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**CONGRESS OF UNITY AND VICTORY
WEAPONS FOR A SMALL FORCE
SUPERPOWERS' "CEASEFIRE" FRAUD**

DECEMBER, 1973—20c

STURMHAUFER, DEVELOPER OF THE
WEAPON FOR A SMALL FORCE
CONGRESS OF DUTY AND VICTORY



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Congress of Unity and Victory

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(August 29, 1973).

The tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 24 to 28. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour.

The great leader of our Party Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over the congress.

The agenda of the congress was: 1. Comrade Chou En-lai delivered the political report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; 2. Comrade Wang Hung-wen delivered the report on the revision of the Party Constitution on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and submitted to the congress the "Draft of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China". The Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was elected.

The congress formally opened on August 24.

When Chairman Mao appeared on the rostrum, cheers resounded through the hall. The delegates excitedly greeted him with prolonged and hearty applause and cheered, "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Chairman Mao warmly waved to the delegates.

The congress elected a presidium composed of 148 delegates.

The congress unanimously elected Chairman Mao Tsetung chairman of the presidium, Comrades Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying and Li Heh-sheng vice-chairmen of the presidium and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao secretary-general of the presidium.

Also seated in the front row on the rostrum were: Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching, Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Tung Pi-wu, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng and Wu Teh.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and comrades throughout the Party made full preparation for this historic congress. A total of 1,249 delegates were elected to the

congress at the end of an extensive democratic process, which included repeated deliberations and consultations about the candidates and seeking the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party in the areas or organisations to which the candidates belonged. Prior to the formal opening of the congress, all the delegates had seriously discussed the drafts of all the congress documents. Inspired and joyful, the people of the whole country greeted the Tenth Congress with concrete deeds.

On the day the congress formally opened, the delegates from the four corners of our great socialist motherland entered the stately assembly hall by way of a spacious lobby with huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the wall. Among the delegates were those from the Party membership of the industrial workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, those from the Party membership in the People's Liberation Army, who came from frontier outposts where they vigilantly guarded our motherland, and those from the Party membership of revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other working people. Delegates from among the worker, peasant and soldier Party members accounted for 67 per cent of the total number. Over 20 per cent of the delegates were women Party members. Delegates of fraternal nationalities other than Hans also constituted a certain proportion of the total. Delegates elected from Party members in various parts of our country, who were natives of Taiwan Province, our motherland's sacred territory yet to be liberated, attended a national congress of the Party for the first time. Bearing the mandate of the 28 million Party members throughout the country and bringing with them the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities, the delegates worked together with our great leader Chairman Mao in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

On August 28, after serious and lively discussions, the congress unanimously adopted the political report given by Comrade Chou En-lai, the report on the revision of the Party Constitution given by Comrade Wang Hung-wen and also the Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The delegates said with joy that these documents, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, analyse the excellent situation both at home and abroad, fully affirm the great victories won on all fronts under the guidance of the line of the Ninth Congress, sum up the basic experiences of the two-line struggle, especially that of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and further define the orientation and tasks of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they constitute the fighting programme for the whole Party, Army and people.

After repeated deliberations and discussions, the congress elected the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China by secret ballot. When the results of the election were an-

nounced, thunderous and enthusiastic applause and cheers reverberated again through the hall.

The 195 Members and 124 Alternate Members elected to the Central Committee embody the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Some are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations, who went through the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars in the early years of the Party, some are leading cadres from various fronts, who stood the test of gunfire in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the War to Resist U.N. Aggression and Aid Korea, others are outstanding fighters in the three great revolutionary movements (i.e., class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) and in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction during the period of the socialist revolution, and still others are young comrades who newly joined the Party during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Gathered together, the old, the middle-aged and the young studied side by side and encouraged each other. The delegates said gladly that the composition of the Tenth Central Committee fully demonstrates that our Party is flourishing and has no lack of successors and that it is firmly united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The congress indignantly denounced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique for its crimes. All the delegates firmly supported this resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: Expel Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double dealer, renegade and traitor, from the Party once and for all, expel Chen Po-ta, principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, anti-communist Kuomintang element, Trotskyite, renegade, enemy agent and revisionist, from the Party once and for all, and dismiss him from all posts inside and outside the Party. The delegates unanimously supported the decisions made and all the corresponding measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with regard to the other principal members of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China called on the whole Party, Army and people to study its documents conscientiously and implement them thoroughly, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the basic principles **“Practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite. and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire”**, and unite to win still greater victories!

The congress pointed out: At present we should continue to put the task of criticising Lin Piao and rectifying style of work above all else. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and people in class struggle and two-line struggle, and should study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticise revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook. We should continue to do

well the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the super-structure, including all spheres of culture, work hard to grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war and do our work better in all fields. We should act in accordance with the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, and build our Party into an ever stronger and more vigorous Party, which will lead the people of all nationalities in the country and unite with all the forces that can be united to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Congress pointed out: The present international situation is characterised by great disorder on the earth. Such great disorder is a good thing and not a bad thing, and it is further developing in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. We must uphold proletarian internationalism, adhere to the consistent policies of our Party, strengthen our unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world, strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations the world over and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. The congress called on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the people of all nationalities in our country to strengthen without fail their preparations against wars of aggression, be on guard against the outbreak of an imperialist world war and particularly against surprise attack by social-imperialism and be ready to wipe out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely any enemy that dare invade us!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the Tenth National Congress of the Party, a congress of unity and victory!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Congress of Unity and Victory

REPORT TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Delivered on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973).

— Chou En-lai.

Comrades, The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

ON THE LINE OF THE NINTH NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticised Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, "Unite to win still greater victories". At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated, "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat". "We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat". In addition he predicted, "Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years". Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that

the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society". Naturally, this draft by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Piao secretly supported Chen Po-ta in the latter's open opposition to the political report drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Piao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the congress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Piao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August, 1970, then in March, 1971, he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled "Outline of Project '571'," and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticise Lin Piao and rectify style of work has been launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of Lin Piao and other swindlers like him, and settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organisationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique, has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed, the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On

the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to **"unite to win still greater victories"**.

Thanks to the movement to criticise Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truths from facts and following the mass line, and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a time impaired by Lin Piao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of 28 million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticise Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations of various countries and our co-operation with friendly countries have been further strengthened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored. The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalised their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favourable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organisational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

ON THE VICTORY OF SMASHING THE LIN PIAO ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his Speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and ranted about "struggling . . . for bringing it back to the road of internationalism". (Pravda, January 14, 1967). In March, 1967, another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive say", "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country". ("Pravda", March 4 and 10, 1967). What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism and all the exploiting classes; what they meant by "their decisive say" is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state; what they meant by "victory of ideas" is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the "road of internationalism" is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique "who never showed up without a copy of "Quotations" in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party's basic line and

policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" that **"all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is a self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority"**. Chairman Mao has made **"working for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world"** one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. Lin Piao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China's new-democratic revolution. Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after Kutien Meeting (December, 1929), Chairman Mao wrote a long letter "A Single Spark can start a Prairie Fire" to Lin Piao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remoulded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right-opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thorough-going, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, Lin Piao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their positions, overestimating their own strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang

out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his "decisive say" in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said, "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles . . . And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out . . ." (Frederick Engels letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882).

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piaos will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything". If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be

soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to "have everything under his command and everything at his disposal", but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party, **"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated "all alliance, no struggle" covered Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism which advocated "all struggle, no alliance". The rectification of Wang Ming's "Left" deviation covered Wang Ming's Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-chi's revisionism covered Lin Piao's revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a strong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, **"Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle"**. In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that **"this Party of ours has a bright future"**. Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, **"If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population"**. So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

ON THE SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle. Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined **"imperialism as the highest form of capitalism"**. Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that **"imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat"**, and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, **"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution"**. This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterised by great disorder on the earth. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains". This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analysed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples' struggles against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples' struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that **“an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony”**. Today, it is mainly the two nuclear super-powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relatively temporary. The declaration of this year as the “year of Europe” and the convocation of the European Security Conference, indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat is very tough and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Piao the “superspy” has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are “making a feint to the east while attacking in the west”, and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intranquility. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries. It has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resent-

ment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — find the going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, "Flowers fall off, do what one may", they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the U.S.-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history". The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it couldn't but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last 20 years, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish worker's rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar and its reactionary nature, namely, **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds."** The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two — for instance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in

order to show that we favour relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of principle should not hinder the normalisation of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack"** — this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Lenin put it well, **"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot"**. ("Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder"). The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970, **"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today"**. It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a world-wide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere

in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings that we should **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and should **"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony"**, maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great success in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the short-comings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticising Lin Piao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle and criticise revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historical experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism

and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to **“read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism”**, try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts **“the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism”**.

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health, and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7th cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**, and grasp revolution and promote production. We should continue to implement the principle of **“taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor”** and the series of policies of walking on two legs, and build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. Marx pointed out that **“the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself”**. One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. In order to learn from Taching in industry and to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, vigorously launch mass movements and give full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses. On this basis, planning and co-ordination must be strengthened, rational rules and regulations improved and both central and local initiative further brought into full play. Party organisations should pay close attention to questions of economic policy, concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and strive effectively to fulfil or overfulfil the state plans for developing the national economy so that our socialist economy will make still greater progress.

We should further strengthen the centralised leadership of the Party. **Of the seven sectors— industry, agriculture, commerce, cul-**

ture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. Party committees at all levels should study "On Strengthening the Party Committee System", "Methods of work of Party Committees" and other writings by Chairman Mao, sum up their experience and further strengthen the centralised leadership of the Party ideologically, organisationally as well as through rules and regulations. At the same time the role of revolutionary committees and mass organisations should be brought into full play. We should strengthen the leadership given to primary organisations in order to ensure that leadership there is truly in the hands of Marxists and in the hands of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people, and that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled in every primary organisation. Party committees at all levels should apply democratic centralism better and improve their art of leadership. It should be emphasised that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. It is hoped that comrades throughout the Party, leading comrades in particular, will guard against such a tendency and earnestly change such a style of work.

The experience with regard to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership, which the masses created during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has provided us with favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Party organisations at all levels should keep on the agenda this fundamental task which is crucial for generations to come. Chairman Mao says, "**Revolutionary successors of the proletariat are invariably brought up in great storms**". They must be tempered in class struggle and two-line struggle and educated by both positive and negative experience. Therefore, a genuine Communist must be ready to accept a higher or lower post and be able to stand the test of going up or stepping down many times. All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance.

Comrades! The Tenth National Congress of the Party will have a far-reaching influence on the course of our Party's development. We will soon convene the Fourth National People's Congress. Our people and the revolutionary people of all countries place great hopes on our Party, and our country. We are confident that our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, will uphold his proletarian revolutionary line, do our work well and live

up to the expectations of our people and the people throughout the world!

The future is bright; the road is tortuous. Let our whole Party unite, let our people of all nationalities unite, **be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!



Weapons for a Small Force

A small force aligned with the positive developing aspect must inevitably triumph over a large force aligned with the decaying negative aspect. The progressive force is in harmony with objective reality. The reactionary force is out of tune with it. This is also the distinction between the two lines inside the Marxist-Leninist parties.

This is the law which enables a small Marxist-Leninist party to bring awareness to the working people and their allies of their historic and inevitable role of scrapping capitalism. It is the law which enables the Communist Party to lead the revolutionary struggle to victory. It shows why it is absolutely essential to remove any obstacles that obscure objective reality if we are to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the objective reality of the New Zealand revolutionary trends. It shows why we attach so much importance to the struggle between two lines, between the Marxist-Leninist line which does not fear reality and the opportunist, revisionist line which distorts reality.

How can any practical activity be correct without the correct line? Of what use is any united front if the leading line is revisionist — for that is what it will inevitably be if the Party does not provide Marxist-Leninist leadership. The correct line is developed from studying practice, from applying Marxist-Leninist theory to practice. And the only test of the correct line is in practice. The whole purpose of developing the correct line is to develop correct practice. There can be no Marxist-Leninist line without practical activity. To try to work out the correct line solely by sitting around debating is an idealist approach, an expression of the wrong line.

The correct Marxist-Leninist line is that which best equips the Party to fulfil its historic role of leading the working class to socialist victory. This starts first with the building of a revolutionary party, without which there can be no revolutionary activity, no revolutionary development and no revolutionary victory. But here again that party cannot become revolutionary by decree. It can only become revolutionary by developing its line in revolutionary activity. Such activity develops the proletarian aspect and removes the bourgeois aspect.

THE TASK

We are a small force, faced with a large task. The large task is developing Marxist-Leninist revolutionary awareness and activity amongst the proletariat and its allies to the stage where it can develop its own invincible force, smash the state power of the tyrannical bourgeoisie and set up its own state power.

The general approach towards this is the development of the united front against imperialism in such a way that there is a development of effective struggle against capitalism. The present policy

as set down at the last conference — of fighting imperialism and revisionism — summarises these tasks. Fighting revisionism is basically fighting any idea of peaceful transition or collaboration etc. It means fighting any idea that obstructs the development of a force more powerful than the bourgeois state force.

These are universal principles expressed in Mao's observation that correct party building of the Chinese Party depended on correct work in relation to the united front and armed struggle.

This is a big task and we are a small force but we have the development of objective laws on our side —if we correctly analyse them and apply them. Being a small force means that we must seize on the key contradiction and develop the positive aspect in such a way that we become a larger force, in such a way that the ideas characteristic of the advanced class seize the people generally and become a material force that changes society and transforms the world. The key contradiction is the struggle of the people versus imperialism (capitalism at its present stage) and includes the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But if imperialism is presented as something unconnected with capitalism then it becomes a form of Kautskyism (imperialism is something N.Z. capitalists don't like therefore we can have a "national liberation struggle"). At our stage of development this means social chauvinism, sowing illusions that disarm the workers and therefore, is a repudiation of the development towards revolution. This is a characteristic common to all the revisionists.

It explains the remarks made at the Wellington readers' meeting and elsewhere that the 1963 "People's Voice" was the best year. That year the People's Voice under Ostler's editorship and still under the political influence of Jackson and Andersen, had a pro-Soviet, reformist, trade-union-politics line and a glib, demagogic form. It is significant that members and friends of the Manson-Bailey group quote this as the best year and that they are now producing their own paper to carry on that tradition. That line, a counter-revolutionary line, appealed to the lowest common denominator, not with the aim of developing political awareness and activity and the maximum number politically and practically but with the aim of turning back the political clock. Their objective is a mass popular paper in form and content by catering to the petty-bourgeois ideology that prevails in N.Z. and the curbing of the development of struggle by taking over other specialised papers and work of HART, COV, Tamatoa, Tenant's Protection, Polynesian Panthers, People's Union, MOOHR, and all the organisations concerned with conservation, anti-pollution etc. In this way it reverses a widening united front by a confining takeover technique. The paper aims at reversing the development of correct struggle by siffling revolutionary Marxist-Leninist politics, by peddling politics of accommodation with capitalist unions, parliamentary and other "establishment" organisations. It organises criticism of Marxist-Leninist

writings, activity, politics and organisation by labelling them "isolated, sectarian, adventurist" etc., etc. and exploiting the widespread liberalism typical of the petty-bourgeois prevailing winds in New Zealand.

Our approach, therefore — learned from the positive practice of the revolutionary line and the negative example of the counter-revolutionary line — is to develop the united front in such a way as to develop towards successful revolution. Just as the revisionists try to stifle the individual groups fighting aspects of imperialism we must try to encourage them. This means encouraging any movement against an aspect of imperialism and capitalism particularly in the rank and file struggles of workers.

Each of these movements has an advanced section of the people in them, each a potential member of the party. This advanced section has the ability to develop the intermediate section and therefore the backward section. Many of these advanced elements already study the "People's Voice" for guidance. Some consult the Communist Party for guidance. By providing political leadership and ammunition for these people we can use our small forces to best advantage in order to develop a bigger movement. It is most important in all this work to develop the advanced proletariat elements at the same time as integrating the youth and intellectual elements with the working class movement.

This is the task of the Party as an organised whole and as an organisation of leaders. Our Branch meetings should work in a planned way to equip members to work as leaders in developing the advanced section in their various spheres of activities. Our party as a whole must develop as a monolithic organisation that shows its independent revolutionary line in each individual activity and the entire activity. One of its basic methods of synchronising this nationwide independent role is through the party press. It does not mean we impose our ideas from a mountain top. And, furthermore, it certainly does not mean that, on some progressive issue that takes our fancy, we rush out into action on an organised but separate body in a way that only helps the secret police.

Our independent role is our revolutionary political line which develops the positive (unites with) and fights the negative (struggles against) in any and all activities by people, particularly in the united front against imperialism.

THE PARTY PRESS

The party press is one of the basic methods of providing this nation-wide, political, Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party — agitationally, educationally and organisationally — in the development of the united front against imperialism, the exposure of revisionism and the material struggle against capitalism. It is one of the regular visible expressions of independent party activity pro-

viding leadership in daily struggle.

The party press must be organs of the party leadership in a planned, organised manner. As a small force with a large task, the Party must use these organs realistically — to help the advanced section in the popular protest movements. This requires information about the movements (from the advanced people and members working in them) being sent forward to the Party centre for political analysis and the result of that analysis being conveyed back through the paper to help raise the political awareness and activity higher. This has actually been proved in some organisations with clear-cut results.

The paper must also help show the inter-relations of all the different movements, to merge all rebel streams into one revolutionary torrent. It must also provide ammunition for the advanced section to use in their various struggles — factual material, political exposures, etc. It must orientate all these towards the working class struggle for state power.

Whereas the paper must provide weekly guidance in struggle for the advanced section, the Communist Review must consolidate the ideology of the advanced section in harmony with the stage of the overall struggle. This necessitates central direction and the recent Communist Review issues on the struggle between the two lines provide a good example of this.

There have been significant advances in putting the paper under the centralised collective leadership of the Party but if there is any doubt or mixed ideas as to the role of the paper then this will damage its effectiveness. This must be clarified as soon as possible to make sure there are no mixed ideas in the attitude of the branches towards the paper. It must be accepted as the organ of the centre, accepting it as a weekly guide to action and provider of ammunition for use as individuals and as a collective in bulletins (adapted to the local scene), accepting the spreading sales of the paper as one of the basic methods of helping the advanced section and of finding the advanced section (because sales drives are the way to find new advanced elements), accepting the role of individuals and branches in providing news of the struggles and aspirations of people for central analysis and dissemination.

There is heartening news of some Auckland branches putting the paper on their weekly agenda—studying the articles as a guide to action. But too often the attitude appears to be that the paper is a stereotype chore to be got over as quickly as possible. In some cases there are assertions that there is “no lead” on some issues, that there is a “sectarian lead”, a “confusing lead” that the “language is above people’s heads”, that this, that and the next thing is wrong — too often to evade the revolutionary political lead provided. The essence is ignored by attacking the form. On the other hand there must be constant critical attention paid to the content and form. We must know the topic and the audience so we can

communicate the lead clearly. There are often stereotype faults due to the speed with which certain articles must be written, due to sickness, other tasks or lack of clarity on the part of the writers. In all these matters the role of the Communist Review is important, and must be seen to be so. The Communist Review should help in the consolidation of revolutionary ideology. The weekly paper should help in the practical development of that ideology on a week-to-week basis. The Communist Review should deal with the longer-term problems of that weekly development and provide accordingly. This work cannot be separated from the central leadership, as it has in years gone by.

The Communist Review is not a 'Readers Digest' of the best in current Marxist publications. It is a monthly aid to ideological development in New Zealand to assist in the struggle between two lines and in the resulting practical work of the united front against imperialism and the development of effective struggle against capitalism.

Superpowers' 'Cease-fire' Fraud in the Middle-East

(HSINHUA).

On October 23, 1973, the Chinese vice-foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua, chairman of the Chinese delegation to the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly, spoke at the Security Council on the so-called supervision of the "ceasefire" in the Middle East. The text of his address reads as follows.

This morning, the president of the Security Council informed the Chinese delegation that an urgent meeting of the Security Council would be held to discuss the so-called violation of cease-fire in the Middle East. After we arrived at the conference hall, the Chinese delegation was told that there would be no Security Council meeting and that the United States and the Soviet Union would reach an agreement, which would then be transmitted through consensus to the Secretary-general for implementation. The Chinese delegation firmly opposes such a malicious practice of using the U.N. Security Council as a tool to be juggled with by the two superpowers at will. In our opinion, this is also an utter disrespect for the other states, members of the Security Council. The Chinese delegation cannot tolerate such a practice. We have something to say.

We believe that the other states, members of the Security Council, also have something to say from the bottom of their hearts. Now the Chinese delegation would like to state once again our views on the Middle East situation and on the manipulation of the Security Council by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union:

JUST STRUGGLE OF ARAB PEOPLE

Since October 6, the broad masses of army-men and people of Egypt, Syria and Palestine have won a series of brilliant victories in their heroic fight against Israeli aggression.

Egyptian national flags have again fluttered over the territories on the eastern bank of the Suez which had been occupied for more than six years. The Syrian army-men and people have inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy troops at the Golan Heights. The Palestinian guerrillas have also launched attacks valiantly. The sacred fight against aggression and for recovery of occupied territories waged by the army-men and people of Egypt, Syria and Palestine has broken through the situation of "no war, no peace" deliberately created by the two superpowers in the Middle East for their respective interests, exploded the myth about the 'invincibility' of Israel and demonstrated the strong fighting will of the Arab and Palestinian people, who have been greatly encouraged. At the same time, many Arab countries have successfully sent out their troops to the front of war against aggression and fought shoulder to shoulder with the army-men and people of Egypt, Syria and Palestine.

Many other Arab countries and people are giving active support and assistance by various means to this war against aggression, demonstrating the unprecedented militant unity of the Arab countries in their common fight against the enemy. The facts prove that the Arab and Palestinian people are heroic people and that the struggle they have been waging since October 6 is perfectly just. The United Nations and all justice-upholding and peace loving countries and people of the world are duty bound to give the most active support and assistance to it and no one has any right to engage in obstruction and sabotage.

SUPERPOWERS' ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

However, we have to point out with indignation here that the two superpowers have played a most inglorious role throughout the incident. It is known to all that the dangerous development of events in the Middle East is caused not by the Arab and Palestinian people but by the Israeli Zionist aggression and provocations with the support and connivance of the two superpowers. After Israel unleashed the recent new provocations, the two super-powers have successfully supplied arms to the belligerent parties. Here it must be pointed out that in supplying arms to the Arab countries, the purpose of the Soviet Union is by no means to give true support to them in resisting Israeli provocations but to control the development

of the Middle East situation so that it will not go beyond the limits it has agreed with the other superpower. The Soviet Union also made a big hue and cry that the Arab people's struggle against aggression had confronted "detente" with a "dangerous development of events" and that the development of the situation 'ran counter to' the easing of tension recently attained. What does this show?

This shows that what the Soviet Union calls "detente" is based on the submissive prostration of all oppressed nations and peoples before the condominium of the two superpowers. The United States and the Soviet Union, contending as well as colluding with each other, have blamed and obstructed in every possible way the just struggle of the Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian people against aggression and are trying by all possible means to strangle it, for the purpose of stopping the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, binding their hands and leaving them at the mercy of the two superpowers. In order to further divide up spheres of influence in the Middle East and reimpose the situation of "no war, no peace" on the Arab peoples, the two superpowers, after hectic bargaining behind the scenes for their respective interests, produced a draft resolution at the Security Council on the early morning of October 22, in an attempt to use the United Nations and the Security Council as their hired tool to rubber-stamp the deal of the two super-powers. All people with a discerning eye will see clearly that that so-called draft resolution is even more ambiguous than resolution 242, and is a scrap of paper, a fraud, which can solve no problems. Basically speaking, the Chinese delegation was not in favour of this so-called draft resolution. However, it was only after taking into consideration of the desire of certain countries concerned that the Chinese delegation refrained from voting against it and did not participate in the voting. Just as we have foreseen, as soon as that draft resolution was adopted, the Israeli zionists immediately and flagrantly continued to expand their aggression against Egypt and Syria. It can thus be seen that what the Soviet Union calls "justice" is partiality towards Israel.

We firmly support Egypt and Syria in their just denunciation of Israel's expanded aggression. No matter what measures the Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian people may take on their own occupied soil for the recovery of their lost territories, they are all just, whereas any slight provocation made by Israel constitutes a criminal act. We maintain that the two superpowers which have all along been obstructing and sabotaging the just struggle of the armymen and people of Egypt and Syria and which have concocted the said draft resolution must be held fully and unshirkably responsible for the recent expanded aggression by Israeli zionism.

Following the draft resolution of October 22, the United States and the Soviet Union have today introduced a new draft resolution on what they call supervising the ceasefire. This is a fresh insult to the United Nations. Like the previous resolution, this draft resolu-

tion is a mere scrap of paper, which makes no condemnation of Israel's expanded aggression, puts the aggressor and the victim of aggression on a par and fails to make the slightest mention of the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from all occupied Arab territories.

Fundamentally speaking, the Chinese delegation is opposed to this draft resolution. I deem it also necessary to point out that the evolution of the United Nations to the present state of affairs has reached intolerable limits. What is the need for the United Nations? Would it not suffice to have the condominium of the United States and the Soviet Union plus a secretary-general? Nevertheless, out of respect for the countries concerned, we would give consideration to that draft resolution. But we will never allow it to be imposed on us. The superpowers want to force through the draft resolution before it is distributed. What kind of logic on earth is this? If the countries concerned — I repeat, the countries concerned — want such a thing, we have no alternative, but the maximum we can do is to refrain from opposing it. But we are deeply convinced that the broad masses of the Arab people will never allow themselves to be controlled by the two superpowers perpetually. History is long. The people will invariably carry on the struggle and live on. All this will be nothing but an interlude when we look back after a few decades.

ARAB, PALESTINIAN PEOPLES WILL CONTINUE STRUGGLE

Fundamentally speaking, the days are gone when the two superpowers could manipulate and dominate the affairs of the world. Neither one superpower, nor the two superpowers combined, can impose their will on the people of the world, on the third world countries and other states, members of the Security Council. The Arab and Palestinian peoples are politically conscious people with a strong will. Tested and tempered in the struggle against aggression over the past years and in recent days, they will still less docilely allow themselves to be manipulated and duped by the two superpowers. The 700 million Chinese people and the numerous third world countries and people, as well as all those upholding justice, sympathise with and support them. So long as the national rights of the Palestinian people are not restored and the lost territories of the Arab countries are not recovered, there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East. The heroic Arab and Palestinian people will certainly draw the necessary lessons from what the two superpowers have done, continue to break through the situation of "no war, no peace" which the two superpowers try to reimpose on them, continue their persistent struggle, enhance their unity, act independently and on their own initiative, ceaselessly strengthen themselves, surmount all kinds of obstructions and difficulties and carry out the just struggle against aggression. The great Arab people will certainly win liberation.

