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AN OUTSPOKEN REVELATION

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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“Lifting a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet” is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind.

Mao Tsetung

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APRIL 22 this year marks the centenary of the birth of Lenin, the great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. With a big fanfare, Brezhnev and the rest of the handful of renegades who have betrayed Leninism put on a show of "commemorating" Lenin, and on December 23, 1969 came out with the so-called Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. They resort to their usual humbug in the "Theses", mix Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism up with Leninism, and pass social-imperialism off as Leninism. To everyone's indignation, they openly take the nonsense about the five "social factors of force" which Otto Bauer, a leader of the Second International and an enemy of Marxism-Leninism, wrote in his

sinister book *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* and criminally attribute it to Lenin, committing a vicious forgery. Their shameless lies have gone beyond all bounds. This scandal has gone around the world. The following is a report by Hsinhua Correspondent on the incident and its background:

What kind of creature was this Otto Bauer? How and why does the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pass his words off as Lenin's?

It is quite well known that Otto Bauer was an Austrian scab. He was born in 1882 and died in 1938, the year in which the renegade Kautsky died. He was a notorious and typical representative of world opportunism, a chieftain of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, of the Second International and the Two-and-a-Half International. He was a sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism. One time member of parliament and foreign minister of Austria, he took an

active part in suppressing a number of uprisings by the Austrian workers and supported Hitler's pan-Germanism. Like the renegade Kautsky, he ground out pamphlets advocating peaceful transition and the parliamentary road. He did his utmost to oppose violent revolution by the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, ferociously attacking the Great October Socialist Revolution and Soviet power led by Lenin. Lenin aptly characterized Otto Bauer: **"This, the best of the social-traitors, is at most a learned and utterly hopeless fool."** (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 30, p. 327.)

Bauer's *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* was published in 1920. It absolutely opposed violent revolution and preached peaceful transition, saying that "the distribution of state power is determined by social factors of force". At the same time, it viciously attacked the Soviet state founded by Lenin as

“despotic socialism” and slandered the dictatorship of the proletariat as “violence against the social factors of force”. What are the “social factors of force” concocted by Bauer? They are: “First, the number of members of the class; second, the nature, strength and capability of its organization; third, its place in the process of production and distribution, which determines its economic means; fourth, the degree of its political interest, flexibility, activity and capacity for sacrifice; fifth, its educational level, the extent to which its ideas influence members of its own class and other classes and the attraction exerted by its ideology.”¹

As soon as this pamphlet came out, Lenin strongly denounced it at the Second Congress of the Communist International. In particular, he emphat-

¹Otto Bauer, *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?*, German ed., Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1920, p. 109.

ically refuted Bauer’s maligning the use of violence by the proletariat as “violence against the social factors of force” and his fallacy of the “social factors of force”. Lenin said: “It is an example of what Marxism has been reduced to, of the kind of banality and defence of the exploiters to which the most revolutionary theory *can* be reduced. A German variety of philistinism is required, and you get the ‘theory’ that the ‘social factors of force’ are: number; the degree of organization; the place held in the process of production and distribution; activity and education. If a rural agricultural labourer or an urban working man practises revolutionary violence against a landowner or a capitalist, that is no dictatorship of the proletariat, no violence against the exploiters and the oppressors of the people. Oh, no! This is ‘violence against the social factors of force’.” Lenin went on: “Perhaps my example

sounds something like a jest. However, such is the nature of present-day opportunism that its struggle against Bolshevism becomes a jest." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 201.)

Interestingly enough, in the 14th point of the "Theses" published in *Pravda*, Brezhnev and company shamelessly quote in full the paragraph containing Bauer's counter-revolutionary fallacy about the five "social factors of force" which Lenin had sharply denounced, and arbitrarily and glaringly attribute it to Lenin. Just look:

"In the draft plan for his report on the international situation and the main tasks of the Comintern, Lenin noted five 'social factors of strength' of the working class: 1) numbers, 2) organization, 3) place in the process of production and distribution, 4) activity, and 5) education. Since Lenin wrote this the size of the working class has sharply increased. It has become infinitely better organized and

politically active, and is better educated and better trained."

For Brezhnev and company to crudely attribute Otto Bauer's words to Lenin is most reactionary and indeed a "jest". But, this is neither surprising nor accidental. It is determined by the "nature of present-day opportunism". Their opposition to violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, their advocacy of peaceful transition and their exercise of a Hitlerite fascist dictatorship at home are in tune with and a continuation of Bauer's revisionist and social-imperialist ideas. Since they are out to oppose Leninism and take over the mantle of the old revisionists, and at the same time try to appropriate the radiant banner of Leninism, it is only natural for them to make monstrous fools of themselves.

In his criticism of Bauer's *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?*, Lenin described it as "a new book against Bolshevism"

and "a thoroughgoing Menshevik pamphlet". Lenin said: "We thank in advance the bourgeois and opportunist publishers who will publish it and translate it into various languages. Bauer's book will be a useful if peculiar supplement to the textbooks on communism. Take any paragraph, any argument in Otto Bauer's book and indicate the Menshevism in it, where the roots lie of views that lead up to the actions of the traitors to socialism, of the friends of Kerensky, Scheidemann, etc. — this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated. If you cannot answer this question, you are not yet a Communist, and should not join the Communist Party." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, pp. 200-01.)

Lenin put it very well, making an analysis of the roots of the philosophy

of the scab and renegade Otto Bauer is "useful". Its usefulness lies in that "this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated". Brezhnev and company not only completely approve of the Menshevism in Bauer's book but have gone so far as to quote as Lenin's words the revisionist nonsense in Bauer's book which Lenin characterized as expressing "the essence of the views of world opportunism". This should serve as the most telling proof that the handful of members of the Soviet revisionist leading clique are not in the least qualified to join the ranks of the Communist Party, are not Communists at all but out-and-out counter-revolutionary social-democrats, out-and-out renegades to Leninism and out-and-out obedient and filial descendants of Bauer and company! Just as Lenin said in ex-

posing the old scab Ramsay MacDonald, "**This is a revelation**" of "**rare outspokenness**". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 200.)

Now it is crystal clear to the people throughout the world that Brezhnev and company's so-called "observing the birth centenary of Lenin", "loyalty to Lenin's behests", "defending Marxism-Leninism" and so on, are nothing but lies. To put it bluntly, they are pushing "Bauerism" which is rotten to the core and the revisionism of the Second International! They are piously worshipping the "**example**" of their revisionist ancestors' perversion of Marxism as their holy bible! They are taking the trash of an active advocate of Hitler fascism as a "working class" source of "strength"! All this seems too ugly and vile. But it is written in black and white and not even an axe can lop it off!

No dirty deal is too low for Brezhnev and company, that gang of scoundrels. In an attempt to cover up this scandal which had become known to the world, they stealthily camouflaged what *Pravda* had published by deleting Lenin's name but retaining Bauer's ideas when the "Theses" were later reprinted in the journal *Kommunist*. This only adds scandal to the scandal. The more they try to hide it, the more they expose themselves as renegades to Leninism. Like Bauer, they are all enemies of the Soviet people; they are all anti-Soviet villains.

By hook or by crook Brezhnev and company usurp Lenin's name to peddle revisionist, social-imperialist trash. Their passing off of Bauer's words as Lenin's is by no means an individual or isolated incident. Tampering with, distorting, emasculating and fabricating statements by Lenin has become a disgusting habit with them. There are

many such instances in their "Theses". Readers can readily see this by merely comparing what is quoted from Lenin's statements in the "Theses" with the original.

The dishing up of the "Theses" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique shows how far Brezhnev and company have slid down the road of betrayal of Leninism and how despicably and shamelessly they have degenerated. The Soviet revisionists' "Theses" are, as Lenin said, a "**peculiar supplement to the textbooks on communism**", and indeed excellent teaching material by negative example since they lay bare the hypocrisy and reactionary nature of their so-called commemoration of Lenin. Yet Brezhnev and the rest of the handful of renegades have the impudence to laud these anti-Leninist "Theses", which stink of Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism, as an "important political and theoretical

document" which "profoundly expounds" the "organic integrity" of Marxism-Leninism. They raved that "communists and all the working people of the world" "have taken the Theses".¹ These scoundrels have boastfully done all they can to prettify themselves and have lost all sense of shame.

History is inexorable. Khrushchov fell long ago. It is quite futile for Brezhnev to try to don the cloak of Leninism and press on with Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism to deceive and mislead the masses. Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "**Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind.**" Brezhnev and company are

¹ Editorial of the Soviet revisionist *Pravda*, "Loyalty to the Great Teachings", January 21, 1970.

precisely fools of this kind. The sinister "Theses" have turned out to be a clumsy sleight-of-hand and have exposed them. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is now having a hard time. Following in Khrushchov's footsteps, Brezhnev and company are heading for the brink of their downfall. If you doubt this, just wait and see.

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