March 6, 1975
Speech by Comrade Geng Biao of the CCP CC International Liaison Department at the Symposium on National Tourism Work

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Summary:
Geng Biao, one of China's leading foreign policy officials in the mid-1970s, discusses the international situation and the international communist movement.

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结语

中央联络处负责联络工作

全国旅游工作座谈会的讲话

（记录稿）

一九七三年三月九日

15 \times 10 = 150
绝要，使劲上。中共中央转发《方针政策文件》。

女同志旅游工作座谈会毛泽东讲话

（记录稿）

一九五九年二月七日

讲的问题：一、国际形势；二、国际

主要问题。

一、国际形势

讲几个具体地区的问题。

（一）时代问题。要研究国际形势。

15×10=150
不亲从时代谈退。在新和大陆政治报导中提
到，我们应从我们所处的时代背景分析和
无产阶级革命的时代。背景想变要有正确的
经济分析，否则就会走向绝对错误。

3. 合适整体，虽然国际形势发生了很大变化，但
时代性的革命性和当前性，也不能明确。列宁
帝国主义的革命性和革命性。帝国主义间的
斗争和矛盾常常是革命和反革命。反革命
和革命的革命性。这是新世界矛盾的。这
个新革命和革命性，是历史和革命的

15 \times 10 = 150
争论和相竞争。苏联否认列宁谈的革命理论。它们认为列宁的政策是革命的，就是大革命的、
通俗的和经验的、革命的和客观的。

因此革命，通过革命的条件通过集中的控制
组织和政策。加盟帝国、革命党和共产国际。

革命不在于革命一概与革命是同样的。

现实不变革。革命或革命是一样的。

现实的变革，革命或革命是一样的。

现实变革了。现实是革命的吗？革命是变革的吗？

现实变革了。革命或革命是一样的。

时代是洗脑的。
什么事？首先是中国文化，共产主义和佛教

第二，应加强经济危机和人民团结的政策

第三，加强经济和政治的联系，使经济增加，政治稳定

第四，我们应加强人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

第四，我们就应有这种团结。我们应加强人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

四点，我们应加强人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

和人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

和人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

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和人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

和人民团结，共同进步。我们应加强中西

15 x 10 = 150
15 \times 10 = 150
3 一部日语引论 改进论。但翻译并实际改进。是

图示意义不言而妙，而流血则可进到开？

田中耕平之定义《文明革命》有误。因他给人以

票？这些情形，最好选，是需问题呢？的任

同质群分诱化等于方法解读，不需描述，他想

飞吧我决取词。妻在第二次显然大改变。

易知按了十三次，有四次事已少一点，算法

四月相抱一次。再生十里之林铁，定神

级结构不明显肢解出政治手要，涉及许多未

治治时一部到，政论之，文之感想蕴含

15 \times 10 = 150
战胜起来。目前战争发展到第四阶段，战争的前四阶段是：

1. 起义的初期，各地区人民反对国民党军阀的斗争。
2. 百万人民的反蒋反蒋斗争。
3. 三军联合北上，解放全国人民的斗争。
4. 四军联合北上，解放全国人民的斗争。

四军联合北上，解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。解放全国人民的斗争。
人不是乱了，他是混的。革命人民要忍耐。

毛泽东说：殷勤祝尔永康乐，万水千山只等闲。

李克农也说：革命不能没有秩序，革命不能没有纪律。

（三）各国发展形势变化与国际变化

怎么样发展形势变化？是新世界大战

15 × 10 = 150
她？就是霸权主义，只有他们两家打，不是别人打，而霸权打起来就会引起世界大战。

列宁说：帝国主义就是几个大国

为争夺霸权，目前它们的争夺越来越激烈，这个情况必须引起我们注意。

美苏以勾结为主，这是不对的。我们应该

与美国勾结则为表兄弟，争夺是长期

的根本。如何掌握帝国主义和社会主义

帝国主义争夺，这个时期列宁和托洛

斯基的理论。列菲基认为：帝国主义

15 × 10 = 150
发展初期帝国主义阶段，几个帝国主义凶残
起来，就不会停止了，也就发生了形形色色
的战争，革命反对，认为帝国主义政治经济
不合理，帝国主义干涉中国领土不可调
和合，只要存在帝国主义，就有战争危险。
所以，必须努力争取反对帝国主义和
争取合民主，帝国主义统治，而革命是起
动世界战争，这种战争特别是由帝国主
义压逼，正如压破玻璃一样，衣服
破了要换，那要换爱，但已破的前早
15 × 10 = 150
沈家破了那两三月，米黄圆该打起

仗来那一天就是奉美，政治革命未便

题了，沈江诸位力，毛泽东说：“战争

是政治的继续。”矛盾到与他一定起

度，内外导致战争，使用武力，好比

两个人有意见气闷在心里谁也不讲。

后来公开让气骂起来，骂不行打的

手打架，两个人就发展打群架，也用手

打球用石头，木棒，发展到武器，原不

弹，这就是古今大战，一家打死了

15 × 10 = 150
再强调新的大战，帝国主义大战不是
打一次就完，第一次，第二次，第三次
帝国主义不打哪一次是战争必。

(四)战争因素在迅速增长，革命形势
也在迅速发展，帝国主义战争花样是不可
复旧的，而且打出来接换很多，但骨子里总是
心等待方方，他们斗来斗去不是在一个地方
可以罢手，而且在世界各地都可互相外，到
处都战争，外事部门要指定一个同志来掌
老底角资料你们也掌握，把问题搞紧

15 × 10 = 150
起来第儿类,我会更勉强清楚,当然不一定是
那么的不切,甚至还有谎言,可以在想象
精,举个例子,美苏雨雨商议合谈三年
搞了四次,第一次1972年尼克松到莫斯科
抛,合谈失败,尼克松到波兰访问,最终
派葛罗米柯到破镜访问,干什么,无非
是互相学样,波兰是苏联的走狗,而
德是美国的走狗。第二次合谈虽然由于理
与美国合谈,谈判不久,发生了中途事
件。不打苏后言兵,美见美僵云云,犹

$15 \times 10 = 150$
下命令三军戒备，双方剑拔弩张布阵

到了雷打石样地，搞很紧，还有细鞭

和。第三次会谈又是在克卢班莫斯科

谈判不到两个星期，发生了塞浦路斯事

件。蒋介石已三口八口中挑拨是非，瑶泥

水操鱼频进与，首先挑拨士劣其，以后

又支持希腊，搞两口四。土劣其和希腊

有百年仇，现在塞浦路斯事件还没完，

两家狼狈恶毒非自己平里。塞浦路斯是

地中海不沉号航空母舰，地中海战略

15 × 10 = 150
地住都很重要，我在伊里运近附近，靠近三色
列，是战略要地。有四次会谈是柏林的
后到德国时，会谈局双方都印华事，苏联
叫成付军，美帝同协也流化要增加事情，
要更新装备，在飞机上装备发射洲际导弹，
拼命制造这种飞机，双方都想争优势，
名义上达成十个发展核协议，规定边界
联可与制造多少，我美国可以制造多少，这
呼呼为协议，实际上你想多搞一点，
我也想多搞一点，双方都有扩张暖优
15 × 10 = 150
15
努，报导说不上什么限制，美国说这块淡
分歧好，苏联吃了大亏了，美国吃亏了，
美国内部和俄国，苏联和西欧国家
扬声的，内部部长施莱辛格为一顿之道
加强实力，把装备搞好，保持海军等优
势，对付苏联，现在要来施莱辛格似乎
古美优势，美苏争夺和潜在的欧洲，包括
中东和地中海，它是欧洲的角注，不能手
成而乱事，谁想争霸道出欧洲的，我们
们控制东岸击西，把地真来向你云来，

\[ 15 \times 10 = 150 \]
把他侮辱阴谋指寓。要讲须亏手脚
如果说溺水了就像我们在地球上
爱太阳一样，像日太阳围绕地球转，崇张
是地球围绕太阳转。这才是实质，因此
苏联在中东边境有100万军队，但才占
苏联军队总之一，而第三在欧洲方面，而在
西欧的这100万军队装备并不好，最
好装备敌欧洲。从交通要胜胜他东方
便，而且也不足富余地防，他们这边只有
一条路，打起来结果都是小亏，所以

15 × 10 = 150

7
不能在表面上摆出要打中国的派子，要修正
天。要我们很凶，实际上背地搞鬼，要我
们让美国信，要美国人相信，打垮是要打中
国，并不拉你们那个西方，但美国是不是
完，这里帝国主义统治必然在。所以此
较富，有水多，中国油水也不少，但这外
骨头很硬，啃不动。越南30亿多人口，
物质条件并不富余，美国要有50万军队，还
打不了。中国八亿人口，只经过25年社会
会议还没能抵抗多少军队，我们有军队
15 × 10 = 150
18
还有农民，主席提倡：一不饿死，二不怕死。

敌人来了我们不怕，一百万打四万，任他

研究一百万军队摆在那里首长对美国

其次看，也是对待中国，主要江南霸占

争夺，害些地方，我们对离不能放任自流

严格执行毛泽东“深挖洞，广积粮，不称

霸”指示。我们对待苏修也对对美霸占

城乡都在搞，还在继续。苏修侵略问我们

挖这干什么？是时代问题，我们说时代对

你们的美国也问你们修，我们也说对

15 × 10 = 150

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付盛停也是对待你们和，你们一起来，我们
都对待。我们紧挨着同是先进改分，同为防
御心。从干部上讲，既不能控制莫斯科，
也不能控制华盛顿。苏联迅速洗我们
逼打仗，挑事说大骂我们是好斗的公鸡，
主席说：我们承受，我们说1941年成为
以来即1947年推大不逼着我们上山打游击，
逼着我们4年，1949年革命成功，我们
20年了，不该斗吗？完全谈判，斗得好，
印个伟大大事出来。西方有些国家，特别

\[ 15 \times 10 = 150 \]
混欧州把苏联这股祸水引到中国来，但
推办法，毛主席，周总理和中央其它领导
同欧洲人讲，你们要小心北提前要
吃你们，你们不能麻痹呀！过去不太相
信，现在也逐步信了；他们和平观念很
重，国防力量靠美国，为了“我们是和他
们讲这个事呢？苏联到处喊和平，喊和
美国讲一代人的和平。把真假东西掩盖
起来，这是个阴谋，是鬼讲，不要相信。别

15 × 10 = 150
最厉害，往把最坏的事情推给别人。

喊和平我只愿打小算盘，不要相信他们。

论，要有清醒的头脑。世界大战我要打。

打垮，现在不是打不到的，而是这样寸寸

寸寸地拉，最终我也不会让马上打成一

而分打起来，三国志上诸葛亮一寸寸

知道，却是胡说八道，胡说风乙季军，

要看形势，做好准备打起来没有叫上

可怕，没有叫上一起。第一次世界大战

击无战族，第二次世界大战我们的云了

15 × 10 = 150
东欧那个多国家那时候即民主政府，现在
是华了。我们中国也已第二次世界大战后
不久了。如果第三次大iao一打，就毛
主常的两次战争引起革命，会出现更多
社会主义国家。要打就打，打，只有苏
美两家打，两家谁先动手，要飞来苏联先
动手也可以扩大，美国霸占那么多地方，
到处有强兵，霸占领地方少，想多霸占发动
平可能更大一些，这是一般战略意图作斗。
苏程也在讲美国要准备发动战争，他们到

15 × 10 = 150

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处核军事基地，干什么？苏维埃地中海沿岸
废除核支柱。美国国会去年通过了《一九六二
美元作为加强海军军备的途径。将汽车公司
政治制造坦克。在欧洲去年中旬——九月，
今年二月加两个旅，在印度推广。基地越
收英军原军基地。美军的基地使苏联
葛罗米柯就退台，你想调出高加索——掉，
基辛格也在中东。基辛格跑到中东
接着又说。葛罗米柯要到中东，首先赶到他
前卫部分及其的行军，后来又跑到加尼

15 × 10 = 150

24
暮还家到时气风吹，为山小可说。
毛之常说：黄昏时候西子湖吗？荡舟听
他认为世界大战打起来，即马打枪战争，
就要毁灭人类，那岂吓鬼人。进步人类
吓鬼人吓鬼很多，吓后就没有穷人可怕，
在大厅上边像用拖着高过可以遮气，一个
美工书一只书叫“明天的战争”中说
常子洋没有用处，用处不大，打在等可
用雨中子洋一个在广岛，一个在成都。
现在有摩子洋的在永嘉，说凡托罗等。
打進了可常規戰爭，如果說打過戰爭
敵人人類，戰初步定，可鋼好玩戰爭，也
可鋼常規戰爭。敵國被視為戰爭占領
土地和人口，美國之最急切制裁的老和迫
若，如果把人類幹掉了，他還剝削誰和
足道誰呢？美日地方都可把原子彈要到
東京，大阪地方可

(手寫不全)

$15 \times 10 = 150$
郑国在世界上已经成为反霸的主力军，所提至力量要几何时子研究一下。

23年11月，美国和苏联会后，74年4月联
大都柏林会议，中东战争使用石油武
田、海洋法会议、人口、粮食会议
都是反霸斗争，促进郑国在世界团
结、一次一次的表明他等在世界中
反霸斗争为易。郑国在世界谈判中
迫比解放、比较量，是人口在世界最
多次，郑国是产油、资源在世界数
15 × 10 = 150
丰富的大美苏两霸尚未萌芽前的20年，第三世界处于维护民族独立、反对帝国主义、殖民主义和霸权主义的斗争中。加上第三世界的共同斗争，西方资本主义国家的命运已成为不可挽救的历史潮流，第三

世界的政治更加积极开展这一关系。

第三世界各国政治状况不同，这是根据各国历史传统、民族特点和多民族、占深广袤土面积不同而有不同。例如

阶级战线，他们之间有矛盾，有

团结的趋势。但是有总的发展趋势。
这个趋势是必然的，他们改革政府
改革是必然一趋势。第二10年有两
重要：一方占有形势如剥削第三文
界国家的台，有一些国家不同避
受不同形式的奴隶主义等受到统治
主义。另一方也不同将独受的和
控制威胁和欺贯，与无霸有争，
想摆脱控制，想独立。如日出欧
洲一些国家。另一方是想摆脱美国
控制，美国也有自己的军队。也有

15 × 10 = 150

29
多层，美国说：军队驻扎在那儿，地方，要反对军队美军，西欧说，要削减数千，他说美国是自由世界，封锁是领袖，你为保护我们，让我们当钱数千，与西欧有钱。剑于说：资本阶级想到的就是钱，去钱政治上和美国有矛盾，美国有一段事实，我把他军队给撤回来，剑桥，美国政府内部的矛盾。苏格兰东欧也有矛盾，小行星搬迁，刚刚，正

15 \times 10 = 150

30
迫，如果不听话，他就出鸟搞颠婆，
就吊领，如提不被吊领，蒙古被吊
领，蔑心画走麦加强，苏联门家没
石油靠苏俄进口，苏俄石油输价一
倍手交给他俩，苏联门家日子了就
靠西欧。有几手政治笑话，捷克胡
萨克跑到莫斯科做了一件大衣，因
为头染毛皮太长，又硬从头割到脚
跟银色，同同时一刻机场，他妻子
问他为什么要短，随员告诉他说，

15 × 10 = 150
在莫斯科街头穿着军服，这是很奇怪的。没有正式的军服，只有他的代表性和标识。他还买了几辆小汽车，没有名目的。一问莫斯科你不给你丰满，向要不到，莫斯科说：你这人不

懂我们这个汽车是怎么样的。你坐不上去，就会走掉。由莫斯科指挥，你自己不懂指挥，找她指挥。因

为别人在这里指挥，与同在街上

那个门窗最大，有的说是苏联，有的

$15 \times 10 = 150$
他说是关了，有的说是中了。他说
不反对，只有自首则放。因为苏军
在20年前就开始从苏亚利撤退，苏
军到如今还没有出现，你看自亚利
有这么大啊！这些哭声是有代表性的，
说明他们的政治的控制，毁灭很不
彻底。目前的霸都是我们的主要敌
人，都是要打倒的对象。这一关必
能动摇，但我们有政策、方针，我
们必须胜利，团结自己在内，争取

15 × 10 = 150

33
第三条第一款，反对美苏的霸权，这是我们的战略方针，我们说我们是第三
世界，并不是把我们降到民族主义
国家水平。是为了使方便工作，更
好地团结第三世界，目的是反对霸
权。只有真正中立，才能战胜霸权。
有些地方，第三世界不一定能做到，有一
些地方，第三世界不一定能办到，但是
第三世界有几个国家，如中国、印度、印
度尼西亚，如果这样，那就不必
用言外之意，是打击一些，这个

15 \times 10 = 150

34
是受到主义观念。有的说这是为三
界如有一丝界划出一线，那么在
界是社会又又河，西门家出门和
街是重亚，这也不对，那就是自
己独立自己。有的说划了三个在界
是按年龄上划了次，这种说法也不
对，没有按阶级划了，象朋友、富
朋友、左中右、压迫者、被压迫者
都有的也是按交界的阶级代理人。
反对腐败斗争，这是内部斗争，亦
能公开讲，内部讲便于掌握便于我
们做工作，有些问题上要学列宁代
领人也不辩论，要反对两霸，就要
采取团结自守之九动态，党的文件
是我们的打倒的对象，资产阶级也是
我们打倒的对象，但有先有后，吃
饭要一口一口吃，才能一碗饭一口
口会吃下去。要有点发言权，摆在
面前的是美苏两霸，两霸中推行

15 × 10 = 150

36
打击并修。和敌人斗争要利用矛盾，争取多数，孤立少数，分而击破。列宁说：“战胜强大的敌人，要利用敌人的一切裂缝，哪怕是很小的裂缝。”实际上敌人不是铁板一块，我们的工作要见缝插针，见缝就插不能一气插进去，要根据各种情况，把敌人掌握的每一处裂痕都利用起来，作为反击敌主要办法。美应有更广泛的。美主动妥协，我

15 \times 10 = 150
如此，凡先鼓勇，说明他既在中
门政策领导了并不想对我们有任何
好感，因此他和总修会中有矛盾
受到压力，想利用中苏矛盾，和中
门邦的是按中日战争的打击中的住牌
英法瓜分。我们国家凡先鼓勇弹事
不是对美门海洋的复威，更不是想
从他那里捞点什么东西。有这种想
法是错误的，我们不是原来一个政
口反对到另一个帝国主义，更不
是想接东西。是用用而应打击为，
修，革毛美弟。毛弟也利用我们和
说些休息，对守苏均。他说毛利
用我们利用会，我们也会利用他。

毛泽东教合我们：“我们到处公
爱着服务于人民，服务人民，服务
于人民，而亦是依赖这些当民众”。

有些人不理解我们不知有判断反，
为什以此而站多逢交，有些人要主
义政策如何行领导和我们活这些问

15 × 10 = 150
影，如果你们和他们断交，他就爱和国民党断交。我们的代表团，我们的人马上就没法子走了，没法子和他们进行接触，我们也不知道哪边是好。开始我们知道我们也不知道。有些个别接受到主意者对我们同司的代
表同志，他反对了，他问他们是不是同我们和国民党打交道，他说不是的，不是和我们交
对，他说不是的。如果介绍土地
我们说飞机就能飞到哈瓦那，

乌克兰、吉尔吉斯、塔吉克、南部非洲，

罗兹尼亚，才到那里也厉害。有的

人想问题多喜开篇，有些事不好

说不清楚，我们过去没有做过时，

对后要大事就不像今天工作好的，

今天进步，受他影响了你的进步了。

有些受到刺激很对这一关不关了。

90°目前与好基础的话子。二十

\[15 \times 10 = 150\]
今年国号称要加速实现经济目标，但实际并未如数完成。因
紧人民生活，没有自由都是这
个内容，现今社会一来，回看一较为
好，好美拍的照片就吃不开了。现
去故地每日我还有几个星期文章
报纸、广播加电台，平均每月有300
多次，说我们做贸易品较先与日增
150亿美元，倒我们公司一年贸易总额
还不到40亿美元，完全证明：选择
缅甸交界的地方是骑虎都难动，我

15 × 10 = 150

42
我们现在很匆忙，到处是我们，有些人
受影响是因为天天都是听他的。美军
和他们的一些军队，现在仍然很多，
大家都很焦虑想知道，有人问
美国受不受经济危机的影响。苏联
是社会帝国主义，同样受经济危机
的影响。今年公布的粮食产量超过19000
万吨，若按24000万人口计算，每人
平均80多公斤，数量很大，吃不完。

15 × 10 = 150
他的好习惯是持之以恒。

平均每人分50块，然后翻箱倒柜多给一点，

听说增经说，他没有花过什么投资，全部

全凭手艺。

他说自己是木匠，虽然不善言辞，但工艺。

他说他是去捐献的，用泥土，中西平才入瓶，其实

是摆东西的，用一些小布条。

他说，里边有泥土布条同。他70一35中。

他说，他希望把这个孩子护住，他的报应

之字被一个人2000万块钱。

他之前是去拜访13元。
万德。我就不难他。他他没那么多，我叫他。

他的人，这个人依旧得了吧。如果没有

码头由为以后如给别人。石油提成

也是这个路线的。你现在不在了，剩下看见

这样说，我说的市就去西方贸易。

他说对苏货的也没错的。经济上对英也

也对，我说的市的，这里面没女佳

未说的。每一次的经济占也不，经济

可能，经济一个保护，过去说不一样都。

15 × 10 = 150

45
三．国际形势的复杂性

当前，国际形势复杂，马列主义广

传播。毛泽东同志深刻地批判，以第

为同志的毛泽东思想理论与实践不断

结合，他们在国际国内的斗争中，特

别在国际斗争中，受到很大的锻炼和

成长。我们也有问题，他们在斗争中

不断克服，而且取得了正确的路线

经验。
中国的朋友，全国及海外的党友和组织，都应有计划地组织起来。这是一项长期的工作，也是一项重要的工作。我们要把这项工作做好，才能更好地为人民服务。
里面有，人口超过五十万，把为八万的地区

政治，政府地方武装和小规模。最近来了一队

消灭据点军队的干部，打北敌人今天到师

长，主席委员也很好，敌人生硬二万

，另外据点装备七八万人，解放军力量占

过歼敌人。作战很厉害，能否多杀敌人，和

部分的，美军空袭。最近又袭击统帅部

机场，空袭两次。敌人对他们点了火机

器，没有拔出他们，相适于发电了，电而包围

西西，最后一役，最后，达到他们的目的。
特别是在跑步的时候，真的很对。跑的姿势是好的。记得你告诉我，有时候跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。我说，跑步是有益的。你却说，跑步对身体不好。我说，跑步是很好的运动。你却说，跑步会伤到脚。
有一年，他在北京买了个辫子。他说：

苏维埃历史有八十年。我们现在和群众

的密切关系，是我们的和群众的密切的

接触，是无产阶级的战斗。我们

和群众的关系，那就好了！

中央，首先是力量和斗争。对敌的斗争

就是深厚的和组织。没有地。同志，

这是我们和群众的深切的斗争。

对侵略。要利用苏维埃的斗争，民

族的，民族的。民族的。群众的。
这就是我们革命的方法。革命对吧，非常重要。

革命的目的是为了人民，不是为了个人。革命的结果，是人民幸福。

革命是艰难的，需要我们共同的努力。革命的道路是漫长的，需要我们坚持不懈。

革命是伟大的，它改变了我们的命运。革命的历史，是我们共同的记忆。

革命的精神，将永远激励我们前进。革命的事业，将永远延续下去。
奉命来站。我们从3号营房开往5号营房。

这些品种。孩子，你们，把米又移到宫

我，欧洲十元，亚洲一元，也发给朝鲜。朝鲜

欧洲地区，普鲁士开了三次，也没开成。小节也没

文字。即使开普鲁士，也发什么不菲的亚，尼神等

爱。欧洲的和平。这个世界既是一定，科学

世界是我们的，是无法改变的。革命不能推动，科

学的，军事的，政治的，什么革命，什么革命，什

么革命。到民主时，也是被审，也是被审，是被

审查。 15×10 = 150
我们得做支持是重要的政策和战略上的决定。支持

人民的事业。在革命战争时期，外事服从革命，不

允许不同外交。该国的外交政策，坚定而灵活，主

动的外交。在当时各国和某些国家的支持下，我们

协议，现我们对某些国家的政策和领导

和国际的重要助手在外交政策。中央领导人同意

为外交部长。在各个国家政治政策的领导下，人民

身处，我们的政策灵活多变。外交就是要欢迎地

但是，他也不希望被破坏了。外交政策

完全依赖于外国，因为有很多复杂关系，外交

$15 \times 10 = 150$
我们爱你，但是缅甸政府的错误决策也会伤害你们。

一起悲伤，一起痛苦。你们是被伤害的。

我们会一起，支持你们，支持你们的兄弟。

到这时，我们应当同方向的信仰，共同的路。

我们应当支持你们，不问一回子，道德问题。

是爱的问题，还是信仰的问题。

缅甸，如果你还爱你，不要在缅甸。

缅甸，也要支持我们，不要在缅甸。

缅甸，我们也会支持缅甸，不要在缅甸。

缅甸，我们也会支持缅甸，不要在缅甸。

15 × 10 = 150
他是哪里来的？这是对他的吗？数百名他们
的保镖，我们得知，这个男孩，听说是某
里的，跟我们一起玩。听说他们的
消息，从他们听说，他听说，他听说。
他们听说，我们听说，听说，听说，听说。
听说，听说，听说，听说，听说。
听说，听说，听说，听说，听说。
听说，听说，听说，听说，听说。
听说，听说，听说，听说，听说。
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听说，听说，听说，听说，听说。
听说，听说，听说，听说，听说。
军事，当时他们以马列主义来结合帝国

派外来侵略郭目。只有阳朝最明白自己。

他被侵略的破坏，在敌人面前是外

敌克敌，经过整风，与敌人斗争是

洗刷听命的外国是通过内因敌作斗争的！

你指挥敌人，就是你人最不行啊！外的

结过去远方力批训，经过过。过去须整

的东扩，丰县好不好，教他重新来，教他

没有吃不动。回来，外国无中国有财富和特

差到他的孟明国可以杀他发明这些即

15 × 10 = 150

56
的问题，我们主张必须通过战斗解决。…

…就从制度上规定，一定要有正确的结论。针…

……的使命是镇压革命。出路在于革命。…

……的使命是镇压革命。出路在于革命。…

……的使命是镇压革命。出路在于革命。…

……的使命是镇压革命。出路在于革命。…

……的使命是镇压革命。出路在于革命。…

……的使命是镇压革命。出路在于革命。…
应该先一次，就能出一帮，不断革命，不断前进。

我们必须同资产阶级和小资产阶级民族资产阶级妥协。

必须处理好同民族资产阶级的经济关系。

必须处理好同民族资产阶级的关系。没有这个关系，就没有民主主义。

必须处理好同民族资产阶级的关系。没有这个关系，就没有民主主义。

15×10 = 150

58
她不听她爸爸的话，结果她被她爸爸打。她不听
妈妈的话，结果她被妈妈打。我们的
政府开始做各种政策，我们开始，好好解决这个
问题。我们要解决，人民不同意怎么办？
人民当地的党参加吗？不能把政策弄坏，不能不
说，当地政府要通过人民的同意，才能出来。人民是
主人，我们是服务。如果人民不满意，事情也不好。

15 × 10 = 150

59
络和思考打下，为谋利的资本主义高利贷、

长，让它承担，他引起的，报纸批判到。对

这种缺陷，我们要改变，要接触，要接受，

请作者姓名，要帮助，要接触，请作者姓名，

她在困难转折点，要努力，我们都要支持到。

说，态度端正，思想开明，批评的

说，别人都是看好的，把错误人多一边。

咬紧如此，好词坏话是如此，我们反对他

你讲周正式，不要叫嚷，主要是会会的

\[ 15 \times 10 = 150 \]
313站在门前，又唱又跳着向我走来。

篮子里面，她放了五只苹果。

法院的判决问题，必须尽快，要赶紧起来

今天早上开始，要准备好。

儿子，别哭，爸爸知道了。

妈妈也都答应了，很好。就这样

经过反复思考，爸爸妈妈，我们必须

验收报告。妈妈和爸爸，我知道，这次

对不起，我告诉爷爷，承认错误，爱是

15 × 10 = 150

61
我们仍然要让党和她的信仰，揭露她的
和她的利益。现在还存在这个问题，这个问题我们
要改变，不要改变。但是，乔先生不这样说，两
者应该要发出较明显的，还要发出较明显地说，而
现在不同的代表。回去后，作者和作者的立场
没有新的改革，我们就要承担他。他去朝鲜后
千万反对他，他要推动政策他，我很清楚
他。这些事情他又要改变，包括改变后的，应当
没有接触和基础。整个会议但他在主席
的重要会议和主席，主席是否把他
15 \times 10 = 150
平院有一座，桥的同侧来源池其在的

满员，有水下一样的地方。

改为最前面一个向变得手续，弹掉较

飞到长，物在翼联盟，它比继续一定效果

对等条。点，必须最后变自运动。她在运动

是会演说，失败后，他心伤心。改往来的后，因

改变。未来依靠广泛连接这些纽带相要

他错过一顿的误会错误，但方欠个意味

飞一样，在火高上找到取数代表，振作不

慢速去，精成干要变动或者扭开，带来

15 × 10 = 150

64
结果也是法西斯的。意大利激进人数极多，到了一百六十万人，几乎每个城镇都有。所以，法西斯主义的发展非常快，如不加以阻止，就会有一场社会革命。
今年。他永远是毛泽东。革命对一头有
领导后，要如此发现，要团结革命斗争，思
领导领导。全国马上革命的形势，这几个月
成功。中国革命也如此的奴隶。从1921年
起，起革命时间扬长革命。让革命，扬长
去。起革命十八年的时空，扬长革命，叫
1949年革命政治权，革命那么革命。当然，必
要革命革命的。民主革命毛泽东革命
时，革命领导革命胜利。但是“改变”思
他革命革命革命革命革命革命革命革命革命革命革命革命
15 \times 10 = 150
很可

关键问题：我们要把事情直接说透。

1. 告诉他们，我们要早点。”
2. 告诉他们，我们要设法解决这个问题。

$15 \times 10 = 150$
没有，这是他们之间的事情。他们之间的事情，我无法干涉。
避开机动之敌，集中打击敌人机群，破敌

① 机动之敌，集中打击敌人机群，破敌

④ 回击，控制敌空域，避免被敌空域，破敌

⑤ 控制敌空域，避免被敌空域，破敌
15 × 10 = 150

71
领导安排安排（③要求已安排大区快马上）

2.4号注意好能早停

15 × 10 = 150
中共中央联络部长耿飚同志在全国旅游工作座谈会上的讲话（记录稿）
一九七五年三月六日上午

讲的问题：一、国际形势；二、国际共运问题

一、国际形势

讲几个实质性的问题。

一（一）时代问题。要研究国际形势，必须从时代谈起。在我党十大政治报告中提到，我们重申我们所处的时代是帝国主义和无产阶级革命的时代。看形势首先要有正确的基本立场，否则就会出偏向或错误。列宁逝世后，虽然国际形势发生了很大变化，但时代的根本特征没有变，也没有过时。列宁对帝国主义的本质和特征的分析，帝国主义之间的矛盾和世界其他各种基本矛盾的分析，无产阶级革命策略和战略分析，现在仍然是正确的。这个问题我们和苏修有争论，也是我们和修正主义争论的根本问题。苏修否认列宁主义的革命原理，我们认为无产阶级政党的基本任务，就是根据各国具体情况，通过无产阶级革命逐步建立无产阶级专政。各国具体情况，革命阶段和特点不同，战略上也不同，但基本原则是一样的。现代修正主义的头子苏修不承认现在是列宁所说的年代。他们说过时了。我国超级间谍林彪也说列宁主义过时了。看形势，看世界大事，首先要把时代弄清楚。

（二）国际形势的特点是天下大乱，乱在什么地方呢？首先是矛盾激化，各种矛盾都激化起来了。严重的经济危机发生在帝国主义和资本主义世界，经济危机必然带来严重的政治危机。主要表现在生产下降，失业人口增加，通货膨胀，物价高涨，而且很厉害。我们社会主义中国就没有什么这种感觉。资本主义国家物价随时上涨，工人生活越来越困难。资本主义世界的黄金不断继续上涨，还有预算赤字增加，没有来源就印票子，这就更加通货膨胀。过去少数国家发生经济危机可以转嫁，现在都危机，无法转嫁。日本卖掉全部的钢及仓库的生丝布匹也解决不了问题。列宁说：“资本主义越发展原料越缺乏”。日本自己没有什么原料，战后工业发展速度较快，靠什么？靠别人的原料。靠别人的廉价石油，靠别人的市场推销产品。我们不靠这个，原料靠自己，市场也靠自己，所以物价稳定，不受经济危机的影响。日本和我们建交时，田中吹牛说日本是经济大国，我们叫他经济动物。他到处吹他有180亿美元，但是经济动荡，石油涨价，不到两年完了。写了一篇日本列岛改造论，但列岛并没有改造。美国尼克松下台福特上台，是不是因为水门事件？田中辞职是否由于《文艺春秋》公布了田中私人财产？这些都是私人事件，是帝国主义统治阶级内部各种矛盾激化到无法解决，只好换马，但换马也解决不了问题。意大利在第二次世界大战后，总理换了三十六个，有的几乎不到一年，甚至八个月就换了。还有一个罢工潮流，这种经济斗争必然反映到政治上来，经济斗争是政治斗争的一部分。政治上的罢工就是经济危机引起的，意大利是资本主义世界罢工最多的国家，一罢工就是几十万人。帝国主义和资本主义家要掠夺原料和市场，到处引起反对。不要以为美国很强大，他们缺乏原料，他们需要进口的主要原料有66种。苏修要进口的东西比美国多得多。所以现在世界上到处打贸易战。帝国主义和资本主义各国之间都在搞投机倒把，苏修更是如此，他们在争夺原料争夺市场。所以，毛主席说他们的形势是“无可奈何花落去”。“
天下大乱是好事，不是坏事。乱了敌人，不是乱了人民自己。对革命人民是好事，在乱的当中锻炼了革命人民。毛泽东描绘革命形势说：“山雨欲来风满楼。”列宁也说过“帝国主义是无产阶级社会主义革命的前夜”，所以对革命人民来说是形势一片大好，天下大乱就叫它乱去吧，越乱越好。

三）美帝和苏修是当代的国际最大的剥削者和压迫者，是新的世界大战的策源地。为什么他们是新的世界大战的策源地？就是要打仗，只有他们两家打，不是别人打，两国打起来就是世界大战。列宁说，帝国主义一个特点就是几个大国都想争夺霸权，目前他们的争夺越来越激烈，这个问题有些人看不透，说美苏以勾结为名，这是不对的。我们的看法是，帝国主义存在，两个帝国主义国家一起必然要斗争，这种斗争必然是从表面上看是和平，实际是敌对的，是霸权主义下的和平。但是，对革命人民来说是形势一片大好，天下大乱就叫它乱去吧，越乱越好。

（四）美帝和苏修是当代的国际最大的剥削者和压迫者，是新的世界大战的策源地。为什么他们是新的世界大战的策源地？就是要打仗，只有他们两家打，不是别人打，两国打起来就是世界大战。列宁说，帝国主义一个特点就是几个大国都想争夺霸权，目前他们的争夺越来越激烈，这个问题有些人看不透，说美苏以勾结为名，这是不对的。我们的看法是，帝国主义存在，两个帝国主义国家一起必然要斗争，这种斗争必然是从表面上看是和平，实际是敌对的，是霸权主义下的和平。但是，对革命人民来说是形势一片大好，天下大乱就叫它乱去吧，越乱越好。
在继续。苏修使馆问我们挖这干什么？是对付谁的？我们说是对付你们的。美国也问是对付谁的，我们说是对付苏修也是对付你们的。美国也是对付苏修也是对付你们的。我们一起来，我们都对付，我们深挖洞，不是进攻的，而是防御的。从科学上讲，既不能挖到莫斯科，也不能挖到华盛顿。苏修造谣说我们要打仗，赫鲁晓夫骂我们是好斗的公鸡，主席说：我们承认。我们党1921年成立以来到27年蒋介石逼着我们上山打游击，逼着我们斗，到1949年革命成功，我们斗了22年了，不该斗吗？完全该斗，斗得好，斗出个伟大的事业来。有些国家，特别是欧洲把苏联这股祸水引到中国来，但推不动。毛主席、周总理和中央其他领导同志和欧洲人讲，你们要小心北极熊要吃你们，你们不能麻痹呀。过去不太相信，现在也逐步信了。他们和平观念很重，国防力量靠美国。把真实东西掩盖起来，这是骗人的，主席说不要相信。列宁讲过："在市场，对人要吹得凶，对敌要打得多，"要有一种清醒的头脑。世界大战我看要打的，现在不是打不打的问题，而是什么时候打的问题。当然我不是说马上打或一两年打起来。三国演义上诸葛亮一算就知道，那是胡说八道。从科学上讲，要看形势，要看趋势，现在是打不打的问题没有什么可说。可能没有了，第一次世界大战后出了苏联，第二次世界大战后出了东欧那么多国家叫社会主义，现在是修了。我们中国也是第二次世界大战后不久。如果第三次世界大战又打，只有美国两家，两个先动手，第二世界更多国家要打，苏联更多国家要打。美国总是要多买东西，美国要多买东西，东西要多，美国要多买东西。这是一般的理论估计。苏修也在讲美国要准备发动战争。他们到处搞军事基地干什么？他们要在中国海中在印度洋都在搞。美国国会去年通过了30-40亿美元作为加强海军空军的建设，将汽车公司改为制造坦克。在欧洲去年增加一个师，今年又增加两个师，在印度搞军事基地，这是英国军事基地。美国的基辛格苏联葛罗米柯到处跑，像热锅的蚂蚁一样，基辛格到处跑。基辛格跑到中东，主席说，黄昏时候燕子忙吗！西方有些国家，特别是欧洲把苏联这股祸水引到中国来，但推不动。美国的基辛格到处跑。基辛格跑到中东，主席说：黄昏时候燕子忙吗？资产阶级认为世界大战打起来，就是核战争，就要毁灭人类，那是吓唬人。过去美国吓唬人吓的很多，以后说没有什么可怕，报纸上就可以避免。一个美国人写一本书叫"明天的战争"中说原子弹没有什么用处，用处不大。打日本时两个原子弹一个在广岛，一个在长崎。现在有原子弹的国家多了。现在就复杂了，打还是打常规战争，打核战争，我看不一一定，可能打常规战争，也可能打常规战争。帝国主义发动战争占领土地和人口，美苏是要高的剥削者和压迫者，如果把人类搞掉了，他还剥削谁和压迫谁呢？美国为什么把原子弹丢到东京、大阪地方去？！

第三世界已成为反霸的主力军。所谓主力军举几个例子研究一下。73年不结盟国家会议，74年4月联大特别会议，中东战争使用石油武器，海洋法会议，人口，粮食会议都是反霸斗争，促进第三世界的团结，一次一次的表明他第三世界的反霸斗争力量大。美国和苏联是世界最丰富的。资源是世界最丰富的。美国和苏联要靠他的原料，要打美国，要打第三世界。第三世界还要维护民族独立。从上海公报写了国家要独立，民族要独立，人民要革命已成为不可抗拒的历史潮流，第三世界的斗争更加证明了这一点。第三世界各国情况不同，这是很复杂的一面，多数国家领导是资产阶级代理人，他们之间有矛盾，有不团结的现象，但要看总的趋势，这个趋势是必然的。他们反帝反霸是能够一致的。帝国主义发动战争占领土地和人口，美苏是要高的剥削者和压迫者，如果把人类搞掉了，他还剥削谁和压迫谁呢？美国为什么把原子弹丢到东京、大阪地方去？！

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么短，随员告诉说，在莫斯科量衣服是跪着量的，这是个政治笑话，但有他的代表性。保加利亚在苏联买了辆车小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，这是由莫斯科决定的，只有匈牙利最大。人们说他是美国的，有的说是英国的，有的说是中国的，他说他不对，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。匈牙利有人在互相谈话，一个问世界上那[ sic] 国家最大，有的说是苏联，有的说是美国，有的说是第三世界。我说不对，只有匈牙利最大，因为苏军20年前就开始从匈牙利撤退了，匈牙利有的大啊！这些笑话是有代表性的，说明他们对苏修的控制、颠覆很不满意。我们现在两霸都能打，主要是我们的方针政策，一个是团结第一世界，争取第二世界，一个是反对美苏两霸。我们是社会系统，是社会主义国家，有的富朋友，有个中国代表，中国在第三世界，是社会主义国家，我们是社会主义国家。保加利亚在苏联买了一辆小汽车，没有方向盘，一问莫斯科你不给方向盘不行，莫斯科说：你这个人不懂我这个汽车是电子控制的，你坐上去他就会走，是由莫斯科控制的，你自己不要掌握，我给你掌握。
当前，国际共运的形势很好，马列主义广泛传播，修正主义受到深刻的批判。以苏修为首的修正主义集团内部矛盾重重，分崩离析。各国的马列主义政党和组织不断发展和壮大，他们在国际、国内的斗争中，特别在反修斗争中，受到很大的锻炼和考验。我们很多党也参加了这些斗争。有的党在反修斗争中，起了很大的作用。总的看，各国的马列主义政党和组织的力量还是比较小的，但他们有广阔的发展前景。这是革命事业的希望所在。毛主席说：“星星之火，可以燎原”。我们的党，开始也很小，第一次代表大会在上海开的，才12名代表，代表70多名党员。现在发展很大，已超过2800万人了。总的看，各国马列主义政党和组织的发展很快，亚洲的缅甸党发展就很快。1968年开始建立根据地，打游击。现在有两万多平方公里面积，人口超过五十多万，搞了五个县的地方政府，还有地方武装和正规军。最近打了一仗，消灭了军阀部队两个营，打死敌人99师师长。柬埔寨打的也很好，敌人号称二十万，实际能打的七、八万人，解放武装力量超过了敌人。仗打的很厉害，现在逼近金边，交通断绝，美被迫空运。最近又袭击波成东机场，切断湄公河。敌人对他们搞了三次围剿，没有搞掉他们，相反还发展了。还有马来西亚、菲律宾、泰国，马列主义组织都在发展。特别是拉美的发展很好。总的形势是好的。

当前，国际共运的主要危险仍然是修正主义。修正主义头子苏修野心很大，到处想扩张。但力量不足，战线太长，我们称他是可怜的扩张主义者。要打仗又没有本事，勉强的很，可怜的很。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。毛主席说：要斗一年万年。柯西金来时，说要一年。我们同苏修的斗争，是要斗争到底的。
苏修总是指挥我们，我们没有听他的。外因是通过内因起作用的吗！你指挥人家，就说明人家不行啊！我们党总结过去这方面的教训，吃过亏。过去搬苏联的东西，不管好不过，都搬过来，教条主义非吃亏不行。

关于他们在前进道路上发生这样那样的问题，我们要相信他们通过革命实践，总结经验教训，一定会得出正确的结论。我们要鼓励他们总结经验。马克思及时总结了巴黎公社失败的经验，列宁总结1905年的经验为什么没有成功。毛主席在第二[sic]次国内革命战争时期总结井岗山斗争的经验，写了《红色政权为什么能够存在》。《星星之火，可以燎原》，长征后及时总结了长征前江西那么多根据地为什么丢掉呀！写了《中国革命战争和战略问题》。我们鼓励兄弟党不断总结经验，每前进一次，就前进一步，不断总结，不断前进。我们支持兄弟党，政治上支持是主要的，经济上援助是次要的。同兄弟党合作我们主张搞双边关系。几个党一齐召开国际会议，什么世界性会议，我们不赞成这个。首先苏修主张搞这个，美其名曰什么在一起交流情况。共同制定国际政策、共同行动纲领，不可能嘛！国家情况不同，有什么共同的行动纲领？双边关系比较自由，也不强加于人。有些马列主义党出不来呀！他正在搞武装斗争，你要开会，人家不来，不来不好，叫人家参加要杀头，我们党开“九大”、“十大”都没有请兄弟党来参加，兄弟党开大会我们也不去。我们开会，主要是解决自己的问题，我们作报告，人家不同意怎么办？人家请我们去参加会，会不对的东西，不能不讲，一说话就不同人家的，就吵架，人家是主人，我们是客人。跑到人家那里吵架也不好。毛主席决定，我们不搞多边活动。在接触的过程中促使他们团结起来。否则，他们都自以为马列主义，老子天下第一，互相打内战。都搞自我正确，别人不是马列主义，唯独他是马列主义，都是错误的，把主要敌人丢在一边，日本是如此，好多国家是如此，我们要他们求同存异，不要互相骂，主要是骂本国的统治阶级，要揭露他们，自己互相骂，骂的差不多了，也就垮的差不多了。这样下去不能解决问题，只有失败，要谈清楚这个道理。比利时过去两个党，我们都接触过。去年合并起来，这很好。巴西、多米尼克两个党现在也合了，很好嘛！

至于过去跟着苏修骂过我们的党，只要承认错误，愿意前非，愿意和我们来往，还可以考虑。如西班牙党的卡里略，过去骂过我们，后来表示承认错误，要和我们接触，我们欢迎。中央让我们和他们谈，指出我们和他们有分歧。现在还有分歧，在什么地方。你要考虑，必须改变。但是，并不是今天谈了，两党就正式发生关系，还要看今后实际表现，不是只看自我表白。去得晚后，他们在行动上并没有什么改变，我们就不要他。他去朝鲜有十万人民欢迎，他要我们邀请他，我们没理他。过去骂我们又不认错，那就没来往，就没有接触的基础。看一个党和组织是不是真正的马列主义，主要的标准，看他是否把马列主义的普遍真理和本国具体情况相结合，还要看本国人民是否承认。不能认为外国党承认了，你就是马列主义的。有人认为现在只要中国、阿尔巴尼亚承认了，就是马列主义的，我们告诉他们，这不行，靠不住。如过去日本头子冈野进原来是在延安培养的，回去后变修了，我们也不承认他。比利时的党变了，也不承认了，阿尔巴尼亚也不承认了。阿尔巴尼亚承认的，我们也不一定就得承认。有一些党我们承认了，阿尔巴尼亚也不承认。国与国的作法不完全一样，我们同朝鲜党也有类似的情况，有不一致的地方。

现在苏修有一动向值得注意，强调搞联合行动，什么左翼联盟，什么团结一切反帝力量等口号，目的是议会道路。在智利搞议会道路失败了，他不死心。现在意大利、西班牙、拉美秘鲁、阿根廷这些地方搞类似智利一样的议会道路，把六个党派凑在一起，在议会上求得多数代表，搞个阿连德出来，搞成不容易。意大利党派人数相当多，有一百六十万人。几个党联合起来在议会可能得到席位。如果搞成了，是智利类型。但还有很多法西斯组织，名目很多，如“意大利社会行动”、“新秩序”、“黑色政权”、“民主先锋”、“青年意大利”、“天主教同盟党”、“黑色社会党”、“青年阵线”、“莫索里尼行动队”等等。掌握在这些组织中的武器可以武装两万人，如果修党搞成了，那么这些法西斯党不搞你？非搞你不行。议会道路是不行的。革命要一步一步的走。要扎扎实实，苏联十月革命成功，是经过列宁、斯大林亲自指导，搞了十年才成功的。中国革命在毛泽东的领导下，从1921年起，花了六年时间搞武装斗争，上井冈山，打游击，又花了十八年[sic]年的时间，搞武装斗争，到1949年才取得政权。不是那么容易。当然，也有古巴的影响。古巴既不是莫斯科类型的，也不是中国类型的。
他象“沙家浜”里边胡传魁那样十几个人，七八条枪搞起来的，带有很大偶然性，或是军事投机。拉美几个国家受他的影响，搞什么游击中心，格瓦拉带着几十个人跑到玻利维亚，也不讲什么道理，不讲政策，结果头也丢了。阿拉伯国家的游击队，经常劫持飞机，不得人心，那不行，革命不能这样搞，脱离人民，脱离群众，搞不起来。搞到最后要失败。革命只有扎扎实实，在人民中间扎根，要扎的很深，才能搞起来。

要给兄弟党介绍经验，我们党开始时力量很小。

关于武装斗争问题，我们要对兄弟党提出意见，建议：
1. 首先要鼓动他们，我们党三十年前也不大，星星之火，可以燎原，使他们感到有发展前景。告诉他们，我们经过二十多年才成功的，鼓励他们，如果搞的好，可能不用那么多的时间。另一方面，也要告诉他们，道路也是很长的；
2. 告诉他们，打仗没有什么了不起的，可以边打边学。有的总是要派军队干部来学习，要告诉他们，用不着。毛主席在1964年7月2日同哥伦比亚党的领导人谈话时说：打仗本来我们一点不懂，但打起来就会了。教会我们打仗的是蒋介石、帝国主义。他们是我们反面教员，他们所教的在马列主义书本上学不到的。我们的人当时连子弹都不会装，放第一枪，把眼闭上，第二枪不知子弹打到那[sic]里去了，第三枪就知道方向了，是可以学会的，鼓励他们不要把自己看的太轻了。
3. 鼓励他们选择敌人的弱点打，避开和正规军强大的敌人作战，硬拼的打法是不行的，要绕到敌人的后边，主力的后边去打。
4. 鼓励他们搞武装斗争时要结合别的形式的斗争，没有别的形式的斗争配合，武装斗争就孤立了，最后也要失败。
5. 告诉他们，决定战争胜负的是人，而不是武器，要注意掌握人，但也要注意到武器。很多马列主义政党都要进行武装斗争，要看条件，条件成熟的先搞，不成熟的后搞。武装斗争是最后形式，但不是起码的形式，革命必须有农民参加，靠几个城市不行，要讲清楚这个道理。这是国际共运的几个问题。

以上是今天座谈的几点。

有几点要求：
1. 今天我讲的这些，都是带有方针战略性的问题，大部分是没有公开的，所以记录的要为自己记，不要给别人记，丢了就等于公开给了敌人。
2. 拿回去不要到处传，你们领导掌握就行了。
3. 更不要公开贴大字报出去，要懂得党的纪律。
Speech by the Director of the CCP Central Committee International Liaison Department Comrade Geng Biao at the Symposium on National Tourism Work (Transcript)
-1975 March 6th Morning

The issues talked about: 1. International situation; 2. the issue of the International Communist Movement

(1) The issue of the epoch: To study the international situation, we must start from the epoch. In the political report of our party's 10th National Congress, we reemphasized that the epoch we live in is an epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. When examining the situation, firstly we must establish a correct basic position. Otherwise, it will deviate (from the correct line) or make mistakes. Although the international situation has changed greatly after Lenin's passing, the essential characteristics of the epoch have not changed and are not out of date. Lenin's analysis of the nature and characteristics of imperialism, analysis of the conflicts among imperialists and other basic contradictions in the world, and analysis of the tactics and strategies of the proletarian revolution are still relevant today. This issue is debated among us and revisionist powers including the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists deny the origins of revolution in Leninism. We believe the basic task of the proletarian party, is dependent on each country's concrete situation; the dictatorship of the proletariat is achieved gradually through proletarian revolution. Each country's concrete conditions, phases of revolution and characteristics are different. The strategies are also different, but the fundamental principles are same. The head of modern revisionism, the Soviet revisionists deny that the present time is the epoch that Lenin spoke of. They say it is out of date. Our country's superspy Lin Biao also said Leninism was out of date. To examine the situation and major world events, we must first make the issue of the epoch clear.

(2) The characteristic of the international situation is chaos under heaven. Where is the chaos? The first problem is the intensification of conflicts. All kinds of conflicts are intensified. Serious economic crises happen in the imperialist and capitalist world. Economic crisis inevitably causes serious political crisis. The main phenomenon are declining production, growing unemployment, inflation and high prices; they are very severe. Our socialist China does not have such problems. In capitalist countries, prices are rising at any time; workers' lives are more and more difficult. The price of gold in the capitalist world is continuously rising; the budget deficit is also increasing. With no money source, they print banknotes, and inflation becomes more severe. In the past, economic crises only occurred in a few countries and it was transferable (to
other countries), now all countries are in crises, and debt is non-transferable. Japan has sold all its steel and raw silk and cloth, but is unable to solve the problem. Lenin said: "as capitalism develops, raw materials become increasingly scarce." Japan itself does not have many raw materials but, since the war, has experienced a relatively high speed of economic development. What does (Japan) depend on? It depends on others' raw materials, depends on others' cheap oil and depends on others' markets to sell its products. We do not depend on these. We depend on our own raw materials and our own market, so we have a stable price that is not influenced by economic crises. When Japan established diplomatic relations with us, Tanaka boasted that Japan was a big economic power, but we called it an economic animal. He boasted everywhere that Japan had 18 billion dollars, however its economy was in turmoil and oil price at an increase; within two years it was done for. He wrote A Plan for Remodelling the Japanese Archipelago, but the Japanese Archipelago was not remodelled. In the United States, Nixon stepped down and Ford came to power. Is this because of the Watergate Scandal? Tanaka resigned. Is it because Bungeishunjū[1] disclosed Tanaka's assets? These are not private affairs. The various conflicts inside the imperialist ruling class intensified too seriously to be solved. Their only option was to change leaders. However, this cannot solve the problem. Since the Second World War, Italy has changed 36 prime ministers. Some serving for less than one year or even 8 months. Another issue is trending industrial action. This economic struggle will inevitably be reflected in politics. Economic struggle is a part of political struggle. Political strikes are caused by economic crises. Italy is the country with the most strikes in the capitalist world. As long as there is a strike, it will have hundreds of thousands of people. Imperialism and capitalists want to plunder raw materials and markets; they cause opposition everywhere. Do not think the United States is very powerful. They lack raw materials. There are 66 main kinds of raw materials they need to import. The goods the Soviet revisionists need to import are much more than the Americans. Because of this, there are trade wars all over the world. All imperialist and capitalist countries engage in speculation and profiteering, especially the Soviet revisionists. They are all struggling for raw materials and struggling for the market. Therefore, Chairman Mao said their situations were "nothing can be done when flowers are falling away (wukenaihe hua luo qu)." [2]

Chaos under heaven is a good thing not a bad thing. It causes trouble for our enemies not us. It is good for the revolutionary people. In the chaos, the revolutionary people are fortified. Chairman Mao depicted the revolution as "the rising wind forebodes the coming storm." (shanyu yulai feng man lou)[3]. Lenin also said "Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat". Thus, for the revolutionary people, the situation is very good. As it is chaos under heaven, just let it go. The more chaos the better.

(3) The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are the biggest exploiters and suppressors in the modern world. (They) are the new hotbeds of a new world war. Why are they the hotbeds of a new world war? Because they want to fight; only they will fight not others. If the two hegemons fight, there will be a world war. Lenin said: "an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the struggle for hegemony". At present, their struggle is more and more intense. Those that claim the Americans and the Soviets mainly collude with each other are wrong. Our point of view is that collusion is temporary and superficial; the struggle is long-term and fundamental. How to view the struggle between imperialism and social imperialism is an issue that Lenin and Kautsky argued about. Kautsky believed that if imperialism developed to the stage of hyper imperialism, several imperialist countries would collude with each other, and there would be no fighting. Thus meaning, the situation would ease up. Lenin objected, contending that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism and that conflict among imperialists could not be reconciled. As long as imperialism existed, there would be a risk of war. So, to examine the situation, we must use Lenin's stance and point of view. (As long as) imperialism exists, the two hegemons will inevitably engage in conflict. The struggle will be a gradual change to a sudden change. Just like the wearing out of clothes, if the clothes have holes that can be seen, it is the sudden change. But, before the appearance of holes, they have already been worn out; this is the gradual change. The day in which imperialists go to war is the sudden change. Politics does not solve their problems, so
they resort to force. Chairman Mao said: "War is the continuation of politics." When the conflict intensifies to a certain degree, the result is war and the use of force. A good example is the escalation of conflict between two people in a disagreement: First, they will keep their feelings bottled up inside, then they will rant in public; without resolve, they will resort to fist fighting. The conflict between two will evolve into a group scuffle and escalate from the fighting with fists to stones and sticks, then weapons and atomic bombs. This is world war. When one side is defeated, a new world war will begin. Imperialist wars cannot be finished by one fight. There will be the first, second, and third. If imperialism does not fall, there will always be wars.

(4) The factors of war are growing rapidly. Revolution is developing rapidly as well. Imperialist struggle has many varieties and is ever changing. But their inside is dominated by struggle. Their struggle can be seen not only in one place but can be seen everywhere in the world. There are struggles everywhere. The foreign affairs department should appoint a comrade to read the materials from the Cankao Xiaoxi (Reference News) carefully, collecting the questions and categorizing them; then they will see (the situation) clearly. Of course, the (information) is not necessarily correct, there are even rumours. However, we can get rid of the dross and select the essential. For example, the two hegemons, the Americans and the Soviets, held four summits within 3 years. In 1972, Nixon went to Moscow to have the first summit. After the talks, Nixon visited Poland, and the Soviet revisionists sent Gromyko to visit West Germany. What for? Nothing more than to undermine the other (wa qiangjiao / dig at the corner of sb.'s wall). Poland is the Soviet revisionists' running dog, and West Germany is the US' collaborator. Brezhnev went to the United States to have the second talk. Shortly after the summits, the Middle East incident took place. As soon as fighting started, the Soviet Union prepared to send troops to join the war. The US saw that the Soviets would send troops, so it ordered a three-year alert. The two sides were at the swords' points and nearly went to war; the situation was very tense. (haiyou shenme huanhe / what more (could be done) to ease tensions?) For the third summit, Nixon visited Moscow again. Less than two weeks after talks took place, the Cyprus incident broke out. The Soviet revisionists were double-dealing, fomenting trouble and fishing in troubled waters. They were being two-faced; first they enticed Turkey, then they supported Greece. Turkey and the Soviet Union have a hundred years of mutual hostility. The Cyprus event has not reached a conclusion; both sides want to control it. Cyprus is an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean. Cyprus' positioning on the Mediterranean holds strategic significance; it is near the Suez Canal and Israel. It is a strategic location. The fourth summit was held in Vladivostok after Ford's inauguration. Both sides were actively expanding their armed forces before the summit. The Soviet revisionists cried out for enlarging military forces. The American imperialists also said they would increase arms, renew equipment, equip aircrafts with intercontinental missiles and produce this kind of aircraft by any means necessary. Both sides were contending for the most advantageous outcome. They reached a ten-year nuclear development agreement in name; in reality they just said: you Soviets produce however many (weapons) and we Americans will produce however many (weapons). What kind of agreement is this? In fact, you wanted to make more (weapons), and I wanted to as well. Both sides just wanted to enlarge their nuclear advantage, which was far from a limitation (of arms). The United States said this summit was not satisfactory because it allowed the Soviet Union full advantage, while the US suffered. In the internal circles of the US, there are two factions. The faction led by Kissinger contends for détente with the Soviet Union, while the faction led by Secretary of Defence Schlesinger contends to counter Soviet (aggression) by enhancing strength, making good (military) equipment and maintaining naval, army, and air force advantage. Now it seems as though Schlesinger has somewhat of the advantage. The focus of the US-Soviet competition is Europe as well as the Middle East and the Mediterranean, which are flanks of Europe and cannot be viewed as different parts. Whomever wants to be the hegemony must hold Europe. We claim that the Soviet Union threatens the east and strikes the west. (We should) unveil the truth; expose the conspiracy located deep within. When looking at an issue, one must view its nature. If we just see the phenomenon, it is wrong. It is as if we stand on the earth to look at the sun. It seems as though the sun travels around the earth, but in fact, it is the earth that travels
around the sun. This is the essence (of the issue). It is true that the Soviet Union has one million troops near the Sino-Soviet border, but it is only 1/4 of the Soviet army. The other 3/4 is in Europe. Besides, the equipment of these one million troops in Asia is not good. The best equipment is in Europe. Europe has the most convenient transportation. Northwest is not a rich region. The Soviets only have one railway there, and the food cannot (be provided in time) if a war breaks out. Therefore, we should not just believe that they want to attack us. The Soviet revisionists lambaste us furiously every day. In actuality, they play tricks behind our back. They scold us for the US to see. They want to convince the Americans that they want to fight against China, not the west. But the United States is not fooled. This is decided by the interests of the imperialists. Europe is richer and more profitable. China's benefits are also not few, but this bone is too hard to bite. Vietnam has a 30 million population and its material conditions are not rich. The United States uses 500,000 troops and still cannot win. China has an 800 million population and 25-year socialist construction. Imagine how many troops we could resist? We have troops and also militia. Chairman (Mao) advocates we fear neither hardship nor death. We do not fear the enemy's coming. One million (Soviet troops) is nothing. Think about it carefully, the one-million troops there will confront the United States first, then Japan. Although they will cope with China as well, the main (situation) is the two hegemons' struggle. Even so, we cannot relax our vigilance against the Soviets. We must strictly follow Chairman Mao's instructions: "dig deep shelters, store up grain reserves, and don't claim (global) hegemony (shen wa dong, guang ji liang, bu cheng ba)." We are coping with both the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists. Both the city and the countryside are digging (the shelters), and it will go on. The Soviet revisionist embassy asked why we dug them and whom we would cope with. We said, we would cope with you. The Americans also asked whom would we cope with, and we said we would cope with the Soviet revisionists and also you. If you came together, we would cope with the both of you. Our deep shelter digging is not offensive, but defensive. Scientifically speaking, we can dig neither to Moscow, nor to Washington. The Soviet revisionists concocted rumours that we would fight. Khrushchev attacked us, saying we are like fighting cocks. Chairman Mao said: "We admit it. Our party was established in 1921, and in 1927 Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] forced us to start guerrilla warfare in the mountain and forced us to fight. When the revolution succeeded in 1949, we had already fought for 22 years. Should we not fight? We should absolutely fight. ; Fight well: fight a great cause out. Some western countries, especially Europe, (want to) extend the troubles of the Soviet Union to China, but this does not work. Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and other comrade leaders in the central committee told the Europeans, you should be careful; the polar bear will eat you.; you should not be unwary. (They) did not quite believe us in the past, now they believe gradually. They are very serious about peace; their national defences are reliant on the United States. Why do we tell them this? The Soviet revisionists shout for peace and détente everywhere. The United States speaks of modern-day peace. They conceal the truth. It is a conspiracy and nonsense; don't believe them. Lenin said: "In the market-place, the vendor that shouts loudest and promises the most is the one with the shoddiest goods for sale." They shout for peace when committing evil deeds. You must keep a clear head and not believe their words. In my opinion, there will be a world war. Now the question is not whether to fight, but when to fight. Of course, I do not mean (the war) will be fought immediately or within one or two years. In Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo Yanyi), Zhuge Liang knew (when to fight) by a simple calculation, which is nonsense. His "borrowing the east wind" depended on the season. We should observe the situation. There will be war, but it is nothing to be afraid of; it is not a big deal. After the First World War, the Soviet Union was established. After the Second World War, there were many Eastern European countries established. They were called socialists at that time but now are revisionists. Our China was also founded shortly after the Second World War. If there were a Third World War, it would be Chairman Mao's prediction of war causing revolution. More socialist countries would emerge. Who to fight and with whom? Only the Soviets and Americans will fight. Which one will fight first? It is more likely that the Soviet Union will be the first to fight. The United States has occupied many places, so it has weakness everywhere. The Soviet Union has occupied few places. Theory predicts that the one who want to occupy territory will instigate the conflict. .
The Soviet revisionists also say the United States is preparing for war. They are building military bases everywhere. For what purpose? The Soviet Revisionists (are building) military bases in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The United States Congress last year passed a budget allowing 3 to 4 billion dollars to be used toward Navy and Air Force construction. They also changed car companies into tank-manufacturers. They increased one brigade in Europe last year, and they increased another two brigades this year. They established military bases in India and received British military bases. Kissinger and Gromyko go everywhere, just like ants on a hot pot (sic). Kissinger's office is in the Middle East, and after he finished his work, he went to the Middle East again. Gromyko knew Kissinger would go to the Middle East so he visited Egypt before Kissinger. Then, Kissinger also visited Egypt. Afterward, Kissinger went to Geneva, and Gromyko followed him to Geneva and met him there. Why are they so busy? Chairman Mao said: "The swallows are busy in the dusk (huanghun shihou yanzi mang)[5]." The bourgeoisie thinks once a world war breaks out, there will be a nuclear war that will destroy humanity. That's just bluster. In the past, the American imperialists blustered a lot, then they said it was not scary. If you encountered (a nuclear explosion) on the street, you can avoid being hurt by covering yourself with newspapers. An American wrote a book called "Tomorrow's War", saying the atomic bomb was not very useful. When attacking Japan with atomic bombs, one was used in Hiroshima and another in Nagasaki. Now, there are many countries with atomic bombs and the situation is more complex. If there is a war, (in general) it will be a conventional war. (Some) say a nuclear war will destroy humanity (so there will not be a nuclear war). I think that is not necessarily the case. Nuclear war is possible, and conventional war is also possible. The imperialists wage war in order to occupy lands and populations. The United States and the Soviet Union are the biggest exploiters and oppressors. If they destroy mankind, whom will they exploit and oppress? Why did the United States not drop atomic bombs on Tokyo and Osaka?!

(See the next page)

The Third World has become the main force against the hegemony. Let me give several examples to prove why it is the main force. In 1973, there was a non-aligned countries conference. The April 1974 Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Middle East war, where oil was used as a weapon, the Conference on the Law of the Sea[6], population conference[7], and food conference[8] were all struggles against hegemonies. This promoted the gradual unity of the Third World, and proved the power of the Third World against hegemony again and again. The Third World suffers relatively high due to exploitation and oppression. It has the largest population, vast area, and the world's richest resources. Both the American and the Soviet hegemons depend on its raw materials. They exploit the Third World; the Third World needs to defend national independence. The Shanghai Communiqué of China and the US said that "countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this has become the irresistible trend of history." The struggle of the Third World further proves this point.

Different countries in the Third World have different situations, which is a very complicated aspect. Most countries are agents of the bourgeoisie. There are conflicts and disunity among them. But we need to look at the inevitable general trend. They have similar stances on anti-imperialism, anti-hegemony and anti-colonialism. The Second World has duality. On one hand, it oppresses and exploits the Third World countries; some of them conduct colonialism in the Third World to different degrees and in different forms. On the other hand, third world countries are controlled, threatened and oppressed by the two hegemons to different degrees. Similar to Japan and some European countries, they have conflicts with the two hegemons and want to be free of their control and become independent. Additionally, they want to get rid of American control. The United States has military forces within Western Europe and also has conflicts with it. The US says: "My military forces are stationed in your area; you should cover the expenses." Western Europe says: "we will not pay." They say the United States is the leader of the "free world". The US (should) protect them, but if it wants them to pay, they won't. The US has conflicts with Western Europe. Lenin
said: "the bourgeoisie only thinks of money." (Western Europe) has conflicts with the US pertaining to money. The US was angry for a period of time, claiming it would withdraw all US troops; this caused conflict within the US government. The Soviet Revisionists also have conflicts but with Eastern Europe. They want to control, exploit, and oppress (Eastern Europe). If (the Eastern European countries) do not listen to it, it will send troops to subvert and occupy these countries. For example, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia were occupied. Their sense of alienation was enhanced. The Eastern European countries don't have oil; they depend on Soviet revisionist imports. The Soviet revisionists double the price of oil and sell it to the small revisionists. Eastern Europe finds this intolerable so turns to Western Europe. There are several political jokes. Czechoslovakian Husák had his coat made in Moscow. It was cold so the coat was made longer. The size was very long when measuring. When he arrived back at the airport in Czechoslovakia, his wife asked why the coat was so short. His assistant said it was because in Moscow people kneel down to get measured. It is a political joke but is representative. Bulgaria bought a car from the Soviet Union, which had no steering wheel. Bulgaria asked Moscow to give it the steering wheel. Moscow said: "You don't understand. This car is electronically controlled. It goes automatically once you sit in it. It is controlled by Moscow. There is no need for you to control it, I will control it for you." People in Hungary were chatting; a man asked which country was the largest in the world. Some said the Soviet Union; some said the United States, and some said China. The man said none of them were correct. The largest country was Hungary. This is because the Soviet troops began to withdraw from Hungary 20 years ago, however they still haven't left the country. See how large Hungary is! These jokes are representative of their dissatisfaction with Soviet control and subversion. Currently, both hegemons are our main enemies; we must strike down both targets. This point can't be shaken. But, we have policies and guidelines. Our guideline is unity with the Third World, winning over the Third World, and opposing the two hegemons, the United States and the Soviet Union. This is our strategic guideline. We say we are a Third World country; this is not to degrade us to the level of a nationalist country. It promotes more efficient working conditions and unity with the Third World; the aim of which, is to oppose the two hegemons. How can China alone defeat the two hegemons? Some claim the division of the three worlds is unreasonable. The First World only has the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, which is too little; more countries should be included. But if we do this, they will not be striking an isolated minority but one unified majority. This is not Marxist-Leninist. Some said the First World and the Second World should be combined and that the Second World should be the socialist countries: the two countries China and Albania. This is also not correct. This would isolate ourselves. Some say the division of the three worlds is according to the economy. This is not correct either. (The division) is not based on class. (The Third World includes) poor friends, rich friends, the left, the middle, the right, the oppressors, the oppressed; some are even agents of the bourgeoisie. It is for the need of opposing the two hegemons that China is included in the Third World. This is for internal discussion; we mustn't mention it in public. Talking about it internally will help us work more efficiently. Some countries are the agents of the bourgeoisie, but we mustn't mention that either. If we want to oppose the two hegemons, we must gather support and unite 95 percent (of the Third World). We will defeat imperialism. We will also defeat the bourgeoisie. However, there are priorities that are more important than others. Eat your meal bit by bit; do not eat everything in one mouthful. There are issues of greater and lesser urgency. The most important issue is the two hegemons, the Americans and the Soviets. Among the two hegemons, we should concentrate on striking the Soviet revisionists. We should take advantage of their conflicts when struggling with enemies. Win over the majority, isolate the minority, then crush them one by one. Lenin said: "To defeat mighty enemies, we should use all the cracks of our enemies, even very small cracks." In fact, enemies are not a monolithic whole. When doing work, you should insert in a pin wherever there's a crack (jian feng cha zhen). You can't insert in a stick in one go. We should consider different situations, collecting all the cracks in our enemy's camp, in order to oppose our current main enemy. It is an objective fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are in conflict with each other. The US initiated reconciliation with us. Nixon visited China because his policy of isolating China had become bankrupt, not at all because he had a good feeling about China.
He perceived pressure when contending with the Soviet revisionists. He wants to use the Sino-Soviet conflict; Chinese rapprochement is his trump card to overpower the Soviet revisionists. We allowed Nixon's visit, not in the slightest due to positive feelings toward the US, let alone a want to derive benefits from it. It is wrong to have such a thought. We don't rely on one imperialist country to oppose another, let alone derive benefits. We are taking advantage of their conflict to strike the Soviet revisionists while simultaneously undermining the American imperialists. The American imperialists also want to take advantage of our conflict with Soviet revisionists to cope with the Soviets. They are unable to use us. Rather, we can use them. Chairman Mao taught us: "Our foreign work should focus on the people, rely on the people, and pin hopes on the people, rather than rely on the ones in authority." Some don't understand why we don't sever diplomatic relations with Chile and why we establish diplomatic relations with Spain. Some Marxist-Leninist governments and organizations often talk about these issues to us. If we severed relations with them, they would build relations with the Guomindang. Our delegations and our publications are not allowed in. We are unable to contact their people and do not understand the situation. We don't know what the Soviet Revisionists do there either. Some self-proclaimed Marxists-Leninists also oppose our establishment of diplomatic relations with Spain. We ask them if it would be better if Spain built foreign relations with the Guomindang. The Soviet Union is social imperialist and is also affected by economic crises. The Soviet Union's socialism has so-called socialism, without freedom, and all such things. After Nixon's visit was broadcasted, there was no market for these Hollywood films. Now, the Soviets published dozens of articles lambasting us every month, and if we count both newspapers and broadcasts, the number (of criticism) may exceed 300 times per month. They say that we earn 15 billion US dollars per year from selling Opium. Our total trade volume in one year is less than 10 billion US dollars. This is complete slander! It is Jiang Jieshi's bandit group that (grow and sell opium in) the regions bordering Thailand and Burma. The Soviet revisionists are very vicious, vilifying us everywhere. Some people are impacted because they listen to them (the Soviets) every day. I didn't talk much about the concrete situations of the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. You can read Cankao Xiaoxi (Reference News) to learn more. Someone asks whether the Soviet revisionists are affected by economic crises. Last year, its announced grain output exceeded 190 million tons. If we regard its population as 240 million, then grain per person was more than 800 kg. Such a large amount (of grain) would have been too great to finish. But why did they still rush to buy grain everywhere? The Soviet Union imports 30 million tons of grain averaging out to 250 kg per person. This proves that (the Soviet Union) can't solve its food problem. (The Soviet Union) imports 30 million tons of grain averaging out to 250 kg per person. This proves that (the Soviet Union) cannot solve its food problem. (The Soviet Union) has so-called socialism, but it does not invest in agriculture. It gives priority to heavy industry, then agriculture and light industry. Our (priority order) is agriculture, light industry then heavy industry. (The Soviet Union) way of weighing grain is incorrect. The grain includes 15% water. We get rid of sand and mud and dry the grain in the sun before putting it in storage. The Soviet Union measures the grain tank's capacity in the harvester. Each grain tank is weighted as two tons. However, since this measurement contains sand and mud, the measurement is 30%-35% exaggeration (of the real production). If (these contents) are excluded, (the Soviet Union) grain production was less than 120 million tons (last year). Its annual steel output is 135 million tons. I don't believe it. (The Soviet Union) does not have that much (steel). They're bragging. How could 200 million people use up so much steel? If (the Soviet Union's) difficulties are not many, why do oil prices increase so much? According to the deal, oil prices can't increase. But now (the deal) does not work; it brings too many disadvantages. The small revisionists in Eastern Europe turn to trade with the
West. The small revisionists also raise their prices when trading with the Soviets. They are also unsatisfied toward the Soviets regarding politics. The centrifugal tendency is strong. They can't do anything about it and have to raise the price. They have a series of economic conferences on economic cooperation and economic integration. In the past, they said they would not raise (oil) prices, but now, nothing can be done.

International communist movement and the relations with the fraternal parties

Currently, the international communist movement is going very well. Marxism-Leninism has widely spread. Revisionism has been deeply criticized. The revisionist bloc, headed by the Soviet revisionists, has many conflicts within and is falling apart. The Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in each country are developing and growing. Their domestic struggles and international struggles, especially their struggles against revisionism have tested and strengthened them. There are more (parties and organizations) turning to us. They are learning to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with their own concrete practices of domestic revolution. They are constantly drawing lessons from experiences and are initially shaping a correct Marxist-Leninist line. In general, the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in each country are relatively weak, but they have a broad future. This is the hope of the revolution. Chairman Mao said: "A single spark can start a prairie fire (xingxing zhi huo, keyi liaoyuan)." Our party is also very small at the beginning. The first congress was held in Shanghai with only 12 representatives, who represented about 70 party members. Now our party is very big, with over 28 million members. All (parties) develop from zero to one, from small to big, from weak to strong. Of course, some Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations develop more rapidly. The party in Burma developed very fast. In 1968, they started building bases to engage in guerrilla warfare. Now they control more than twenty thousand square kilometers with more than five hundred thousand populations. They overthrew the governments of five counties and defeated local armed forces and regular armies. In a recent fight, they destroyed two battalions of Ne Win's troops killing the deputy commander of the enemies' 99th Division. (The Communist Party of) Cambodia also fights well. Their enemies claim to have 200,000 (soldiers). In reality, only seventy or eighty thousand of them are able to fight. The force of liberation exceeds the enemy. They fought the battles very fiercely. Now (the communists) are approaching Phnom Penh. Traffic has been cut off; the Americans were forced to use air transportation. Recently, they also attacked Pochentong airport and cut off (transportation on) the Mekong River. Their enemy launched three encirclements against them but failed to defeat them. On the contrary, they are able to develop further. In addition, the Marxist-Leninist organizations in Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand have also developed. Latin America is doing particularly well. In general, the situation is good.

Currently, revisionism is still the main danger to the international communist movement. The head of revisionism, the Soviet Union, is wildly ambitious and wants to expand its power everywhere. But it lacks power, and its battle front stretches too far. We call them poor expansionists. They want to fight, but they have no ability, are very incapable, and very poor. We will struggle against the Soviet revisionists to the end. Chairman Mao said: "We will struggle for ten thousand years." When Kosygin came and said (ten thousand years) was too long, Chairman Mao said: "for your sake, we will subtract one thousand years." The Romanian Communist Party's comrade leaders came and said to Chairman Mao, can you take off even more time? Chairman Mao said, ok, we will subtract another one thousand years, but no more. This being said, we still have eight thousand years of struggle against the Soviet revisionists. The Soviet revisionists are also prepared to struggle against us for a long time. They say we collude with the most reactionary imperialist and damage the socialist camp. If they want to wage an irreconcilable struggle against us, then let's struggle! In the international communist movement, the first thing is to concentrate on striking the Soviet revisionist. We should criticize the revisionist points of view deeply and repeatedly. At present, we should focus on exposing the Soviet revisionists' sabotage
and invasion in the name of socialism. We should use the conflicts between the small revisionists and the Soviet revisionists, disintegrating them and isolating the Soviet revisionists. When the wolf is in the way, why do you care about the fox (chailang dangdao, anwen huli)? This is our principle. The Soviet revisionists are very angry about this. Not all of the articles attacking us by the Soviet revisionists are published in the Soviet Union. Some of them are published in small revisionist countries like Mongolia, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The aim is to lead us into conflict with the small revisionists. We are not fooled. We should focus on the main enemy, focus on the Soviet revisionists. If we struggle against the small revisionists, we will leave the head of revisionism to be at ease. We have criticized the Soviet revisionists, which means we have also criticized the small revisionists. Our power is not distracted.

(Located) beside us is the small revisionist Mongolia who incessantly lambasts us; why don't we teach it a lesson? It's not worth it. Mongolia is merely a running dog; it is only natural for it to bark. Ignore it. It just follows the (Soviet) order. Since 1973, the Soviet revisionists have wanted to convene a dirty meeting against us and against the people. It has been preparing for more than two years, however the meeting has still not been held. Later it wanted to hold meetings in Europe and Asia respectively but failed. In Europe, it held three preparatory meetings and also failed. The small revisionists also opposed these meeting. Even if the meeting is held, nothing will happen. It will only expose the reactionary nature of the Soviet revisionists. If they hold the meeting, they will curse us; if they don't hold the meeting, they will still curse us. A true Marxist-Leninists will not be defeated by verbal abuse. Jiang Jieshi cursed at us for more than fifty years; the more he cursed, the stronger we became. When Lenin was alive, he was also verbally attacked. He also grew stronger the more he was cursed at.

We firmly support the struggles of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the world. We support the struggle of the people. Chairman Mao taught us: "Diplomacy obeys the revolution, rather than the revolution obeying diplomacy." We should take advantage of the main conflicts of the enemies, concentrating our forces to strike the main enemy. In different time periods, we can reach certain agreements with certain countries, but we don't require that the struggles of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in these countries comply with our diplomacy. Comrade leaders in the central committee said that, in order to take advantage of the conflict and in order to use our diplomatic footing to benefit the people, we allowed Nixon's visit; we should welcome him. However, if (other Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations) also welcome him, it will be problematic. When the French president Pompidou came to China, because we have diplomatic relations, we welcomed him. But if the French Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations also welcome him, they will fail. We don't require them to be like us. They must act according to their own situations, combine the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the specific conditions of their own countries, and oppose their own enemies. These are two separate issues; the party's issue is the party's, and the government is a whole other matter. We have diplomatic relations with Burma. If Ne Win comes, we must welcome him. But the Burmese Communist Party conducts armed struggle, we also firmly support it. However, we can't sever diplomatic relations with Burmese government just because we support the Burmese Communist Party. However, if they initiate severing relations with us, then we have no choice then to cut ties. It is an issue of both sides. The least we can do is to learn more about their situations. We don't require the fraternal parties to comply with our struggle strategies and policies. In regards to ourselves, we should prevent our own Great Chauvinism. For the fraternal parties, we insist that the big parties and the small parties are all equal, independent, and respectful of each other, and that they do not intervene with others' internal affairs. The Soviet revisionist always regards itself as the core. The revolution in each country must rely on its people. Chairman Mao often teaches us and fraternal parties to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete situations of their own countries. Each countries' Marxist-Leninist parties' guidelines, policies, and strategies can only be made by themselves and through the integration of Marxist-Leninist principles and their practical situations. No matter how correct your Marxism-Leninism is, if you don't understand their situations, it will be very dangerous to command them. In the past, the Soviet revisionists always
commanded us, but we didn't listen to them. External causes work through internal causes. You command them, which implies they are incapable. Our party draws lessons from past experiences in this aspect, (because) we have suffered. In the past we copied the Soviet experience; no matter good or bad, we just copied everything. Dogmatism must suffer.

In regards to this or that problem that may arise along their respective journeys, we must believe, that through revolutionary practices and the drawing of lessons from experiences, they can certainly reach the right conclusion. We should encourage them to learn lessons from their experiences. Marx drew lessons from the failure of the Paris Commune in time. Lenin drew lessons from the experience of the year 1909 and why it did not succeed. Chairman Mao, in the period of the Third [sic] Domestic Revolutionary War,[9] drew lessons from the struggle experience in the Jinggang Mountains; he wrote Why is it that Red Political Power Can Exist in China? and A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire. After the Long March, he drew lessons in time, thinking of why we lost so many bases before the Long March; he wrote Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War. We encourage the fraternal parties to constantly learn from their experiences. Every new lesson will take you one step further. Draw lessons continually, and you will progress continually. We support our fraternal parties; political support is primary, and economic support is secondary. We maintain that we should keep a bilateral relationship when cooperating with the fraternal parties. We disapprove of several parties holding international conferences or something like a world conference. They are not beneficial. Some support them. First (to support these conferences) is the Soviet revisionist. They call it by the sweet-sounding name of exchanging information, jointly formulating international policies and jointly formulating a plan of action. This is impossible! Each country has different situations, how can they formulate a joint plan of action? Bilateralism is relatively flexible and doesn't impose (decisions) on others. Some Marxist-Leninist parties are unable to leave (their countries)! They are currently conducting armed struggles. If you hold a meeting and invite them, (they will feel that) it is not good to reject (the invitation). Maybe they will be arrested and executed. We didn't invite the fraternal parties to attend our 9th National Congress or 10th National Congress. We won't go to the fraternal parties' meetings either. The meetings we hold are to solve our own problems. What happens if they disagree with us when we are giving a report? If they invite us to attend a conference, we cannot keep silent on what is wrong. As soon as we speak, we will disagree with them and quarrel with them. They are the hosts and we are the guests. It's not good to quarrel with them on their own turf. Chairman Mao decided that we won't engage in multilateral activities. Some countries even have several Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. For example, in Italy there are more than thirty revolutionary organizations and groups; sixteen or seventeen of them call themselves Marxists-Leninists. Who is a true Marxist-Leninist and who is not? It's difficult to distinguish. For this situation, we should contact them extensively. On the basis of extensive contact, we should focus on assisting some of them. In the process of contact, we should promote them to unite. Otherwise, they will all call themselves Marxists-Leninists, regard themselves as the number one in the world, fight against each other, and claim they are the only correct one. (In their eyes) others are not Marxists-Leninists. Only they are (true Marxists-Leninists); everyone else is wrong. (These behaviours and thoughts) leave the main enemy aside. Japan is like this, and many other countries are like this. We should persuade them to seek common ground while preserving differences and to not attack each other. They should not scold each other; they should denounce and expose the ruling class in their own countries. When they denounce each other vehemently enough, they are very close to collapse. Such a method can't solve problems; it will only lead to failure. They should understand this rationale. There were two parties in Belgium in which we contacted; last year they merged. This is very good. The parties in Brazil and Dominica also merged. Very good!

For the parties who followed the Soviet revisionists in reviling us, if they would like to admit their mistakes, rectify their errors, and form contact with us, we will consider (establishing good relations with them). For example, Carrillo of the Spanish
(communist) party lambasted us in the past then, later on, admitted his mistakes. He wanted to establish contact with us and we welcomed him. The Central Committee asked us to tell them that we had disagreements with them; we still have disagreements now; they needed to think about where the disagreements were and change. However, it was not the case that we had a talk that day then built formal relations immediately. It was up to their actual performance, rather than their self-confession. After they went back, they did not change their actions, so we ignored them. He (Carrillo) visited North Korea and was welcomed by one hundred thousand people. He wanted us to invite him (to visit China again), but we ignored him. He lambasted us in the past and refused to admit his mistakes, so we stopped contact. We lacked the basis of contact. If you want to know whether a party or an organization is a true Marxist-Leninist, you should look at whether or not they integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with their country's concrete situations, which is the main criterion. Also, it depends on whether or not their own people acknowledge them. Just because you are recognized by a foreign party does not make you Marxist-Leninist. Currently, some believe that as long as China and Albania acknowledge it, a party can be Marxist-Leninist. We tell them that's wrong and unreliable. The head of Japanese revisionists Susumu Okano (usually known as Sanzō Nosaka) was trained in Yan'an; after he went back to Japan, he became a revisionist. Thus, we don't acknowledge him either. The Belgium party changed, thus we don't acknowledge it; Albania doesn't acknowledge it either. The parties acknowledged by Albania are not necessarily acknowledged by us. Some parties acknowledged by us are not acknowledged by Albania as well. The ways of doing things are not completely the same in each country. We have a similar predicament with the North Korean party; we also have our differences.

Currently, the Soviet revisionists have a tendency that we need to pay attention to. They emphasize on joint action, such as left-wing alliances and slogans like unity with all anti-imperialist powers. Their aim is (to promote) the parliamentary path. The (Soviets') parliamentary path failed in Chile. They won't drop this idea; but want to promote Chile's parliamentary road model in Italy, Spain, Peru, and Argentina: unite with six or seven parties, win the majority of votes in parliament and put another Allende in power. It's difficult to succeed. Even if it works, the result will be fascism. The Italian (communist) party has a pretty large membership, about 1.6 million. It's possible that several parties can unite to get seats in the parliament. If it is created, it will be Chile's type. However, there are many fascist organizations, such as the Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano), New Order (Ordine Nuovo), Black Order (Ordine Nero), Black Regime*, Democratic Pioneer*, Young Italy (Giovane Italia), Catholic Union*, Black Society*, Youth Front (Fronte della Gioventù), Mussolini Action Team* and so on. The weapons held by these parties could arm twenty-one thousand people. If the revisionists succeed (in the creation of a parliamentary system), will the fascist parties not make trouble for you? They definitely will. The parliamentary path won't work. The revolution must go step by step and be practical. The success of the Soviet October Revolution was due to Lenin and Stalin's leadership and took decades to succeed. Starting in 1921, the Chinese Revolution, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, took six years to conduct armed struggles and conduct guerilla warfare in the Jingang Mountains. Then we took another 28 [sic] years to engage in armed struggles; we didn't actually come into power until 1949. It was not easy. Of course, there is Cuba's influence (on the revolutions in other countries) to consider. (The type of revolution of) Cuba was neither like Moscow's, nor like China's. It was like Hu Chuankui in Shajiaibang only with a few people and a few weapons. It was largely by accident or military speculation. Several countries in Latin America were influenced by Cuba and built such guerrilla centers. Guevara with his dozens of people went to Bolivia; having no reason and no policy, they lost their life in the end. Guerrillas in Arabic countries often hijack aircrafts, which is unpopular and wrong. The revolution can't be done in this way. It won't work to alienate the people and the mass; it will ultimately fail. The revolution should be down to earth and rooted within the people, rooted deeply. Only then will the revolution succeed.
We should introduce our experiences to the fraternal parties and (tell them) that our party started with little strength.

On the issue of armed struggles, we should raise our opinions to the fraternal parties. We suggest (1) We must first encourage them. Our party was also not big thirty years ago. A single spark can start a prairie fire. Make them feel that they have potential. Tell them we succeeded only after more than 20 years (of struggles). Encourage them that if they do well, it probably won't take them so long. On the other hand, we should tell them that the path will be very long.

(2) Tell them that fighting is not a big issue. They can learn while they fight. Some always ask to send military cadres to come here to study. We should tell them there is no need to do so. On July 2, 1964, Chairman Mao, said to the leader of the Colombia (Communist) Party that we understood nothing about fighting in the beginning, but we were able to (learn how to fight) by engaging in fighting. It was Jiang Jieshi and the imperialists who taught us how to fight. They were our teachers in the reverse sense. What they taught us can't be learned from the Marxist-Leninist books. Our men couldn't even load a gun at that time. When they fired the first shot, they closed their eyes. When they fired the second shot, they didn't know where the bullet went. But they knew the direction by the third shot. (Fighting) can be learned. We should encourage them not to belittle themselves too much.

(3) Encourage them to choose the weakness of the enemy to attack, and avoid fighting against the powerful regular army. Reckless fighting won't work. They should focus their force on attacking the enemy from behind.

(4) Encourage them to combine other types of struggle with the armed struggle. Without other types of struggle, the armed struggle is isolated. It will ultimately fail.

(5) Tell them it is the people who decide the outcome of the war, rather than the weapon. They should focus on winning over the people, but should also pay attention to the weapon. Many Marxist-Leninist parties are going to carry out armed struggles, which depend on their conditions. The one whose conditions are most mature can carry out (armed struggle) first, and the one whose conditions are not mature can do it later. Armed struggle is the final form (of struggle), but not the basic form. If you launch the final form, armed struggle, from the beginning, it won't work. You need a preparation stage. Armed struggle must have peasants' participation. It won't succeed by only relying on several cities. We should make this point clear. These are the issues of the international communist movement.

These above points are what was talked about today.

There are several requirements: (1) what I said today are all issues of policy and strategy. Most of them have not been made public. So, take minutes for yourself, not for others. Losing the minutes is equivalent to disclosing it to our enemies. (2) After taking (the information) back, don't spread it around. Only you the leaders can know it. (3) More importantly, you must not post a big-character poster for the public to see. You should know the party's discipline.

[1] Bungeishunjū is a Japanese magazine.
[2] About "wukenaihe hua luo qu": In the China and Soviet Union's polemics, Mao Zedong used this quotation in his revision of the letter of 28 July 1964 to the Central Committee of the CPSU. See Jianguo Yilai Mao Zedong Wengao, vol 11 (Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe, 1992), p. 108. Mao meant China can't do anything to save the Soviet unavoidable failure. Geng Biao wanted to say the imperialists and revisionists' decline and failure were doomed, and nothing can be done to change.
This sentence means before upheavals there are signs foreshadowing them. Mao used it to describe the international situation on 29 July 1973, in his meeting with the President of People's Republic of the Congo Marien Ngouabi. Mao said: "Don't believe that the current world is peaceful. The situation now is 'the rising wind forebodes the coming storm' (shanyu yulai feng man lou). The storm has not come but the wind comes. And the wind is very strong!" See Mao Zedong Nianpu, (Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chuban She, 2013), vol 6, p. 489.

On 30 May 1974 in his meeting with physicist Tsung-Dao Lee, Mao said: "Let's talk about the situation of the world. How do you think about it? My opinion is chaos under heaven. The storm will come. It is impossible if there will be no war. Because the social systems are different. Even they have the same social system, there will be a war as well. Because they are imperialists." Mao Zedong Nianpu, vol 6, p. 538. In the talk with Lee, Mao further explained he believed a war would break out. Shanyu (storm or rain in the mountain) refers to the war. Geng Biao may wanted to say there would be a war among the imperialists and it would be the chance for revolution.

It may refer to China's northwest. Perhaps what Geng Biao wanted to say was the Soviet Central Asia, which borders China's northwest.

Mao Zedong used "huanghun shihou yanzi mang" in his meeting with the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago Eric Williams, on 6 November 1974. Mao said: "Now the earth is sick, so they talk about détente of the intensity, easing the international intensity and talk about peace. Now they are curing the earth. I'm suspicious of it. There are so many international conferences, and the US Secretary of State goes everywhere. It's quite strange! The swallows are busy in the dusk (huanghun shihou yanzi mang) They fly low, and it's going to rain!" Mao Zedong Nianpu, vol 6, p. 556. The low-flying swallows is a sign of rain, therefore probably Mao wanted to say that a busy US State of Secretary is a sign of international intensity, perhaps a sign of war. Mao often used the metaphor swallow referring to Henry Kissinger. On 17 February 1973, Mao talked to Kissinger: "You did a god job, flying everywhere. Are you a swallow or a pigeon?" Mao Zedong Nianpu, vol 6, p. 468. On 21 October 1975, Mao said to Kissinger: "You are very busy, and it seems you can't stop being busy. When the wind and rain are coming, the swallows are busy. Now the world is not peaceful, the wind and rain coming, so the swallow is busy. You may postpone the wind and rain but very difficult to stop it." Mao Zedong Nianpu, vol 6, p. 616.


It refers to The World Population Conference in 1974 in Bucharest.

It refers to The World Food Conference in 1974 in Rome.

The initial script was incorrect. It should be the Second Domestic Revolutionary War (Dierci Guonei Geming Zhanzheng), from 1927 to 1937. In this period, Mao wrote his three articles. The Third Domestic Revolutionary War (Disanci Guonei Geming Zhanzheng) was from 1945 to 1949.

These names with **cannot be found. They are translated verbatim from Chinese to English.