

March 6, 1975

**Speech by Comrade Geng Biao of the CCP CC
International Liaison Department at the Symposium
on National Tourism Work**

Citation:

"Speech by Comrade Geng Biao of the CCP CC International Liaison Department at the Symposium on National Tourism Work", March 6, 1975, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Contributed by Sergey Radchenko and transcribed and translated by Zhou Yi. Published in CWIHP Working Paper #93, 'Less Revolution, More Realpolitik: China's Foreign Policy in the Early and Middle 1970s,' by Zhou Yi (February 2020).
<https://wilson-center.drivingcreative.com/document/208530>

Summary:

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

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from Henry Luce Foundation

Original Language:

Chinese

Contents:

Original Scan
Transcript - Chinese
Translation - English

no 75 10

· 绝密 · 旅材 5

中共中央联络部长耿飚同志

在全国旅游工作会议上的讲话

(记录稿)

一九七五年四月二十日

·绝密· 旅村上

中共中联部部长耿飚同志

在全国旅游工作座谈会上讲话

(记录稿)

一九七九年四月

讲的问题：一、国际形势；二、国际

共运问题。

一、国际形势

讲几个关键性的问题。

(一)时代问题。要研究国际形势，

15 × 10 = 150

天从时代谈起。在《奇大政治报告》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立场，否则就会偏向或错误。列宁逝世后，虽然国际形势发生很大变化，但时代的革命特征没有变，也没有过时。列宁对帝国主义的革命和特征的分析，帝国主义之间的矛盾和在其它各种革命力量的分析，无产阶级革命的战略和战略分析，现在仍然是正确的。这个时代的革命特征，也是我们的革命道路

15 × 10 = 150

争论的根本问题。苏修否认列宁主义的基本原理。

我们认为苏修所谈到的基本化等，就是根据各

国具体情况，通过苏修所谈到的苏修所建立无产阶级

专政。各国具体情况，苏修所谈到的特殊不同，

战时也不同，但基本原理是一样的。苏修所谈

到的苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的

他们谈过时了。外国苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的

列宁主义过时了。苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的苏修所谈到的

时代弄清楚了。

(一) 国际形势的特点是天下大乱。苏修

15 × 10 = 150

什么地方呢？首先是精神文化，各种书籍都教他
起来。主要的经济危机发生在英国和美国。政
治上，经济危机必然带来主要的政治危机。
苏联是在战争期间，出生人口增加，经济增
长，物价上涨，而且很厉害。我们的社会中
心就没有这种痛苦。苏联经济开始停滞
时上滑，以后会越来越国际化。苏联在世界
的霸权在不断继续增长，还有苏联资源增加。没
有资源就印票，这就是加通货膨胀。过去
苏联经济是计划经济，现在却危

15 × 10 = 150

机，无法转动。时卖掉全部的钢及生铁的
 与铁屑也解决不了。引子说：“美联社发出
 原料越缺乏”。时他没有任何原料，但时
 台工发展速度较快，靠什么？靠别人的原料，
 靠别人的廉价石油，靠别人的各种畅销产品。
 我们靠这个，原料靠他，市场也靠他，
 所以物价稳定，不受经济危机的影响。时和作
 伯连来，申申吹申说时是经济大国，时伯说
 他经济不好。他到处吹他有180亿美元，但
 是经济不好，石油涨价，不到两年就完了，会

 $15 \times 10 = 150$

了。一、日本列岛的改造说，但明治以来未有改造。美国
 在尼加拉下台后，是认为同等的条件，
 田中解职，是否由于《文汇报》关于田中私人部
 分？这些私人条件，是常因经济上的原因
 部各种矛盾加以解决。只好接受，但接受
 后也解决不了问题。意大利在第一次世界大战后，
 总理推了三十之久，而的以事解决一半，甚至八
 个月才解决一半。还有卡里之解职，这种
 经济斗争不能反映到政治上来，经济斗争是政
 治斗争的一部分，政治上的斗争就是经济

15 × 10 = 150

后起之秀。意大利是资本主义世界第二大的国家

，一亿二千万人。帝国主义和资本主义

掠夺原料和市场，就引起帝国主义之间的矛盾。

美国强大，他们缺乏原料，他们需要进口

的原料有66种。美国要进口的东西比美国

国内生产，所以现在世界上到处打贸易战。帝国主义

之间和帝国主义之间都打贸易战。苏俄

更是如此。他们都在掠夺原料掠夺市场。所以，经常

说他们之间的矛盾是“无药可医的癌症”。

天下大乱是好事不是坏事，是乱了敌

人不是乱了人民自己。对革命人民是好事，
在乱的过程中锻炼了革命人民，毛主席描
绘革命形势说：“山雨欲来风满楼”，刘
宁也说过“帝国坟是无产阶级社会革命
的前夜”，所以对革命人民来说是形势
一片大好，天下大乱叫它乱去吧，越乱
越好。

(五)美帝和苏修是当代的国际最大
的剥削者和压迫者，是第二次世界大战策源
地。所以他们是第二次世界大战的策源

15 × 10 = 150

地？就是要打仗，只有他们两家打，
不是别人打，两霸打起来就是世界大战。
列宁说：帝国这一个特点就是几个大国
都争夺霸权，目前他们的争夺越
来越激烈，这个话有人要反对，说
美苏以勾结为主，这是不对的。我们应
该勾结是暂时的表现，斗争是长期
的根本的。如何取得帝国主义和社会
帝国主义斗争，这个话是列宁和考茨基
争论的一个问题。考茨基认为：帝国主义

15 × 10 = 150

发展起来帝国主义阶段，从帝国主义阶段
起来，就不会打仗了，也就是说形势缓和
了，列宁反对，认为帝国主义与资本主义
最高阶段，帝国主义之间矛盾是不可调和
的，只要存在帝国主义，就有战争危
险。所以，列宁必须用列宁的主张和
现实去观察，帝国主义存在，而霸权在一起
必然要斗争，这种斗争必然是从渐变
到突变，正如磨破衣服一样，衣服
破了要缝了那个突变，但在破以前早

15 × 10 = 150

就磨破了那是渐变，非矛盾论引起
仗来那一天就是突变，政治不能解决问题了，就诉诸武力，毛主席说：“战争是政治的继续。”矛盾到激化一定程度，必然导致战争，使用武力，好比两个人有意见先闷在心里谁也不讲，后来公开化就骂起来，骂不行就动手打架，两个人就发展打群架，由用手打球用石头、木棒，发展到武器，原子弹，这就是蒋介石大战，一家打败了

15 × 10 = 150

再组织新的大战，帝国主义存在大战不是
打一次就完了，第一次、第二次、第三次，
帝国主义不打倒总是有战争的。

(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可以
变换的，而且可以变换很多，但骨子里总是
以战争为主的，他们的战争不是在一个地方
可以举行，而且在全世界各地都可以举行，到
处都在^争争，外事部门要指定一个同志把考
考消息资料仔细地要一考，把问题积累

15 × 10 = 150

起来第2类，就会写的很清楚，当然不一定
那么正确，甚至还有谣言，所以去粗取
精，举个例子，美苏两霸高级会谈三年
搞了四次。第一次，1972年尼克松到莫斯科
，会谈后尼克松跑到波兰访问，基辛
格到西德访问，干什么？无非
是互相挖墙角，波兰是基辛格的走狗，西
德是美国的小伙伴。第二次会谈勃列日涅
夫访美，谈不久，发生了中东事
件。一打苏准备出兵，美见苏要出兵就

15 × 10 = 150

下命令三军戒备，双方剑拔弩张的形势，
到了要打的样子，搞得很紧，还有什么缓和。
第三次会谈又是后克伦贝莫斯科，
谈判不到两个星期，发生了塞浦路斯事
件。苏修两派三刀从中挑拨是那，想混
水摸鱼钻进去，首先挑拨土耳其，以后
又反捧希腊，搞两派派。土耳其和苏联
有百年世仇，现在塞浦路斯事件还没完，
两家谁都想弄来自己手里。塞浦路斯是
地中海不沉的航空母舰，地中海战略

15 × 10 = 150

地位很重要，在英伊士运河附近，靠近以色列，是战略要地。第四次会谈是福特上台后到海考威，会谈前双方都在扩军，苏联叫喊扩军，美帝国说也要增加军备，要更新装备，在飞机上装备发射洲际弹，拼命制造这种飞机，双方都想争优势，名义上达成十年发展核协议，规定你苏联可以制造多少，我美国可以制造多少，这叫叫作协议呀！实际上你想多搞一点，我也想多搞一点，双方都要扩充核优

15 × 10 = 150

势，根本谈不上什么限制，美国说这次谈
话不好，让苏联占了优势了，美国吃亏了，
美内部分两派，基辛格一派主张同苏
搞缓和，国防部长施莱辛格另一派主张
加强实力，把装备搞好，保持海陆空优
势，对付苏联，现在看来施莱辛格似乎
占点优势，美苏争夺的重点在欧洲，包括
中东和地中海，它是欧洲的侧翼，不能要
成两回事，谁想争霸非占欧洲不可，我
们说苏声东击西，把他真东西揭示来，

15 × 10 = 150

把他骨子里阴谋揭露。要论要矛盾，
如果苏现象就错了就像我们站在地球上
看太阳一样，像是太阳围绕地球转，实际
是地球围绕太阳转，这才是实质，因此
苏联在中苏边境有100万军队，但才占
苏军队的四分之一，四分之三在欧洲方面，而
且在欧洲的这100万军队装备并不好，最
好的装备在欧洲。从交通看欧洲是最方
便，而北也不足富余地位，他们这边只有一
条铁路，打起仗来粮食都不行，所以

15 × 10 = 150

不能表现以上摆出要打我们的样子，苏修
天天骂我们很凶，实际上背地搞鬼，骂我
们让美国骂，要美国人相信，打仗是要打中
国，并不按你们那个西方，但美国不是这个
当，这是帝国主义的利益所决定的。取世比
较富、油水多，中国油水也不少，但这块
骨头很硬，啃不动。越南3000万人口，
物质条件并不富余。美国拿了50万军队，还
打不了。中国八亿人口，又经过25年的社
会主义建设没能抵抗多少军队，我们有军队，

15 × 10 = 150

还有民气，主席提倡一不怕苦，二不怕死，
敌人来了我们不怕，一百万条心，仔细
研究一百万军队摆在那里首先对付美国，
其次日本，也是对付中国的，主要是两霸在
争权，虽然如此，我们对英不能放松警惕，
要严格执行毛主席“深挖洞，广积粮，不称
霸”的指示。我们对付英修也是对付美帝的，
城乡都在挖，还在继续。英修极恨问我们
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

15 × 10 = 150

付高修也是对付你们的，你们一起来，我们
都对付，我们深挖洞不是进攻，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。高修造谣说我们
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，
斗出个伟大事业出来。西方有些国家，特别

15 × 10 = 150

是欧州把苏联这股祸水引到中国来，但
推不动，毛主席，周总理和中央其它领导
同志和欧州人讲，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，现在也逐渐信了，他们和平观念很
重，国防力量靠美国，所以我们需和他
们讲这个事呢？苏修到处喊和平，缓和，
美国讲一代人的和平。把真实东西掩盖
起来，这是搞阴谋，是^{鬼话}不要相信。刘
宁讲过：“在市場上谁叫得最凶，发誓的

15 × 10 = 150

最厉害，往往把最坏的东西推销给别人”。

喊和平就是害于坏事，不要相信他们的

话，要有清醒的头脑。世界大战我要要

打，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成一

两年打起来，三国演义上诸葛亮一称就

知道，那是胡说八道，诸葛亮之季节，

要形势，仗是要打的打起来没有什么

可怕，没有什么了不起。第一次世界大战

打击了英联，第二次世界大战打击了

15 x 10 = 150

东欧那么多国家那时叫社会主义，现在
是修了，我们中国也是第二次世界大战后
不久吗。如果第三次大战一打，就比
正常情况下的战争引起革命，会出现更多的
社会主义国家。要打谁和谁打，只有美
苏两家打，两家谁先动手，要起来苏联先
动手的可能性大，美国霸占那么多地方，
到处有弱国，苏侵占地方少，想多霸占先动
手的可能性大一些，这是一般逻辑推理估计。
苏修也在讲美国要准备发动战争，他们到

15 × 10 = 150

处军事基地，干什么？苏联在地中海在印度洋都在搞，美国国会去年通过了30—40亿美元作为加强海军基地的建设，将汽车公司改为制造坦克。在欧洲去年中加—9枚，今年又中加两个核，在印度搞军事基地接收英属军事基地。美国以基辛格苏联葛罗米柯讨论，像德黑兰的蚂蚁一样，基辛格在台北，在中东，基辛格讨论了中东接着又去。葛罗米柯要去中东，首先赶到他前以在埃及，基也访埃，以后又跑到西贡，

15 × 10 = 150

葛还跑到^他的民宅里去，为什么叫他说，
毛主席说：黄哲时候燕子忙吗！战争所
以认为世界大战打起来：就打核战争，
就要毁灭人类，那吓唬人。过去美帝
吓唬人吓唬很多，以后说没有可怕，
在大于上还不^能用核弹盖^地可以避气，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，打的时候
用两个原子弹一个在广岛，一个在长崎。
现在有原子弹叫原子弹，说它复杂，

15 × 10 = 150

打这一打常规战争，如果说打核战争
毁灭人类，我可不一意，可打核战争，也
可打常规战争。帝国主义发动战争占领
土地和人口，美苏之最后的剥削者和压迫
者，如果把人类拉掉了，他还剥削谁和
压迫谁呢？美国为什么不把原子弹丢到
东京，大阪地方去？！

(接下一页)

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
力、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，一次又一次地表明他第三世界的
反霸斗争为勇。第三世界反霸斗争决
迫比较早、比较急，人口是世界最
多的，自然是最少的，资源是世界最

15 × 10 = 150

丰富的。美苏两霸都要靠他的原料，
剥削第三世界，第三世界还要维护
民族独立。中美上海公报写了国家
要独立、民族要解放、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
很复杂的一台，多数国家领导权产
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。

15 × 10 = 150

这个趋势是必然的，他们反帝反霸
反霸是比较一致的。第二在界有两
重性：一方有欺负和剥削第三在
界国家的一面，有一些国家不同程
度不同形式的对帝三在界实行殖民
主义，另一方也不同程度受两霸的
控制威胁和欺负，与两霸有矛盾，
想摆脱控制、想独立。如日本和欧
洲一些国家。另一方又想摆脱美国
的控制，美国在亚洲有军队，也有

15 × 10 = 150

矛盾，美国说：军队驻在你那个地方，要负担军队费用，西欧说，要我们出钱不行，他说美国是“自由世界”的领袖，你为保护我们让我们出钱不行，与西欧有矛盾。列宁说：资产阶级想到的就是钱，在钱的问题上和我们有矛盾，美国有一股发脾气，我把军队统统撤回来，引起美国政府内部的矛盾。苏联与东欧也有矛盾，列宁要控制、剥削、压

15 × 10 = 150

迫，如果不听话，他就出告捣乱要，
就是领，如捷克被占领、蒙古被占
领，离心倾向在加强，东欧国家没
石油靠苏联进口，苏联石油涨价一
倍半卖给小修，东欧国家受不了就
靠西欧。有几个政治笑话，捷克胡
萨克跑到莫斯科做了一件大衣，因
为天冷要长一尺，又碍从头算到脚
跟很长，回时一到机场，他妻子
问他为什么这么短，随员告诉说，

$$15 \times 10 = 150$$

跪

在莫斯科男衣服是跑着男的，这是
个政治笑话，只有他的代表性。你
加利亚去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，
你自己个要掌握，我给你掌握。问
亚利有人去互相谈话，一个同志问上
那家门家最大，有的说是苏联，有

15 × 10 = 150

的说是美门，有的说是中门，他说
不对，只有自亚利最大，因为苏军
在20年前就开始从自亚利撤退，而
是到现在还没有出境，你看自亚利
有多大呀！这些笑话是有代表性的，
说明他们对苏修的控制，颇感很不
满意。现在两霸都是我们的主要敌
人，都是要打倒的对象，这一关不
能动摇，但我们有政策、方针，我
们的方针是，团结第三世界，争取

15 × 10 = 150

第二在界，反对美苏两霸，这是战
们的战略方针，我们说我们是第三
在界，并不是把我们降到民族主义
国家水平，是为了更方便工作，更
好地团结第三在界，目的是反对两
霸。只靠一个中国就能打倒两霸吗？
有的说：么个在界划分不合理，第一
在界划美苏。苏联划的太少了，应
该多划一美，如果这样，那就不是
孤立少数了，是打击一方了，这不

 $15 \times 10 = 150$

是马列主义观美。有的说把第一
左界如第一左界划在一起，第二左
界是社会主义国家，^个西^个国家中间如
阿比西尼亚，这也不对，那就是自
己孤立自己。有的说划成三大左界
是按经济上划分的，这种说法也不
对，没有搞阶级划分，穷朋友、富
朋友、左中右、压迫者、被压迫者
都裁有，有的只是资产阶级代理人。
不能公开讲，中间在第一左界是如

15 x 10 = 150

反对两霸重要，这是内部讲，不能公开讲，内部讲便于掌握便于我们做工作，有些门家是资产阶级代理人也不能讲，要反对两霸，就要争取团结百分之九十五。帝国主义是我们打倒的对象，资产阶级也是我们打倒的对象，但有先有后，吃饭要一口一口地吃，不能一碗饭一口全吃下去。要有秩序缓急，摆在前面的还是美苏两霸，两霸中集中

15 × 10 = 150

打出苏修。如敌人斗争要利用矛盾，
争取多数，孤立少数各个击破。列宁说：“战胜强大的敌人，要利用敌人的一切裂缝，那怕是很小的裂缝。”
实际上敌人是铁板一块，我们的工作要见缝插针，见缝扎棒就不能一气插进去，要根据各种情况，把敌人营垒内的一切裂痕收集起来，作为反对当前主要敌人用，美国有矛盾是客观存在的。美主动要与我

15 × 10 = 150

和作，尼克松来华，说明他既在中
国政策破产了并不是对美有什么
好感，因为他和苏修斗争中有矛盾
投其所好，想利用中苏矛盾，和中
国和作是把中国作为他手中的王牌
来压苏修。我们同意尼克松来华并
不是对美有什么好感，更不是想
从他那捞点东西。有这种想
法是错误的，我们不是依靠一个帝
国主义反对另一个帝国主义，更不

15 × 10 = 150

是想捞东西。而是利用矛盾打击苏
修，削弱美帝。美帝也利用我们和
苏修的矛盾，对付苏修，他们想利
用我们利用不上，我们所以利用他。
毛主席教导我们：“我们对外工作
要着眼于人民，依靠人民，^寄希望
于人民，而不是依靠这些当权派”。

有些人不理解我们不知智判断交，
为什么和西班牙建交，有些马列主
义政党和组织经常和我们说这些问

15 × 10 = 150

是，如果我们和他仍断交，他就要
和国民党建交。我们的代表团，就
他的别处就设法进去了，设法和他
们的人民接触，情况也不知道，甚
多指示以名^堂我们也不知道。有些
个别自称马列主义者对我们同西班牙
建交，也反对，~~我们~~^我们问他们是不
是西班牙与国民党建交要比我们建
交好，他说不是的，不是为什么反
对，他说不出理由。如果不如土可

15 × 10 = 150

其建交，我们的飞机就不能飞到阿
尔巴尼亚，去阿尔巴尼亚要经过伊
朗、土耳其、保加利亚、南斯拉夫、
罗马尼亚，才到阿尔巴尼亚。有些
人想问群众真以恨，有些事不能作
这不管人家，我们过去没有执政时，
对左界大事就不像今天了作认识得
那样清楚，比他以前了作认便美了。
有的左列党团组织对这一笑不大了
解。美国有个好莱坞制片厂，二十

15 x 10 = 150

多年别48部影片等我们中间如钱
 朱人，^板媒救主义，没有自由都是这
 个内容，现在松一松，回去一放电
 影，好莱坞影片就吃不开了。现
 在苏联每月等我们几十篇文章，
 报纸，广播加记录，平均每月有300
 多次，说我们贩卖毒品影片每年赠
 150亿美元，我们全月一年贸易总额
 还不到100亿美元。完全逆差！秦口
 缅甸交界的地方是蒋匪帮搞的，在

15 × 10 = 150

修美毒的根，到处骂我们，有些人
受影响是因为天天都是听他的。美
帝、苏修的一些经济情况讲得不多，
大家看参考消息可以知道，有人问
苏修受不受经济危机的影响，苏联
是社会主义，同样受经济危机
的影响。去年公布粮食产量超过1900
万吨，若按24000万人口计算，每人
平均800多公斤，数量很大，吃不完。

他的粮食总产量粮食呢？达3000万吨粮食。

平均每人250公斤，这说明粮食粮食解决了，

所以冒的粮食，他没有在农业上投资，是种

粮食，然后才是农业、轻工业。我们是农业

重。他的粮食计划法不对，粮食亩产3150。

我们是去掉沙土、泥巴，晒干才入锅，苏联

是按收获机收的那个粮食量，这个粮食

晒晒，里边有沙土有泥巴，有30-35%的

水份，按这样把这部分除掉，他的粮食

产量在12000万吨。他的粮食产量13500

$$15 \times 10 = 150$$

万吨。我就相信，离他没那么远，是中东。
而人口，这是可测用的。如果因文化
不同，石油为什么加作那150。石油增产
这是不可测定的，但现在有了，带来很大
不利因素，苏联小国就向西方靠拢了，
小国对苏联的也是友好的，故而对苏也
不满，离他倾向严重，这是由于没办法
才友好的。开一系列的经合会议、经济
合作、经济一体化，过去根本没给，现
在也没办法了。

15 × 10 = 150

二、国际共运和兄弟党的关系

当前，国际共运形势很好，马列主义广泛传播，修正派受到深刻地批判，以苏修为代表的修正派集团之间矛盾重重，纷纷瓦解，各国的马列主义党和组织不断发展壮大，他们在国际、国内的斗争中，特别是在反修斗争中，受到很大的锻炼和考验。对我们来说也比较好了，他们正在学会把马列主义普遍真理同本国革命实践相结合，不断总结检验，初步形成一条正确的马列主义道路。

15 × 10 = 150

二、国际共产主义运动的发展

线。总的来说，各国马列政变党和组织的能力还是比较弱的，但他们有广阔的前景，这是革命事业的希望所在。毛经常说：“量变引起质变”。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。总是从弱到强，从小到大，从弱到强，发展起来的。当然，有的马列政变党和组织发展较快，亚洲的缅甸共产党发展就很快，他们1968年开始建立根据地，打游击，现在有两万平方

15 × 10 = 150

里而然，人口超过千万，除了五个县的地方
政府，还有地方武装和正规军。最近打了一仗，
消灭秦道军两个营，打死敌人师部副师
长。柬埔寨打的也很好，敌人号称二十万，
实际能打战的七八万人，解放军力量超
过了敌人。仗打的很厉害，现在逼得他们
逃到越南，美敌也害怕。最近又容易做叶东
机场，切断湄公河。敌人对他们搞了三次围
剿，没有扫掉他们，相反还发展了。还有马来
西亚、菲律宾、泰国，马列主义他们都在发展。

1940年，Y.P. 曾与苏共合作，曾与苏共合作

特别是拉美，发展的很好。苏的形势是好的。

当前，国际共运的危险仍然是修正

主义。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

是可怕的修正主义。要打仗又没有办法，

勉强得很，可怕的很。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。修正主义的条件很大，到处都有。

15 × 10 = 150

一停，但不可再减了。也就是说我们同
 案停的斗争还有八中停。案停也和普和作
 的长期斗争下去，说我们和最反动的帝国主义
 搞在一起，破坏社会主义阵营，反同我们做
 平调和的斗争，那就好斗吧！在反帝斗争
 中，首先是集中力量打击案停。对停的政
 治态度深刻批判，反复批。目前，反帝
 斗争需要案停打着社会主义招牌，对苏联
 搞侵略。利用小停和案停的矛盾，瓦解
 他们，孤立案停。对案搞宣传，走向新界限

15 × 10 = 150

这就是你们的方针。你们对此，非常恼火，
 你们骂你们的文章，平定在发表，有的可
 是在发表、提。像你们那里发表，目的是
 想把你们引到和平的矛盾上。你们平
 定的事，你们可对我讲的人，对我讲。
 如果按你们，就把你们的头放在一边，
 他就轻松了。按你们，也就你们，
 平定力量。你们在平定整天骂你们
 ，为什么平定他一下呢？平定得，他无时
 一平定的，你们是无然的，平定他，他

奉命开的。从73年起，开始是¹反对派的，

反对派。搞了=4次，也没开成。后来又想，后

开，欧洲一开，亚洲一开，也没搞成，~~在~~

欧洲地区，~~搞~~开了三次，也没开成，小开也反

对开。即使开起来也没什么了不起的，~~已~~就是

搞苏联的反对派。开也是搞代的一通，开

也是搞代的一通，在~~是~~真的马列主义~~不~~能算

例的。搞~~是~~搞代的一通，~~开~~开~~是~~越~~是~~越

发展。列来在在时，也是~~是~~越~~是~~越

发展。

我们很快支持世界马列主义和社会主义，支持
 人民的斗争。毛主席教导我们：外交服从革命，不
 是革命服从外交。利用敌人矛盾，争取多数，打
 击少数敌人。在同时期和某些国家达成某些
 协议，但我们的外交对这些国家的马列主义
 和社会主义斗争服从我们的外交。中央领导同志讲
 为利用矛盾。为着我们国家外交策略是放在人
 身上，我们的用意是搞平衡，我们就要欢迎他
 ，但是他也欢迎我们搞平衡了。又如法国是
 这个帝国主义国家，因为和外交关系，我们

15 x 10 = 150

就要欢迎，但是法国的马列政党也和我们
一起欢迎，那高塔占30。我们不要对他们
和我们的一样，要按照他们自己的情况，按马
列党的基本原理同本国具体情况相结合
来对内的政策，这也是一回事，党的问题，
是党的问题，不是宗教的问题。我们与
缅甸有外交关系，李温斗我们还得欢迎，他
缅甸共产党 反对战争，我们坚决支持，他
也不能用我们支持缅甸，我们赞同缅甸
政府。除那地我们提出来与我们断交，我

15 × 10 = 150

们也只好断。这是双方的吗?! 现在他们
 的情况我们暂时知道一点。他们并不要求
 党服从他们的斗争策略和战术。对他们也
 要防止大国沙文主义，对共产党要警惕。大意
 、小意一律平等。独立自主，互相尊重，平等
 互利，内部平等。这是我们的原则。我们总是以他
 国之心，全国各族人民依靠全国人民自己。
 我们经常要求他们，也经常同共产党谈，
 要警惕马列的普遍真理与本国具体情
 况相结合。全国马列主义的方针。

15 × 10 = 150

军队，中战前能用马列政策来结合中国

解放情况来制定。你马列政策因的不确。

他对人最情况不好，而去指挥人最是明常

会之的。这是你只是指挥作你，作你

没有听他的。外周是通过内周起作用的时候！

你指挥人最，就证明人最不好啊！作你真是

结过去这方子的教训，吃过去。过去搬是联

的东西，本是好不好，都搬过来，搬来就

吃过去啊。

关于他们在前进道路上发生这样那样

15 × 10 = 150

的问题，我们不妨收他的通过苏维埃，
 总结俄国经验，一定会得出正确的结论。我们
 的反对派和他们的总结经验。马恩及时总结
 巴黎公社失败的经验，列宁总结 1909 年的经
 验为什么没有成功。他经常从第三次国内革命
 战争时期总结井冈山斗争的经验，所以《红色
 政权为什么能够存在》、《星星之火，可以燎
 原》，总结及时总结张伯伦前江西那儿的根
 据地为什么能够坚持呀！《中国革命战争和军
 略问题》。我们反对马恩等不总结俄国经验，

15 × 10 = 150

要团结一次，就前进一步，不断团结，不断前进。
 我们支持兄弟党，政治上的支持是设的，经济上的援
 助是次要的。同兄弟党合作我们主张和平解决
 关系。这个党一部分主张和平解决，一部分主张战争。
 我们不同意这个，没有什么好处。有的人主张
 和平，就是要修主张和平，美其名曰
 和平，实际上搞战争，共同制定国际政策，共
 同制定^动国际纲领，和平解决！国际情况不同，有
 共同的国际纲领？国际关系以和平自由，
 也不强加于人。希望马列主义党和平解决。

15 × 10 = 150

他正在主持'世界'，又要开会，让人家，开平
 好好，拍不好，叫人必须住要杂伙。我们党
 开"九大"、"二大"都没有让领导党斗参加，
 是开党开会我们也不去，我们开会，主要是解决纪
 律的问题，我们作为报告，人家开同乡会怎么办？
 人家请我们去参加，我们开会的东西，开得不
 说，一谈话就开同乡会人家的，就倾架，人家是
 主人，我们是客人，说人家那里倾架也不好。
 经常决定，我们开不好也治办。还有些国家说
 听马列说党和他信，如袁大刚全种革命组

15 × 10 = 150

59

他和团体斗争，自称马列主义的就有十六、
 七个，他是真、假马列主义？现在讲到面对
 这种情况，我们采取普遍接触，在普遍接
 触的基础上互相帮助，在接触的过程中使
 其他团体团结起来。否则，他们都自称马列
 主义，若夫天下第一，互相打内战，都称唯
 我正确，别人都是马列主义，唯独他是马列
 主义，别人都是错误的，把敌人放在一边。
 昨天是如此，今天国家是如此，我们反对他
 们求同存异，互相尊重，主要是尊重中国的

 $15 \times 10 = 150$

这给前~~面~~纸，又揭~~露~~细信，能互相写，
 写的表~~明~~了，也~~是~~为~~比~~前的表~~明~~了。这~~样~~的方
 法~~不~~能~~解~~决问题，只有~~果~~敢，要~~谈~~清楚这
 个道理。比利~~时~~过去两个党，你们~~都~~接触过，
 去年~~台~~并起来，这~~样~~好。巴西、~~马~~里~~尼~~加~~西~~党
 现在也~~都~~台~~并~~了，都~~好~~办~~法~~！
 去年过去跟~~着~~家~~伙~~讲过你们的党，~~只~~要
 承认错误，要~~改~~前~~非~~，要和~~我们~~来往，还是
 可以~~改~~党。如西班牙党的卡~~利~~略，过去学
 过~~我们~~的，后来表示~~承~~认错误，要和~~我们~~接触。

15 × 10 = 150

我们欢迎。中共让我们和他说话，指出我们
和他有分歧。现在还有分歧，在什么地方，你
要改变，不要改变。但是，并不是说错了，而
是表示发展关系，还要看今后实际表现，而
不是只看他的表示。四年前，他在中国时并
没有什么改变，我们就不理他。他去朝鲜有
十万人欢迎他，他受我们邀请，我们不理
他。过去我们又不认识，没有来往，就
没有接触的基础。看一个党和组织是不是真
正的马列主义的，真的标准，看他是否把马

15 × 10 = 150

列强的普遍原理与本国具体实践相结合，还
要取得本国人民是否承认，本国认为外国承认，
你就算是马列主义的。有人认为改组与建中国，阿
尔巴尼亚承认，就是马列主义的党，我们告诉
他，那不行，那不行。如过去日本共产党问题
原也是经过培养的，四五年变修了，我们也就
不承认他了。比利时共产党变了，也不承认。
阿尔巴尼亚也不承认了。阿尔巴尼亚承认的，
我们不一定就承认。有一些党我们承认
了，阿尔巴尼亚也不承认。国家与国家的关系

15 x 10 = 150

平定一峰，我们同朝鲜军也有类似的

情况，也有平定一样的地方。

改定是停而一向值得注意，强调指

难训练的，他在翼联盟，他以因循一方以常

力量。它，1000是会议道路。它智训指

议会道路失败，他平定心，改定是大别，西

班牙、拉美杯喜，阿根廷这些地方都是

和平一样的议会道路，把六七个党派

也一起，在议会中选出多数代表，给个阿

道德表示。我们平定心，就快拍起来，带带

15 × 10 = 150

的结果也是法西斯的。意大利党人数相当
 多，有一百二十万人，这个党除在意大利
 南部组织抵抗，如果搞成了，是智利费福。
 但还有很多法西斯组织，名称很多，如“意大
 利社会主义”、“新秩序”、“黑色秩序”、“黑
 色秩序”、“法西斯”、“法西斯意大利”、“大
 意大利同盟党”、“黑色社会主义”、“法西斯主义”，
 “意大利社会主义”等，靠现在这些组织
 的武器可以训练两万人，如果他们
 搞成了，那么这些法西斯党可以搞

 $15 \times 10 = 150$

的，常有很大偶然性，叫¹⁰¹是轻投机。拉美
 国家容易受他的影响，¹⁰¹投机游来¹⁰¹中，格
 拉格带着几个人跑到玻利维亚，也不冲
 什么道理，¹⁰¹投机政策，结果头也¹⁰¹。格拉伯
 国家的¹⁰¹投机，经常劫持飞机，平得人心，
 那¹⁰¹，革命不¹⁰¹这样投，¹⁰¹，¹⁰¹，¹⁰¹
 品，¹⁰¹。¹⁰¹。革命¹⁰¹。
 实¹⁰¹，¹⁰¹。¹⁰¹。
 投¹⁰¹。
 我们¹⁰¹。

15 × 10 = 150

很小。

关于训练时间，我们对此经常提意见。

建议：①首先要鼓励他们，我们觉

得十年前也不比，现在大，可以知足。使他

们感到有发展前途。告诉他们，我们

练过二十年才练成的，鼓励他们，如果持

续如，可能达到那样的时间。另一方面，

也要告诉他们，训练也是很长的；

②告诉他们，打球没有什么了不起

的，可以打也学。有的队员是服输到

15 × 10 = 150

学习，又告诉他们，用不着。毛泽东在1964年
 7月20日同委内瑞拉共产党的领导人谈话说：打
 仗是学我们一点经验，但打起斗争来，我们
 的打仗的经验是蒋介石、美国教。他们是作
 他的反革命，他的所教的在学列强本书上
 是反动的。我们的人当时连子弹都不会装，
 连第一枪时，把眼闭上，第二枪连子弹都
 打不出去，第三枪连子弹都打不出去。是毛泽东教的，
 鼓励他们不要把自己弄得太轻。

③ 鼓励他们选择敌人的弱点打，

15 × 10 = 150

弱和不能靠强大的敌人援助，硬拼

的办法是可行的，又说明敌人的弱点，主力的

办法是打。

④ 然而他们的战略战术斗争时又结合

别的形式斗争。没有的别的形式斗争

配合，战略战术斗争，最后也失败。

⑤ 告诉他们，决定战争胜负的人，而

是武器，又注意掌握人，但也注意到

武器。我们马列主义都要进行斗争，

不能靠人，要明成文的战略，要成文的

15 × 10 = 150

持。认为战争是最高形式，但不认为是唯一的

形式。开始就认为是最高形式，认为战争是不

成的，没有准备阶段。认为战争没有阶段，

加，认为战争是，认为战争是。这是

国人民关心的问题。

所以是主要的问题。

有以下几点：①今天战争的形式，都是带有

战略性的问题，大部分是没有战争的，所以

认为战争是，只有少数人，所以战争

战争是敌人。②战争是战争，所以

15 × 10 = 150

领导案例 3. ③ 是核子开始大¹攻击。

24 是 10 的 2 倍。

$$15 \times 10 = 150$$

[封面页]
机（75）10
·绝密·旅材5

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

[正文]

·绝密·旅材5

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）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。看形势首先要有一个正确的立场，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论，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。各国具体情况不同，革命阶段和特点不同，战略上也不同，但基本原理是一样的。现代修正主义的头子苏修不承认现在是列宁所说的时代，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。主要表现是生产下降，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，但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，不到两年就完了，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？这些是不是私人事件，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，总理换了二十六个人，有的几乎不到一年，甚至八个月就换一次。还有一个罢工潮流，这种经济斗争必然的反映到政治上来，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。帝国主义和资本家要掠夺原料和市场，就到处引起反对，不要以为美国是很强大，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。他们都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”。

[illegible]

地人夺帝基，之用必早，致，器是源别争主待茨了义须争前了导来武不策是想为看考仗主必斗以题然起到战的不都结何。打国势种破回必骂展大。战，国勾如题会帝形这在决，就发在的，大打大以。回不，看，但解度化，存争界家个苏的一个就段，争，不程开棒义战世两几美本一个，阶以斗变治定公本主有的们是说根的来高所要突政一来、国是新他就，的论起最。然是，化后头帝总是有点到期争结义险必那变激，石，倒者，只特不长基勾主危起了突到讲用战打，个看是茨义本的一见是盾不到大不迫仗一人夺考主资争在看就矛也打的义压打义些争和国是战弄了天。”谁手新主和要主有，宁帝义有霸破一天。”里用织国者是国题的列个主就两服那续心由组帝削就帝回面是几国，衣来继在，再，剥？：个表题，帝义在，仗的闷架了次的地说这的问段为主存样起治先群败三的大源宁，时个阶认国义一打政见打打第最策列烈暂这义，帝主服义是意展家、际的。激是，主对在国内衣主争有发一次国战战越结夺国反存帝破国战人就，二的大大来勾争帝宁要，磨帝”个人战第代界界越法的超列只察如了：两个大、当世世夺看义到，观正到说比两界次是的是争的主展了的去，席好，世一修新就的们国发和合点变变主，架是第苏是来们我帝义缓调观突渐毛力打就：和们起他。会主势可和到是，武手这了帝他打前的社国形不场变那力用动，完美么霸目对和帝说是立渐了武使就弹就什两，不义：是盾的从破诸，行子次）三为，权是主为就矛宁是磨诉争不原一（。打霸这国认也间列然就就战骂，打

可一，会狗东，谈鱼仇的。国种少点了莱施侧揭地固面最，以上但
是在定楚级，走中势，摸世沉地帝这多一占施来的西在，方是所骂不，
样是指清高访问，了形科水年不要美制造搞联长看洲东站质，方是所骂不，
花不要很霸访的，苏发张莫想有中欧军命以想让防现是他我是，在欧
的部门的两波，是，弩到，联地是扩拼可也，国，它把像才，三在欧
争的事会美到是，波不剑克是和色列叫弹苏，联，不好，苏，联，就这，
主义们外就，跑波不剑克是和色列叫弹苏，联，不好，苏，联，就这，
主他，子松，波不剑克是和色列叫弹苏，联，不好，苏，联，就这，
国，奇类例，[sic]，谈，双是挑耳浦以苏际定一谈搞对地东就错转，
帝的争分个尼，谈，又中土塞近，洲规搞次苏，和声象太，一，四，
展为主在分举后，角谈备谈从，。靠军射，多这同势东苏现围绕，
发为都来，谈墙去戒会刀派里近扩发定想说张优中说看围，
速争到处起精，会挖国年次二面手附在备协你国主空括们果球，
迅以，积粗科，互到令第两搞自运方上展核，美一派陆包，我如地，
也是到题去，莫是非天命。修，到士双机发实际格保持洲可质，是，
也总看问以，非涅下和苏腊弄伊前飞年！限辛保欧不本实，苏，
形势里以把，可无日就缓。希想苏谈在十呀么基，在洲看，占苏，
形骨都可，尼克？列兵么件持都在会，成定什，好点欧要转，才，
命骨都看，言尼，么勃出什事支谁，，备达协上派搞重占题球，但，
革但地一，谣尼，什谈要有斯又家要威装上么不两备的非问地，
长多界地还，1972年，千会苏还路后两重参新义什谈分装夺霸看，
增很世细至1972年，次见，浦以，很海更名叫本部把争，
速换在仔，甚次访第，很了其没地后，势，这，根内，苏想露阳，
迅变且料，一德。兵的生耳还略台备优少势，实，美力美谁揭太，
在以而资，确第西伙出搞发土件战上军夺多优了强势事阴像，
素可，息正。去同备，，拨，海特加争造核亏加优回里，境，
因且到消么次柯的，准子期挑斯中福增想制张吃张点两子样边的，
的而看考那四米国苏样星先路地时要都以扩国主占成骨一苏洲也，
战，以参定了罗美打的一个首浦，谈他方可要美派乎看他阳中亚北面看，
的，可把一搞葛是一打两，塞舰会说双国都，一似能把太在在西表国，
四变地同然三修西件了不进现空四义机我双势格辛，来上苏而便能让个，
(以个个当谈苏。事到判钻，航第主飞，，优辛莱翼出球然，方不们这这队们算

，主要是两霸在争夺，虽然如此，我们对苏不能放松警惕，要严格执行毛主席“深挖洞，广积粮，不称霸”的指示。我们对付苏修也是对付美帝的，城乡都在挖，还在继续。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，我们说是对付苏修的，也是对付你们的，你们一起来，我们都对付，我挖你们的深挖洞不是进攻的，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。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，大的主席，周总理和中央其他领导同志也和欧洲人讲，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，为什么要和他们讲这个事呢？苏修到处喊和平，缓和，美国讲一代人的和平。把真实东西掩盖起来，这是搞阴谋，是鬼话不要相信。列宁讲过：“在市场和上谁叫得最凶，发誓的最厉害，往往把最坏的东西推销给别人。”喊和平就是要干坏事，不要相信他们的话，要有清醒的头脑。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，二国演义上诸葛亮一算就知道，那是胡说八道，借东风是季节，要看形势，仗是要打的打起来没有什么可怕，没有什么了不起。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那时叫社会主义，现在是修了，我们中国也是第二次世界大战后不久吗。如果第二次世界大战一打，就是毛主席所说的战争引起革命，会出现更多的社会主义国家。要打谁和谁打，只有苏美两家打，两家谁先动手，看起来苏联先动手的可能性大，美国霸占那么多地方，到处有弱点，苏侵占地方少，想多争霸占先动手可能性大一些，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？苏修在地中海在印度洋都在搞，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旅，今年又增加两个旅，在印度搞军事基地接收英国军事基地。美国的基辛格苏联葛罗米柯到处跑，像热锅的蚂蚁一样，基辛格的办公室在中东，基辛格又跑完了中东接着又去。葛罗米柯要去中东，首先赶到他前面去埃及，基辛格后又跑到日内瓦，葛罗米柯还跟到日内瓦去见他一面，为什么那么跑，毛主席说：黄昏时候燕子忙吗！资产阶级认为世界大战打起来，就是打核战争，就要毁灭人类，那是吓唬人。过去美帝吓唬人吓唬的很多，以后说没什么可怕，在大街上逛[sic]到用报纸盖上就可以避免，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，如果说打核战争毁灭人类，我看不一定，可能打核战争，也可能打常规战争。帝国主义发动战争占领土地和人口，美国苏是最高剥削者和压迫者，如果把人类搞掉了，他还剥削谁和压迫谁呢？美国为什么不把原子弹丢到东京，大阪地方去？！

（接下页）

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，促进第二世界的团结，一次一次的表明他第二世界的反霸斗争力量。第二世界受剥削压迫比较深、比较重，人口是世界最多的，面积是广的，资源是世界最丰富的。美苏两霸都要靠他的原料，剥削第三世界，第三世界还要维护民族独立。中美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的代理人，他们之间矛盾有矛盾，有团结的现象，但要看总的趋势。这个趋势是必然的。他们反帝的反霸反殖是比较一致的。第二世界有两重性：一方面有欺负和剥削第三世界国家的程度，一方面受一些国家威胁和欺负，与两霸有矛盾，想摆脱控制、想独立。如日本和欧洲一度受两霸的控制，另一个方面想摆脱美国控制，西欧说，我们要出钱不干，他说美国是“一军队驻在你那个地方，要负担军队费用，西欧说，我们要出钱不干，他说美国是“自由世界”的领袖，你为保护我们让我们出钱不干，与西欧有矛盾。列宁说：资产阶级想到的就是钱，在钱的问题上和我们有矛盾，美国有一段发脾气，我把军队统统撤回来，引起美国政府内部的矛盾。苏修与东欧也有矛盾，一个要控制、剥削、压迫，如果不听话，他就出兵搞颠覆、就占领，如捷克被占领、蒙古被占领，离心倾向在加强，东欧国家没石油靠苏修进口，苏修石油涨价一倍半卖给小修，东欧国

[illegible]

，离心倾向严重，这是由于没办法才涨价的。开一系列的经济会议、经济合作、经济一体化，过去说不涨价，现在也没办法了。

二、国际共运和兄弟党关系

当前，国际共运形势很好，马列主义广泛传播，修正主义受到深刻地批判，以苏修头子为首的修正主义集团之间矛盾重重，分崩离析，各国的马列主义政党和组织不断发展和壮大，他们在国际斗争中，特别在反修斗争中，受到很大的锻炼和考验。找我们的经验，也比较多了，他们正在学会马列主义普遍真理，同本国革命实践相结合，不断总结经验，初步形成一条正确的马列主义路线。总的来看，各国马列主义政党和组织的力量还是比较小的，但他们有广阔的前途，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。总是从无到有，从小到大，从弱到强，发展起来的。当然，有的马列主义政党和组织发展较快，亚洲的缅甸党发展就很快，他们1968年开始建立根据地，打游击，现在有两万多平方公里，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，消灭奈温军队两个营，打死敌人99师副师长。柬埔寨打的也很好，敌人号称二十万，实际能打仗的七、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。特别是拉美发展的很好。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。我们称他是可恨的。修正主义头子苏修要打仗，又没有本事，勉强得很，可恨得很。我们同苏修的原则斗争是要斗到底的。毛主席说，好，再减一千年，但斗下去，万年，柯西金来时，说得太长了。毛主席说，看你的面子，那就减一千年，但斗下去，再减了。也就是说的我们同苏修的斗争还有八千年。苏修也准备和我们长期斗下去，再说我们和最反动的帝国主义搞在一起，破坏社会主义阵营，要同我们做不调和的斗争，那就斗吧！在国际共运中，首先是集中力量打击苏修。对修正主义观点要深刻地批判，反复批。目前，要着重揭露苏修打着社会主义招牌，搞颠覆，搞侵略。要利用小修和苏修的矛盾，瓦解他们，孤立苏修。豺狼挡道，安问狐狸？这就是我们蒙的方捷。保等小修那里发表，目的是想把我们引到小修的修正主义头上，我们不在一边，当，我们就轻松了对准了苏修，也批了苏修，不分散力量。蒙古小修在旁边整天骂我们，他为什么整他一下呢？不值得，他无非是一条走狗，叫几声是必然的，不理他，他是奉命来整的。苏修从73年起想开黑会反对我们，反对人民。搞了二年多，也没开成。后来又想分片开，欧洲一片，亚洲一片，也没搞成，在欧洲地区筹备会开了三、四次，也没开成，小修也反对开。即使开起来也没什么了不起的，只能暴露苏修的反动本质。开也是骂我们一通，不开也是骂我们，世界上真正马列主义不会被骂倒的。蒋介石骂我们五十多年，我们越骂越发展。列宁在世时，也是被骂，也是越骂越发展。

我们坚决支持世界马列主义政党和组织的斗争，支持人民的斗争。毛主席教导我们：外交服从革命，不是革命服从外交。利用敌人矛盾，集中力量，打击主要敌人。在斗争时期和某些国家达成某些协议，但我们不要追求这些国家的马列主义政党和组织，不同时期和我们的外交。中央领导同志讲：为了利用矛盾，为我们通过外交落脚点落在人民身上，我们同尼克松来谈，我们就要欢迎他，但是他也欢迎那成问题的。又如法国总统蓬皮杜到中国来，因为外交关系，我们就要欢迎，但是法国的马列主义政党的情况，按马列主义的基本原理同本国的具体情况相结合，反对自己主要敌人，这不是一回事，党的问题是党的问题，政府是另外的问题。我们与缅甸有外交关系，奈温来我们，还得欢迎，但缅甸共产党搞武装斗争，我们坚决支持，但也不能因为支持缅甸共，我们就同缅甸政府断交。除非他们主动提出来与我们断交，我们只好断交。这是双方的吗？！起码他们的情况我们能多知道一点，我们并不要求兄弟党服从我们的斗争策略和政策。对我们自己要防止大国沙文主义，对兄弟党要坚持：大党、小党一律平等，独立自主，互相尊重，不干涉人家的内部事务的。

一步一步的走，要扎扎实实，苏联十月革命成功，是经过列宁、斯大林亲自领导，搞了几十年才成功的。中国革命在毛主席的领导下，从1921年起，花了六年时间搞武装斗争，上井冈山，打游击。又花了二十八[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：□
首先要鼓励他们，我们党二十年前也不大，星星之火，可以燎原，使他们感到有发展前途。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；

□
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。他们是我们的反面教员，他们所教的在马列主义书本上是学不到的。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。

□
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。

□
鼓励他们搞武装斗争时要结合别的形式斗争。没有的[sic]别的形式斗争配合，武装斗争就孤立了，最后也要失败。

□
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。开始就搞最高形式，搞武装斗争是不成的，要有个准备阶段。武装斗争必须有农民参加，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：□
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。□
拿回去不要到处传，你们领导掌握就行了。□
更不要公开贴大字报出去，要懂得党的纪律。

[Cover Page]

·Top Secret· Tourism Material 5

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

[Text]

·Top Secret· Tourism Material 5

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

□International situation

(I will) talk about several substantial issues.

(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 (wukennai he 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^[4]. 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 hegemon's 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 nationalistic 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. They say no. If that is not the reason, then why do you oppose us? They are unable to give a reason. Without the establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey, our planes would be unable to fly to Albania. One must pass through Iran, Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Romania, to finally reach Albania. Some people are very naïve when thinking about these issues. They don't understand some matters, but we don't blame them. In the past, when we were not in power, we didn't understand world affairs as clearly as we do today. Before the Long March, our understanding was even worse. Some Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations don't quite understand this point. There is a Hollywood Film Studio [sic] in America that produced 48 films within two decades that accused our China of being murderous, totalitarian, 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. The Soviet Union is social imperialist and is also 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) 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) 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) 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.^[10] 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. I. 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 Shajiang 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 "wukennaihe 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.

[3] 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 Chubanshe, 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.

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

[5] 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.

[6] The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was convened in 1973 in New York.

[7] It refers to The World Population Conference in 1974 in Bucharest.

[8] It refers to The World Food Conference in 1974 in Rome.

[9] 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.

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