

**How the Soviet Revisionists  
Carry out  
All-Round Restoration  
of Capitalism in the U.S.S.R.**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS    PEKING**

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**HOW THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS  
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PEKING 1968

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## Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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.



## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In carrying out all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is meeting with the firm opposition of the broad masses of the Soviet people and is being denounced by revolutionary people all over the world. To cover up its crime, the clique has recently been speeding up its propaganda machines to boost its sham communist construction and revisionist wares under the labels of the "party of the entire people", "state of the whole people", "welfare for the whole people", "culture of the whole people" and "socialist democracy for the whole people".

To acquaint readers with the facts of the Soviet revisionists' restoration of capitalism, we have compiled a booklet containing reference material recently published in *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) and Hsinhua News Agency despatches on the subject.





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## THE PROMOTION OF CAPITALIST ECONOMY IN ALL FIELDS

The Soviet revisionist leading group has lately made increased efforts to advertise its phoney communism. It claims that the perverse economic measures which it has enforced in the last few years for the all-round restoration of capitalism "mark a new stage in the development of the Soviet society on the way to communism". It alleges that its "new system", the core of which is the capitalist principle of profit-seeking, has always been "socialist in essence". It is obviously doing its utmost to revive capitalism, but, to cover up this plot, it uses "socialism" and "communism" as a fig-leaf. What shamelessness!

It is well known that, after he had usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, Khrushchov raised to a state policy the imitation of the methods of capitalist management in the United States. He tried every conceivable means to destroy the socialist gains for which the Soviet working people had fought hard for scores of years under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and to foster and develop capitalism and as a result the Soviet economy reverted to a capitalist one. Stepping in Khrushchov's shoes, the Soviet revisionist clique led by Brezhnev and Kosygin scrupulously follows the revisionist line of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union as laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and has actually gone much farther than its predecessor.

In the past few years it has done what Khrushchov had not the time to do and had not dared to do so unrestrainedly.

Since it came into power, the Soviet revisionist leading group has energetically enforced "reforms of the economic system" in the different branches of the national economy. These were mainly based on Liberman's recommendations. Resolutions were passed, laws enacted and regulations promulgated at the plenums of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and sessions of the Supreme Soviet in the past three years with regard to the "new system" which puts profit above everything else, making the enforcement of the "new system" the general policy of the Party. At the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in March 1965, Brezhnev delivered a report on the "urgent measures" to be taken in Soviet agriculture, saying that "the rate of profit should be made the basis for the objective assessment of the operation of the collective and state farms". In his report to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in September of the same year, dealing with "enhancing economic incentives in industrial production", Kosygin stressed that profit and the quota of profit should be used as "the best means for inducing enterprises to raise their productivity", and should be the chief criterion for the assessment of the "contribution" they make. He suggested that "economic incentives" be increased through "prices, profit, bonuses and credits". The resolutions passed by the two plenums serve as the principal basis for the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to promote capitalism in all sectors of industry and agriculture. The resolution passed by the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1966 stated explicitly that "the realization of the new

system is one of the most important tasks for the immediate future". At the session of the Supreme Soviet in August of the same year, Kosygin stressed that the "new system" "is to be spread without interruption to all branches of the national economy".

According to the latest statistics, a total of 5,500 industrial and mining enterprises, a large number of "state farms" and other state enterprises in agriculture and over 400,000 stores and shops or nearly half of the total in the country have been switched to the capitalist "new system". It is expected that all the remaining enterprises and establishments will be treated the same by the end of 1968.

The essence of the "new system" being pushed ahead so vigorously by the Soviet revisionist leading group under the cloak of "economic reform" is to practise in an all-round way capitalist management in all fields of the national economy, completely disrupt the socialist relations of production and thoroughly break up the socialist economic base. The enforcement of the "new system" has resulted in abolishing the former system of unified economic planning by the state and setting profit above all. It authorizes the enterprises to decide independently on their production and management plans and gives them free rein to seek high profits as in capitalist enterprises. It provides the leaders of the enterprises with more and bigger privileges and endows them with the power to deal freely with matters concerning production, finance and personnel in the enterprises. The "Regulations Governing State-Run Manufacturing Enterprises" enforced in the Soviet Union in 1966 stipulate that the enterprises have the authority to "own, use and dispose of" all property in the enterprises, to sell "surplus" equip-

ment, means of transport, raw materials, materials and fuel, to let premises, warehouses, equipment and means of transport which are "temporarily not in use", to write off on their own initiative "obsolete" fixed assets, to use "funds at their disposal" for capital construction that is "outside the plan" and "materials of their own" for production to fulfil orders they take "outside the plan". The regulations empower the managers to fix or change the wages, grades and bonuses for the workers and staff at will, to recruit or dismiss workers and mete out punishment to them, and to determine themselves the structure and personnel of the enterprises. Thus, the enterprises of socialist ownership have been turned into capitalist undertakings owned by a bourgeois privileged stratum, and broad sections of working people in industry and agriculture into wage slaves who have to sell their labour power.

As a result of the introduction of the "new system", class polarization in the Soviet society is daily being aggravated. The heads of many industrial enterprises, "state farms" and commercial establishments have become new bourgeois elements who draw high pay, receive high bonuses, indulge in unlawful practices, grossly abuse their power, and exploit and oppress the working people. Managers of many industrial enterprises even sell for profit such means of production as machine-tools, hoists, generators, locomotives and seamless tubes, which, of course, are all state property. The Soviet revisionists can never cover up these hard facts of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union no matter how much they may resort to their propaganda machine to produce volumes of lies about the "achievements" of the "new system".

In addition to pushing ahead with the "new system", the Soviet revisionist clique has in the past few years adopted a series of measures encouraging and fostering the development of spontaneous capitalist forces. The first retrogressive measure Brezhnev and company adopted after assuming power was to further relax restrictions on plots and livestock privately owned by "collective farmers" and personnel of "state" enterprises in agriculture. They also adopted a resolution enjoining the state bank to issue long-term loans to promote the increase of private livestock. As a result, private economy has developed daily. Khrushchov in his time started "experimenting" in allotting land to field teams and fixing production quotas on the basis of the teams. But his successors have gone a step further for they have distributed nationalized land to the teams for long-term cultivation. *Pravda* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, mouthpieces of the Soviet revisionists, published editorials on many occasions demanding: "We must march forward towards this goal more firmly and vigorously." Other Soviet papers even advocated allotting land for the permanent use of individual farmers.

In this period, the Soviet revisionist clique also lifted all restrictions on the prices of agricultural produce and livestock products in the free markets and vigorously developed capitalist free markets and free competition, leaving the door wide open for private merchants. According to incomplete 1966 figures, there were more than 7,500 free markets throughout the entire Soviet Union. These markets are replacing "state stores" in the supply of non-staple food. On the average 17 million people sold their products in the free markets every month. The free markets are under the control of private merchants

who engage in speculation, demand cut-throat prices and practise all sorts of swindling. The Soviet revisionist leadership earmarks huge funds for the construction of large free markets with modern facilities to provide the most favourable conditions for capitalist management. At the same time, the "state stores" engage in profit-seeking and free competition, thus bringing about confusion in the commercial sectors.

Khrushchov once expressed his wish "to accept credits from the devil himself", that is, to beg the U.S. capitalists for "loans" to "build communism". Now his wish has been turned into reality by his disciples. During the past few years, the Soviet revisionist leading clique pursued an "open door" policy towards the monopoly capitalist groups in the United States, France, Italy and Japan and signed one agreement after another with them to encourage their economic penetration into the Soviet Union to plunder the natural resources, damage the national interests, and exploit the working people. Before the October Revolution, tsarist Russia was a "paradise" where many Western capitalist countries exported capital, reaped colossal profits and plundered industrial raw materials. Today, 50 years later, the Soviet revisionist leaders once again allow the monopoly capitalist groups of these countries to reach their claws into the Soviet land.

Ever since the "new system" was put into practice by the Soviet revisionists in all fields of the economy, the Western bourgeois press and news agencies have kept on showering praises on it. The *U.S. News & World Report* says approvingly that Soviet industry and service enterprises have switched "toward a market economy", as in capitalism, and are operating on "a profit system".



It says with much glee that the changes “could mark the beginning of the end of the communist system as it has operated in this country for nearly 50 years”. Reporting on the fixing of production output based on the field teams, which is being widely practised in agriculture in the Soviet Union, an A.F.P. correspondent lauds it as the “liberalization” of the agricultural system in that country. The British paper *Guardian* praises the Soviet Union for breaking up state farms “into small units worked by teams which need be no bigger than one or two families”. If this is allowed to continue, it says, “something like a family system of land tillage might ultimately return to Russia”.

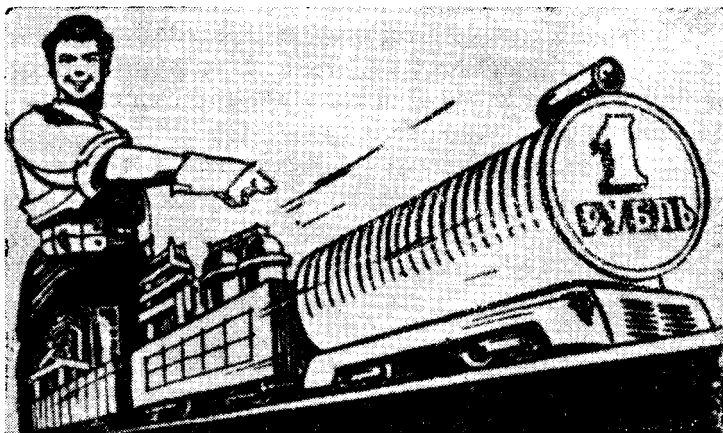
All this shows clearly that this “new stage in the development of the Soviet society on the way to communism” so much advertised by the Soviet leading group is nothing but total and complete restoration of capitalism. Their “economic reforms” have nothing to do with socialism but are a shameless betrayal of socialism and communism.

— By Hsinhua Correspondent,  
October 29, 1967

## THE DISASTROUS RESULTS OF THE "NEW SYSTEM"

### PUTTING PROFITS IN COMMAND AND ENCOURAGING FREE COMPETITION

The Soviet revisionist leading group is vigorously carrying out the so-called "new system", a thoroughly capitalist economic system and an important step in the all-round restoration of capitalism in the economic field.



An illustration from a Soviet revisionist journal. Its title is "The Powerful Locomotive", with the Russian on the front of the locomotive reading: "One Rouble". It instills into the minds of the Soviet people the poisonous capitalist idea that "money is the locomotive hauling everything forward".



A poisonous poster published by the State Committee for the Press, advertising that when one has money, one has everything. The caption reads: Here Is Our Profit!

The core of this "new system" is to use every means to encourage the enterprises to seek profit and to promote production by material incentives. It means expanding the autonomous power of the management of enterprises, energetically carrying out the practice of adjusting production according to market prices, and expanding the power of the leaders of enterprises in recruiting and discharging employees as well as in meting out rewards and punishments. These measures have changed the socialist enterprises, which are owned by the whole people, into capitalist ones and replaced the planned economy of socialism by the free competition of capitalism.

The implementation of this "new system" has brought disaster to the economy of the Soviet Union. It has caused confusion in production, a sharp decline in the quality of goods and failure in carrying through production plans. Moreover, it has caused speculation and theft to become rampant and further stepped up the process of class differentiation.

#### **PROFIT BECOMES THE SOLE AIM AND PRODUCTION FALLS INTO CONFUSION**

To gain more profit, the factories and other enterprises tie production to market prices and disputes in the fields of supply and marketing become more and more acute. Originally the Administration of the Footwear Trade in Kazakhstan firmly requested the industrial establishments in the Republic to produce fine felt boots, promising to sell 600,000 pairs a year. But when boots of a new style appeared on the market those in charge of trade

arbitrarily cut their sale to half of the quantity they had ordered, thus causing a huge glut of felt boots.

To keep up their rate of profit, the leaders of many enterprises are reluctant to improve the quality of their goods. For instance, the State Ball-Bearing Factory of Minsk was unwilling to increase the precision of its 14 mm. ball-bearing by 1 degree though this would increase its durability by 20 per cent. To do this the factory would have had to increase its annual expenditure by 30,000 roubles, which would have meant less profit, so its manager was strongly against it.

Owing to the confusion in production caused by the "new system", many enterprises suffer from a shortage of raw materials and have to reduce production or stop work altogether.

In the search for profit the leaders of many enterprises force the workers to practise deception and use inferior materials, thus raising selling prices by secret or covert means. Once the manager of a certain clothing factory gave the workers 40 metres of wet fabric which, after having been stretched and dried, gained a length of 2 or 3 metres. The garments made with this piece of fabric shrank so much when laundered by their buyers that they were utterly unfit to be worn. The chemical fertilizer manufactured by certain factories had become blocks of stone by the time they reached the buyers' hands. "Sometimes these blocks of stone were as big as a railway wagon," as a Soviet newspaper put it. Half of the products turned out by the Bryansk Machine Building Works were rejects and similar things happened in the Russian S.F.S.R.

## **MUSHROOMING OF UNDERGROUND FACTORIES AND FREE MARKETING OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION**

Many enterprises have established underground factories, engaging in speculation and profiteering. The Architectural Bureau of the General Bureau of Building Materials in Leningrad has in its employ 104 "irregular workers", i.e., workers whose names do not appear on the records but who openly share their incomes on a fifty-fifty basis with the bureau and factory directors. The chief engineer, assistant director and workshop director of the Alma Ata Fruit Products Factory formed a cabal. By means of forged accounts of raw materials they got large extra amounts of sugar, butter and milk. Then, selling these things through their accomplices in trade circles, they got away with more than a million roubles. Taking advantage of his power and working hand in glove with his close associates, the director of a building district in Tajik grabbed, by means of forged accounts, a large quantity of building materials which, after having been sold, enabled him to embezzle 10,000 roubles in a year. Working in collaboration with its director, the chief engineer of a clothing factory set up an underground factory with a store of cloth and other raw materials which were not entered in the accounts, manufacturing and selling their own products. They have in Odessa and Sverdlovsk properties worth hundreds of thousands of roubles.

The enterprises not only engage in the free marketing of goods on a large scale but indulge in the selling of the means of production so as to increase the rate of their profits and gain awards by cheating. The Soviet revisionist leading group openly declared that the planned

supply of the means of production was "out of date" and ruled that enterprises were free to sell or lease "surplus or unused equipment and tools".

Under the pretext of "doing away with surplus equipment", many enterprises "sell" or "write off" huge quantities of equipment as "worn-out" or "surplus". In 1966 a tractor works in Tashkent sent in reports of "worn-out" equipment worth 216,000 roubles and sold "excess equipment" to the value of 127,000 roubles. In Gorki and Sverdlovsk a free market dealing in the means of production has been set up, in which thousands of people representing companies and industrial enterprises in various places in the Soviet Union have taken part. The means of production bought and sold there ranged over a wide field, including lathes, cranes, electric motors, petrol, seamless steel tubes, meters, and locomotives.

### **MANAGERS ALL-POWERFUL AND WORKERS RUTHLESSLY OPPRESSED**

Abusing their powers the leaders of enterprises ruthlessly exploit and oppress the workers. They discharge workers at will, make deductions from their wages, take more "awards" than they were entitled to and appropriate the fruits of the workers' labour.

To increase their "rate of profit", five motor-car companies in Moscow and Leningrad discharged in five months 239 workers or 4 per cent of the total number of the workers and other staff. After putting the "new system" into effect, to gain more profit, the Red October Iron and Steel Works decided to close two of its workshops and discharged 730 workers. Some enterprises

take in large numbers of workers when production is at high tide and indefinitely put them "on leave" when it is at a low ebb, thus laying off large numbers of workers. This has led to mass unemployment and mass migration of labour.

With the sacking of large numbers of workers, the ruthless exploitation of apprentices and child labour has become a common practice in Soviet enterprises. Many leaders of the enterprises force apprentices and child workers to work in the same way as adults and even harder. To exploit cheap labour, the "Metal-Worker" Factory and Aurora State Farm in Sverdlovsk employed child workers, prolonged their working hours and let them do the heavy work usually done by adults. These child workers get very low wages and are liable to be discharged at any moment.

#### **WIDENING INCOME GAP AND RAPID PROGRESS OF CLASS DIFFERENTIATION**

Under the stipulations of the "new system", a big share of the profit gained by enterprises is directly pocketed by a small handful of persons of the privileged stratum, such as directors and engineers, or used indirectly for their benefit. The Soviet press has revealed that a major part of the profit which the enterprises are allowed to keep for themselves is used for awards and "welfare facilities". For instance, the Moscow Factory of Automatic Thermo-dynamic Equipment used 50 per cent of its retained profit for awards and 26 per cent for cultural facilities and housing, leaving only 24 per cent for the "development of production". In some enterprises, 90



per cent of the profit above the plan is disposed of as they please. The regulations governing state enterprises drawn up by the Soviet revisionists also stipulate that an enterprise is free to produce and market products made outside the plan and to use all the profit gained in this way.

Owing to the fact that the leaders of enterprises are given great powers by the Soviet revisionist leading group, they are able to "prescribe targets and conditions for the awards to the workers", and, consequently, to promote their private interests under the guise of serving the public, and embezzle large sums of awards at will. Within one month, the manager of the Lipetsk Industrial Engineering Trust got bonuses seven times, amounting to over 1,300 roubles, more than an ordinary worker's wage for two years. Some of the leaders of enterprises get 60 per cent of the bonuses, others get extra payments in every month and for every thing they do, while some of the workers never get as bonus a single cent. In many enterprises the workers are not only unable to get bonuses but suffer from big cuts in their wages. In Leningrad the wages of auxiliary workers in two transport depots, which were run on the basis of self-responsibility, dropped by 9 per cent while the salaries of the leaders rose by 40 per cent.

The leaders of enterprises enjoy high wages and abundant awards. Furthermore, the so-called "welfare facilities" cater only for the handful of persons of the privileged stratum and are in reality monopolized by them. People of the privileged stratum can have several apartments and a villa to boot; they enjoy free service provided by the sanatorium, etc. At the same time the workers' living quarters are congested, their life is hard

and the enjoyment of cultural and welfare facilities is out of the question.

With the implementation of the "new system" the principle of socialist distribution, i.e., "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", was entirely discarded. The income gap between the leaders of enterprises, engineering and technical personnel, and high-ranking staff members on the one hand and the workers on the other becomes wider and wider. A small handful of men of the privileged stratum gets richer and richer while the broad masses of workers become poorer and poorer.

— First appeared in *Renmin Ribao*,  
November 8, 1967

## **SOLID EVIDENCE OF THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE SOVIET COUNTRYSIDE**

In agriculture, during the past ten years and more, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has left no stone unturned to foster a rural privileged stratum, vehemently implemented the capitalist "principle of profits" and done away with the system of socialist economic planning. It has gone to all lengths to foster the growth of private economy and encourage the free marketing of agricultural products. As a consequence, capitalist forces have become rampant in the Soviet countryside and the socialist relations of production have been completely destroyed. The socialist economy based on public ownership no longer exists in the Soviet countryside today, but has been fully replaced by private ownership by a privileged stratum and a new kulak economy. The broad masses of the peasants have once again fallen into the abyss of suffering, subject as they are to exploitation and oppression.

### **COLLECTIVE AND STATE FARMS NOW THE KINGDOMS OF THE PRIVILEGED STRATUM**

Lenin points out,

**There has been more than one instance in the history of revolutions where, soon after the old landlords**

**and capitalists were swept away, new capitalists sprang up from the ranks of the kulaks, the wealthy peasants, profiteers, who, in many cases, exploited the workers more than the old landlords and capitalists did.<sup>1</sup>**

For many years now the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has carried out a series of purges and removal of the leaders of the collective and state farms. While removing quite a number of veteran cadres from their posts it planted in their place a horde of bourgeois elements and "experts", endowing them with every conceivable privilege, thus turning them into a new privileged stratum in the countryside. It is these persons who wield all the power in the rural basic-level economic organizations and by both "legal" and illegal devices are expropriating a great part of the fruits of the peasants' labour.

Chairmen of the collective farms in the Soviet Union can now fix their own wages according to the so-called "planned cash revenue". The fixed pay of the leaders is ten or even scores of times higher than that of an ordinary member. As was disclosed in the book entitled *Lawful Remuneration on the Collective Farm* by Shabekov, among the 27 collective farms which had been investigated in Kazakhstan, chairmen of eleven collective farms draw wages 15, and even 19 times that of an ordinary member. In 1965, the chairman of the Baku Worker Collective Farm in the Azerbaijan Republic received an average monthly pay of 1,076 roubles; the chief accountant, 756 roubles. By contrast, an average farm member

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Session of the First Congress of Farm Labourers of Petrograd Gubernia", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXIX, p. 21.

received less than 38 roubles. The chairman of the Lenin Road Collective Farm in the Tambov Region of the Russian S.F.S.R. even fixed his own monthly pay at 950 roubles so that he was referred to locally as the "well-known moneybag". High salaries are also fixed for state farm chairmen, some of whom receive a monthly pay as high as 300 roubles. The leading staff and "experts" of the state farms receive full pay no matter whether the crops are good or bad and their annual bonuses are as much as five or six times their monthly pay. That is how the fruits of the labour of the broad masses of the collective farm members and state farm workers by various means go into the pockets of the privileged stratum and turn into their own private income.

Making use of their powers the managerial groups of the collective and state farms indulge in graft and embezzlement and lead a luxurious, decadent bourgeois way of life. The leader of a collective farm in Uzbekistan who "made farm his own kingdom" used public funds for his own entertainment or for feasting others. And others in a managerial position on the farm also swindled roubles out of the farm under one pretext or another. These people stole more than 170,000 roubles from the farm, "emptying the cashier's safe" and leaving not a penny for the wages of quite a number of farm members. A leader at the Paris Commune Members Collective Farm in the Ivanovo Region of the Russian S.F.S.R. embezzled at one time enough money to "fully pay the monthly wages of all farm members". A leading person at a state farm of the Dzhambul Region in Kazakhstan even put aside 173 acres of land for personal use, hiring hands to look after it with their wages paid out of public funds.

With easy money the chairman of a collective farm in the Azerbaijan Republic built a 16-room villa "unrivalled in splendour" in the whole area.

### **PROFIT-SEEKING THE CORE OF THE IMPOSED "NEW SYSTEM"**

After Khrushchov usurped the power of the Soviet Communist Party and state he exceeded all bounds in his advertising of the virtues of the profit motive and thus showed the green light to the collective and state farms to set about seeking profits. Since their advent to power, Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like have far outstripped their predecessor in brazenness. They wantonly attacked the drawing up of agricultural production plans "from above" as fettering the initiative of the collective and state farms and advocated "complete independence". They definitely laid down that the "profit motive" should be put into force in agriculture, declared that "the rate of profit should be made the basis for the objective assessment of the operation of collective and state farms" and required that the "new system" and the "full business accounting system" should be enforced in the near future on the state farms.

In the last two years, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has in a redoubled effort passed a number of resolutions and regulations to open wide the door to "the free management" and the seeking of profits on the collective and state farms. It has allowed all collective and state farms to decide independently the direction in which their production would develop and to draw up annual plans in accordance with the principle of "developing

production in those spheres which yield the highest profits" so as to foster "the initiative of the enterprises in choosing the most profitable fields".

In 1965, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique on an experimental basis began to place a number of state farms under the "new system". Up to now, it has switched more than 400 state farms over to the "new system", under the so-called "full business accounting system".

The core of the so-called "full business accounting system" lies in putting profit in command and regarding it as more important than anything else. The Soviet revisionist journal *Rural Life* told the truth plainly, "full business accounting system aims at high profit". A *Pravda* editorial proclaimed that "the more profit, the more accumulated funds the state farms will have; and then it will be possible to pay higher wages to the farm workers and more houses, clubs and farm buildings can be constructed". Such retrogressive measures adopted by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique are in effect an official announcement that the capitalist law of profit should be left to adjust production and that the planned economy should be replaced by "free competition".

According to Soviet revisionist press reports, in the past several years, many collective and state farms in the Russian S.F.S.R., the Moldavian, Byelorussian and other republics of the Soviet Union have, for the sake of profit, arbitrarily reduced the acreage under the less profitable crops, and increased that under more profitable crops. Under one pretext or another many of them refused to honour their contracts with the state and sold their products at high prices on the free markets instead. Many collective and state farms have been engaged in a big

way in lucrative side-occupations and in unrestrained speculation.

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has gone out of its way to instal the system of allotting land to the field teams, fixing their production output and giving awards to teams overfulfilling their production quotas. These field teams are put in charge of nationalized land for an indefinite period of time. They usually consist of three to five persons, plus some farm machines and from scores to hundreds of hectares of land. The collective and state farms do no more than assign them production norms and fix the costs and also the remunerations they are to get upon fulfilling the specific plans. These field teams have in fact become independent units of production under the "business accounting system". It was Khrushchov who copied this system of fixed production quotas from the U.S.A. But in his time this method was limited to experiments at only a few collective and state farms. Since Brezhnev and Kosygin assumed power they have spread this system throughout the country, stressing that they would "do their utmost" to develop it. In the past two years, they have again advocated that the "internal business accounting system" should be further enforced in the collective farms. They stipulated that all products (including subsidiary ones) from all units under the "internal business accounting system" should be regarded as commodities, thus placing all production brigades and livestock farms on a capitalist commodity and monetary relation. Such a whole series of measures of capitalist restoration has thoroughly broken up the socialist relations of production that originally existed in Soviet collective and state farms and reduced them completely into capitalist agricultural enterprises.



## FOSTERING OF PRIVATE ECONOMY AND SIDE-OCCUPATIONS IN A BIG WAY

When Khrushchov was in power he stressed that private production by farm members was "an extremely important source of agricultural products". He abolished the system by which the agricultural products owned by the farmers were required to be sold to the state, a system which had been adopted in Stalin's period to restrict spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism. Instead he gave every conceivable facility to private undertakings in livestock breeding by means of tax concessions and fodder supplies. Since Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like came to power they have energetically encouraged the growth of the private sector. The first measure they adopted in the field of agriculture was that of a further relaxation of restrictions on private plots of land and private livestock. They advertised that the development of private economy was of the "utmost importance". Moreover, they issued orders and resolutions one after another to abolish all restrictions and authorize various localities to issue loans to individuals, provide them with livestock, pasture lands and fodder, help them till their private plots of land and transport their manure and products. Orders prohibiting urban people to raise livestock were also abolished.

With the encouragement of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, the acreage of private plots has been speedily extended. Some farm households on the outskirts of Moscow formerly were each allowed only to have a private plot of land of 0.38 acre, but it is now increased to 1.5 acres. In many regions private plots of land have been expanded by way of illegal seizure, secret distribution

for private use or for renting. Over a thousand persons in one district in the Ukraine took over of their own accord 500 acres of public land. Private plots of land occupied by some collective farmers even amounted to 42.5 acres each. Some have so much land that they even rent it out or hire hands to look after it. As a result, they become new kulaks.

In the meantime, private undertakings of livestock breeding are also developing at full speed. From January 1965 to January 1967, private cattle have increased by 1,400,000 of which milking cows by 500,000, and sheep have increased by 5,700,000. In some regions the number of private cattle is even double that of the state farms.

With the unchecked expansion of the acreage of private plots and the abnormal growth of private livestock, the proportion of private products is increasing rapidly. According to Soviet press reports, agricultural products from all the private plots of land in the U.S.S.R. account for approximately half to two-thirds of the total products of the whole country. From the private sector potatoes, for instance, account for 63 per cent, fruits 54 per cent, meat 40 per cent and eggs 67 per cent. That is to say, private economy has prevailed over the "public economy". As a result, private production has become the "principal means of livelihood" of a great number of the collective farmers. As was disclosed by the Soviet revisionist press, 70 to 80 per cent of the farmers' income at a number of the collective farms in Estonia come from private economy. Only one quarter of farm members' income comes from their work on the collective farms in the Ryazan Oblast Region of the Russian S.F.S.R. A

journal of the Soviet revisionist party was compelled to admit that "the private economy of quite a number of collective farmers has become inflated to such an extent that the income from subsidiary products has become their main source of revenue".

As a result of the increasing development of the private economy, today a very great part of the labour force in the Soviet countryside shows less and less interest in the work of the collective and state farms but most of the time occupies itself with side-occupations. As was officially disclosed by the Soviet revisionists, able-bodied members of the collective farms spent nearly half of their time on private plots of land. In an investigation made among two thousand persons in the Azerbaijan Republic, over 60 per cent of male labourers are now engaged in private economy.

#### **ENCOURAGEMENT OF FREE AGRICULTURAL MARKETS**

Lenin points out, **"Capitalism will emerge wherever there is small enterprise and free exchange."**<sup>1</sup>

Early in the period when Khrushchov was in power he strongly advocated the principle of free marketing of agricultural products and the opening of free markets. Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like far outstripped their predecessor in this respect. Since their ascending to power they have adopted a whole series of measures and

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Tax in Kind Delivered at a Meeting of Secretaries and Responsible Representatives of R.C.P.(B.) Cells of Moscow and Moscow Gubernia", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1951, Vol. XXXII, p. 273.

tried in a hundred and one ways to encourage free marketing with a wide network of free markets. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique even openly declared that "the state will use stable purchasing prices to protect and stimulate the free purchases of agricultural products" and since 1965 has raised considerably the purchasing prices of these products. It authorized the collective and state farms to dispose as they wished of their agricultural and animal products "above the plan", to sell them either at high prices to the state or on the free markets. At the same time, it officially declared that all commodities on the free market could be sold "at prices obtaining at the market". It also abolished the need to hold licences for commodities sold on the market, so that any commodities (including "surplus" seeds, fodder and equipment from the collective and state farms) can be bought or sold on the free markets. It also authorized various places to open many new markets, rebuild existing ones, build for the free markets stalls, storehouses, cold storage and hotels and allot special trucks to transport commodities for individuals. Not very long ago, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique adopted a resolution "On the Further Development of Affiliated Enterprises and Handicrafts in Agriculture", calling on the collective and state farms to produce for the free markets large quantities of daily necessities, art handicraft products, building materials, etc.

Encouraged and fostered by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, free markets mushroomed. According to Soviet official statistics, the free markets registered with the government number 7,200 odd (not counting temporary markets). Now people living in the cities and towns of the Soviet Union have more and more to

rely on the supplies of the free markets for their non-staple food. Free market potatoes in some regions and cities make up 80 per cent of the local supplies, vegetables 70 per cent, eggs 50 per cent and meat 40 per cent.



Free markets grow everywhere in the Soviet Union. This is a glimpse of a free market on the coast of the Black Sea.

The free markets in the Soviet Union afford a picture of brisk business, being supplied with a wide variety of non-staple food while the shelves of the state-owned stores show nothing but "pickled foods of the previous

seasons", "rotten tomatoes, cabbages and withered cucumbers". In some cities, the stores "had nothing available for some consecutive days". "People were compelled to buy tomatoes, cucumbers, etc., at high prices from individual traders."

The facts of the all-round capitalist restoration in the countryside by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique fully unmask its so-called "building communism"!

— First appeared in *Renmin Ribao*,  
November 1, 1967

## **WHAT IS BEHIND THE MUCH ADVERTISED “WELFARE FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE”?**

While intensifying its exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of the Soviet working people, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has, with a great show of charity, made a big fanfare about “welfare for the whole people”.

A fraud is a fraud, and it should be revealed for what it is. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique boasts about “welfare for the whole people” in order to cover up the criminal oppression and exploitation of the working people by the bourgeois privileged stratum.

The Soviet revisionist clique energetically plays up its “wage increases for office and factory workers”, but in reality these increases are far outstripped by the rise in commodity prices. Statistics show that in the six years from 1959 to 1965 retail prices of flour, cotton textiles, leather shoes and 12 other major consumer goods rose 42 per cent, as against only an 18.9 per cent increase in the wages of office and factory workers from 1959 to the end of 1964.

In contrast to the conditions of the broad masses of the working people, bourgeois elements such as “academicians”, “factory directors” and “managers” claim high salaries for themselves. Some academicians earn anything up to 6,500 roubles a month while many workers get only 60-70 roubles. The chief engineer of a

plastic goods factory claims for himself a monthly pay of 1,400 roubles, while technical workers at large get only 70-80 roubles.

“State-owned” shops are poorly stocked and prices on free markets are very high, and this is a calamity for the broad masses of the Soviet working people. Recently, even the *Sovietskaya Torgovlia* (*Soviet Commerce*) could not but admit that the stores have stocks of expensive clothing only and that many customers have complained about the shortage of cheap autumn and winter wear. This situation has aroused discontent among the masses. “This is the worst time since the October Revolution. We are living a hellish life,” some workers said.

The Soviet revisionist clique has raised much noise about “shortening” the working hours of office and factory workers. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, it beat the drum for the introduction of the “five-day week”, describing it as one of the important measures for “bringing about the transition to communism” and “improving the material well-being of the people”. But what is the true state of affairs?

The so-called “five-day week” does not shorten the originally stipulated work time at all. The Soviet revisionist clique has laid down the “prerequisite” for the transition to the “five-day week” — total work time for a whole year when the six-day week was enforced must be fulfilled. The introduction of the “five-day week” also has made a lot of trouble in the workers’ lives. In factories where the “five-day week” has been introduced, meal time for all shifts is, as a rule, shortened to 20-30 minutes, and there is no resting time for those



working on the night shift: they have to work 7-8 hours without a stop. In the No. 15 Ball-Bearing Plant in Volgograd the original lunch time was one hour, but now the first shift works 8 hours with a mid-day break of 25 minutes, the second shift works 8 hours and gets 20 minutes and the third works seven hours and a quarter with no break at all. With only 20-30 minutes for eating and long mess lines, workers have a very hard time in a crowded canteen. "What kind of 'five-day week' is this!" angrily asked Nezhenko, a worker of the plant. The Soviet revisionist paper *Trud* revealed that when a textile factory introduced the "five-day week" women workers complained: "There is not enough time for lunch. The queues in the canteen are awfully long, we can't even have a cup of tea."

The Soviet revisionist clique has acted on the bourgeois economic law that the "principle of profit-making" stands above everything else, and this has brought on most serious consequences for the masses of labouring people. *Trud* reported that the director of the building material factory in Kirovograd, in order to boost output and seek profits, paid no attention at all to what happened to the workers. Working conditions there were horrible: in some workshops the air was filled with dust. In others the amount of coal gas reached the danger point. No sanitary facilities were provided. One after another, serious industrial accidents took place in the factory. Ruban, a fitter on the night shift, was severely injured when he bumped his head against the axis of a revolving lathe which was devoid of protective devices. Leaders of the farm machinery building industry in the Soviet Union have turned out machines of the worst quality; they just don't care so long as they can make a

big profit. As a result, accidents in which tractors overturned causing serious injuries to many drivers were often reported in various parts of the country. The factory concerned turned a deaf ear to the criticism made by the workers of the faults in the design of these machines, and went on mass-producing them just to make profit.

The Soviet press reported that the leaders of the "Komsomol" Colliery of the "Lenin" Coal Mining Company, in order to get awards, deliberately violated the safety regulations. Since April of 1967, the colliery has not done any spraying on the work face to prevent dust from spreading; it simply seeks for increased output which will top the fixed target. And so the miners have to work amid coal dust for a long time. Ventilation supervisors do not intervene because getting more coal than the scheduled amount means more bonuses.

Scores of the workers in the Donets Coal Mine revealed that the use of high-efficiency coal combines and other machines there without proper precautions had increased the dust in the pits, that the density of dust in many of these pits had exceeded the stipulated limit and that, as a result, both the number of accidents and of workers contracting silicosis had steadily increased.

— First appeared in *Renmin Ribao*,  
December 5, 1967

## UNMASK THE SOVIET REVISIONIST "CULTURE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE"

As long ago as the period immediately after Comrade Stalin's death the Khrushchov revisionist clique, while wantonly tampering with or openly negating the principle of party spirit in literature put forward by Lenin, advertised the so-called "culture of the whole people, of all mankind", alleging that "the spirit of the whole of mankind is the party spirit". This clique even had the slogan "culture of the whole people, of all mankind" officially recorded in the Party Programme adopted at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., and laid it down, together with the slogans "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people", as an important component of the counter-revolutionary revisionist programme.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

**Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter. . . .<sup>1</sup>**

He also says: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 86.

The so-called "culture of the whole people, of all mankind" is utter nonsense.

In 1959, on the eve of Khrushchov's visit to the United States, undertaken for the purpose of political bargaining for U.S.-Soviet collaboration, Khrushchov's "bosom friend" Sholokhov obsequiously addressed himself to U.S. imperialism in the *Literary Gazette* saying: "Let us visit each other! We have nothing to argue about and no reason to fight one another." When the revolutionary people of the world indignantly denounced the heinous crimes of U.S. imperialism in the Congo (K), Yevgeny Yevtushenko, an ultra-reactionary poet, also a hooligan, wrote a poem advocating sharing the lot of the United States and speaking of crossing out the word "Yankee" from all the dictionaries for good. In his notorious and counter-revolutionary six-volume memoirs *People, Years, Life* which he finished shortly before his death, the veteran rightist Ehrenburg wrote a lot of nonsense about the "progress" the U.S. ruling class was making. He went to such extremes in his writing as saying: "Without understanding the United States, it is impossible to understand our century." He even shamelessly boasted that as early as in 1950 he had written: "I stand for peace. . . . I stand for peace with Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson!"

What after all is this "culture of the whole people, of all mankind"? It is the hangman's culture which serves to help the U.S. imperialists in the enslavement and subjection of the oppressed peoples of the whole world, the reactionary culture which serves to boost U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination.

In the last ten years or so the Soviet revisionist ruling clique which has betrayed the proletarian revolution and

degenerated into the world's biggest scab group has through the medium of culture, literature and art maliciously caricatured Lenin, grossly abused Stalin, openly disclaimed the road of the October Revolution and ferociously opposed socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. A most glaring example in this respect is *Doctor Zhivago* by the reactionary writer Boris Pasternak. This novel viciously curses the October Revolution as an "historical error" and an "irremediable catastrophe", alleging that "everything that happened" after the October Revolution "was a crime". And the Soviet revisionist ruling clique very much treasures this reactionary novel and has decided to reprint it today, many years after the writer's death. Moreover, this clique has gone so far as to add some 22 pages of Introduction and an Epilogue of some 25 pages to Pasternak's collection of poems and extol this renegade of the Soviet people as "an outstanding artist" or "a most creative genius". Even his memoirs about his so-called "misfortunes" have been brought out to spread virulent slanders, through the mouth of a traitor, against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In addition, there are such novels as Ehrenburg's *The Thaw*, Dudintsev's *Not by Bread Alone*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, Ivan Stadnyuk's *Men Aren't Angels*; the essays and novels by Ovechkin, V. Aksyonov and others, the films directed by Grigori Chukhrai, Grasimov, S. F. Bondarchuk and their like and the poems by Tvardovsky, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Mezhlaitis and their fellows. Under the pretext of opposing "bureaucracy" or of clearing away the after-effects of the "personality cult", these people depict the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat during

the period under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin as “a gloomy, cold winter” or “icebergs drifting in the vast open sea”, and raucously clamour for “the thaw” and the “spring” of capitalist restoration.

What after all is this “culture of the whole people, of all mankind”? It is simply an undisguised counter-revolutionary culture which serves to slander the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat and to oppose Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Moreover, through their description of the anti-fascist war, the Soviet revisionist writers have, on the one hand, portrayed a just revolutionary war as sad and tragic, overstressed the cruelty and horrors of such a war and vigorously peddled bourgeois pacifism in order to intimidate the oppressed peoples, and on the other hand, they have openly eulogized cowards and renegades and propagated the philosophy of “survival above everything else”. Sholokhov, praised by the Soviet revisionist clique as an “outstanding genius of the contemporary world”, is a storm-trooper in this respect. Among the very many literary works appearing in the Soviet literary world which have war as their theme, some, in the name of commemorating martyrs, even clamoured: “What is the use of principles if one’s head is chopped off?” For example, a Soviet poet named Rozhdestvensky shamelessly put the question in his long poem *Requiem*: “What significance has such glory to those who have fallen? They have saved all that is alive, but not themselves. . . . What is the use of such glory to the dead?”

At the cost of their blood and their lives, the great Soviet people under the leadership of the Soviet Com-

munist Party and Stalin beat back the German fascist invaders and defended the magnificent achievements of the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus inspiring the oppressed people of the whole world to struggle for liberation. But in its literature and art, the Soviet revisionist clique has completely written off the exploits of the Soviet people achieved in the anti-fascist war, hideously caricatured the Soviet Red Army and blatantly praised cowards and renegades. Soviet literary and art works have gone to great pains to foster the reactionary idea "to stay alive — that's everything". This is a disgusting insult to the Soviet people, to the Soviet Red Army and to the revolutionary people of the whole world.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique recently built a so-called "Monument to the Heroes" who fell in the Battle of Stalingrad. The Battle of Stalingrad is a great saga of revolutionary heroism written by the Soviet people with their blood. It is the pride of the Soviet people. The "distressed mother" on the monument, however, with her dead son in her arms and her head bent, mourns in grief and despair. Thus the symbolic hero of the Battle of Stalingrad is reduced to a mere gloomy shadow. What an insult to the heroes!

What after all is this "culture of the whole people, of all mankind"? It is nothing but the meanest and most shameless renegade culture.

As we all know, all such writers as Yecenin, Tsvetayeva, Mandelshtam, Zoshchenko, Akhmatova, Bunin, and Pasternak about the time of the October Revolution represented the reactionary decadent bourgeois culture which was opposed to the Communist Party and the



Sculpture of a "distressed mother" on the "Monument to the Heroes" who fell in the Battle of Stalingrad.



people. They were long spurned by the Soviet people because they had stubbornly taken a reactionary hostile stand against the Soviet state power.

However, after Stalin's death, the Soviet revisionist clique made a wholesale reversal of the verdicts passed on these reactionary writers. And that was one of their major criminal activities in literary circles. Yecenin was honoured as "a great Soviet poet" and commemorated throughout the nation. Akhmatova was many times sent to visit other countries and to attend international conferences as a "representative" of Soviet writers. Bunin, Tsvetayeva, Mandelshtam, Zoshchenko and Pasternak have been honoured as geniuses or having outstanding talent. Complete and selected works of their writings have been published in large numbers, and some of their works have even been included in the literature syllabus for middle schools and colleges or as "required reading" for the Soviet youth of today.

Fostered by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, counter-revolutionary literary works which had been repudiated by the Soviet people have come out one after another. For example, the play *Days of Our Life* by that reactionary writer, L. N. Andreyev, a white Russian who had fled his country after the October Revolution, and the drama *Snow-storm* which flagrantly attacks the purge of the counter-revolutionaries and was banned when it first came out in the 40s, have been put on again. Shostakovich's gutter opera *Katerina Izmailova* which was criticized and banned in the 30s has not only been staged again but made into a technicolour wide-screen film and sent abroad to be shown. The *New York Times*, mouth-piece of U.S. monopoly capitalism, expressed its apprecia-

tion on this occasion and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, intoxicated by such an unexpected favour, bragged about it and accepted it as an honour.

It was against such a background that a contingent of so-called "fourth generation" writers claiming to be the "children of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", came forward a short time ago in the field of Soviet literature. Under the pretext of "artistic innovation" they openly declared that the revolutionary heroes portrayed in some literary works were "outmoded". These works include Maxim Gorky's *Mother*, Nicholas Ostrovski's *How Steel Is Tempered* and A. Fadeyev's *The Young Guard*. In their novels and poems the writers of the "fourth generation", while viciously attacking Marxism-Leninism and slandering the dictatorship of the proletariat, fanatically advertise the decadent and licentious Western bourgeois way of life. For example, in a novel, Gladilin described his "hero" as a man "seeking ways to make money to buy a car as soon as possible so that he could drive for pleasure every Sunday", presenting this as his highest ideal in life. . . .

What after all is this "culture of the whole people, of all mankind"? It is out-and-out reactionary culture which serves to reverse the verdict on the counter-revolutionary class; it is the decadent, licentious and filthy bourgeois culture which advocates chaos and degradation.

The Soviet revisionists vigorously advocate the policy of "U.S.-Soviet cultural co-operation" and as a result the culture of U.S. imperialism, the world's most reactionary, decadent and filthy culture, pours out like a stream of dirty water breaking through a breach in a dyke and surging over the Soviet land. Soviet society today is

flooded with the Voice of America, decadent music, abstractionist or modernist paintings, *avant-garde* plays, films from Hollywood and Rock 'n' Roll.

Making use of its propaganda machine and the dance halls, bars and places of entertainment, the Soviet revisionist clique is peddling such obscene American dances as Rock 'n' Roll, the twist and other morbid and licentious dances to poison and corrupt the minds of the Soviet people while shamelessly praising such vulgarity as "wonders of the atomic age".

The Soviet stage today is also filled with enthusiasm for "U.S.-Soviet cultural co-operation". The gutter American play *Two for the Seesaw* was once staged in Moscow. Other gutter American plays like *Bus Stop* have also been staged and pains have been taken to make the performances cater to the taste of the American masters.

The publication of *Amerika* in the Soviet Union has been rapidly increased from about 20,000 copies when it first came out to more than 60,000 copies. American pornography and murder and horror stories have also been translated and published in large quantities. The chief editor of the Soviet revisionist *Literary Gazette* once admitted: "American novels are best sellers on the imported book market in the Soviet Union."

As mentioned above, what kind of culture is this "culture of the whole people, of all mankind"? It is a complete capitulation of the Soviet revisionists to the U.S. imperialists, it is making use of the U.S. imperialist culture to corrupt the revolutionary will of the Soviet people in order to impose the restoration of capitalism on the Soviet Union.

Iron-clad facts have shown up the so-called “culture of the whole people, of all mankind” and revealed it in its true colours — counter-revolutionary culture.

Early in 1942, when China repudiated the slogan “literature and art are above classes” peddled by reactionary bourgeois writers, Chairman Mao pointed out that they **“talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art.”**<sup>1</sup> The same is entirely true of the “culture of the whole people, of all mankind” advertised so energetically by the Soviet revisionist clique. The Soviet revisionists hang up the signboard “culture of the whole people, of all mankind”, but in fact they develop out-and-out reactionary bourgeois culture.

The Soviet revisionist clique’s so-called “culture of the whole people” reflects the political stand, the will, demands, ideas, feelings and way of life of the new and old bourgeois elements in the Soviet Union as a class. At the same time it serves the counter-revolutionary interests of the privileged stratum of the bourgeoisie. Before the Soviet revisionist ruling clique was firmly in the saddle, the slogan “culture of the whole people” served as a fig-leaf to cover up the reactionary nature of the bourgeois culture in order to confuse people, to demoralize the people’s revolutionary will and to prepare public opinion for the gradual restoration of capitalism; all this was done in such a surreptitious manner that it was not easy for people to detect. Since this clique

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, “Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art”, *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 76.

usurped the leadership of the Party and state the slogan has become a counter-revolutionary instrument used by the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum for cheating and enslaving the people spiritually and for protecting its own bourgeois dictatorship.

— Written by Fan Hsiu-wen and first appeared in *Renmin Ribao*, October 20, 1967

## SOVIET FILM IN THE SERVICE OF ALL-ROUND CAPITALIST RESTORATION

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has always regarded the film as an important tool for carrying out its revisionist political line and for its all-round restoration of capitalism. For many years through the film it has instilled poisonous bourgeois ideas of all shades into the minds of the broad masses of the Soviet people to dope and corrupt them.

### SLANDERING LENIN, VIOLENTLY ATTACKING STALIN

Soviet revisionist films energetically advertise humanism and even impose it upon Lenin. *Sovietskaya Kultura* does its utmost to advocate the portraying of Lenin through today's eye, so as to "meet the emotional needs of contemporary spectators". Films with stories about Lenin as the theme, such as *Lenin in Poland*, *Stories About Lenin* and *On a Planet*, promote the slander that Lenin worked first of all "as a human being", and that he once "took pains" to release incorrigible enemies, thus portraying Lenin as a bourgeois philanthropist and "humanitarian".

Catering to the needs of the revisionist ruling clique to violently attack Stalin, the Soviet revisionist film world has produced quite a number of films attacking him by

name or by implication. Among these films, the most flagrant are *Silence*, *The Living and the Dead* and *The Clear Sky*. Of the three, *Silence* openly says that "since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., people have been released from the heavy burden of scepticism, dogmatism and old conventions".

### **CAMPAIGNING FOR THE SOFT LIFE, SMEARING THE SOVIET PEOPLE**

To paralyse the revolutionary will of the Soviet people, films campaigning for the bourgeois way of life have come out one after another. The Soviet revisionist propaganda machine also admits that on the Soviet screen, "often appear various kinds of young idlers and urban petty-bourgeoisie". When commenting on a love film — *Nine Days of a Single Year* — the American weekly *Time* says that in the past the heroes of Soviet films were "Stakhanovites and strong-jawed sons of the soil", while in this film the heroes are like the "bourgeoisie" of the West. This shows, it adds, "how far creeping liberalism has managed to advance".

*I Stride Through Moscow* — a film which smears Soviet youth and yet is lauded by the Soviet revisionists as being "intimate", "artistic", "joyful" and "harmonious" — is actually of the "American type". Using decadent jazz for its music, it is typical "Hollywood". In the film the Soviet young people are turned into American hooligans. One foreign newspaper comments that if the Russian titles of the film were replaced by English ones no one would ever doubt its being an American product.

## **SPREADING DREAD OF WAR, ADVOCATING PACIFISM**

In keeping with "the purpose and task" of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to spread the dread of war and peddle the philosophy of survival, for many years a large number of films have appeared on the Soviet revisionist screen which lay emphasis on the sufferings of war and advocate pacifism, such as *Ballad of a Soldier* advertising "how war goes against nature and peace brings happiness", *The Competition* agitating for "conquering the heart of the enemy to prevent war" and *The Skylark* depicting "the cruel and horrible fascist prisoner of war camp" and the "scepticism and desperation" of the Soviet fighters in the camp.

## **GIVING THE GREEN LIGHT TO WESTERN FILMS**

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique energetically peddles Western culture, giving the green light to Western films. For several years the Soviet screen has been flooded with Western films and Moscow has become a "warehouse" of such films. According to *Soviet Film*, in 1965, 125 Soviet feature films were put on and in the same year as many as 108 foreign films were shown, mostly from Western capitalist countries. For another example, in the last half of May 1967, 42 Soviet films were on in Moscow cinemas while foreign films exhibited totalled 91.

All these Western films are replete with representations of rotten, reactionary bourgeois ideas and way of life.



At a cost as high as U.S. \$200,000 the Soviet revisionists bought the American film *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*. This film about a bunch of crazy gunmen was put on in 42 cinemas in Moscow. American films which describe murders have scattered poison among the Soviet people. Especially erosive for the young people, these films have led them on to the road to crime. The Soviet revisionist newspapers, however, energetically brag about the "success" of such American spiritual opium.

### **COLLABORATION WITH THE U.S. TO OPPOSE CHINA**

The chieftains of the Soviet revisionist clique also make the fullest use of films to publicize the idea of collaborating with the U.S. in opposing China. In recent years on their part they have been active in their efforts to produce films attacking China by name or by innuendo and at the same time boosting Soviet-U.S. "collaboration". The French film *Le ciel sur la tête* (*The Sky Above Us*) which advocates that "the Soviet Union and the United States should co-operate to thwart the threat of the atom madmen to mankind" is lauded to the skies by the Soviet revisionists. The counter-revolutionary film of the Soviet revisionists *The Journalist* which was awarded the "grand prix" on the so-called international "Film Festival" held in July 1967 in Moscow fully reveals the dirty face of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique acting in collusion with the United States to oppose China.

— First appeared in *Renmin Ribao*,  
October 30, 1967

## **MOTLEY ASPECTS OF THE REVISIONIST LINE IN SOVIET EDUCATION**

To meet the needs of bringing about a complete restoration of capitalism, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is in an all-round way applying bourgeois principles of running schools and a revisionist line in education.

### **"EXPERTS RUN THE SCHOOL"**

The Soviet revisionist clique is doing its utmost to enforce the bourgeois principle of "experts run the school", thus converting schools into a realm dominated by bourgeois scholar-tyrants. The bourgeois world outlook of these "experts" is entirely in keeping with the policy of the Soviet revisionist clique for the restoration of capitalism. They are its faithful tools in carrying out its revisionist line in education.

In universities and schools the bourgeois "experts" exercise arbitrary power and monopolize everything. As revealed in the Soviet revisionist press, "Of the thirty-nine members of the Party Committee of Moscow University, thirty are professors or assistant professors. A similar situation exists in the Party organizations of various faculties." This is even truer when it comes to the positions of president and dean who wield supreme

power. Such positions are always filled by professors or people holding doctorate degrees.

These people enjoy all sorts of privileges; the more their titles and academic degrees, the more their prerogatives. They earn an income dozens of times more than that of an average worker.

### **“EDUCATION FOR INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT COMES FIRST”**

To bring up revisionist successors, the Soviet revisionist clique vigorously pursues its policy of “education for intellectual development comes first” in schools to serve its reactionary politics. K. T. Mazurov, one of its chieftains, at a meeting of the working personnel of all-Soviet institutions of higher learning held in 1967, advocated that the task of Soviet students was “to acquaint themselves with their own intended profession”. V. P. Elyutin, Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, declared: “The basic requirement for young people entering colleges is profound and solid knowledge”, which means that the sole criterion for the admission of students is their examination marks. In Soviet universities and schools some students who are regarded as “gifted” can continue to pursue advanced studies while others not so regarded are “dropped”.

While practising “education for intellectual development comes first”, the Soviet revisionist clique works hard to exclude education through physical labour. In an article published in *Pravda*, an assistant professor openly expressed his disapproval of education through physical labour. He asked: “Doesn't mental labour tem-

per will-power and character?" An editorial in the same paper claimed: "Primary school pupils' participation in seasonal labour is harmful to education."

### INJECTING TOXIN

To cater to the needs of capitalist restoration, the Soviet revisionist clique is giving large doses of revisionist toxin to the students in the course of teaching and studying. Textbooks which they have compiled, such as *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, *Principles of Marxism* and *Principles of Marxist Philosophy*, and courses recently opened, such as sociology and principles of communism, are all sinister revisionist stuff opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. These textbooks advocate the fallacy that communism is "humanitarian", fiercely attack Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat and peddle the absurd propositions of the "party of the entire people" and the "state of the whole people", in order to build up "theories" for the restoration of capitalism.

A number of "specialities" the Soviet revisionist clique has set up in universities and schools also serve to bring about capitalist restoration. For instance, the "new management system", the purpose of which is to vigorously push ahead with such restoration, was adopted at the September 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Soon after that, the Soviet revisionist clique decided to set up scores of new departments of economics in the institutions of higher learning and establish new colleges of economics in several major cities to train large numbers of "economists" capable of

carrying out the policy of restoring capitalism. Many reactionary bourgeois "authorities" came out to join them by writing new economics textbooks and reference books advocating capitalist restoration.

### IN PURSUIT OF FAME AND MONEY

The Soviet revisionist clique poisons the minds of the younger generation by infusing into them the love of fame and money characteristic of the bourgeoisie. Its chief Brezhnev openly advocated that the aim of going to school is to become "experts" or "cadres". Kosygin said that youths should become "outstanding and gifted scientists whose names will go down in world scientific annals".

This clique has adopted a variety of measures providing for material incentives to encourage the students to seek fame and money. They use bourgeois academic titles to stimulate scientific and research personnel. An academic thesis appreciated by the Soviet revisionist clique can crown one with some kind of academic title, followed by an immediate and substantial rise in salary, leading to both fame and money. In order to bring up revisionist successors, this clique has also opened "experimental middle schools" for training the "talented". All over Siberia, the "Siberia Olympic" which consisted of three elimination examinations was introduced to select "gifted" students. In an article published in *Pravda* a university president openly advocated that "economic incentives" be employed to raise "the quality of education in institutions of higher learning". In the Soviet Union, subsidies and scholarships are given to students in



A poster erected in a school in the city of Zarkent in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. The Russian words say: "Let there always be 'I.'" It is an advertisement of the Soviet revisionist line with bourgeois "self" as its core.

proportion to their marks. More money is given to one obtaining higher marks. Lower marks might lead to a deduction or even suspension of the subsidies. In 1966, the Soviet paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, in a decision on the founding of scholarships for five teachers colleges, stated in clear-cut terms that grants would be given "according to examination results".

— First appeared in *Renmin Ribao*,  
November 19, 1967

## **SOVIET REVISIONISTS ENFORCE BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP**

The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique of the Soviet Union, simultaneously with its rabid attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat, recently again flaunted the tattered flag of "state of the whole people", asserting that, in Soviet society, antagonistic classes no longer exist and that the working people have broad possibilities for "participating in the administration of state, economic and social affairs", and so forth. This is nothing but a despicable lie. The fact is that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has all along been strengthening the rule of the bourgeois privileged stratum, applying a ruthless dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the Soviet people.

### **MASS PURGES, RECRUITING OF DESERTERS AND RENEGADES, AND PUTTING THEIR OWN MEN IN KEY POSITIONS**

Since their usurpation of the Party and state power of the Soviet Union through a bourgeois *coup d'état*, Khrushchov and company have carried out a widespread purge in all the Party and government organizations of the country, from the higher down to the lower echelons. They have promoted their confidants to leading positions and downgraded all those whom they are not sure about. It was reported that nearly 70 per cent of the C.P.S.U.



Central Committee members elected at the Party's 19th Congress in 1952 had been purged by the time of the 22nd C.P.S.U. Congress in 1961. Even among those elected at the 20th Congress in 1956, close to 60 per cent had been removed by the time of the 23rd Congress in 1966. The percentages are still higher in the purges in the local Party and government organizations. In the "election" in 1966 for the Supreme Soviet, two-thirds of the deputies were returned for the first time. Furthermore, on the pretext of promoting "specialists" "capable of leading large undertakings", the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has thrust large numbers of bourgeois and revisionist elements into Party and government organizations at all levels, as well as economic, cultural and educational institutions, to consolidate the rule of the privileged stratum.

**Dictatorial State Apparatus Greatly Reinforced  
to Suppress the People's Resistance**

The Soviet revisionist clique has energetically reinforced the state apparatus under its control such as the army, the police, the prisons and the courts to enforce the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the Soviet people. In addition to carrying out purges within the army, it has indoctrinated the officers and men of the Soviet armed forces with revisionist ideology, defining the revisionist general line as "a guide to action for military cadres". The chieftains of the Soviet military hierarchy have blusteringly told their officers that they must "unconditionally execute" the revisionist policy of the leading clique and threatened that those who do not "fortify"

themselves with revisionist theories “will finally be removed from office” or “relieved of their duties as baggage is abandoned”. The Soviet revisionist leading clique has sent troops to brutally suppress and massacre Soviet revolutionary masses who rose to oppose revisionism, and to suppress striking workers. Bloody suppression of a workers’ demonstration was reported to have taken place in the city of Chimkent in Soviet Central Asia in June 1967. The taxi-drivers of the city held a demonstration because one of them was brutally beaten to death by the police. The workers attacked and burnt down the town police headquarters as well as a nearby police station. The authorities sent tanks and armoured cars to suppress the demonstrators. Dozens of them were killed and many others wounded or arrested.

The Soviet revisionists had for some time built up an enormous public security and police force. Prompted by the fear of the growing awakening and mounting resistance of the people, considering that even this force was inadequate to maintain “public order”, they set up the “Ministry of Public Order of the U.S.S.R.” in July 1966 and increased the number of motorized police units for patrol and sentry duties in major cities. They also reorganized the “people’s guards” and sent their dependable men to “strengthen” the leadership of this force. Kosygin admitted that Soviet courts and police bureaux have been “reinforced” in recent years and that “the number of policemen has increased”.

To suppress and persecute the broad masses of the Soviet people who uphold Marxism-Leninism and dare to struggle, the Soviet revisionists have planted plain-clothesmen all over the country and set up a great number of fascist-like concentration camps. It was disclosed that

in early 1967 the Soviet revisionists' public security detachments carried out mass arrests in West Ukraine and other places and threw many people into the concentration camps.

To forestall the people's resistance, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique proclaimed that "sanctions" would be imposed against those guilty of spreading "rumours and fabrications". In a concluding report given at the 23rd Congress of the Ukraine Communist Party, the Party boss blatantly declared that "social sanctions" would be applied against "disseminators of views unacceptable" to the Soviet revisionists. It was reported that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has officially adopted a law on "sanctions". Early in 1967 the republic added to its penal laws new provisions stipulating that anyone who "calumniates Soviet politics and social order" or "spreads anti-Soviet rumours" is liable to a sentence of three years in jail. In January 1967 a number of Soviet youths held a demonstration in protest against the introduction of these new provisions. The demonstration was suppressed by the police and two of the demonstrators were sentenced to a three-year term of imprisonment on the charge of "violation of public order".

#### **"MILLIONAIRES" LORD IT OVER THE WORKERS WHO BECOME WAGE SLAVES**

The Soviet working class is dissatisfied with and boycotting the economic "new system" introduced by the Soviet revisionist leading clique for the all-round restoration of capitalism. This has greatly alarmed the clique. In December 1966, the clique adopted a so-called

“resolution on the strengthening of labour discipline”, which stressed the need to make full use of “the administrative measures provided under law” and to strengthen the role of “the Soviet procuracy and the Soviet Supreme Court”, thus showing its vicious intent to suppress the Soviet working class.

Under the rule of the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade clique, elements of the privileged stratum take advantage of their authority and influence and their control of the means of production to practise graft, embezzlement of public property, speculation, and cheating. They ruthlessly oppress and exploit the masses of the Soviet people. Many of them have thus become “millionaires”. The bourgeois elements who have secured for themselves the positions of managers and directors of enterprises have become extremely domineering and unscrupulous. Under the rule of these bourgeois elements the working people are reduced to wage slaves and denied all their rights. They are liable to be punished, discharged and even sent to prison if they express the slightest disapproval of the “leadership”.

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## **LENIN'S PARTY CONVERTED INTO A REVISIONIST PARTY**

In its scheme for an all-round restoration of capitalism and for consolidating its reactionary rule, the renegade clique of Khrushchov and his successors Brezhnev, Kosygin and others has followed a set of out-and-out revisionist principles on Party building. It has betrayed Lenin's teachings on Party building in its entirety by allowing the Party leadership at all levels to be usurped by all kinds of representatives of the bourgeoisie, with the result that the proletarian nature of the C.P.S.U. has been fundamentally changed and this Marxist-Leninist political party converted into a revisionist party.

### **BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS CONTROL PARTY LEADERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS**

Since the usurpation of Party and state leadership by Khrushchov, there had been one purge after another in the Party, from the central down to the local level, removing from the Party's leading posts great numbers of cadres of worker and peasant origin and revolutionary intellectuals who were loyal to the cause of communism. The situation has become even worse since Brezhnev, Kosygin and their ilk came into power. It was reported that nearly 70 per cent of the members of the Central

Committee elected at the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1952 had been purged by 1961.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has long pursued the "expert" line and promoted a great many bourgeois intellectuals to control the Party leadership at various levels. Thus the Party has degenerated from one representing the interests of the proletariat into a tool of the bourgeois privileged stratum.

Under the pretext of "Economy is more important than politics" and "Problems of economy and production constitute the centre of activities of the Party organization and take the first place in all its work", the Soviet revisionist clique has promoted large numbers of "experts of the national economy" to important posts while unscrupulously excluding and removing the broad sections of cadres of worker and peasant origin. It was openly stated in *Communist*, a periodical of the Soviet revisionists, that Party leaders must be "experts". What is more, it has been stipulated in some places that "only a Party member with a technician or engineer's certificate can be elected secretary of a Party branch". As a result of Party leadership at all levels being captured and held by intellectuals who serve the bourgeois privileged stratum, numerous cadres of long standing and of worker and peasant origin have been removed from their posts. According to a *Pravda* reporter, "two-thirds of the Party secretaries at grass-roots level in Leningrad will be removed each year" and "more and more engineers and designers have become secretaries of Party committees". What is worse, there are organizations specially set up in some enterprises to supervise and dismiss cadres of worker origin and to select and promote "young experts".

Bourgeois intellectuals form an increasing proportion of the members recruited by the Party. *Party Life*, a journal published by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., has disclosed that 40.6 per cent of the probationary Party members recruited in 1966 were office-workers, of whom three-fourths were engineers, technicians and experts from the various branches of the national economy. On the other hand, there was a remarkable drop in the proportion of the common run of workers and peasants to the total recruit membership. For instance, peasants accounted for only 12.6 per cent of the members recruited in 1966. In a hydrolyzing plant in Kazakhstan not even one rank-and-file manual worker was recruited into the Party. Statistics indicate that in the Soviet Union today among every three engineers and technicians there is one Party member, but only one among every 17 or 18 workers. Much smaller is the proportion of Party members among the ordinary peasants on collective farms.

#### **THE DREGS OF SOCIETY — GHOSTS AND MONSTERS — HAVE BEEN DRAWN INTO THE PARTY**

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has thrown overboard the proletarian principles of Party building, and collected and drawn the dregs of society — ghosts and monsters — into the Party, thereby turning the proletarian vanguard into a refuse dump.

Flaunting the flag of “the party of the entire people”, Khrushchov and his faithful disciples Brezhnev, Kosygin and others have done everything in their power to pursue the revisionist line of Party building, flinging the door

wide open for careerists of all descriptions to sneak into the Party. As a result, landlords, new kulaks, bourgeois elements, speculators, drunkards, rascals, larcenists, deserters and what not have flooded the Party without hindrance. A most flagrant instance can be seen in the admission of a certain Kassulis into the Party by a regional Party committee in Lithuania. Before he entered the Party Kassulis in his statement of antecedents had clearly given himself out to be a big landlord "owning a hundred hectares of land" before the Revolution. Such a glaring record, however, failed to invite attention from all those who were studying his application for Party membership. He was later exposed by the local inhabitants as the backbone of a reactionary religious society, who moreover "still kept in touch with the bourgeois nationalist brigands after the German aggressors had been thrown out of the country". In spite of all that, this out-and-out big landlord, a disgrace to his nation as well, had been granted the laurel of Party membership and installed as chairman of a collective farm.

The director of a state farm in Kazakhstan, Avbaklov, was a drunkard and humbug, who led a dissipated life. The Party organization of the farm, nevertheless, dragged him into the Party. But before it had time to issue him a membership card he was guilty of further misconduct. A Party organization in Latvia recruited a man who, to its clear knowledge, had been a deserter during the Great Patriotic War, had joined a gang of larcenists after serving a sentence in jail, and had hid somewhere under an alias for 17 years to escape justice.

In Party member recruitment many Party organizations have been going all out for "shock work" and "competition" among themselves in pursuit of "numbers" or



in fulfilment of the quota by "pressganging". Some Party organizations have laid down the rule that "each Party member should train a person to enter the Party within ten days". Others have gone so far as to draw into the Party those who "have made no application for Party membership at all".

### **PARTY MEMBERS OPPOSING THE SOVIET REVISIONIST RULE ARE SENT TO MENTAL HOSPITALS**

Genuine Communists who disapprove of the Soviet revisionist regime are treated as the enemy. They are subject to persecution, arrest and even confinement in a mental hospital.

A white terror reigns within the Soviet revisionist party. The broad sections of rank-and-file Party members dare not talk about what they have on their minds. Those who express dissatisfaction with the revisionist leadership invariably suffer persecution without any justification.

A worker correspondent of the Turkmen Oil Combine in the city of Nebit-Dag wrote: "The Party constitution obliges us Party members to develop criticism and self-criticism, to be bold to unveil shortcomings and to strive to eliminate them. When I, as a worker correspondent, wrote about the positive side, things went smoothly. But when I made a criticism and reported the painful realities, I came to grief. . . . Now somebody has advised me to live in this fashion: Don't breathe a word about what you have seen; say nothing about what you know."

Quite a few Party members have been attacked on false charges as a reward for their criticism of the leader-

ship. For example, Balbashov, a Party member on the "Speed" State Farm in Saratov Region, spoke up at the concluding election meeting of the Party to oppose the nomination of the director of the farm, Petruk, as candidate for membership on the Party committee and accused him of misappropriation of fodder and fuel. Six days later Balbashov was expelled from the Party on the charge of "slandering" the farm director. Here is another case in point. In Moscow a college student was thrown into a mental hospital because of his criticism of the C.P.S.U. as "having degenerated into the bureaucratic apparatus of a power group". The persecution even extended to his parents and brothers.

The Central Committee of the Soviet revisionist party admitted that a hundred thousand members were expelled from the Party during the three years between 1963 and 1965. In 1966 alone over 62,800 were expelled, many of whom purged because of their firm proletarian stand, resistance and opposition to the revisionist doings of the Brezhnev and Kosygin renegade clique.

From the above facts it can easily be seen that the great C.P.S.U. built up by the great teacher of revolution Lenin with his own hand has been crippled beyond recognition by the renegade clique of Khrushchov and his successors Brezhnev, Kosygin and others. But numerous genuine Communists and revolutionaries still firmly keep up the fight — and never will they yield.

— First appeared in *Renmin Ribao*,  
November 4, 1967

## THE SOVIET REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE RISE IN REBELLION

The great teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out in 1962:

**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.<sup>1</sup>**

The march of events in the Soviet Union today is following the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

In the last few years, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has been pushing with redoubled effort the revisionist line, restoring capitalism at home and, in league with the imperialists headed by the U.S. and the reactionaries of all countries, propping up the old order of capitalism and colonialism in the world. The broad masses of the revolutionary Soviet people have come to see more and more clearly the renegade features of Brezhnev,

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted from *Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution—In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, FLP, Peking, 1967, pp. 26-27.

Kosygin and their like. Their discontent, their protests and their struggle against the revisionist leading clique are mounting and are bound to culminate in the blazing flames of revolution that will completely destroy the reactionary rule of the Kremlin's new tsars.

### **CRIMES OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS IN RESTORING CAPITALISM INDIGNANTLY CONDEMNED**

After usurping Party and state leadership, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has brought about the all-round restoration of capitalism in the country. Flaunting the tattered banner of "state of the whole people", it has turned the world's first socialist state created by the great Lenin into a capitalist state and practised a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the Soviet working people. Under the cloak of a "party of the entire people", it has transformed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois party. Under cover of introducing "economic reforms", the Soviet revisionist clique has made the socialist economy degenerate into a capitalist economy. Under the signboard of "culture of the whole people", it has made bourgeois ideology dominate in the ideological and cultural fields. Having made havoc of the Soviet state which made such great advances in the time of Lenin and Stalin, the handful of renegades and scabs now have the cheek to disguise themselves as "Marxist-Leninists" and standard-bearers of "communist construction" in their attempt to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world. However, the Soviet people have now more clearly than ever before recognized them as renegades and seen through the

crimes of this revisionist clique which has betrayed the cause of the great Lenin, trampled underfoot the banner of socialism and communism and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Many workers, peasants, army men, intellectuals and cadres in the Soviet Union have pointed out with the deepest anger that the Soviet revisionist leading clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, are no "Marxist-Leninists", but a bunch of downright revisionists and new bourgeois aristocrats. Their "communist construction" is a fraud for what they have actually been doing is to restore capitalism. A few months ago, a Soviet armyman exploded the hypocrisy of these revisionist renegades when he told some Chinese comrades: "The Brezhnev-Kosygin group is loyally following Khrushchov's revisionist line. They are going the capitalist way using the label of Marxism-Leninism. They are out-and-out capitalists." A Soviet cadre said that the Soviet revisionist rulers are "sham Leninists, but real capitalists of a new type. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and have energetically restored capitalism in the Soviet Union". An old worker living in Riga, capital of the Latvian Republic, hit the nail on the head when he said: "From the moment the Khrushchov clique usurped Party and state leadership, Soviet power actually ceased to exist." A Soviet journalist pointed out that "there is nothing true" in the much vaunted "building of communism" of the Soviet revisionists. "There is absolutely no socialism in the Soviet Union," he noted.

Many working people and revolutionary intellectuals have pointed out that, in the Soviet Union today, there is not a whit of democracy and freedom for the working people who are entirely under the oppression and en-

slavement of the bourgeois privileged stratum represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique. An old worker said: "During Stalin's time, nobody dared to bully the workers. But now, the workers are oppressed in every way." A building worker told Chinese comrades: "Now in the Soviet Union secret agents are everywhere shadowing the people. The working people have no freedom of speech."

When they have had the opportunity of speaking, many people have poured out bitter grievances against soaring prices, intensified class polarization and economic exploitation of the broad masses of the working people under the rule of the revisionist clique. They have pointed out that, as capitalism has already been restored in the Soviet Union, "a handful of persons are becoming richer and richer while the great majority of the people are becoming poorer and poorer". They said that the "new system" installed by the revisionist leading clique has aggravated the exploitation of the working people. A teacher said that what the revisionist clique "has been doing in our country is nothing but restoring capitalism. In Soviet factories and offices, a handful of persons of the privileged stratum have no work to do, yet they reap huge incomes by exploiting the ordinary workers and employees". A disabled veteran of the Great Patriotic War said: "I lost both legs in the defence of Stalingrad. But now they (the Soviet revisionist rulers) are lording it over me. My life is very difficult." A driver said that his present income was so small that "I cannot even afford to buy meat, and a woollen sweater costs me two months' wages". He added that the present life of the Soviet working people "is far from what it was in the days of Stalin".

## **COLLABORATION WITH THE U.S. TO OPPOSE CHINA RESOLUTELY RESISTED**

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has shamelessly betrayed proletarian internationalism in its foreign policy. It has all along pursued a capitulationist line of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition". Ganging up with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, it has done its utmost to sabotage and suppress the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world and has placed no limits on its opposition to the strong bastion of world revolution, China. Their heinous crimes have met with ever stronger denunciation and resistance from the revolutionary Soviet people.

Many Soviet friends told Chinese comrades in unequivocal terms that the Soviet people are firmly opposed to the counter-revolutionary revisionist foreign policy pursued by the Soviet ruling clique. An old man in Riga said angrily that the clique is "carrying out the will of the United States". A young student in Moscow pointed out: "The present Soviet leaders have joined hands with U.S. imperialism." An old worker, veteran of the Great Patriotic War, while denouncing the Soviet revisionist leading clique's collaboration with U.S. imperialism, said indignantly: "Now, the devils from the West have become honoured guests in the Kremlin!"

The Soviet working people have strongly condemned the Soviet revisionist leading clique for its crime of collaborating with U.S. imperialism in sabotaging the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. A number of Ukrainian workers said: "We firmly oppose imperialist wars of aggression. We

support the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and all other just wars." They voiced their strong opposition to the clique's revisionist view of "opposing all wars". The Soviet revisionist ruling gang's shameless sell-out of the Arab people's interests in the Middle East incident in June 1967 has also been angrily denounced by the revolutionary Soviet people as an "out-and-out act of betrayal".

A deep and long-standing friendship exists between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. The Soviet revisionist leading clique's reactionary policy of allying itself with the U.S. to oppose China has met with the stoutest opposition and the strongest resistance from the broad masses of the Soviet people. The Soviet working people regard the Chinese comrades as their own kith and kin and feel extremely warmly towards them whenever they meet. In defiance of threats and persecution by secret agents and ruffians many of them have openly declared their opposition to the anti-China policy pursued by the revisionist leading clique. They made it clear that they stand without hesitation on the side of Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, and will for ever be friendly with the Chinese people. An old man living on the Baltic coast said: "Mao Tse-tung is a genuine Marxist-Leninist." A medical worker in Georgia said: "We support the Marxist-Leninist line pursued by the Chinese Communist Party." A worker said: "We Soviet people love the Chinese people most. The present Soviet government cannot represent the people. Let Brezhnev and Kosygin go to the devil!" A Soviet officer said sincerely to some Chinese comrades: "The great friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples forged by Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao



Tse-tung is unbreakable." He added: "If anyone dares to invade China, you can be sure that all honest Soviet armymen will stand on the side of the Chinese people." These words of the ordinary Soviet people are vivid proof that the Soviet revisionist clique's anti-China policy is extremely unpopular in the Soviet Union. The great friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples can never be sabotaged by the handful of Soviet revisionist renegades.

### **THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL SMASH THE REACTIONARY RULE OF REVISIONISM**

China's great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has opened a bright path for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the prevention of capitalist restoration and for the transition to communism. The Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade clique is mortally afraid of this unprecedented great cultural revolution. It takes great pains to sling mud at this revolution in an attempt to continue to deceive the Soviet people and so prop up its tottering rule. However, the masses of the revolutionary Soviet people not only do not believe the deceitful propaganda of the revisionist clique, but have realized more acutely than ever before, from the contrast of the victories of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the lesson of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. An ordinary Soviet citizen said with deep feeling: "If only a cultural revolution had been carried out in the Soviet Union, things would not have been what they are now." He added resolutely: "All those who have usurped the

Soviet Party and state leadership and taken the capitalist road must be liquidated." A teacher told Chinese comrades: "Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like curse the Chinese Red Guards because the latter are opposed to the restoration of capitalism. What your Red Guards have done is simply marvellous! Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like are all no good and are opposed by the 200 million Soviet people."

The Soviet people with a glorious revolutionary tradition will not tolerate for long the revisionist renegade clique's riding roughshod over them. Through the bitter reality of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union compared with the brilliant victories of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, more and more Soviet people have realized that it is necessary to make a second revolution in order to overthrow the revisionist rule and re-establish the proletarian dictatorship. A cadre who was dismissed from the post of Party committee secretary because of his discontent with the revisionist line of the leading clique said, "The Soviet people want revolution." A Soviet worker said: "Khrushchov was not a good man, nor are Brezhnev and Kosygin. Sooner or later the Soviet people will kick them out." A middle-aged man said: "We firmly believe that a second October Revolution will come. We are prepared for this revolution."

Filled with rage and hatred, the broad masses of the Soviet people are engaged in various forms of struggle against the revisionist renegade clique. It was revealed that in the last few years, strikes and demonstrations in opposition to the Soviet revisionist rule took place in many places in the country. In Moscow University in defiance of persecution and organized attacks, young

students have openly denounced the revisionist rulers for their criminal betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and pursuance of a counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Chairman Mao has pointed out:

**The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.<sup>1</sup>**

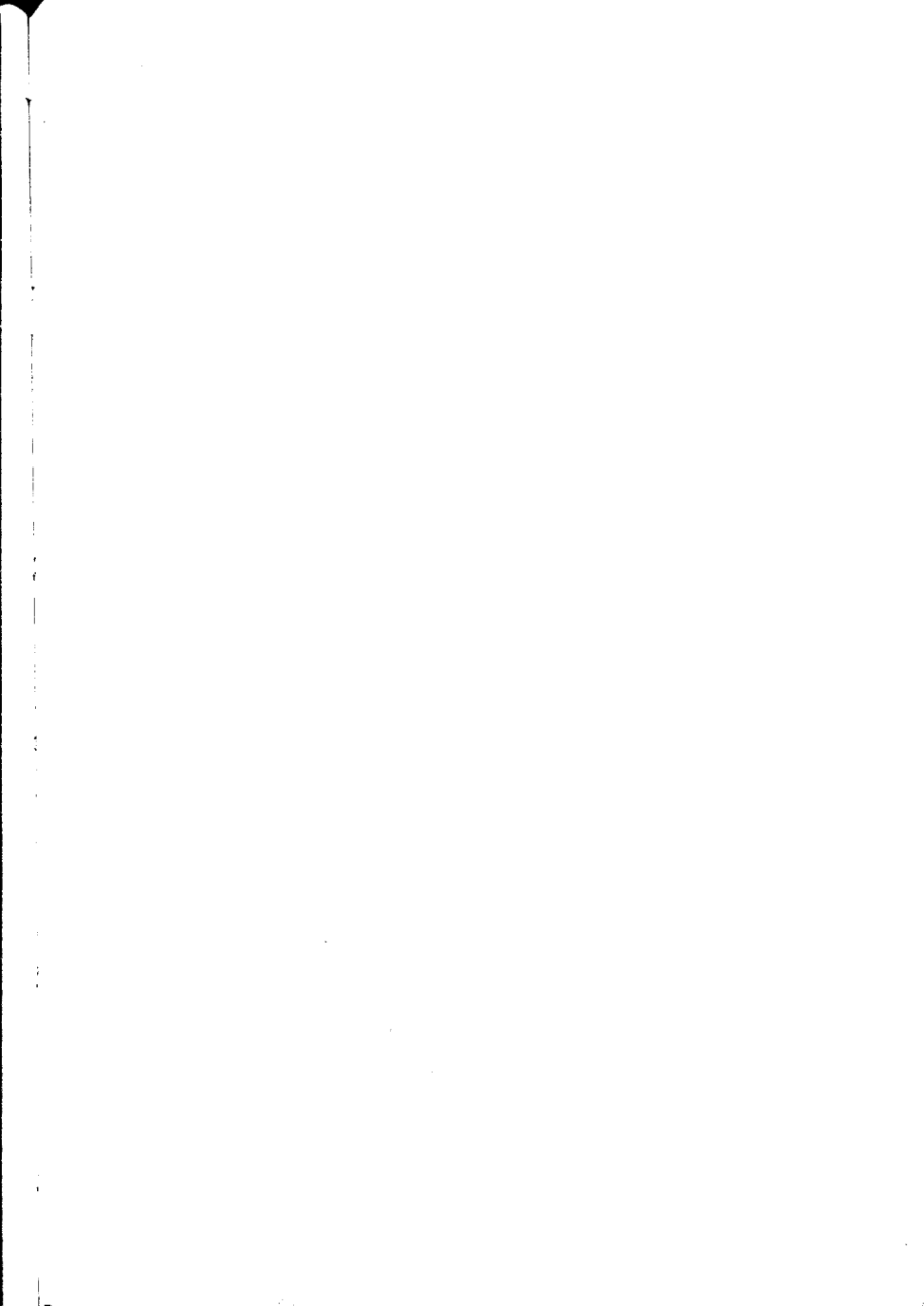
The reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist clique will not last long. The great Soviet people will eventually bring the Soviet Union back again on to the road of socialism.

—By Hsinhua Correspondent,  
December 29, 1967

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<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" (November 6, 1957).





**苏修怎样在国内全面复辟资本主义**

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