

# CANADIAN march 1969

# INTERNATIONALIST

On March 23rd, 1969, communist revolutionaries from the workers and students movements assembled together to establish the Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist). In the absence of a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party in Canada, and with the degeneration and decay of the "Communist Party of Canada" further into opportunism and revisionism, it became incumbent upon all communist revolutionaries to build an organisation based on sound principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) enthusiastically participated in the meeting and agreed to become the Youth and Student Wing of the Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist).

The Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) agreed to merge its monthly organ, "Canadian Internationalist," with the new publication, "The Canadian Communist," official organ of the Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist). "The Canadian Communist" will include a section called The Canadian Internationalist-News and Report From Our Youth Wing.

This meeting warmly applauded the resolute leadership of Comrade Jack Scott, the Chairman of the Progressive Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in British Columbia; acknowledged the contribution of the Progressive Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory and in the defence of the Canadian working class; pledged support for the "Progressive Worker," the official organ of the Progressive Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in British Columbia; and agreed to work with the Progressive Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in British Columbia with the ultimate aim of bringing all genuine Canadian communist revolutionaries into one party based on sound principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, under one discipline.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) called upon all genuine communist revolutionaries to link the mighty theory of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of the working and oppressed people of Canada against U.S. imperialism, its accomplice Modern Soviet Revisionism, and all internal reactionaries.

The strategic aim of the Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), as of the Canadian working class and Canadian people, is to build an independent and socialist Canada. To achieve this we must rally all people it is possible to unite under one banner of common struggle against U.S. imperialism, its accomplice Modern Soviet Revisionism and all internal reactionaries, and inaugurate, in the not distant future, the glorious People's Republic of Canada.

(Continued on page 2)

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE CANADIAN INTERNATIONALISTS  
(MARXIST-LENINIST YOUTH AND STUDENTS MOVEMENT)

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 2

PROGRESSIVE BOOKS & PERIODICALS LTD.  
721 GERRARD STREET EAST,  
TORONTO 8, ONTARIO

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) rigorously supported the national liberation struggle of the Quebec people, sent a message of complete solidarity and support to Les Intellectuels et Ouvriers Patriotes du Québec (Marxiste-Léniniste) and strongly communicated the necessity of the two organizations working together against our common enemy. The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) fully recognized the significance and the urgent need for the mobilization of the Canadian working class in support of the struggles of the Quebec people, and the reciprocal conscious effort on the part of the Quebec people to support the struggles of the Canadian working class. Without the support of the Canadian working class Quebec people will not be liberated and without the successful national liberation struggle of the Quebec people, the Canadian working class will not be emancipated.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) hailed the heroic Vietnamese people in their valiant struggle against the U.S. aggression, and fully supported the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) rigorously condemned the crimes committed by the Zionists against the Palestinian people, and fully supported the national liberation of the Palestinian people

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) hailed the rising national liberation struggles of the colonial, neo-colonial, and semi-colonial countries and upheld the only way towards liberation, the development of People's War.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) hailed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, as the most important and historic event of our era. It has put Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in command in every sphere; has defeated the black line of counter-revolution and Khrushchevite Revisionist betrayal; has led the historic struggle against opportunism and revisionism in the International Communist Movement; and has consolidated China as the Chingkuang Mountain of the World Revolution. The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) hailed Mao Tse-tung as the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and wished him a long, long life.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) fully supported the struggles of the revolutionary students against arbitrary rules and regulations of the lackey bourgeois authorities and against the bourgeois decadent educational system.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) resolutely supported the struggles of the oppressed minority groups against racial discrimination and mass subjugation.

The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), in its concluding session, emphasized that this organisation is based on voluntary discipline, the salient features of which are:

1. Complete loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought,
2. Complete faith in the masses,
3. Thorough-going practice of Criticism-Self-Criticism in order to overcome all forms of bourgeois thinking, i.e. bourgeois individualism, egoism, subjectivism, "small group mentality", putschism, opportunism and revisionism.

LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES OF THE CANADIAN WORKING AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE QUEBEC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM, MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND OPPRESSED NATIONS!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO, LENIN OF OUR ERA, LONG LIFE TO HIM!

## CONTENTS

Canadian Communist Movement (ML) formed!!	1
Canadian Internationalists condemn aggression against China	3
Chenpao Island Has Always Been Chinese Territory.	5
Irish Revolutionary Struggles	8
Confession in an Impasse—a comment on Nixon's Inaugural Address	13
Salesman of Reactionary Western Culture	16
Chairman Mao Tse-tung's latest directive	19
On Summing Up Experience	20
V.I. Lenin: Party Organisation and Party Literature	23
Preparatory conference statement	27

### CANADIAN INTERNATIONALISTS STRONGLY CONDEMN THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS' INTRUSION INTO CHINESE TERRITORY

"ALL REACTIONARY FORCES ON THE VERGE OF EXTINCTION INVARIABLE CONDUCT DESPERATE STRUGGLES. THEY ARE BOUND TO RESORT TO MILITARY ADVENTURE AND POLITICAL DECEPTION IN ALL THEIR FORMS IN ORDER TO SAVE THEMSELVES FROM EXTINCTION."

The Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement), at their special session on March 4th, rigorously condemn the despicable fascist aggression committed by the Modern Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique against the most resolute and dependable anti-imperialist People's Republic of China. With utmost contempt for this fascist atrocity, we the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of the Norman Bethune type, the inheritors and defenders of the glorious tradition of the Canadian communists, seriously warn the Fascist Clique in Moscow to desist from their anti-people and anti-China activities and call upon the working and oppressed people of Canada to protest the fascist antics of the Modern Soviet Revisionists.

Since the notorious "Secret Speech" by Soviet Modern Revisionist, traitor and scab, Khrushchev, in 1956, the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government under the leadership of that Party has consistently and rigorously followed the policy of villifying the people and cherishing the enemies, the evil and backward forces headed by U.S. imperialism. Step by step, this Renegade Clique have re-introduced capitalism in the Soviet Union, started the exploitation of the "Eastern Block" people and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America under one guise or another, supported the hegemony of U.S.-Soviet "Great Powers" over the world. They unilaterally tore up the economic and technical support agreement with China in 1958-59, actively participated in anti-China activities in the international conferences with attacks on the Communist Party of China and people from the late fifties to date, supported the reactionary Indian Government's invasion of the Chinese border in 1962, ransacked the Chinese embassy in Moscow in 1967 and viciously attacked their personnel and promoted racist attacks on the Chinese people in the press and other media. Alongside with these anti-China activities they desperately are attempting to consolidate U.S.-U.S.S.R. imperialist hegemony over the world and participate in nuclear blackmail of other nations, supported the "Camp David" spirit in 1959, praised the mass murderer and Imperialist Chieftain J.F. Kennedy, the man who was responsible for the mass-slaughter of the Congolese people and the Vietnamese, the man under whose guidance U.S. fascist armies ran amuck all over the globe, as the "apostle of peace", "man with understanding", etc., signed the "Nuclear Ban Treaty" in 1963, betrayed the struggles of the Vietnamese and the Palestinian people at Glassboro in 1967 and opened up the Soviet Union for imperialist decadent art and literature, music, life-style and ideology. During the last decade, the Soviet Modern Revisionist Renegade Clique have earned the utter animosity and contempt of the work-

ing and oppressed people of Indonesia, Biafra, Congo, India, Quebec, and many other oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world. Their fascist aggression against the Czechoslovakian people have fully exposed the extent to which Soviet Renegades and scabs have degenerated. Their latest atrocity against the Chinese people is only another crime for which the people of the world will try these hangmen and collaborators of U.S. Imperialism.

The Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party of China, under the revolutionary and proletarian leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have earned the deep respect of the working and oppressed people of the world. They are the defenders of the people's interests in China, defenders of Marxist-Leninist movement in the international scale, defenders and supporters of the struggles of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world. We salute the glorious party of China, the courageous people of China and the wise leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. We are convinced that all the criminal activities of the Soviet Renegade Clique will meet with the revolutionary wrath of the 700 million revolutionary people and will smash to smithereens all the reactionary violence of the renegades and the scabs.

Chairman Mao has correctly pointed out that

"ALL REACTIONARY FORCES ON THE VERGE OF EXTINCTION INVARIABLY CONDUCT DESPERATE STRUGGLES. THEY ARE BOUND TO RESORT TO MILITARY ADVENTURE AND POLITICAL DECEPTION IN ALL THEIR FORMS IN ORDER TO SAVE THEMSELVES FROM EXTINCTION."

Modern Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique is such a force which is desperately attempting to present itself as a growing and developing force, when in actual reality, they are decaying and moribund and are degenerating at a tremendous speed. The revisionist parties all over the world leave no stone unturned to curry favour with U.S. imperialism as their masters in Moscow and thus further themselves to the grave.

The forces of the people are the growing forces. The forces against imperialism headed by U.S. and its accomplice Modern Revisionism are growing forces and are developing in depth and breadth all over the world. U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Revisionist clique are fast losing their grip on the people and their days are numbered. The mighty storm of the people's struggles in the imperialist countries, is itself an indication of the impending collapse of Imperialism, Revisionism, all all forces of reaction

We are confident that if Soviet Modern Revisionist Renegade Clique persist in their anti-people and pro-imperialist activities the day is not far off when they will be hanged by the people of the world with their masters, the U.S. imperialists.

We rigorously condemn the Soviet Fascist aggression against the Chinese people.

We rigorously support and defend the just tit-for-tat struggles of the Chinese people.

DEATH TO THE KOSYGIN-BREZHNEV RENEGADE CLIQUE!  
DEATH TO ALL LACKEYS OF MODERN SOVIET REVISIONISM!  
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION!  
LONG LIVE THE STAUNCH AND COURAGEOUS PEOPLE OF CHINA!  
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE -TUNG'S THOUGHT!  
LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO, THE LENIN OF OUR ERA!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE WITH OPPRESSED NATIONS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES TO  
DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS ACCOMPLICE MODERN SOVIET REVISIONISM AND ALL  
KINDS OF REACTION!!

# Chenpao Island Has Always Been Chinese Territory

Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry

ON March 2, 1969, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent out large numbers of armed soldiers who intruded flagrantly into Chenpao Island on the Ussuri River in Hulin County, Heilungkiang Province, China, and launched a sudden attack on our frontier guards on patrol duty, killing and wounding many of them. It has thus committed a new grave crime against the Chinese people and incurred another debt in blood. The army men and civilians of our country in their hundreds of millions have expressed the deepest indignation at this.

However, after the incident, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, calling black white and confusing right and wrong, described China's Chenpao Island as part of Soviet territory and the Soviet revisionist armed troops' intrusion into Chinese territory and their attack on Chinese frontier guards as Chinese frontier guards crossing Soviet state frontier to attack Soviet frontier troops. This is sheer nonsense!

Chenpao Island has always been Chinese territory. The "Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu" of September 8, 1689 stipulated that the Erhkuna River, the Gorbitza River and the Outer Khingan Mountains form the eastern sector of the Sino-Russian boundary and that the vast areas north of the Heilungkiang River, south of the Outer Khingan Mountains and east of the Ussuri River are all Chinese territory. The Ussuri River where Chenpao Island is situated was then an inland river of China. While the allied British-French imperialist troops were attacking Tientsin and threatening Peking in their aggression against China, tsarist Russian imperialism seized the opportunity to compel the authorities of the Ching Dynasty by armed force to sign the unequal "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun" on May 28, 1858, by which it annexed more than 600,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory north of the Heilungkiang River and placed some 400,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River under the joint possession of China and Russia. Again taking advantage of the military pressure brought about by the British-French imperialist war of aggression against China and after the occupation of Peking by the British and French aggressor troops, tsarist Russian imperialism forced the government of the Ching

Dynasty to sign another unequal treaty, the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking," on November 14, 1860, by which it forcibly incorporated all the Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River into Russia.

As Marx pointed out in 1857 and 1858, the Opium War of 1840 was followed by "the successful encroachment of Russia from the north" on China, and Russia "took possession of the banks of the River Amur [the Heilungkiang River — translator], the native country of the present ruling race (the Manchu — editor) in China." Furthermore, after the signing of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun," Engels penetratingly pointed out: "When at last England resolved to carry the war to Peking, and when France joined her in the hope of picking up something to her advantage," Russia despoiled "China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube." Lenin also pointed out that the task of the Russian imperialist policy in Asia was "to seize the whole of Persia, complete the partition of China." By these brilliant conclusions, Marx, Engels and Lenin fully exposed the aggressive and unequal nature of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun" and the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" tsarist Russian imperialism had imposed on China.

Even according to the unequal "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking," Chenpao Island is indisputable Chinese territory. The "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" stipulated: "From the estuary of the Ussuri River southward to the Hsingkai Lake, the boundary line runs along the Ussuri and Sungacha Rivers. The land lying east of these rivers belongs to Russia and the land west of these rivers belongs to China." According to established principles of international law, in the case of navigable boundary rivers, the central line of the main channel should form the boundary line which determines the ownership of islands. Chenpao Island and the nearby Kapotzu and Chilichin Islands are all situated on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Ussuri River and have always been under China's jurisdiction. Chinese frontier guards have always been patrolling these islands and Chinese inhabitants have always been carrying on production on these islands. During the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations in 1964,

the Soviet side itself could not but admit that these islands are Chinese territory.

On September 27, 1920, the Soviet Government led by Lenin declared that "all the treaties concluded by the previous Russian Government with China are null and void, and it renounces all the seized Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and returns to China gratis and for ever everything the tsarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie seized rapaciously from her." This great testament of Lenin's failed to come true because China was then ruled by a reactionary government.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the boundary question between China and the Soviet Union could have been reasonably settled. The Chinese Government consistently holds that boundary questions left over by history should be settled through negotiations and that, pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained. The Government of China has, in succession, satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions left over by history with her neighbouring countries Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Afghanistan. But the boundary questions between China and the Soviet Union and between China and India have remained unsettled. The Chinese Government repeatedly held negotiations with the Indian Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question, but they were disrupted by the Indian reactionaries. In 1964, the Chinese Government held boundary negotiations with the Soviet Government, during which the Chinese side made it clear that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun," the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and other treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties tsarist Russian imperialism imposed on China when power was not in the hands of the peoples of China and Russia. But, prompted by the desire to strengthen the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the Chinese side was willing to take these treaties as the basis for determining the entire alignment of the boundary line between the two countries and for settling all existing questions relating to the boundary; any side which occupies the territory of the other side in violation of the treaties must, in principle, return it wholly and unconditionally to the other side, but this does not preclude necessary readjustments at individual places on the boundary by both sides on the basis of the treaties and in accordance with the principles of consultation on an equal footing and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. However, the Soviet side refused to accept the above-mentioned reasonable proposals of the Chinese side. It refused to recognize the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary as unequal treaties and obstinately refused to take these treaties as the basis for settling the boundary question between the two countries in its

vain attempt to force China to accept a new unequal treaty and thus to perpetuate in legal form its occupation of the Chinese territory which it seized by crossing the boundary line defined by the unequal treaties. This great-power chauvinist and territorial expansionist stand of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was severely condemned by the Chinese side. The Chinese side clearly pointed out that if the Soviet side should obdurately insist on such a stand and inexorably refuse to mend its ways, the Chinese side will have to reconsider its position as regards the Sino-Soviet boundary question as a whole.

Not only has the Soviet revisionist renegade clique refused to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question through negotiations, but it has incessantly disrupted the status quo of the boundary and created border incidents. After the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations were sabotaged by the Soviet revisionists, and particularly since Brezhnev and Kosygin assumed power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, motivated by its counter-revolutionary needs for allying with U.S. imperialism against China and diverting the attention of the people at home, has sent large reinforcements to the Sino-Soviet border, stepped up its disruption of the status quo of the boundary, occupied still more Chinese territories, carried out armed provocations and created incidents of bloodshed. Take Chenpao Island for instance, during the ice-bound seasons in the two years and more between January 23, 1967 and March 2 of this year alone, Soviet frontier troops intruded into the Chenpao Island area of China on 16 occasions, and during several of these intrusions they wounded Chinese frontier guards on normal patrol duty and looted Chinese arms and ammunition.

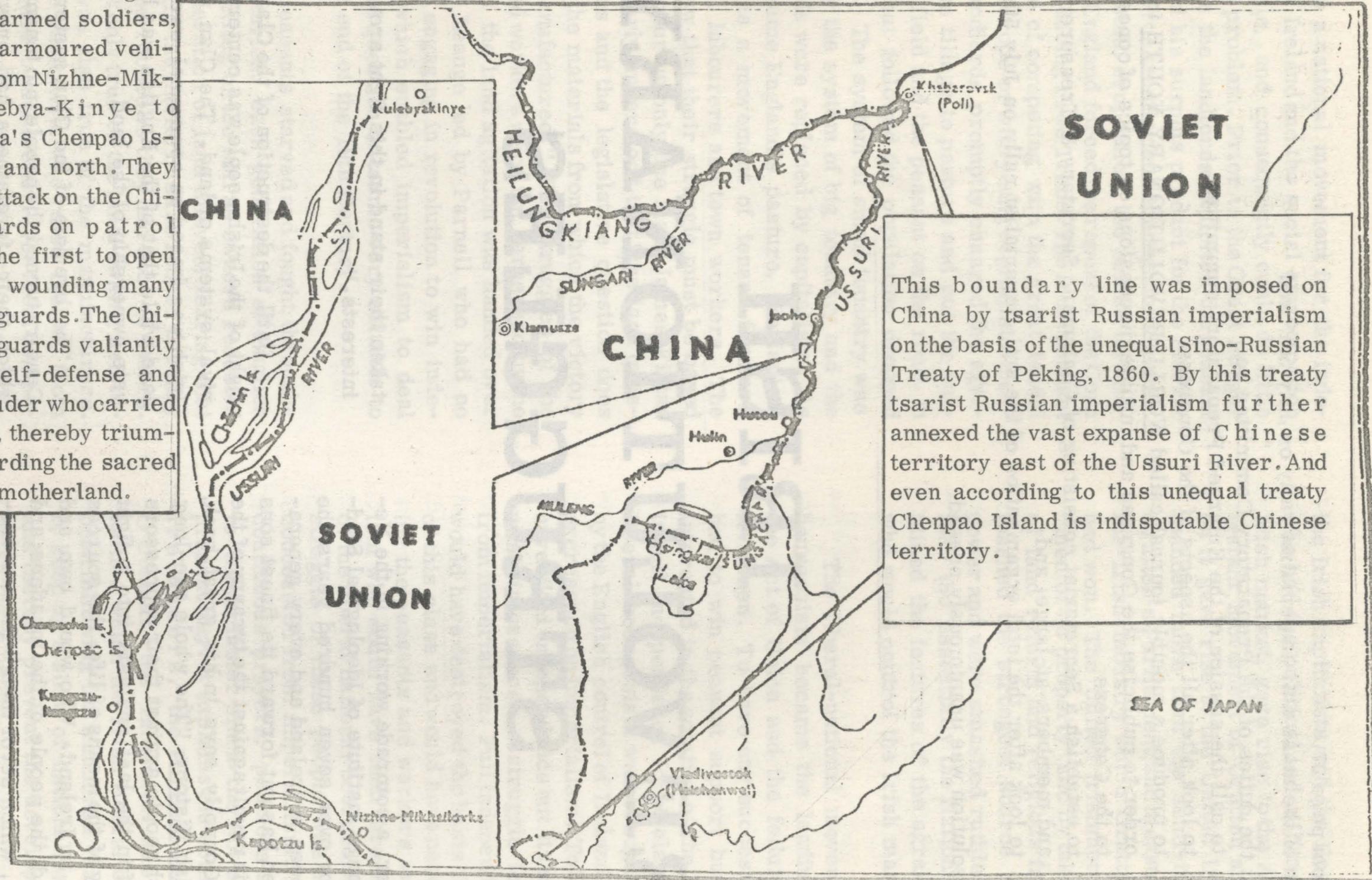
The latest incident in which Soviet revisionist troops intruded into Chinese territory Chenpao Island to carry out armed provocations has further revealed the ugly features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has taken over the mantle of tsarist Russian imperialism and is pursuing its social-imperialist policy of aggression. They regard as theirs those places which tsarist Russian imperialism occupied and have made further claims for places which tsarist Russian imperialism failed to occupy. They are the new tsars of today.

It is absolutely impermissible for anyone to violate China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. Should the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cling to its reckless course and continue to provoke armed conflicts on the border, the Chinese people, following the teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao, will certainly wipe out the invading enemy resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

## SKETCH MAP SHOWING SOVIET REVISIONIST TROOPS' INTRUSION INTO CHINESE TERRITORY CHENPAO ISLAND

On the morning of March 2, 1969, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent fully armed soldiers, together with 4 armoured vehicles and cars, from Nizhne-Mikhailovka and Kulebya-Kinye to intrude into China's Chenpao Island from south and north. They made a sudden attack on the Chinese frontier guards on patrol duty and were the first to open fire, killing and wounding many Chinese frontier guards. The Chinese frontier guards valiantly fought back in self-defense and repulsed the intruder who carried out provocations, thereby triumphantly safe-guarding the sacred territory of our motherland.

This boundary line was imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism on the basis of the unequal Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking, 1860. By this treaty tsarist Russian imperialism further annexed the vast expanse of Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River. And even according to this unequal treaty Chenpao Island is indisputable Chinese territory.



MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

(continued from page 27)

ception of the mass anti-imperialist rally on July 5th, and

- (6) that the duties of the Preparatory Committee be;
- a. to call the session of the Enlarged Preparatory committee;
  - b. to look after all the aspects of the Congress;
  - c. to produce a monthly journal called WORLD REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH in order to publicise the Congress and initiate discussions on topics of concern to the Congress;
  - d. to establish a Secretariat consisting of Chairman, Secretary & Treasurer, and members-at-large; and
  - e. to look after the total organisation of the anti-imperialist rally on July 5th, 1969.

The above resolution was unanimously passed.

---

# IRISH REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES

The speaker, a comrade working in the Necessity for Change Institute of Ideological Studies, said: "For over seven hundred years the English have been in Ireland and every generation of Irishmen has put forward its finest sons and daughters in revolt against the tyranny of the invader." As Connolly says in his great book, Labour and Irish History, "The whole age-long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production, in Ireland. Who would own and control the land, the people or the invaders; and if the invaders, which set of them - the most recent swarm of land thieves, or the sons of the thieves of a former generation? These were the bottom questions of Irish politics and all other questions were valued or deprecated in the proportion to which they contributed to serve the interests of some of the factions who had already

taken their stand in this fight around property interests."

Until the destruction of the Clan system, the fight of the Irish people was centered around the rival systems of land. The Clan system of the Irish was based on communal ownership of the land while that of the English was based on private ownership of the land.

The breakup of the Clan system in the 17th Century turned the people into tenants on the land which their forefathers had previously owned communally. The centuries that followed saw the unmerciful oppression of the tenants and the long and bitter resistance. This resistance first took the form of secret societies of tenants combining to terrorise their landlords, but this resistance, though powerful in many areas, did not

develop into a national movement for the independence of Ireland and the social emancipation of her people, and consequently could do little to solve the problem. Prior to the Great Hunger of the 1840's the landlords exploited the peasant and obtained his surplus product for the market by means of rackrenting and through middlemen. But as the potato crop failed, the industrial middle class of England forced the repeal of the Corn Laws, introducing Free Trade. The Irish peasant had no hope of competing with the great feudal estates of Europe or with young capitalist America. The landlords promptly changed the agriculture from tillage to pasture and put the bullock on the field and the peasant on the road. In the years that followed the population dropped drastically. The system of small tenantry was replaced by the system of big tenantry and the old landlords were replaced by capitalists. As Ireland became England's pasture, Fenianism developed as a movement of tenant farmers, agricultural labourers and town workers. The leaders knew that their struggle must be based on the Irish poor but only one man, James Fintan Lalor, properly understood that "the land question contains and the legislative question does not contain the materials from which the victory is to be manufactured." The struggles of the peasants and workers were not harnessed by the Fenians and the land agitation was handed over to the Lang League led by Parnell who had no intention of engaging in revolution to win independence, which enabled imperialism to deal with the land question on terms very suitable to itself at the end of the 19th Century.

As the peasants starved and fought throughout the centuries, each generation of English invaders settling on the soil as owners resented the next generation of land thieves, fearing that not only would the Gaelic Irish be robbed but they would also be robbed as they had done to others. This was not only true of the land-owning aristocrats but was also true of the manufacturers. The English capitalists who ruled Ireland from England needed to have Ireland free from competition from any native capitalism and placed restrictions on the development of Irish capitalism. The patriotism of the Irish capitalists and their hangers-on stemmed from the struggle to remove these restrictions as of course the Irish capitalists needed control of the home market in order to develop. The contradiction between

the Irish capitalists and the English capitalists, who had the political and military control of the Irish market, gave rise to the Anglo-Irish Protestant movement of Grattan and Flood. Later on it gave rise to the United Irishmen who demanded more than the semi-independence of Grattan's Parliament and measure of protection for Irish industry which Grattan's Parliament had won. The United Irishmen appealed to the "men of no property" and by taking up the issues of land reform and religious freedom they unleashed the strongest source of revolutionary power and were smashed ruthlessly by the British. (So essentially the National question contained the features of the agrarian question of who would control the Irish market.)

The liberal-national movement of the town bourgeoisie became the leading current after the Act of Union and the failure of the United Irishmen. To have any success the movement had to win peasant support but it was neither interested in the solution of the land question or in full independence for Ireland. The national liberal bourgeoisie was brought into existence by the English control of Ireland and was a mere excrescence on imperialism. To be sure, it would have liked independence but its national struggle was, in essence, a struggle for a better deal from imperialism. Full independence for Ireland would have destroyed the basis for the existence of this class and would have necessitated arousing the peasants and workers to fight imperialism who could have then threatened the power of the liberal national bourgeoisie. The national struggle of these people was a whine to win a concession from imperialism. This explains the continuous prayers, petitions and pilgrimages to Westminster since the Act of Union to the present day. It explains the actions of the Young Irelanders, the Parliamentary Party, and O'Connell, the 'Liberator' who worked out the tactics which the Irish liberal bourgeoisie have been following for a hundred years in an attempt to keep up a show of nationalism in Parliament and thereby prevent the development of any real mass movement.

In the decades before 1916, two more movements developed, both claiming to fight for independence. Sinn Fein, one of these, was the political representative of that section of the middle class which saw the futility of the antics

of the Parliamentary Party in Westminster. Sinn Fein was a clear expression of the ambitions of a section of the Irish bourgeoisie, much clearer than the Fenians whom Connolly described as a "revolutionary movement the least aristocratic and the most plebeian that ever raised itself to national dignity in Ireland" and Marx as a movement with an agrarian socialist tendency. Sinn Fein stood for a policy of protectionism. The significance of Sinn Fein at this period is not that it became a large powerful force, because it remained small and unimportant, but that it worked out its comprehensive social and economic policies. This outlook gained very wide support after 1916 and Sinn Fein reaped a very rich harvest.

The Irish Socialist Republican Party and the working class movement led by James Connolly formed the second political force fighting for Irish freedom. On participation in the national struggle Connolly said, "I hold that every class conscious worker would work for the freedom of the country in which he lives, if he desires to hasten the political power of his class in this country." And he understood that unless the national struggle created conditions for the building of socialism afterwards it was bound to fail. In this Connolly was correct. But the national struggle did not succeed as Connolly hoped. The working class did not lead the war for national independence and the struggle was compromised. This failure can be traced to several weaknesses in Connolly's analysis and method of work. Briefly these centre around the United Front with the national bourgeoisie as represented by the Fenians or the IRB, the united front with the peasantry, the party and armed struggle. (All of these questions are interlinked and inter-related.) On the question of the united front with the bourgeoisie, the weakness of Connolly was that he did not form the United Front with the nationalists much earlier in the struggle and that he did not develop the ideological struggle with the rank and file of the nationalists, many of whom were working class men. There was no ideological struggle with the nationalists and no criticism of the leadership and methods of organisation of the nationalists. The IRB in the Fenian tradition failed to understand the social base and character of revolution and consequently organised in such a conspiratorial manner as to bring about the failure of the military

plan which was actually adopted. Instead of criticising this approach in the course of a long ideological struggle with the nationalists, Connolly just got together with the IRB to arrange the military details of the rising.

On the question of the UF with the small farmers and rural proletariat Connolly, in practice, made no attempt to unite with these classes. It is clear that the working class could not have successfully defeated imperialism without the support of the small farmers. This section of the society was suffering, as it is today, from imperialism which was driving the small farmers off the land and out of the country. Furthermore in that period, on account of the way in which the land question had been dealt with on terms favourable to imperialism, Irish farmers were paying millions of pounds in land annuities to the English thieves who had robbed the land centuries ago. This exploitation and the actual role which the small farmers and landless men played in the war of Independence showed very clearly that the working class had essential and powerful allies within which Connolly failed to unite.

Due to Connolly's syndicalism as shown in pamphlets like "Socialism Made Easy" Connolly failed to appreciate the role and necessity for a political party of the type which Lenin fashioned in Russia. Such a party was necessary to form an organic united front with the bourgeois nationalists and the small farmers and Connolly's failure in building united fronts partly stem from this failure to build a party. Furthermore without a party after Connolly's murder the working class was left leaderless and directionless and workers had no choice but to support the bourgeois nationalists in the war of independence.

As Connolly did not correctly understand the potential role of the farmers and landless men his concept of the military nature of the rising was one of urban insurrection between fixed positions. The war of independence clearly showed that the military struggle for Irish independence must be based on guerrilla warfare in rural areas and the development of People's War shows that in the international and national conditions which prevailed then, People's war would have easily defeated the British. This weakness of

Connolly stemmed primarily from his understanding the role of the small farmers and not from inadequate development of guerrilla warfare, for Irishmen had successfully used guerrilla warfare in the Boer war in South Africa.

"The misfortune of the Irish," Lenin wrote after the Rising, "is that they rose prematurely when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured." But this was not Connolly's fault and when we assess Connolly he must be seen in an overall perspective, not just in the perspective of his greatness or weakness. For Connolly was undoubtedly one of the greatest Irish patriots and revolutionaries. There can be no doubt about that and his weaknesses are not just attributable to the man himself but are also due to the pronounced opportunism of syndicalism in the working class movement of the time and also to the misfortune that the blow for freedom was made before the October Revolution.

Ralph Fox, the American Marxist showed that "Lenin pointed out that the revolt was the climax of a mass movement which was expressed in the Irish National Congress in America, in the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa, in the conflicts with the police, in the suppression of the Nationalist press by the government. The Rising was a heroic one, Lenin emphasised, and of world importance because it was a people's movement against imperialism in the middle of an imperialist war, a war which was itself an expression of a general crisis of the imperialist system."

Connolly saw that it was necessary to create favourable conditions for revolution and in so far as the Rising led to a great upsurge of national consciousness it was an unqualified success, and it created the conditions whereby it was possible for the vast majority of the people to support the national war of Independence several years later.

The Nationalists were not seriously damaged by the military failure of the Rising, the IRB was able to rebuild the Volunteers who were later known as the Irish Republican Army. The rising and murders of the leaders and the murder of Roger Casement in the same year awoke the national consciousness of the people, but it did not awaken the class consciousness of the working class because there was no working class or-

ganisation or party or leader in Ireland to guide the workers as an independent force in the national struggle. Workers were forced to join the nationalist forces. The working class could not and did not take part in the ensuing national struggle as an independent separate entity and consequently the struggle was doomed to compromise at some stage. The Rising also brought about the unity of the Sinn Fein Party and the Volunteers - a unity which was conditioned by the fact that the Republicans had only one plank in their programme, that is to obtain the Republic by force of arms and Sinn Fein had worked out an elaborate programme but lacked the necessary support and energy to realise it. This unity was one of the most significant results of the Rising and the combined movement was quickly spread in the country and established Dail Eireann to declare Ireland a sovereign state. Although the Sinn Feiners achieved a remarkable unity of the Irish people, it contained many different social layers with different and conflicting interests and aspirations. The two main tendencies were the Sinn Fein and the Republican. The first was the old constitutional party, led by Griffith, and seeking for Ireland just enough control of the Irish state to protect the Irish national bourgeoisie from imperialist competition. Sinn Fein was supported by the smaller industrialists, shopkeepers and intelligentsia. The Republican tendency was in the tradition of a military struggle for independence and most of its strength lay in the Volunteers of Irish Republican Army.

The Republic proclaimed by Dail Eireann in 1919 built up an alternative administration of the country and was immediately attacked by the British forces. During this period the Republic showed up its bourgeois class nature and both in the country and town, the landlord was protected by Republican courts and police trying to be fair to both sides.

In the period up to the Treaty Sinn Fein ripened for a compromise with the accession to its case of right wing elements. The Irish Independent, voice of Irish capitalism, in its first editorial after the Rising condemned it as insane and criminal, found that Redmond had become such an open agent for British imperialism that he was politically worthless. So Irish commercial capitalism looked to Sinn Fein as an acceptable al-

ternative and the Independent was writing favourable reports of Sinn Fein in 18 months. Irish commercial capitalism was not becoming more Republican, instead like a rat abandoning a sinking ship it began to support those elements of Sinn Fein who were ready to compromise. The compromise came with the Treaty in December 1921.

Without the leadership of a communist party in the national struggle the national bourgeoisie was much more liable to vacillate and waver. As one section of the national bourgeoisie wavered itself into compromise with imperialism so the other section, the Republicans, delayed and permitted the free State to arm itself with British guns and fool the people with talk of stepping stones to freedom. Even more important than this, consistent with the tradition of the Republican soldiers they had no programme to offer the people, nothing around which to mobilize them to carry on the struggle other than the slogans of independence and unity. Such slogans were not enough and the Free State smashed the Republican forces leaving them embittered and weak.

The significance of the period from 1919 to the end of the civil war lies in the fact that it was a period of revolution and change in class relations. The class relations determined in time of revolution largely determine the class relations in the decades to follow. In Ireland the politics of the country are determined by what happened in this period. And it is not just a matter of bourgeois politicians reminiscing in the pages of the Irish Times or hurling abuse at each other's fathers in Dail Eireann, it is a matter of who rules Ireland today and who is ruled in Ireland today.

The Free state which emerged out of the war of independence and victorious in Civil War was the representative of the section of the Irish bourgeoisie which needed close links with the Empire, namely the imperial bourgeoisie, the commercial capitalists and the big farmers or "Wranchers". DeValera and those who formed Fianna Fail in the twenties came to power in the thirties on a programme of setting up an independent capitalist Ireland! DeValera's attempt failed just as Connolly had said it would and by the fifties even the pretence of Irish in-

pendence was abandoned.

During the period of the thirties the I.R.A. was split. A few of the leaders of the Republican movement saw the necessity to unite with Fianna Fail to defeat the fascist and imperialist forces and at the same time expose the nature of Fianna Fail to people and supplant Fianna Fail leadership of the Republican masses. These few were thrown out of the IRA by those who saw Fianna Fail in power as an opportunity to do intensive military training and whose main gripe against DeValera was that he would not let the IRA train.

The 1933 Convention of the IRA forbade Volunteers from writing or speaking on political, social or economic questions. This reactionary stand of the IRA leadership was consistent with the whole traditions of the Fenians, the Volunteers and the IRA. The numerous betrayals of the revolutionaries by their political leaders in Irish history was seen as proof that politics was bad and that politicians were to be mistrusted. The betrayals were not seen as having anything much to do with the class interests of the political leaders, who were for the most part, of middle class background. Out of this distrust of the politicians developed the notion that only the physical violence and the force is pure, and also the notion that throwing a bomb or two is sufficient to mobilise the people and develop their understanding. Also in line with this is the whole failure of the Republican movement to understand the social base and character of revolution. This stems from the days when the Fenians failed to grasp that the land question did not contain the materials from which the victory might be made, and it is carried through to the Rising in 1916 when they did not put forward any detailed demands or programme and was the cause of the failure of the Republican forces to win the civil war. The outright reaction of the Republican forces in the late thirties and forties also stems from the fear of politics and the absence of any ideological struggle in the movement. This permitted the decay of the movement into simple terrorism and support for fascism during the Second World War. Despite simple assurances to the contrary the gun still rules politics of most of the Republicans and where this is not the case the politics in command are those of revisionism.

# Confession in an Impasse

— A Comment on Nixon's "Inaugural Address" and the Contemptible  
Applause by the Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique

by Commentator of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

Lyndon Johnson stepped down and Richard Nixon has taken over. This happened in the last year of the nineteen sixties. On January 20, this panic-stricken chieftain of U.S. imperialism delivered an "inaugural address" amidst angry foars from the American people. As soon as the address was broadcast, it drew gloomy public comments in the capitalist world to the effect that the address made in a "cold grey" plaza was "very low keyed" and "vague", and the tone "more muted than bold", that it reflected "almost superhuman difficulties" and "near-insuperable difficulties" that was a "grim warning". In short, even in the capitalist world it was keenly felt that the "low-keyed" address reflected the difficulties of U.S. imperialism which finds itself at the end of its rope and is heading nearer its doom. It was a confession by the U.S. imperialists (and, in fact, by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and all the reactionaries as well) that they are beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and are in an impasse.

The U.S. monopoly capitalist class thrust Nixon into power with an eye to extricating the imperialist system from crisis. The event had been intended to be an occasion for joy. But it was run like a funeral. Secret service men and the police ringed Nixon with cordons of protection and even the platform from which he made his inaugural address was screened off by bullet-proof glass. The western press ridiculed Nixon's inaugural address as a "speech made from a glass cage". However, it serves as excellent teaching material by negative example for the revolutionary people throughout the world. It enables us to see more clearly the very weak, paper-tiger nature of US imperialism and helps us recognize the counter-revolutionary tactics that U.S. imperialism is going to adopt.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction." An outstanding feature of Nixon's address was that U.S. imperialism is relying more on the tactics of political deception to cover up its military aggression. Nixon said: "In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words." His address was typical of precisely this "fever of words".

What are the "words" Nixon juggled around? First, "unity"; second, "peace" and third, "spirit".

Confronted by unprecedentedly fierce class contradictions at home, the rapidly mounting consciousness of class struggle of the American working class, students and other youth and the oppressed black people, and the vigorously growing revolutionary mass movement of broad sections of the people, Nixon had to admit that U.S. imperialism is in the "valley of turmoil" (which should read: the angry torrents of the people's revolution). Scared out of his wits, he cried in alarm: "We are torn by division". The "division" between the American people who account for more than 95 per cent of the population on the one hand, and the monopoly capitalist class which oppresses them and its political system on the other is excellent. This "division" marks the awakening of the people. It shows the big progress of the proletariat and broad sections of the oppressed people in the United States in their class struggle against the U.S. imperialist ruling circles. It augurs a great proletarian revolution and will finally send U.S. imperialism into the "valley". Nixon's fear of "division" reflects the alarm of the bourgeoisie

at the great revolutionary forces of the people. What is to be done? Nixon shouts himself hoarse for "unity", for all to "go forward together" and for things "to be done by government and people together", and so on and so forth. How could there be "unity" between the masses of black people and the racists, between the workers and the capitalists and between the broad masses of the people and the reactionary ruling circles? Nixon wants to "go forward together" with the American people. Doesn't that mean "going forward" to the "valley of turmoil" which spells doom to imperialism? It is enough to make you laugh your head off to hear a wolf, while devouring a sheep, say to it: "Let's do something together!" This clumsy deception of class conciliation fully shows that Nixon felt impotent when confronted by "division", that is, by the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people and therefore, he could only utter nonsense to deceive people in a vain effort to lessen the wrath of the American people and give himself some consolation.

In the face of the surging angry torrents of revolution of the people throughout the world, Nixon said helplessly that the world is "falling into raucous discord" and "caught in war". He time and again used the word "peace" in phrases like "We are...wanting peace", on more than 10 occasions in all. There is indeed "raucous discord here on earth and the world is not at all "peaceful", but the root cause of all this lies in imperialism headed by the United States plus modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, which, having bought over a handful of running dogs, want to enslave and exploit the people the world over and to launch wars of aggression. There will be genuine peace in the world when U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys are overthrown and the system of exploitation of man by man is eliminated. Messrs. U.S. imperialists, are you that keen to be "peacemaker"? Why don't you dump into the sea the over 80,000 million U.S. dollars of military expenditures used to slaughter the people? Why don't you withdraw your troops of aggression from the Taiwan Straits from Viet Nam, from Asia, Africa, and Latin America and from all places in the world you have occupied? Why don't you kick aside all your lackeys, big and small? If you do not do this, not only will there be "raucous discord here on

earth" but there will be more big storms of proletarian revolution and people's revolution and more raging flames of revolutionary war until you and all other pests are swept away. Writing on the perspectives for the world situation this year the "U.S. News and World Report", mouth-piece of U.S. monopoly capital, said: "No matter where the new U.S. President looks across the face of the earth, he will find troubles. Storm warnings are flying in country after country, in region upon region." It said that for the U.S. reactionaries, "few bright spots are to be seen on the global horizon." These statements reveal the background to Nixon's alarm and anxiety in our times.

Nixon alleged that "To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit." Is your "crisis" just of the "spirit"? It is a general crisis in the political, economic, military and cultural fields as well as the field of the "spirit". The fact is that American society is rotten to the core, its financial crisis grows sharper day by day, the economic situation continues to deteriorate, inflation is growing viciously, the international payments deficit is huge, the position of the U.S. dollar is shaky and a crisis of "over-production" is looming large. This series of danger signals are crystal clear to all. How can they be covered up by a few words of deception like "abundant society"? Nixon's predecessor Johnson had to admit gloomily before he left office that the United States was in a grave financial and economic crisis and had met with "difficult" "challenge". Did this "challenge" disappear in a flash as soon as Nixon entered the White House? Nixon is trying to cover up U.S. imperialism's material and political difficulties with talk about "the crisis of the spirit". This trick of the ostrich is more stupid than that of the thief who posts a marker saying: "The missing treasure is not buried here." Nixon confessed that U.S. imperialism is "ragged in spirit". How true! The U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and all reactionaries in the world indeed are "ragged in spirit" to the extent of utter impotence. The great spiritual power of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought has awakened and is awakening hundreds of millions of the people throughout the world to rise up in battle and to throw all the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes on to the garbage heap. Muttering incantations and asking

God's blessing, Nixon racked his brains to dredge up such platitudes as "goodness", "kindness", "love", etc., only to evoke sneers from the people. How can his ramblings block the victorious advance of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout the world?

As Nixon looks around the globe, he finds no kin to turn to, apart from the big and small reactionaries around the world and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique - number one accomplice of U.S. imperialism - on which he pins the best hope. In his inaugural address, Nixon took over the Soviet revisionists' slogans; he loudly preached "peaceful competition" with Soviet revisionism and pledged to "cooperate" with it and "go to the new worlds together", and so on and so forth. On its part, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pins its best hope on U.S. imperialism. This gang of renegades nauseatingly lavished most shameless praises on the newly inaugurated Nixon, extending their "best wishes" and asserting "joint efforts...to solve the ripe international problems." As an inauguration gift and to curry favour, they lost no time in dishing up a "policy statement" on disarmament the very day Nixon took office. In addition, they made special arrangements for a "noted" church head and "theoretical physicists" to "enplane for the United States" that day. The Soviet revisionist press went so far as to claim that Nixon "could allow American capitalism finally to get out of the most complicated crisis." This is the ultimate in servility and flattery!

"Fellow sufferers sympathize with one another." How true the saying is! The confession by Nixon of an impasse, in fact, also reveals the state of mind of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which is now at the end of its tether. The struggle of the Soviet working class and other labouring people against the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is growing day by day, and the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is like an ever tightening noose around its own neck. Things are getting tougher and tougher for the Soviet revisionist renegades. In these circumstances, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique lost no time in pinning its hopes on support from the new American imperialist chieftain in a futile effort to redivide the world through U.S.-Soviet collusion, so as to save it-

self from utter defeat. However, two drowning men pulling at each other only sink faster. The ludicrous performance by Soviet revisionism can only make the people of the world see more clearly its counter-revolutionary features as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, and accelerate its own downfall.

In 1947, when speaking of U.S. imperialism as outwardly strong and inwardly weak, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out, "The strength of the United States of America is only superficial and transient. Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano." Chairman Mao also taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." Nixon's inaugural address helplessly admits of the difficulties and dire plight of U.S. imperialism both at home and abroad, but it indicates at the same time that U.S. imperialism intends to continue its death-bed struggle. Nixon did not hide the fact that he will continue the counter-revolutionary dual tactics both at home and abroad in a vain attempt to extricate U.S. imperialism from its grave political and economic crisis and to carry out the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism. While making a lot of empty promises such as "freedom" and "welfare" to the American people, he blustered that "law" and "order" must be maintained with a view to suppressing the American people still more. While talking glibly about making "peace", he fractically shouted: "We will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be." All this shows that Nixon is resolved to recklessly pursue the beaten path of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. Historical experience of class struggle tells us that whenever U.S. imperialism sings "peace" at the top of its lungs, it is getting ready to take further steps for arms expansion and war preparations. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." We must heighten our revolutionary vigilance

(continued on page 26)

# SALESMAN OF REACTIONARY WESTERN CULTURE

The so-called "Western culture" is nothing but imperialist culture, which is most reactionary, decadent and vicious. With the imperialist system heading for total collapse, its culture, like the sun setting beyond the Western hills resembles a dying person who is sinking fast. Since Khrushchov and his successors came into power they have gone all out to carry out "cultural co-operation" with U.S. imperialism and thrown the door wide open to "Western culture," which has thus found a new market in the Soviet Union. Amid the fanfare of their all-round reactionary collaboration, a new sinister deal was made between the Soviet Union and the United States not long ago - the Soviet-U.S. cultural exchange agreement for 1968-1969 signed in Moscow.

This agreement covers many fields, ranging from science, technology, literature, art, education, medicine and physical culture to the exchange of "artists," "experts," periodicals, exhibitions and films and so on. More than twenty departments are involved in the exchange of visits by "experts" alone.

If the United States only "made a breach" in 1958 when the archrenegade Khrushchov signed the first "cultural agreement" with it, then today ten years later, when the sixth "cultural agreement" has been signed, the world's most reactionary, decadent and vicious "Western culture" has flooded Soviet Union like the muddy water rushing through a breached dyke. The soviet revisionist renegade clique's efforts to go in for wholesale "westernization" have earned it the plaudits of its master. In a recent speech, U.S. imperialist chief Johnson gleefully said that no other period has been more productive in promoting co-operation between the two countries,

Let us see how "productive" Soviet-U.S. "cul-

tural co-operation" is at present.

Not only has Soviet revisionist literature become increasingly decadent under the impact of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," but the most reactionary and rotten American literature has been translated and published in large quantities in the Soviet Union. The chief editor of the Soviet revisionist "Literaturnaya Gazeta" confessed in a statement that American novels were the best sellers in the foreign book market in the Soviet Union.

Disguised as "cultural co-operation," degenerate Western music, commercialized jazz, has become the rage in the Soviet revisionist musical, dancing and theatrical world. The rock-'n'-roll, the twist and other similar vulgar dances are executed more madly than before. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only spent big sums of money to invite large numbers of night club jazz bands from the West to perform in different parts of the Soviet Union, it has also sent its own musicians to take part in "international contests" so as to learn from Western jazz bands. As a result, various weird-named American and British jazz bands have performed in the Soviet Union. Last December 12, the Soviet revisionist Central Television Station started a monthly series of lectures on "Jazz Music, Yesterday and Today" in its fourth programme. In these lectures, American commercialized jazz was unctuously described as the "real music" and the "sacred music" and was lauded as helping to "understand the world." Seven disgusting "jazz music festivals" have been held in Moscow and six other Soviet cities this year to give such vulgar music a big boost. And as before, the Soviet revisionist clique has given the green light to performances of many vulgar A-

merican plays on the Soviet Stage.

As a result of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," Soviet revisionist screens have been turned into an instrument for publicizing "Western culture." As it did previously, the Soviet revisionist clique has spared no efforts to lavish praise on American films through its newspapers and magazines, and it has printed many books to publicize these reactionary American films. Moreover, in January this year, the Soviet revisionist Central Television Station began obsequiously introducing American film stars to its viewers. The Soviet revisionists in effect, have handed over a large part of Soviet screen to Hollywood. S.K. Romanovsky, Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, admitted that often "there are several hundred copies of American films being shown in our country." Even this cannot satisfy the Soviet revisionist clique. The new "cultural agreement" explicitly provides for "the widest possible distribution" of American films.

Under the signboard of "cultural co-operation" the Soviet revisionist clique has thrown the door open to Voice of America, an instrument of U.S. imperialism for opposing communism, China, the people and revolution. The notorious V.O.A. as former U.S. President Kennedy said, is an "arm" of the U.S. Government. But the Soviet revisionist clique loves it as dearly as flies love muck. As far back as soon after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the revisionist clique intermittently stopped jamming V.O.A. broadcasts to the Soviet Union. Later, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States under which the former formally and completely stopped jamming and provided facilities for V.O.A. transcription programmes to be broadcast in the Soviet Union. After Brezhnev and Kosygin came to power, they gave V.O.A. the go-ahead signal, allowing it to be heard all over the country. With great exultation the U.S. press said that in content, form and technique, the Soviet revisionist radio and television programmes had been "radically reformed" after the fashion of the West.

Soviet revisionism's television is the same as the radio. Last year the Soviet revisionist clique racked its brains making a television newsreel called "Chronicle of Half Century" in the name

of "celebrating" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and "reviewing" the history of the Soviet Union over the past half century. On the one hand, the newsreel frantically attacks China; on the other hand, it nauseatingly advocates "Soviet-U.S. friendship" to curry favour with its master. A good number of shots of Soviet revisionists embracing and kissing Americans were produced to show Soviet-U.S. "friendship" and "co-operation". Even the coming to power and the death of the U.S. imperialist chief Kennedy was shamelessly brought into the "chronicle" as a "big event" in the Soviet Union. The commentary flatters Kennedy as a "clear-headed" and "practical" man and sadly "mourns" his death.

It is also under the camouflage of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" that the decadent way of life of the Western bourgeoisie penetrates the Soviet Union everywhere. Not long ago, a so-called "Soviet fashion design show" was held in Washington. On display were "outstanding fashions" by Soviet revisionism's "top contemporary designers," including so-called "space age" fashions and "revolutionized" clothing designed by "the Soviet Union's best-known avant garde designer" who copied the cowboy pants and mini-skirts of the West. The marked trends of "Westernization" in the fashion show won praise and applause from their U.S. master who cheered it as "inspiring". The Soviet revisionists also put on dog shows in Moscow similar to those in New York and London and went so far as to make this thing fashionable. All this is absolutely the height of rottenness.

To speed up the "Westernization" of the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist clique is becoming more and more open in utilizing "international tourism" to attract by all possible means "tourists" of all descriptions from the Western capitalist countries, allowing them to spread the dissipated Western way of life in the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists recently announced that more than one hundred cities in all fifteen union republics will be opened to large numbers of pleasure-seeking foreign bourgeois gentlemen and ladies coming to the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviet revisionists are developing "cultural co-operation" with U.S. imperialism in a big way so as to surrender completely to the latter and bring on a wholesale "Western-

ization" of the Soviet Union through such channels as setting up "night clubs", free "distribution" of the U.S. magazine America, holding rotating U.S. exhibitions, introduction of American experience, exchanging students, commendation of scholars, sponsoring pen clubs and reprinting articles of the reactionary U.S. press, etc.

The above mentioned facts are but a few examples of the "co-operation". All these "fruits" fully show that since the confidential Glassboro talks by the cheiftains of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism in June, 1967, U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary collaboration has shown a new striking development. It has developed in many fields - on earth, and under the sea and in the sky, by the "hot-line" contact between the White House and Kremlin and through the opening of the New York-Moscow direct airline, and in political, economic and military fields as well as in the cultural realm. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have entered into an out-and-out counter-revolutionary holy alliance.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." The large-scale importation of "Western culture" by the Soviet revisionist clique today wholly aimed at serving the all round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the comprehensive Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary collaboration. In other words, to serve its counter-revolutionary revisionist political line. The so-called Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation", like their collaboration in the political, economic and military fields, is the product of the capitulationist line of "peaceful co-existence" carried out by the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades, and it is a big betrayal of the people of the Soviet Union and of the world.

Why is Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" carried out so unscrupulously and so feverishly in this period? The U.S. magazine Newsweek in its July 15, 1968 issue, admits outright that Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism "have often found themselves undergoing many of the same internal and external stresses and strains in the rapidly changing world of the 1960's." What are these "internal and external stresses and strains"? First of all, in this period, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao himself, China has victoriously unfolded the great proletarian cultural revolution which has

tremendous influence on the whole world and deals a heavy blow to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought lights up the road for liberation of the world's revolutionary people. The news of victories from the hills of the Truong Son Range, the war drums on the equator, the red flags fluttering in the Pu Pan Mountains, the roar of the raging tide along the Mississippi River, and the revolutionary storm in West Europe and North America.. all these converged into an irresistible revolutionary torrent which is rapidly breaching the dam of global Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary collaboration. The drastically deepening political and economic crises in imperialist countries headed by the United States have become an incurable disease. Modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist clique as its center, which is daily disintegrating is in a shaky state. Such an excellent revolutionary situation naturally means "stresses and strains" for U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique. It is in these days that they have to depend on each other to bolster up their tottering bourgeois dictatorships and use decadent "Western culture" as a talisman in a vain effort to prevent the surging tide of the world revolution and save themselves from being drowned in it.

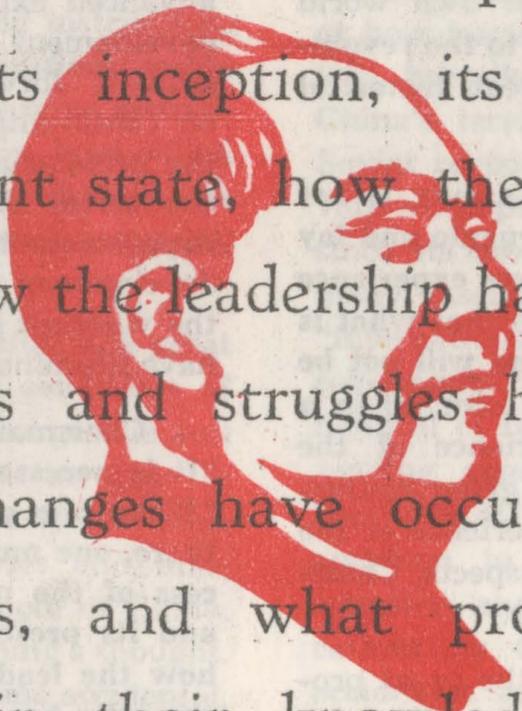
Our great leader Chairman Mao wisely points out: "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long." It can be asserted that the Soviet people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition will by no means let their country be ruined by these renegades of the Soviet Union in such a way. No matter how reckless and unbridled their outrageous acts, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists can never change the law of historical development, nor can they hold back the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the world over. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism together with the decadent "Western culture" they treasure will eventually be buried by the people of the Soviet Union, the United States and the whole world.

# CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S

## LATEST DIRECTIVE

It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously.

When one goes to a unit to get to know the situation there, one must become acquainted with the whole process of the movement — its inception, its development and its present state, how the masses have acted and how the leadership has acted, what contradictions and struggles have emerged and what changes have occurred in these contradictions, and what progress people have made in their knowledge — so as to find out its laws.



# On Summing Up Experience

**T**HE great proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victory. A revolutionary mass movement for the transformation of all parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base is developing in depth on all fronts. A tide of anger to smash the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's rabid aggressive ambitions has swept the cities and countryside throughout our motherland. A tremendous upsurge has emerged in all fields in grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war to greet the Party's Ninth National Congress with concrete actions. The revolution is advancing. The situation is excellent. The masses of the people are fired with enthusiasm. In these circumstances, an important task facing the leading cadres at all levels of the Party, the government and the army is to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to sum up experience conscientiously and further remould their own world outlook so as to give still better leadership to the revolutionary masses in accomplishing the great historical tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "A leader's duty is not only to point out the orientation of the struggle and lay down its tasks, he must also sum up concrete experience and spread it rapidly among the masses so that what is correct will be promoted and what is wrong will not be repeated." This includes two aspects: to sum up in a penetrating way the fundamental experience of the proletarian revolutionary movement in a given historical period and to sum up the concrete experience of the current struggles in good time. In both aspects, Chairman Mao has set a brilliant example for us.

For the past two years and more, in the great proletarian cultural revolution of unprecedented breadth and depth, in the storms which smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and in the fierce and extremely complex class struggle that has touched people to their innermost being, the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and other revolutionary people have been greatly tempered and have accumulated very rich and lively experience. This includes the positive experience of how to boldly arouse the masses to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the nega-

tive experience drawn from the mistakes made by some people. Both are valuable and profound and should always be remembered. Chairman Mao highly values the creations and wisdom of the masses. He makes theoretical and scientific generalization and summing up of their advanced experience which is of fundamental and universal significance, calls timely attention to the erroneous Right or extreme "Left" ideological trends that must be opposed and guarded against in the movement, constantly educates the cadres and continually gives new instructions. All this is then translated back into the revolutionary practice of the masses. In this way, the resistance and sabotage of the class enemy are defeated and new victories are won one after another. At the same time, Chairman Mao personally grasps the investigation and study of typical examples and discovers, sums up and spreads in good time the advanced experience which represents the direction of development in each stage of the movement so as to guide it forward continuously. Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the line and policies he has formulated, the series of his latest instructions and the typical experiences he has recommended constitute a creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the living soul of the vigorous great proletarian cultural revolution. They have illuminated the historical course of this revolution.

Chairman Mao has recently once again taught us: "It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously." "When one goes to a unit to get to know the situation there, one must become acquainted with the whole process of the movement — its inception, its development and its present state, how the masses have acted and how the leadership has acted, what contradictions and struggles have emerged and what changes have occurred in these contradictions, and what progress people have made in their knowledge — so as to find out its laws."

Leading comrades at all levels must pay serious attention to this instruction of Chairman Mao's, and study it and carry it out conscientiously.

Chairman Mao teaches us that we must be "conscientious." This means that we must direct our eyes downward and really become pupils of the masses. In the situation of victory, leading cadres should partic-

ularly be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness. They should listen attentively to the different opinions raised by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and bring into full play the revolutionary vigour of the proletariat and its fine style of modestly learning from the masses. All this must not be neglected.

Chairman Mao teaches that we should become acquainted with **"the whole process"** of the movement. This is most important. Only by knowing the whole process of the movement can we grasp its actual conditions in an all-round way; only thus can we understand the historical process of how the proletariat has struggled against the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party and won victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution; only thus can we see what tricks the enemy of the proletariat has played under different circumstances and how we have exposed the enemy's intrigues, what changes have taken place in this process on the part of the enemy and ourselves and of the different classes and different political forces, what changes have taken place among the leadership and the masses and what reversals there have been; only thus can we make a fairly appropriate analysis of the contradictions among the masses and find out the problems to be solved at present or in the future in the course of struggle-criticism-transformation and the methods to solve them. In a word, only in this way can we deeply understand the objective laws of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and accomplish what Chairman Mao has taught in the following instruction: **"We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us."**

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is a great struggle in which the revisionist faction within the Party has been smashed by the proletarian revolutionaries and hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people of China, who uphold Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. This great political revolution is by no means accidental. It is the inevitable outcome of the sharp, repeated struggles existing in socialist society between the two classes — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads — the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between the two lines — the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi. But many of us were not sufficiently prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution and often failed to understand many of Chairman Mao's instructions of extremely pro-

found significance and his wise predictions, or failed to understand them deeply and thoroughly at the time they were given. We came to understand them better only when the development of the revolutionary mass movement had deeply touched us to our innermost being and enabled us to gain experience or draw lessons of our own. In order to raise the level of our understanding, we must study and sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, look into all the stages of development of the revolutionary mass movement and study their characteristics, review how in the past two years and more the masses have carried out Chairman Mao's instructions, what we thought and did, which of our thoughts and actions conform to Chairman Mao's instructions and are correct and which do not conform to Chairman Mao's instructions and are wrong, and thus sum up experiences, draw lessons and find out the reasons. Only when we sum up the experience in the great proletarian cultural revolution in this way can we absorb it deeply.

Chairman Mao's instruction on the necessity of understanding the process of history is also very important for us in arriving at a profound understanding of the nature of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reactionaries in the world. **"What about the Kuo-mintang? Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future."** Just look at the historical experience of the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism, just look at how tsarist Russia, the forefather of Soviet revisionism, brutally invaded and occupied vast expanses of China's territory, just look at how many crimes the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has committed in its vain attempt to occupy still more of Chinese territory since its assumption of power, and just look at how many fascist theories, such as the so-called theory of "international dictatorship" and the theory of "limited sovereignty," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, this handful of fascists, has recently dished up to justify its sending aggressor troops into the territory of other countries at will in a vain attempt to realize its rabid ambition to redivide the world through Soviet-U.S. collusion, and you can tell that the recent armed provocations by the Soviet revisionists are by no means accidental and that the nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, like that of U.S. imperialism, will never change. The great proletarian cultural revolution has completely overthrown Liu Shao-chi and company, the handful of agents of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and has thus totally shattered the Soviet revisionists' dream of converting China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism by "peaceful" means. In these circumstances, the Soviet revisionists have vainly resorted to military adventure in a desperate struggle. We must further expose and repudiate

the fascist theories of Soviet modern revisionism. We must maintain high vigilance and deal relentless blows at the aggressive ambitions of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. With regard to the Soviet revisionists' aggressor troops who dare to invade our country, we will resolutely act in the way pointed out by Chairman Mao for dealing with all reactionaries in the world: "If they fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction." This is a historical lesson.

Class struggle is an objective reality. Correct ideas invariably exist in contrast with erroneous ideas and develop in the struggle against them. The struggle between adherence to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and violation of this line, the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, and the struggle between correct conceptions and erroneous ones — these contradictions always exist. It is also necessary to analyse the process of the movement and sum up experience in good time in order to achieve unity of thinking in regard to the ideological contradictions of one kind or another now existing in leading groups at various levels and among the revolutionary masses. That is to say, we must use Mao Tse-tung's thought to examine the work we have done, make an all-round analysis of the contradictions arising in the course of development, distinguish between right and wrong, conscientiously carry out criticism and self-criticism, especially self-criticism, and really uphold and support whatever conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought and repudiate and overcome whatever goes against Mao Tse-tung's thought. By summing up experience, we can discern the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people, draw a clear distinction between these two types of contradictions, make an appropriate analysis — which by and large conforms to the actual situation — of what was right and what was wrong about each of us and his achievements and shortcomings in the work we have done, and promote the correct ideas and overcome the erroneous ones. This will enable us to strengthen our unity against the enemy on the principled basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The bad habit of being arrogant and conceited, priding oneself on one's "merits," divorcing oneself from the masses and spurning opinions different from one's own, the bad practice of double-dealers who say one thing while doing another, and the bad ideas of putting self-interest before everything and proceeding in all cases from egoism — these are manifestations of the bourgeois world outlook and are a formidable enemy in the way of a correct summing up of experience and, therefore, must be criticized and repudiated.

Chairman Mao teaches us that we must "carefully seek out the advanced experience of the masses in a locality, sum it up and popularize it." There are relatively advanced units everywhere. We should make deep-

going, not superficial, investigation and study, gain first-hand material, "dissect one or several sparrows" conscientiously and set up good examples of carrying out Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Typical advanced experience is of universal significance and is very convincing. At present, leading comrades of the various central departments and those at the provincial, regional and county levels should conscientiously do a good job of conducting investigations of typical examples in the struggle-criticism-transformation on the industrial and agricultural fronts and in the educational revolution and report in good time the findings and other material to the Party's Central Committee. Only with the whole situation in mind and typical examples in hands can we have the initiative in leading the movement.

Chairman Mao incisively points out: "In any society in which classes exist class struggle will never end. In classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong." This far-sighted scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's, which generalizes the history of human society and the history of nature, penetratingly explains the importance of summing up revolutionary experience for guiding revolutionary practice. In the practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution which is so great, so rich in content and so deep-going, and at a time when we are greeting the forthcoming Ninth National Congress of the Party with concrete actions, comrades of the whole Party and the whole army and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses throughout the country should all conscientiously use Mao Tse-tung's thought to sum up experience in revolutionary struggle, including the experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past few years, the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines and the fresh experience of the current struggle-criticism-transformation movement. By so doing, we will certainly be able to bring into full play the revolutionary might of Mao Tse-tung's thought in changing the subjective world and the objective world and accomplish the great historical tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. Under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, we will defeat all sabotage by the class enemies at home and abroad, carry the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction through to the end and advance vigorously to win new victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.



V. I. LENIN

## PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY LITERATURE

The new conditions for Social-Democratic work in Russia created after the October Revolution have brought the question of party literature to the forefront. The difference between the illegal and the legal press, the sad heritage of the epoch of feudal and autocratic Russia, is beginning to disappear. It is not defunct, far from it. The hypocritical government of our Prime Minister is still on the rampage, to the extent that Izvestia, organ of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, is printed "illegally," but apart from bringing disgrace on the government, apart from striking further moral blows at it nothing will come of the stupid attempts to "ban" that which is beyond its power to ban.

The difference between the illegal and legal press led to the question of the party and nonparty press being decided in an extremely simple, extremely false, and grotesque way. The entire illegal press was a party press, being published by the organizations and run by groups which in one way or another were linked with the groups

of practical party workers. The entire legal press was non-party—since the parties were banned—but it "gravitated" towards one or another party. The unnatural alliance, the abnormal "co-habitation" and the false cover were inevitable. The forced reserve of those who wished to express party views merged with the immature thinking, or mental cowardice, of those who had not advanced to these views and were not, in essence, party people.

Those were the accursed days of Aesopian language, of literary bondage, slavish speech and ideological serfdom! The proletariat has put an end to this foul atmosphere which stifled everything living and fresh in Russia. But so far the proletariat has won only half-freedom for Russia.

The revolution is not yet completed. While tsarism is already incapable of defeating the revolution, the revolution is not yet powerful enough to defeat tsarism. And we are living in times when

everywhere and in everything this open, forthright direct and consistent party spirit is unnaturally combined with the secret, concealed, "diplomatic" manoeuvring of "legality". This unnatural combination makes itself felt even in our newspaper: for all Mr. Guchkov's witticisms about the Social-Democratic tyranny of refusing to print moderate bourgeois liberal newspapers, the fact is that Proletary, the central organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, still remains behind the locked doors of autocratic police-ridden Russia.

Be that as it may, the half-way revolution compels all of us to set to work at once organizing the whole thing on new lines. Today literature, even that published "legally," can be nine-tenths party literature. It must become party literature. In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialized bourgeois press, to the bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, aristocratic anarchism and drive for profits, the socialist proletariat must advance, develop fully and completely and translate into life the principle of party literature.

What is this principle of party literature? It is not simply that, for the socialist proletariat, literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups, cannot in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat, "cog and wheel" of a single, great Social-Democratic mechanism brought into motion by the entire politically conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organized planned and integrated Social-Democratic party work.

"All comparisons are lame," says a German proverb. Lame, too, is my comparison of literature with the cog, of a living movement with a mechanism. And I daresay hysterical intellectuals will raise a howl about a comparison which degrades, deadens and "bureaucratizes" freedom of ideological struggle, freedom of criticism, freedom of literary creation, etc., etc. Such cries, properly speaking, would be nothing more than an expression of bourgeois-intellectual individualism. It is indisputable that literature absolutely requires free rein to personal initiative, individual taste, thought and fantasy, form and content. All this is undeniable, but all

simply shows that the literature side of the party work of the proletariat cannot be mechanically identified with the other sides. This, however, does not refute the proposition, alien and strange to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois democracy, that literature must indispensably and absolutely be firmly linked with the other sides of Social-Democratic party work. The newspapers must be the organs of the different party organizations, and their writers, members of these organizations. Publishing and distributing centres, libraries and reading rooms, bookshops and similar establishments - all must be under party control. The organized socialist proletariat must keep an eye on all this work, verify it in its entirety, and, from beginning to end, without excluding any part, infuse into it the lifestream of the living proletarian cause, removing thereby all grounds for the old, semi-Oblomov, semi-shopkeeper Russian principle: the writer does the writing, the reader does the reading.

We are not suggesting of course, that this transformation of literary work, which has been defiled by the Asiatic censorship and the European bourgeoisie, can be accomplished at once. Far be it from us to advocate any kind of standardized system or a solution by means of a few decrees. No, schematism is least of all applicable here. The whole of our party and the entire politically-conscious Social-Democratic proletariat throughout Russia must become aware of this new task, define it clearly and get down to the job of solving it. Emerging from the captivity of the feudal censors, we have no desire to become, prisoners of bourgeois shopkeeper relations. We want to establish, a free press, free not simply from the police, but also from capital, from careerism, and what is more, free from bourgeois-anarchist individualism.

These last words may sound paradoxical or an affront to the reader. What! some intellectual, a passionate champion of freedom will shout, you want to impose collective control on such a delicate, individual matter as literary creation! You want questions relating to science, philosophy and esthetics to be decided by a majority of worker votes! You deny the absolute freedom of absolutely individual ideological creation!

Calm yourselves, gentlemen! First of all, we are discussing party literature and its subordi-

nation to party control. Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions. But every free union (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the party's platform to advocate anti-party views. Freedom of speech and the press must be complete. But then freedom of association must be complete too. I am obliged to accord you, in the name of free speech, the full right to shout, lie and write to your heart's content. But you are obliged to grant me, in the name of freedom of association, the right to enter into, or withdraw from, an alliance, with people advocating this or that view. The party is a voluntary union which would be bound to break up, first ideologically and then materially, if it did not purge itself of people advocating anti-party views. And to define the border line between party and anti-party there is the party programme, the resolutions on tactics and the rules, and lastly, the entire experience of international Social-Democracy, the voluntary international alliances of the proletariat, which has always brought into its parties elements and trends not fully consistent, not completely Marxist and not altogether correct. But on the other hand, it has always conducted periodical "purges" of its ranks. And so it will be with us, Messieurs, supporters of bourgeois "freedom of criticism", within the party: we are becoming a mass party all at once, changing abruptly to an open organization, and it is inevitable that we be joined by many inconsistent (from the Marxist standpoint) elements, perhaps we shall be joined even by some Christian elements, and even by mystics. We have sound stomachs and we are rock-like Marxists. We shall assimilate these inconsistent elements. Freedom of thought and freedom of criticism within the party shall never make us forget about freedom of association in voluntary unions known as parties.

Secondly, we must say to you, Messieurs bourgeois individualists, that your talk about absolute freedom is sheer hypocrisy. There can be no real and effective "freedom" in a society based on the power of money, in a society in which the masses of working people live in poverty and the handful of rich live like parasites. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois publisher, Mr. Writer, in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands that you give it pornography, pictured and framed, and prostitution as

a "supplement" to "sacred" scenic art? This absolute freedom is a bourgeois or an anarchist phrase (since the philosophy of anarchism is bourgeois philosophy turned inside out). One cannot live in society and be free of society. The freedom of the bourgeois writer, artist or actress is simply masked (or hypocritically masked) dependence on the money-bags, on corruption, on prostitution.

And we, Socialists expose this hypocrisy and rip off the false labels - not for the sake of a non-class literature and art (that will be possible only in a socialist non-class society), but to oppose this hypocritically free, but in reality bourgeois-shackled, literature, a literature that is really free and openly linked with the proletariat.

This will be a free literature because the idea of socialism and the sympathy of the working people, and not selfishness or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be free literature because it will serve not some satiated heroine, not the bored and obese "upper ten thousand", but the millions and tens of millions of working people - the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of mankind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, establishing permanent inter-action between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the consummation of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the present (the present struggle of worker comrades).

To work, then, comrades! Before us lies a new and difficult task. But it is a noble and gratifying one - the organization of a broad, multiform and varied literature inseparably linked with the Social-Democratic labour movement. Social-Democratic literature must become party literature throughout. Every newspaper, journal, publishing house, etc., must lose no time in reorganizing its work, so that it will, in one or other form, be integrated in our party organizations. Only then will "Social-Democratic" literature really merit that name, fulfill its duty and, within the bounds of bourgeois society, break with the slavery of the bourgeoisie and merge with the movement of the really advanced and consistently revolutionary class.

The Canadian Internationalist is the theoretical organ of the Canadian Internationalists, (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement). We invite comments and criticism and we encourage all progressive people to share their experiences with us in order to develop the correct guidelines for the youth and student movement. These should be sent to

c/o CSM  
Box 32, Station 'F'  
Toronto 5, Ontario

\*\*\*\*\*  
By donation, the Canadian Communist - the Canadian Internationalist and other publications can be regularly mailed to you. Send financial help and name & address.  
\*\*\*\*\*

PROGRESSIVE BOOKS & PERIODICALS LTD.

Marxist-Leninist literature, revolutionary journals from all over the world!

MARX

ENGELS

LENIN

STALIN

MAO

Mail orders accepted.

Montreal

1867 AMHERST STREET  
MONTREAL 132, QUEBEC

Ottawa

412 RIDEAU STREET  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO

Toronto

721 GERRARD STREET EAST  
TORONTO 8, ONTARIO

continued from page 15

Confession in an Impasse - A Comment on Nixon's "Inaugural Address" and the Contemptible Applause by the Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique

a hundred-fold and carry the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction through to the end.

Although at the end of his rope, Nixon had the cheek to speak about the future. How curious that he even talked about the "beginning of the third millennium" and that "eight years from now" the United States would "celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation". A man with one foot in the grave tries to console himself by dreaming of paradise. This is the delusion and writhing of a dying class. Our era is the great new era of world revolution, the era in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world wide victory. Since it adopted the declaration of Independence in 1776, the United States has undergone a course of rise and fall. During a history of nearly 200

years, U.S. imperialism has done all kinds of evils in the world and the U.S. dollar is dripping with the blood of the working people of the world. Now that U.S. imperialism is on its last legs, it can only rot day after day with "each generation worse than the one before". This determines that the plight of the Nixon Administration can only be worse than his predecessor's, and the plight of Nixon's successor can only be even worse than his. No matter who is picked by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class to be "President" "eight years from now", his plight can only be still more gloomy than Nixon's. Such is the answer of reality. As to "the beginning of the third millennium", that is, the year 2001, it will be the brilliant festival of the world-wide victory of the proletarian revolution, the brilliant festival of the world-wide victory of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary people will use the prediction in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" as their song of victory: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the world to win!"

The Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) fully support;

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE FIRST MEETING OF THE  
PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE  
FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF MARXIST-LENINIST YOUTH  
- Adopted on January 3, 1969 -

Recognizing

that the genuinely anti-imperialist forces are rising all over the world against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplice, modern Soviet revisionism,

that the modern revisionists, headed by the U.S.S.R. and the descendants of the 2nd International, the social democrats of western Europe and their henchmen in the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial countries are attempting to mislead the working and oppressed people,

that various "anti-revisionists" and other "Marxist-Leninists" are, through dubious means, attempting to stop the spread of Marxism-Leninism of our era, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the broad masses of the working and oppressed people,

that national chauvinism is still used in many countries in order to combat Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought,

that there is no organisation of world revolutionary youth which can form a bulwark against poisonous influence of modern revisionist dominated WFDY and IUS, and

that there is an urgent need for all genuinely Marxist-Leninist Youth who follow Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively and in an all-sided manner to gather together and develop the correct ideological and organisational guidelines for the fortification of the communist youth movement on an international scale,

we propose

(1) that the First International Congress of Marxist-Leninist Youth be held on June 29 to July 6 in an appropriate place most suitable to all the participants with an anti-imperialist rally on July 5,

(2) that all Marxist-Leninist youth organisations who follow Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively and in an all-sided manner participate in the Congress,

(3) that a session of the Enlarged Preparatory Committee be held sometime in the first week of February and that each youth organisation which follows Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively and in an all-sided manner should be invited to send one delegate to this session,

(4) that all Marxist-Leninist organisations who follow Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively and in an all-sided manner, but who do not have an ML youth movement, should be invited to send observers to the Congress,

(5) that all Congress sessions be closed to delegates and observers only with the ex-

(continued on page 8)

# north american conference of anti-imperialist youth

in REGINA, Sask.  
May 7 to 12, 1969

Imperialism will not last long because it always does evil things. It persists in grooming and supporting reactionaries in all countries who are against the people, it has forcibly seized many colonies and semi-colonies and many military bases, and it threatens the peace with atomic war. Thus, forced by imperialism to do so, more than 90 percent of the people of the world are rising or will rise up in struggle against it. Yet imperialism is still alive, still running amuck in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the West imperialism is still oppressing the people at home. The situation must change. It is the task of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, and chiefly by US imperialism.  
- Chairman Mao Tse-tung -

For posters, handbills  
or information, write

the CANADIAN  
STUDENT  
MOVEMENT

p.o. box 32,  
station F,  
Toronto 5