointed at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine last July, have been replaced. Practically all the secretaries of municipal party committees of the Ukraine, many secretaries of regional party committees and secretaries of party organizations at various levels in charge of ideological work have been removed.

At the Ukrainian party congress held from February 10 to 13 this year, the Soviet revisionist authorities again replaced a number of important figures. I. K. Lutak, member of the political bureau and second secretary of the Ukrainian party central committee; N. T. Kalchenko, member of the political bureau and first Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; V. I. Degtyaryov, member of the political bureau; and V. M. Tsybulyko, alternate member of the political bureau and first secretary of the Kiev regional party committee, were all removed.

Reason for the Purge. The Ukrainians are the largest non-Russian nationality in the Soviet Union. The big-Russian chauvinist policy of national oppression pursued by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in the Ukraine since its usurpation of power has met with strong resistance from the Ukrainian people who have on many occasions held strikes and demonstrations against national oppression by the new tsars.

In the autumn of 1972, a large-scale strike by workers took place in Dniepropetrovsk, one of the biggest industrial cities in the Ukraine. In the

spring of 1973, students of Ukrainy University, on the occasion of commemorating the Ukrainian poet T. G. Shevchenko, held a rally protesting national oppression by the new tsars. The Ukrainian people have also persisted in publishing underground journals and distributing leaflets to expose the new tsars.

Panic-stricken by these developments in the Ukrainian people's struggle, the Brezhnev clique has repeatedly arrested and suppressed those Ukrainians who dare to resist oppression and exploitation. It has more than once blamed the party and governmental leaders of the Ukraine for "failing to discharge their duties in overcoming the remnants of nationalism." P. E. Shelest was thus removed from his post as first secretary of the Ukrainian party central committee in May 1972. This was followed by successive purges of Ukrainian cadres.

SOVIET PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST NEW TSARS

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The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has spared no efforts to gloss over the sharpening contradictions among classes and nationalities in the Soviet Union with a view to maintaining itself in power. It keeps preaching "class co-operation" and "the community of interests of different classes," alleging that "class and nationality antagonisms have disappeared" in the country.

However one only has to tear aside this cover-up by the new tsars to see the reality which presents an entirely different picture of the Soviet Union.

The handful of bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois elements represented by Brezhnev exercise a ruthless fascist dictatorship over the broad masses of the Soviet people and cruelly exploit the labouring people. Their oppression and enslavement of the non-Russian nationalities, making up nearly half of the Soviet population, are even more merciless. The so-called "state of the whole people" is actually a prison for the people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union.

How can there not be resistance or struggle by the Soviet people groaning under the new tsars' merciless oppression and exploitation?

Since the beginning of this year the following instances of popular resistance have broken through the watertight Soviet news black-out:

When the "25th congress" of the Soviet revisionist party convened in late February:

—the workers at a Leningrad telecommunications plant of more than 20,000 workers angrily went on strike in defiance of suppression by troops and police;

—a number of Soviet youths in Leningrad distributed leaflets on downtown Nevsky Street calling for a "new revolution";

—leaflets exposing the fraud of the Brezhnev clique's so-called "improved welfare of the labouring people" were seen in the streets, marketplaces and railway stations in Stalingrad;

—Soviet "political prisoners" in Vladimir prison near Moscow and concentration camps in Moldavia, Ural and Siberia went on hunger strikes to

protest against persecution by the new tsars;

—tall buildings in the city of Togliatti on the Volga River were painted with "Down with the dictatorship!" and other slogans;

—letters sent to the Moscow Central Television Studio denounced the "policy of raising labour productivity" which the Soviet revisionists adopted at the "25th congress" as "intensified exploitation of the workers through the sweat-shop system";

—a Soviet armyman wrote that "compulsion is the practice" in the Soviet army. "All subordinates are ordered to act on the principle that 'I (the commander) am your overlord and you are my slaves.' " "The KGB (the Soviet intelligence agency — 'the Committee of State Security') is all-powerful." "In the last 10 years, the forces of the movement fighting against the existing system in the Soviet army have become ever stronger." Armymen "do not want to train their guns on their fellow countrymen or the people of other countries."

On April 12, a bomb exploded outside the government building in the capital city of Georgia "shattering the windows of the government building and another building nearby." It was reported that this was done to protest the compulsory Russification pushed by the new tsars.

On April 14 and 15, huge slogans, such as "Liberty for political prisoners," were seen on trolley buses and on the walls of a physical culture institute and a conservatory in Leningrad.

On May 9, several slogans were painted on Leningrad trams. One read: "How long are we to endure the Romanov Dynasty?"

In April and May, successive strikes broke out in Riga on the Baltic Sea coast and Irkutsk in Siberia. A group of people in Rostov-on-the-Don in the southern part of the Soviet Union and in Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, "angrily smashed up empty food shops and markets" and broke the window panes of many shops.

On August 4, the slogans of "Down with the party bourgeoisie!" " 'The Soviet communist party' is the people's enemy!" and "The Soviet Union—a people's prison" appeared on Leningrad's biggest street, Neva Boulevard, and on the walls of the Tavricheski Palace. A one-metre-high and 40-metre-long slogan "You are smothering freedom but people's souls know no chains" was painted on the fortress of Peter and Paul in the city.

On October 5, an 84-year-old man who had been a Party member for 58 years announced his withdrawal from the Soviet revisionist party. In an open letter to Soviet party boss Leonid Brezhnev, he denounced the present Soviet regime for autocratic rule and militarism at home. He pointed out that Soviet leaders making up a "privileged caste" "are wallowing in wealth, isolated from the people, riding roughshod over them, contemptuous of ordinary folk, not willing and unable to understand their needs and sufferings." He noted that the present Soviet regime is bent on imperialist expansion and that "while preaching 'international detente' and 'peaceful coexistence,' the Soviet Union is in fact amassing nuclear weapons and rockets at an ever faster rate

and preparing a new generation of mass destruction weapons and for wars of aggression."

Where there is oppression and exploitation, there is resistance and struggle. The heavier the oppression and exploitation, the stronger the people's resistance and struggle. This is historical dialectics and objective law from which no oppressors and exploiters can escape.

Describing the frailty of imperialism after the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: **"We see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay."** *(Two Years of Soviet Rule.)*

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** *(Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong.)* Chairman Mao also pointed out: **"I have said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people."** ("Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties," November 18, 1957.) **"The revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too."**

These brilliant expositions by the great teachers Lenin and Chairman Mao show most incisively the essential frailty of imperialism and all reactionaries including Soviet social-imperialism, which stand in opposition to the people.

Soviet social-imperialism looks like a colossus, fierce of visage and posture, but actually it is beset with difficulties both internally and externally and crisis-ridden at every turn, like sitting on top of a volcano. The notoriously swashbuckling Khrushchov was consigned to the dustbin of history by the storms of revolution of the Soviet people and the people of the world. Brezhnev's perverse actions since taking over have sharpened the fundamental contradictions of social-imperialism. Throughout the past 10 years, the subterranean fire of popular resistance has been spreading and raging and there have been outbreaks of mass discontent from time to time.

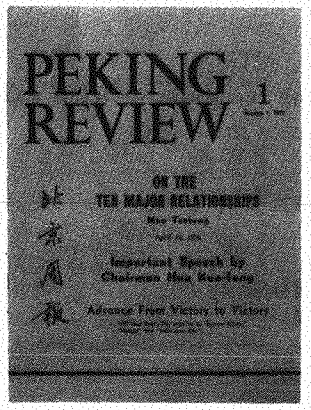
The Brezhnev clique, which inveterately detests and mortally fears the Soviet people's resistance and struggles, resorts to bloody suppression by using troops, police and special agents armed with rifles, guns, tanks, armoured cars and even aircraft. Thousands upon thousands of people have been thrown into prisons, concentration camps and "psychiatric hospitals." But all this turns out to be lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet, further awakening the Soviet people and hardening their determination to struggle.

The Soviet people want revolution, and revisionist rule will not last long. The rumbling thunder over the Soviet land heralds the inevitable advent of revolutionary storms.

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