

judged the activities of the United Nations on their intrinsic merits. We resolutely oppose all evil doings of the United Nations, but will have no objection to the good things, if any, done by the United Nations.

We resolutely demand that the United Nations drive the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique out of all its organs and fully restore China's legitimate rights. However, the question of restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and the question of increasing the number of the seats of the Asian and African countries in the principal U.N. organs are two different matters and should by no means be lumped together. The question of broadening the representation of the Asian and African countries in the principal U.N. organs should be settled fairly and reasonably by those countries now in the United Nations in

the spirit of no discrimination against the Asian and African countries.

For Early Implementation of U.N. Resolutions

Now that the draft resolutions of the Asian and African countries have been adopted by the Special Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, they should be implemented at the earliest possible date to eliminate the discrimination against the Asian and African countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and to meet these countries' justified aspirations preliminarily. Anyone who tries to create obstacles to the implementation of the resolutions under any pretext will only reveal his true features and meet with opposition from the Asian and African countries and all people upholding justice.

International Communist Movement

The Leadership of the C.P.S.U. Has Taken the Revisionist Path

V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party, addressed the students of the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences in Djakarta, Indonesia, on September 9, 1963. Entitled "The Nature of Social Democracy," the address was printed in the November issue of the New Zealand "Communist Review." The full text follows:—Ed.

COMRADE Chairman, Comrade Leaders of the Indonesian Party who are present here to-day and Comrades of the School: May I, first of all, say that it is a great honour to speak to you to-day. We Communists in New Zealand know something of the Indonesian Communist Party's glorious fighting background, of its many sacrifices in the interests of the masses of Indonesia, its efforts in the past to overthrow Dutch imperialism and gain liberation, and of its work and activity for the future of socialist Indonesia; its great contribution, too, to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

To-day the Communist Party of Indonesia is a mass party united under the leadership of Comrade Aidit. It has made great progress, it is strong, and will grow stronger. We know that it is successfully, tactically, dealing with the complicated situation now facing you after the liberation from Dutch imperialism. You are facing the challenge of the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., who again come through the back door after they have been thrown out the front door. You, we know, realise the full dangers of neo-colonialism.

Of this, in general, we know. But, in detail, our knowledge is small. We would not presume to give advice, as no one but the Communist Party of Indonesia can solve the problems now facing you and successfully lead the Indonesian people on the road to a socialist society. But we of the Communist Party of New Zealand know you are

going to do it. Why? Because the Indonesian Communist Party, its leadership headed by Comrade Aidit, remains firm and stands on a correct Marxist-Leninist approach. It is strong because it is holding firm to the revolutionary core of Marxism-Leninism, is prepared to face all forms of struggle, does not utter Marxist platitudes in words and then in practice walk away from revolutionary struggle.

I raise this, comrades, because at the moment in our world Marxist-Leninist movement there are many who have turned away from this correct approach. I refer to the revisionists. In the opinion of the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the 81 Parties' Statement was not only correct when it stressed that the main danger in our world movement was revisionism. But, in our opinion, this danger has grown since 1960. It has grown to such a stage that to-day, to raise any point of criticism of the general trend in our world movement, as expressed in theory and practice by many Parties, is not answered by logic, by correct Marxist examination of the criticism made, in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, not dealt with in an objective, dialectical manner. Instead, such criticism is met by abuse, even lies, and by evasion of the issues raised.

Why do we find the leaders of some Parties doing this? It is a question that the Communist Party of New Zealand asks. Their answer to the New Zealand Communist Party leadership is that we do not understand the nature of the new era in which we live, that of the transition of Capitalism to Socialism on a world scale. We ask: Are the points correct which these comrades raise? Is the new that they talk about really new? Or is it a revision of Marxism which does not fit existing situations in the world? Are we dogmatists, as they say, when we consider certain tenets of Marx in regard to imperialism still correct to-day and the class struggle still the basic factor? On

the other hand, are they not, in fact, revisionists and are they not turning away from revolutionary struggle, based on Marxism-Leninism, in the same way that, in an earlier period, the Kautskys and the Bernsteins turned away? — those gentlemen whom Lenin fought against so hard and so successfully?

Basis of Dispute

The leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand says that, temporarily, such people have turned from the revolutionary path. They have, in fact, adopted many of the practices and theories of the Social Democrats. They show in words and practice that they DO think that in our "new era" many aspects of Marx are outdated. They do not say so openly — they cover their retreat by a mass of Marxist words, just as did Kautsky. But, in fact, that is what they are doing. From this they think that those who remain firm on Marxism-Leninism are dogmatists and they are getting close to calling us betrayers.

This, comrades, as the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand sees it, is the basis of the dispute around ideological questions in our world Marxist-Leninist movement to-day.

Comrades, the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, a party fighting in the old capitalist world, remains firm on Marxism-Leninism. We do this not from any outside pressure or persuasion, but because life, our own experience and struggles, our first-hand knowledge of Social Democracy, have taught us that Marxism-Leninism is revised only at the peril of the revolutionary movement. There may, in some countries, appear to be temporary gains by taking such a revisionist road, but imperialism will remain. It will not be finally defeated that way and, in the long run, the masses in the non-socialist world will suffer.

C.P.S.U.'s Position

We are a Party which has always consistently given complete support to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership — our record proves that. It was therefore, after much thought — heart-breaking to a degree — that we came to the conclusion that this dangerous growth of revisionism in our movement on a world scale has been aided by the outlook of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their past special role in our Marxist-Leninist movement, dating back to the Great October Revolution of 1917 and the leadership of Comrade Lenin, has been a factor leading to their influence over all parties remaining great. They have, in the opinion of the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, helped both in theory and practice to create illusions on many basic questions. I have not time to go into all of them, so we will just mention a few primary ones.

In the struggle against imperialism on a world scale, do we want to see a turning-away from the masses of each country, turning away from class struggle as the basic thing? New theories are growing which, in practice, lead to the negation of class struggle as the primary factor in each country. There emerges a reliance on leaders, on negotiations with imperialists, of "fixing things on high level," of emphasis on socialist strength to give Socialism

to the non-socialist countries, an under-estimation of the role of those fighting in the imperialist and non-socialist sectors of the world. Illusions start to grow that imperialists will peacefully accept defeat, that they will not only make tactical concessions when faced with strength, but will finally, gracefully fade away without struggle when we reach the point of saying: "You must die," on a world scale.

Comrades, in our opinion there are no peaceful imperialists. To create illusions about this is revisionism in practice. Imperialism will not die peacefully. Socialism will only come in each country by the efforts of the masses, led by their own Communist Parties. That is the way it will come in New Zealand, in our opinion.

It is true that the new situation, arising from the growing strength of the socialist world, is a very important, helpful factor. But is it the prime factor? To-day, more and more parties are basing their policy on the concept that, in time, Soviet strength will be able to give them Socialism peacefully. Comrades, in our opinion, it is this illusion which is revisionism. That is one of the reasons why the Communist Party of New Zealand has reached the conclusion that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has itself taken a revisionist path. It sees itself in such a role. It is but a short step from that to great-nation chauvinism, in a new form under socialist construction but in content the same.

To-day, many Party leaderships are placing increasing hopes on peaceful transition to Socialism. It is true that, under some conditions, such a possibility does exist. But the first historic example (apart from where the heroic Red Army after World War II was either present or dominant in influence) has yet to come, while the idea of a peaceful transition to Socialism is being advanced in areas where to-day no such possibilities exist.

In New Zealand we do not exclude peaceful transition. We desire it and work for it. But we say our Party must be prepared for the other methods if the class enemy refuses to accept the will of the majority. Not to do so is to blunt the revolutionary enthusiasm of any Communist Party.

Struggle for Peace

To-day, in many countries, parties are beginning to place increasing reliance on a road to Socialism through bourgeois parliaments, confusing the nature of the capitalist state and turning away from the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat — which is essential in content, irrespective of the form it may take. These parties are placing undue reliance on the victories of the socialist world, less and less on the efforts of their own working class, led by their own Communist Parties.

In the struggle for peace, the basic need of our time, many parties are placing less and less reliance on masses in action and more reliance on top-level negotiations. (Such negotiations are necessary but they are NOT the major factor.) And they are placing too much reliance on bourgeois and petty-bourgeois peace-leaders. (Again, these friends are welcome. But they are not the sound basis of a peace movement.) The parties we are speaking about seem to lose sight of the fact that, for a Communist

Party, the struggle for peace is all-embracing and is, in effect, a struggle on all fronts against imperialism, the system which within itself contains the causes of modern war.

National Liberation Movements

The role of the national liberation movements as a vital factor in the struggle for peace is lost sight of or given a very secondary place. They fail to see the significance of the forwarding of this movement everywhere, not only for national liberation as such. They also fail to see the need to aid the building of the Communist Parties in these national liberation areas in order to prepare the ground for the advance to the socialist revolution and thereby countering the growth of neo-colonialism. This is an important and personal question for our New Zealand Party. In our conditions, advance depends, to a degree, on the liberation movement of South-East Asia, but in the way of that success stands U.S. imperialism. Break the domination of U.S. imperialism in South-East Asia and to us the road is open wide.

Well, comrades, where does all this lead? Not only to a danger of a world split in our movement, but to a situation where no one can speak to-day of a monolithic socialist world and base a policy upon it. We find massive aid to India, which is receiving sufficient aid from the U.S. imperialists anyway (incidentally, as our delegation was coming back from our bi-lateral talks in Moscow, we landed in Delhi and there on the airfield we saw a U.S. Air Force plane alongside a Soviet-supplied troop transport and bomber), but all aid is rejected for socialist China. These people speak of preserving Socialism in Yugoslavia, but they reject aid to Albania. Well, we must overcome this. And the only way is by remaining firm on a correct Marxist-Leninist basis.

This situation has affected us considerably in New Zealand. From the 1957 Declaration, and later from the 1960 81 Parties' Statement, our Party saw clearly that new perspectives had opened up. The period of what we had termed "holding on" was past. We could, in the new objective conditions, make small but vital gains. We have done that. More could have been achieved by better work, by better leadership in our Party. And more still without this ideological dispute—this growth of revisionism.

We are a country where right-opportunism has always had a strong hold. We are a country which can claim to be among one of the classic examples of Social Democracy whose ideology has always infiltrated into our Party while our living standards have been among the highest in the capitalist world.

Why have easy ways to Socialism always attracted many people in New Zealand? Because this leads to talk but no action.

Now our country faces economic crisis. In New Zealand our prosperity relies on the export of our agricultural produce, the price of which is very uncertain in the world market. Our living standards are now falling. The capitalist class are solving the economic difficulties by placing the burden on the shoulders of the workers in town and country. Monopoly, mainly with headquarters overseas, is now a dominant feature of our economy. And, as the opportunities for exploitation in other areas disappear as a result of socialist victories, the monopolies are turning

to areas like New Zealand as a field for profitable exploitation in a much more extensive way than in the past.

Conditions for Growth

So you see, when we say the objective conditions for an increase in the influence of the Communist Party and its growth are present, we are based on the facts of the position. These are borne out by the situation in our national trade union organisation, the Federation of Labour. Bitterly hostile for many long years to the Communists, to-day the economic policy it has adopted is almost the same policy, point for point, as that of the Communist Party of New Zealand. (That is, as far as the solution to the immediate problems facing the working class of New Zealand are concerned, although it still retains a reactionary foreign policy.) Our influence in the trade union movement is growing, our general party influence is growing and there has been a small but important growth in our party membership.

What, then, is our first main barrier in New Zealand? It is the role of the Social Democratic ideology on the minds of our working class. To build a wide united front of the working class, the first step towards a People's Alliance of town and country, of all opposed to monopoly, we in New Zealand must break that barrier. The favourable conditions of to-day are growing, but here again the importance of a correct ideological approach becomes paramount.

The ideological and tactical position of our world movement towards Social Democracy, wherever it is still a powerful influence over the minds of the working class and its allies, is one that greatly concerns us in the New Zealand Party. Lenin once referred to New Zealand as the "paradise of the Second International." Social Democracy in policy first appeared in legislative form in our country away back in the 1890's, in the policy carried out by the then Liberal-Labour Governments.

So we have a long history behind us as far as this problem is concerned.

What immediately concerns us is that, in our opinion, theories which are basically revisionist have cast aside as outdated or not applicable in the new conditions the classic theories of Marx and Lenin regarding the way to deal with Capitalism, Imperialism and Social Democracy. And this has created a widespread weakening in our world movement in approaching the vital question of Social Democracy, its theory and practice. This leads to the ignoring of the importance of the ideological side and to the regarding of Social Democracy as a genuine socialist trend or something that can be won, without any fundamental ideological change, into a useful ally in the struggle for Socialism.

Confusing Tactics and Aim

This is not only dangerous, leading to the ignoring of the leading role of our Communist Parties as the party of the working class. It inevitably opens the door for the infiltration of Social Democratic ideology into our own ranks. We become a "ginger group" of left-wing Labour, failing to see that left Social Democracy is still a form of bourgeois ideology, on occasions as useful to the class enemy as right Social Democracy. (Sometimes it can be even more useful in betraying the workers' interests

because of its more militant words cloaking the reactionary deeds.)

It is not anti-Communism that has brought social reformism "to an ideological and political impasse." Anti-Communism was but the logical outcome of an ideological outlook based on Capitalism.

In our view, these erroneous theories lead to the danger of confusing the TACTICS of working with the masses under Social Democratic influence wherever possible with the AIM of eliminating Social Democratic ideology from the minds of the working people and of re-kindling a true working class outlook, an understanding of the correctness of our Marxist-Leninist approach, logically followed by conscious mass support for our Communist Parties. If we don't work in this way, our view is that the door is wide open for the entry of revisionism and the liquidation of our Communist Parties as Marxist-Leninist Parties.

Dying Belief

In New Zealand as I said, we think that in developing more effective struggle around peace and against monopoly, along the lines of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement as applicable to the conditions of our country, the first stumbling-block we reach is the hold of Social Democratic ideology on the minds of the workers. For us the building of the united front of the working class is the starting point. And here, at once, this ideology stands in the way, leading to the acceptance of things as they are, the idea that it is hopeless to struggle, that all one has to do is rely on the Labour leaders, who themselves are the tools of monopoly as their policy clearly indicates. It leads to the concept that the leaders will fix it, the masses are unimportant, their full role is but to vote the right way once every three years. This is the situation facing us in New Zealand.

As we see it, Social Democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend and an important pillar upholding the reactionary rule of imperialism and monopoly capitalism. Lenin pointed out long ago that Social Democratic parties are a variant of bourgeois political parties. In the day-to-day struggle of the working-class movement, as well as in the struggle to safeguard world peace, Communists must, in every possible way, carry out extensive joint activities with the Social Democrats and the masses of the workers under their influence. But, at the same time, the Marxist-Leninist Parties must draw a strict and clear ideological line of demarcation between themselves and the Social Democratic parties and make efforts to win over the honest working-class elements, so as to enable these elements to free themselves from the ideological influence of Social Democracy, to understand Marxism-Leninism and to wage consistent class struggle against Capitalism and for the victory of Socialism.

As we see it in New Zealand, Social Democratic ideology, as a variant of bourgeois ideology, is itself losing much of its hold in the ranks of the workers. We do not want to create illusions that among the masses a working-class ideological outlook is emerging, firmly based on struggle. This is not so. But the belief that the New Zealand Labour Party is going to solve their problems the next time it is elected is dying rapidly. Social Democracy's

hold on the workers is tending to rely on the slim aspect that a majority of workers think the Labour Party is a little better than the other capitalist parties.

We consider that this is a logical development in the era of the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, in the days of the decline of imperialism on a world scale. We feel that this aspect is not brought out clearly on a world scale, but rather that illusions seem to be growing that the nature of Social Democracy is changing. How did Lenin outline the rise of Social Democracy in the workers' ranks and to what did he attribute its cause? In essence, he said that, from a world angle, out of the development of imperialism it became possible for Capitalism to create a "labour aristocracy" in the major industrial countries, without seriously cutting into the rising profits and imperialist expansion of that time. And that, in fact, the dampening-down of the class struggle in the industrialised countries gave them a favourable balance-sheet in any profit-and-loss account in that period.

We know that it was not Capitalism generously giving the masses of humanity a higher living standard, as some capitalist apologists try to persuade us. No, this was the period of the most brutal and intensive exploitation of their rapidly-expanding colonial empires. So, in countries where Social Democratic ideology now has a strong hold, there was room then to buy off the movement by flattery, by honours, by sinecure jobs for its leaders and, for the most effective section of the workers, by higher living standards. This tactic of the ruling class spread right through what we now have come to term the "West" and to certain portions of the British Empire of those days, such as Australia and New Zealand.

We have gone into this because it seems to us correct Marxism to say that, if the basic cause of the rise of Social Democracy was as Lenin stated, it logically follows that now, with imperialism in decline, its scope for exploiting activities dwindling and with few new areas to move into and with the consequent growing world crisis of imperialism, the material foundation of that ideology in the workers' ranks is also disappearing.

This concept that it is a dying ideology must be grasped fully and its implications realised, in order that the leading role of our Parties in such countries will emerge clearly and flexible tactics with firmness on principle become possible. If we do not have clarity, unnecessary concessions are made, illusions arise that essential united front work is an end in itself and, dropping all pretence of socialist objectives, that Labour leaders are no longer tools of the bosses — whether conscious or unconscious.

We consider that there is to-day just that lack of clarity. As we see it, the essential link between Social Democratic ideology and the lessening of its influence in the conditions of the decline of imperialism is missing.

The first break-through by our Marxist-Leninist Parties on this problem has yet to occur in the ranks of the labour movement in the classic countries of Social Democratic ideology. We do not think that the revisionist confusion between the uniting and working with the masses who support Social Democracy (and, when necessary, with Social Democratic leaders, right or left), and the strategical aim of eliminating Social Democratic ideology from the

ranks of the working class, will lead to anything but defeat and the fundamental betrayal of the working class and the revolution. In view of the growth of revisionism in our world movement, we consider such confusion is arising, though it can still be corrected if the danger is recognised.

I repeat that the growing world crisis of Capitalism is having an effect on the New Zealand economy. The very nature of our economy — dependent on the export of agricultural products — has given us higher living standards over the last 25 years. But, in the developing conditions in our world situation to-day, our capitalist economy in New Zealand is in a very weak position. We are a relatively weak link in the capitalist chain. It is the task of

the Communist Party of New Zealand to break that link. We pledge ourselves to spare no effort in that direction. It is our duty to our working class, to our people. It is our duty to proletarian internationalism.

I realise I have given you a lecture (in this latter part) on Social Democracy. I know you have not got quite those problems here, but I hope it may have been of some interest to you.

Long live the Communist Party of Indonesia!

Long live the heroic Indonesian people!

Long live world peace!

Long live the unity of our Marxist-Leninist movement!

On the Collective Road

Stockbreeding Flourishes in the Pasturelands

by LI TSUNG-HAI

NEW China has made spectacular progress in livestock breeding. Growth has been especially rapid in its pastoral areas. By 1962, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Chinghai and the pastoral districts of Kansu and Szechuan had 137.4 per cent more livestock — cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, sheep and goats — than in 1949, the year the People's Republic was founded.

These major stockbreeding areas report continued successes this year. Despite a long spell of drought in the stockbreeding year ending June 1963, the herdsmen of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region gained a net increase of more than 4 million head of livestock. This was the fifth consecutive year of steady growth. The region now has more animals than ever before.

To the west, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region increased its herds and flocks for the third year in succession. The people's communes in this region's 27 stockbreeding counties now have 50 per cent as many animals as in 1958 when the communes were organized here. These counties now have more than three times as many head of animals as they had at the time of liberation.

Tibet to the south has made new gains in animal husbandry for the fourth consecutive year. This advance began in 1959 when democratic reform began and put an end to Tibet's age-old serfdom and slavery and ruthless exploitation of the herdsmen. Over these past four years the average annual net increase in livestock has been 7.5 per cent. With 13.2 million head of yaks, horses, sheep, goats and other domestic animals, Tibet now has more livestock than ever in the past.

Two-fifths of China's territory is pasture grassland. Vast grazing grounds extend from the Khingan Mountains in the northeast through Inner Mongolia and the

Ordos Plateau (within the great bend of the Yellow River), over the slopes of the Altai and Tienshan Mountains in Sinkiang, and through the valleys and mountain slopes of the Tibetan Plateau of which western Szechuan is an extension. In these areas many of China's national minorities live in compact communities. Over two million of them living here engage in animal husbandry as their main productive occupation. They include such famous herding peoples as the Mongolians, Tibetans, Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tajiks and Yukus. Inner Mongolia is the nation's leading pastoral region. Its more than 600,000 square kilometres of grassland, watered by over a dozen rivers, are concentrated mainly in its northeastern part but spread into other areas as well. Sinkiang's pastures stretch over a huge area of more than 300,000 square kilometres with the finest grazing grounds in the Altai, Tienshan and Kunlun Mountain areas.

With these great expanses of grazing land China is well placed to develop a flourishing livestock breeding economy. Great potentialities exist for growth. With better utilization, the country's grasslands can certainly support many more animals than at present. The major part of the nation's herds and flocks are being raised in these pastoral areas. They include a vast number of animals of improved breeds and between 40 and 50 per cent of the nation's mature female animals. All this provides a solid basis for further all-round growth; and this growth, steady and rapid, is assured by the existence of the socialist system in China and the leadership and policies of the Communist Party and the People's Government.

Key Part of Socialist Economy

Animal husbandry, as a component part of agriculture, is a vital branch of China's national economy. The