

# PEKING REVIEW

12

March 20, 1964

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

New Pamphlet

# Statements by MAO TSE-TUNG

## Calling on the People of the World To Unite to Oppose the Aggressive and Bellicose Policies of U.S. Imperialism And Defend World Peace

Included in this pamphlet are four statements made recently by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are: 1) the statement of August 8, 1963, calling on the people of the world to unite to oppose racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination; 2) the statement of August 29, 1963, opposing aggression against southern Viet Nam and slaughter of its people by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique; 3) the statement of January 12, 1964, expressing the Chinese people's firm support for the Panamanian people's just, patriotic struggle; and 4) the statement of January 27, 1964, voicing the Chinese people's support for the Japanese people in their great patriotic struggle.

In these statements Chairman Mao Tse-tung calls on all oppressed people and nations of the world, all peace-loving countries, all countries and individuals subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, control, interference and bullying, to unite and form the broadest possible united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace.

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 20, 1964 Vol. VII No. 12

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received a rousing welcome home when they returned to the capital last Sunday after visiting 14 countries.

- The delegation of the Rumanian Workers' Party, after holding talks with a delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, left Peking for a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

- A delegation of the Japanese Communist Party arrived in Peking on a friendly visit.

- The visiting Cambodian Military Delegation led by Lieutenant-General Lon Nol was given a warm welcome by top-ranking officers of the People's Liberation Army in Peking.

- The Chinese press reprinted:

- a speech by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, appearing in this year's No. 2 issue of the Vietnamese journal *Hoc Tap*. Entitled "Certain Questions in the International Tasks of Our Party," the speech denounces modern revisionism as a serious evil attacking the revolutionary movement.

- a resolution of the Second Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party. It points out that the international situation today is excellent and urges continued efforts to smash modern revisionism.

- the February 11 editorial of *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, calling on members of the Party to combat modern revisionism, defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and strengthen the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

- a speech given on February 18 this year by V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, at the Party School of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

## Premier Chou Returns to Peking

Peking airport was gay with red flags and a welcoming, cheering crowd of 5,000 people on the afternoon of March 15 when Premier Chou En-lai returned to the capital from his tour abroad. The plane carrying him and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who accompanied the Premier on his tour, landed amidst cheers and a roll of drums and clash of cymbals. They gave the capital's welcome to well-loved leaders whose travels have strengthened the ties of friendship with the people of 14 lands—ten African and three Asian countries and fraternal Albania.

Greeting Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen at the plane-side were

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government and top-ranking officers of the People's Liberation Army. As they exchanged handshakes, the crowd, waving banners and flowers, cheered: "Welcome home, Premier Chou!" "Long live the unity between the Asian-African peoples!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Albania!"

Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen, together with Chairman Mao and Chairman Liu, then walked up to the thronged ranks of welcomers—workers, students, people's militia and officers and men of the P.L.A.

Rounds of applause marked their movements and echoing cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen gave the bouquets presented them by the Young Pioneers to two militia-women standing in the front ranks. Broadly smiling, the four leaders paused for a while for a photograph with a group of people's militia men and women as they walked by the crowds near the tarmac and greeted the people and members of the diplomatic corps who had come to give Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen a happy welcome home.

### Japanese C.P. Delegation Arrives

A delegation of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party led by Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, arrived in Peking on March 13. The delegation has come on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Among those greeting the Japanese comrades on their arrival were Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee; and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

### Rumanian Comrades Leave For Korea

The delegation of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, led by Ion Gheorge Maurer, left Peking on March 12 by special plane for Pyongyang on a friendly visit to the Korean Democratic People's Republic. Seeing the Rumanian comrades off at the airport were Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The more than 2,000 citizens of the capital who gathered at the airport waved red banners and flowers in good-bye as Ion Maurer and his colleagues boarded the plane.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai at the airport

The Rumanian Workers' Party Delegation arrived in Peking on March 2. From March 3 to 10, it held talks with a delegation of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Liu Shao-chi. During the talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, the two sides exchanged views on questions of common concern. On the eve of its departure, the Rumanian delegation gave a banquet attended by Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and many other leading officials of the Chinese Communist Party, Government and people's organizations.

### Visit of Cambodian Military Delegation

In its statement of November 21 last year, the Chinese Government declared that, if the Kingdom of Cambodia in adhering to its policy of peace and neutrality should suffer armed invasion instigated by the United States and its vassals, the Chinese Government and people would stand firmly on the side of Cambodia and give it all-out support. This pledge was reiterated by Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, at the banquet he and

Vice-Premier Marshal Ho Lung gave in Peking in honour of the visiting Cambodian Military Delegation. Led by Lieutenant-General Lon Nol who is Vice-Premier, Minister of Defence and Chief of the General Staff of the Royal Armed Forces, the 12-member Cambodian delegation arrived by air on March 13.

Extending a hearty welcome to the Cambodian guests, General Lo paid tribute to the Royal Government of Cambodia and its people for having stood firm against imperialist attacks and threats. "To defend the independence and dignity of their country," he said, "the Royal Government and people of Cambodia, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, have waged resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism's plots of subversion and aggression, firmly rejected U.S. military, economic and cultural 'aid,' and adhered to the path of independent development and a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. The great, patriotic, anti-U.S. demonstrations recently held by the Cambodian people have shown once again their determination to uphold their national dignity."

Emphasizing that China and Cambodia had respected each other and not tried to impose the will of one on the other, treated each other as

equals and helped each other and not tried to get benefits for one at the expense of the other, General Lo said that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Cambodia had set a brilliant example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. He expressed the conviction that the Cambodian Military Delegation's visit would make a valuable contribution to promoting mutual understanding and friendly relations between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples.

General Lon Nol, in his speech, said that the mission of his delegation was to bring to the people and armed forces of China the friendship of the people and armed forces of Cambodia and to enhance the friendship between the two countries. Castigating colonialism for trying to turn Cambodia into a dependent country, he declared: "The Cambodian people are determined to be true comrades-in-arms of the Chinese people in the struggle against colonialist aggression and for human freedom and world peace."

General Lon Nol noted that China had declared on many occasions that the Chinese people were always on the side of the Cambodian people fighting against colonialist aggression. Said the General: "Your support has enhanced our strength a thousand-fold for achieving victory in the struggle against imperialism initiated by our Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk." He expressed the hope that the friendship between the peoples and armed forces of Cambodia and China would grow continuously.

On March 14, more than 2,000 officers and men of the P.L.A. welcomed the Cambodian delegation at a rally sponsored by the Ministry of National Defence. The next day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the delegation and had a friendly and cordial talk with its members.

### **Protocol on Sino-Pakistan Air Service**

Discussions on technical details and preparations for the opening of an air service directly linking China

and Pakistan ended successfully on March 8. A protocol and related documents on technical and operational arrangements were signed on that day in Peking.

That evening Kuang Jen-nung, director of the General Administration of Civil Aviation, gave a banquet in honour of the Pakistan delegation which arrived in Peking on March 1 for the talks. Both hosts and guests toasted the success of the negotiations and the steady growth of Sino-Pakistan friendship.

### **State Farms Set Higher Targets**

Pace-setters on the agricultural front, China's state farms have become important producers of cereals and industrial crops. Over the years they have supplied the state with large quantities of grain, cotton, soya beans, sugar beet and other farm produce—and in steadily larger amounts each year. Now they have set themselves higher targets. They are out for bigger successes right away this year.

This news came from the national conference on state farms which ended here last week. The conference totted up past achievements and charted a course for future development. Vice-Premiers Tan Chen-lin and Po I-po attended the conference and made important speeches on both these topics.

Big-scale land reclamation, a new field of national endeavour in China, has taken great strides forward since the founding of the People's Republic, and this task has been shouldered in large measure by the state farms. Particularly rapid progress has been made in this field since 1958, and there has been a corresponding rise in farm output. By 1963, the conference reported, the state farms had brought twice as much land under the plough as in 1957. Compared to that year, they also trebled their grain output and, despite a fivefold increase in the number of their staff and dependents, turned over six times as much marketable grain to the state.

These contributions apart, they have played a pioneering role in popularizing advanced agricultural

science and techniques and in using modern farm machines. The upshot of all this has been a sharp rise in output. As Vice-Premier Tan Chen-lin told the conference: "Last year the state farms produced 26 per cent more grain and soya beans than in 1962. They gave the state 81 per cent more marketable grain and soya beans. This is a great achievement."

Building on these successes, the state farms have decided to do yet more. One of the major topics of discussion at the conference was the strengthening of ideological and political work—particularly how everyone could best learn from the People's Liberation Army in doing this work, and how everyone on the state farms should emulate the P.L.A.'s revolutionary enthusiasm in order to put the farms on an even firmer footing than before. The conference decided that a campaign to "emulate the advanced, learn from and overtake them, and help the less advanced" be launched at once so as to fulfil and overfulfil this year's production plans.

Overall and long-range targets have been listed too. These include the gradual and systematic extension of the area of farmland that will be able to withstand prolonged dry weather or overmuch rains and give high and stable yields; the modernization by stages of agricultural production and the training of a large force of farm workers with a high level of socialist understanding and equipped with both scientific and general cultural knowledge. These are some of the higher aims which the state farms have set and which will help them play a greater role than ever before on China's farm front.

"The present situation in China's agriculture is excellent and a new upsurge in agricultural production is in the offing," was the way Vice-Premier Tan Chen-lin summed things up. He urged everyone concerned to give full play to the revolutionary spirit of hard work and self-reliance, to raise labour productivity further, get higher per-mu yields, and achieve an all-round increase in output in 1964.

# Socialist Education for the Workers

by KU TA-CHUN

*Following is an abridged translation of an article published in the 1964 No. 1 issue of "Hongqi," entitled "Strengthen the Socialist Education of the Workers." The author is a member of the Secretariat of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE question of educating the workers in socialism is fundamental to assuring victory for the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The great historic mission of the proletariat is to eradicate capitalism and build communism. But not all the working class are aware of this at the start. It is only after they have accepted Marxist-Leninist theory and gained an understanding of the nature of capitalism that they come to understand this mission.

## Socialist Education Needed Throughout Transition Period

It is necessary to educate the workers in socialism throughout the entire historical period of the proletarian dictatorship. In a socialist society, the class struggle continues even though the economic system has been transformed. Especially at a time when imperialism still exists in the world, the reactionary classes at home, though overthrown, will never be reconciled to defeat; they will constantly gang up with the imperialists to challenge the proletariat to tests of strength and time and again try to stage a comeback. To achieve this aim they first of all contend with the working class for ideological positions, propagating reactionary political ideas, trying to poison and corrupt the working class and the rest of the revolutionary people with their rotten bourgeois way of life so as to pave the way ideologically for a counter-revolutionary comeback.

Catering to this need of the reactionary classes, and serving the imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution," the modern revisionists, in order to blunt the class consciousness and revolutionary fighting will of the working class, sing the praises of class collaboration, bourgeois humanitarianism and pacifism; put the theory of the spontaneous advance of the workers on a pedestal and one-sidedly stress the value of individual material incentives. They try to coexist with the class enemy in the political and ideological spheres and bring about a

gradual economic degeneration into capitalism. In this complex class struggle any weakening of proletarian ideology means a growth of bourgeois ideology. To defeat the bourgeoisie in the class struggle during the transition period, the working class must master the laws governing the class struggle, consolidate and extend its own ideological positions, eliminate the ideological influences of the bourgeois and feudal forces and avoid corruption by modern revisionist ideas.

The ranks of the Chinese working class have grown tremendously in the course of socialist construction. Members of the various other strata of society, the petty bourgeoisie in particular, have swelled the ranks of the workers and brought all kinds of non-proletarian ideas with them. Most of these new workers have since achieved a considerably heightened level of political consciousness, thanks to the ideological education given by the Communist Party and the steeling in political struggles and the struggle for production. A minority, however, are still held back by bourgeois habits and the remains of bourgeois ideas. The younger generation of workers are better educated than the old and are forward-looking, but most of them never personally experienced brutal exploitation and oppression at the hands of the imperialists, landlords or capitalists. Even the sons and daughters of veteran workers generally lack intimate knowledge of classes and class struggle. All this, therefore, makes it all the more necessary to educate the masses of workers in socialism.

## Socialist Education Since Liberation

China's great achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction are inseparable from the widespread and effective socialist education given to its workers.

Since liberation, our factories and mines have given their workers a regular and systematic education in the current situation, the Party's line, principles and policies, patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and communist ethics, and in the need to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and strengthen their sense of organizational discipline. This has been done in the light of the existing situation in the domestic and in-

ternational class struggle at each period and in answer to the needs of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In addition, several large-scale socialist education movements have been launched in line with the constant deepening of the socialist revolution.

During the period of national economic rehabilitation (1949-52), while the anti-feudal land reform was being carried out in the countryside, democratic reforms were introduced in factories and mines in the cities. Unreasonable, oppressive and insulting practices left over from the old China were abolished and a struggle was waged against the oppression of workers by gang bosses and traitors to the working class. The masses of workers who had just won liberation, however, were not yet completely freed from the effects of prolonged spiritual enslavement by the exploiting classes; they were still considerably influenced by old ideas and habits and lacked a clear understanding of the new society and new ways and things. The Communist Party, therefore, gave them the first elements of a political education, with instruction in the history of the development of society. Thus, with an understanding of how labour creates the world, how class societies originated and developed and the greatness and honour of labour, the workers began to acquire a sense of responsibility as masters of their country.

In the democratic reform movement and the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the workers were urged to recall how the imperialists, bureaucrat-capitalists and landlords oppressed and exploited the Chinese people. This kindled their indignation, helped root out the remains of the old pro-U.S. sentiments, fear of the U.S. and worship of the U.S., and enabled them to gain a preliminary understanding of the essential difference between the old and new social systems. In this way, they became more aware of their new status and responsibility and they began to display greater initiative in production. This spurred the rapid recovery and development of the national economy.

In 1952, on the eve of embarking on planned economic development, the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party, launched two mass movements—one against corruption, waste and bureaucratism, and the other against capitalist bribery of government workers, tax evasion, cheating on government contracts, theft of state property, and stealing economic information from government sources. Known as the Three-Anti (*San Fan*) and Five-Anti (*Wu Fan*) Movements, they were designed to consolidate the fruits of the revolution, ensure the smooth progress of national construction and repulse the attacks of the bourgeoisie. The broad masses of workers took an active part in the struggle against corrupt elements and law-breaking capitalists.

At that time some workers were still befuddled by the absurd talk of the capitalists to the effect that "it is the capitalists that keep the workers fed." Discussions were therefore held among the workers on "who keeps whom fed?" Through these discussions they came to

see how capitalists exploit workers and with this understanding of the ugly nature of the bourgeoisie, were able to draw a clearer line of demarcation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. With the workers' class consciousness enhanced, a movement to increase production and practise economy was launched. And this provided favourable conditions for large-scale economic construction.

By 1957, guided by the Communist Party's general line for the transition period, China had, in the main, successfully completed the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Following this great victory on the economic front, the socialist revolution was carried forward on the political and ideological fronts as well. It was at this time that, under the influence of the international counter-current of anti-communism and the ideological tide of modern revisionism, the bourgeois Rightists at home launched a fierce attack on the Communist Party and the people. The Party led the people throughout the country in an anti-Rightist struggle, smashed the onslaught of the bourgeois Rightists and greatly strengthened the workers' understanding of the class struggle. They realized that the overthrown classes will try to stage a comeback whenever an opportunity presents itself and that the question of "who will win?" on the political and ideological fronts will be settled only after a long period of repeated struggles.

In conjunction with the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists, the people throughout the country unfolded a rectification campaign for self-education and self-remoulding. In this campaign, the workers held forums on "whom are we working for?" They analysed the difference between the proletarian and bourgeois world outlooks and developed a socialist attitude towards labour. This was followed by education in the Party's general line for building socialism.<sup>1</sup> It further boosted the morale of the workers. They strode forward bravely, holding high the red banner of the general line. This laid the ideological foundation which enabled the workers to overcome successfully the difficulties brought on by three consecutive years of natural calamities.

At the present time, a socialist education movement is gradually unfolding throughout the country. Closely integrated with the movement to increase production and practise economy, it is a revolutionary movement to re-educate the people—a movement of urgent practical significance as well as far-reaching historical significance. This is so because it will fortify the workers' viewpoint on the class struggle, help them learn to master the method of class analysis and enable them better to resist corruption by bourgeois ideas and the influence of revisionist thinking. It will also inspire them with the spirit of working hard to build

<sup>1</sup>This refers to the general line of "going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" made public by the Communist Party of China in 1958.—Ed.

the country diligently and thriftily and in a self-reliant way.

### **Mao Tse-tung's Thinking — The Guide, Class Education — The Key**

Socialist education is conducted in China's factories and mines with Mao Tse-tung's thinking as the guide and class education as the key. Through socialist education, whether given over a period regularly or in a concentrated way (in the form of mass campaigns), the workers get to understand the nature of classes and the class struggle, which is the moving power of history; they get to understand that there are classes and class struggles in a socialist society.

Socialist education should begin with class education so that the workers can gradually learn to base themselves on the viewpoint of the class struggle and master the method of class analysis.

This viewpoint and this method are the basic viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism; they concern the basic stand of the working class. To enable the workers to maintain a firm political stand in any upheaval, stand any test in the material conditions of life and have a clear-cut class stand, it is necessary to educate them in actual class struggle by presenting the facts, by reasoning things out and by examples culled from their personal experience.

China is building socialism in an environment of peace, but also amidst complicated class struggles. In giving a class education to the workers, therefore, it is necessary in the first place to bring out the concrete facts of the class struggle both at home and abroad and expose the ugly features of the class enemy, so that the workers can get an understanding of the actual situation in the class struggle.

Presentation of the facts must go hand in hand with reasoned discussion. People may hold different views even about the same fact and it is not possible to distinguish right from wrong without the people themselves arguing the matter out. The key to successful discussion is to give democracy full scope — to encourage the participants to raise questions and present their dissenting views fully, make one's criticism sound like "a gentle breeze and fine drizzle" and convince people by sound arguments. And all this in accordance with the formula of "unity — criticism — unity"<sup>2</sup> with a view to enhancing the people's understanding and achieving unanimity. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that "it is not only futile but very harmful to use crude and summary methods to deal with ideological questions among the people, with questions relating to the spiritual life of man. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. . . . That is why only by employing methods of discussion, criti-

cism and reasoning that we can really foster correct ideas, overcome wrong ideas, and really settle issues."<sup>3</sup>

In presenting the facts and reasoning things out, it is necessary to educate the people through their own experience in struggle. When one analyses the actual situation in the class struggle and compares the lot of the working class in the new society with that in the old, the veteran workers will naturally be reminded of their own experiences in life and struggle. That is why in the socialist education movement the workers repeatedly recall their sufferings in the old society and contrast them with the happiness in the new, and use their personal experience to analyse the root sources of class oppression and exploitation. In this way the majority will gradually raise the level of their class consciousness and dedicate themselves more devotedly to the revolutionary cause. Practice has shown that the method of recalling the past and contrasting it with the present is a reliable way of enhancing the class consciousness of the workers.

Of late, factories and mines have made use of workers' family histories, the histories of their enterprises and of revolutionary struggles in general to educate the younger generation of workers. Workers relate the history of their families in their own small groups, in their workshops and in the homes of veteran workers. The bitterness of the past is vividly recalled in this way and the sons and daughters of veteran workers learn a deep lesson. In some cases young workers are enlisted to help the veterans write their family histories. This writing is in itself a process in which the younger workers receive a further class education. In this way the basic Marxist-Leninist viewpoint is applied to actual examples of the workers' class struggle and young workers learn in practice as well as in theory that it is only by bearing the past constantly in mind that one learns to cherish the present and defend the fruits of the revolution and that socialism can be built successfully only through class struggle and all-round and continuous socialist revolution. That is why it is necessary to hand the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat down generation after generation.

### **Education in Collectivism**

Educating the workers in collectivism is another aspect of socialist education for our workers.

Individualism, which seeks satisfaction for oneself at the cost of others, lies at the heart of the bourgeois world outlook. In contradistinction, the proletariat places the collective interests above all else. The fate, happiness and future of each and every member of the proletariat are inseparably bound up with those of the whole class. Their immediate and individual interests are closely linked with the long-term and collective interests. The livelihood of the workers has improved under the care and solicitude of the state and the collective. They vividly describe the dialectical relationship between a worker's individual interests and those of the collective under socialism in the following words: "The tributaries are filled when there is water in the main

<sup>2</sup>This means: starting with a desire for unity and achieving it on a new basis through criticism. — *Ed.*

<sup>3</sup>*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.53.



stream and they dry up when there is no water in the main stream."

Education in collectivism is designed so that the workers learn to uphold collectivism and oppose individualism from the working-class viewpoint, in their class interests and from the point of view of the proletarian world outlook and ethics; it is designed to help the workers understand that they are fighting not for personal interests pure and simple, but for the liberation of the proletariat of the whole world. Armed with this collective spirit the workers will be able to take a correct stand in handling matters involving the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual, work for socialism selflessly, and public spiritedly leave the easier jobs to others while tackling the difficult ones themselves.

A highly developed collective spirit and strict organizational discipline are innate qualities of the working class determined by its economic position in large-scale production and fostered through bitter class struggle over a long period of time. Under socialism, the means of production are in the hands of the people and the aim of production is to satisfy the needs of all. These new relations of production give greater scope to the collective spirit of the working class. But, for a fairly long period, the ranks of the working class will have to be replenished by the petty producers who will inevitably bring their liberalistic habits along with them. Lenin pointed out: "The historic task of the proletariat is to assimilate, re-school, re-educate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petty bourgeoisie."<sup>4</sup> In order that the working class shall influence the petty producers and not be influenced by them, it is necessary to strengthen collectivist education through labour emulation, gradually overcome the liberalistic habits of the petty producers and steel every member of the working class into a disciplined, class-conscious proletarian fighter.

Industrial and mining workers are currently engaged in a big campaign to compare with, learn from and catch up with the advanced and help those who are lagging behind. This constitutes at once a production movement designed to increase output and achieve economies and an educational movement designed to enhance the communist consciousness of the workers and foster their collectivist outlook. Through these activities, whole regions, enterprises and individual workers support, unite, and co-operate with each other, with the more advanced helping those lagging behind and the latter doing their best to catch up with the former. This helps the workers to realize that a socialist enterprise is a collective in which there is both division of labour and co-operation and that the whole country is also a big collective. It also helps the workers to give due consideration to the overall situation

<sup>4</sup>"The Faction of Supporters of Otvovism and God-Building," *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 16, p.60.

and consciously subordinate their immediate individual interests to the long-term collective interests.

To foster a steadily stronger collectivist spirit among the workers, it is also necessary to show them typical examples from real life. Outstanding people constantly come to the fore in every field in the course of the revolution and construction. They are either people who show staunchness in the struggle against the enemy or people who excel in production or in scientific research. These people have become the pace setters and staunch core of the masses because, in the first place, they are armed with collectivist thinking. Their living example must be used to educate the workers. The masses, inspired by the fine example, will emulate them.

That the masses should learn from the outstanding workers goes without saying, but it is also necessary to encourage the latter to learn from the former so that everyone can overcome his own shortcomings by learning from the strong points in others and all forge ahead together. It is also necessary to set as examples for others to emulate those formerly backward people who have since become outstanding. Their example, even more effectively than that of those who have always been outstanding, can do a lot to inspire the backward and the middling-to-fair to press ahead and so help foster a real working-class outlook and root out bourgeois ideas among the workers.

#### **Tradition of Plain Living and Hard Struggle**

Education in the revolutionary tradition of plain living and hard struggle forms still another important aspect of socialist education. This tradition of industry and thrift, simple living and hard struggle has been formed by the Chinese working class and labouring people in the course of their protracted revolutionary struggles. It is a concentrated reflection of the Chinese people's revolutionary courage in daring to struggle and seize victory; it reflects the revolutionary initiative and steadfastness of the Chinese working class. It is necessary for the broad mass of workers, on the basis of their heightened class consciousness, to promote the spirit of building a prosperous country by their own energetic efforts, and foster the tradition of simple living and hard struggle in building the country with industry and thrift.

We upheld the policy of self-reliance during the national-democratic revolution and we continue to adhere to this policy in building socialism. The workers should be made to understand that the construction in every socialist country, just like the revolution, must be based mainly on the efforts of the people of that country. The working class, therefore, should bring their revolutionary labour initiative into play, make full use of domestic resources, tap all the potentialities of their enterprises and constantly expand socialist production by relying on funds accumulated within the country. Only in this way is it possible to develop a modern national economy rapidly, strengthen a country's economic and national defence capability, effec-

tively and reliably increase the strength of the whole socialist camp, step up aid to the revolutionary cause of the world's people, and fulfil one's own internationalist duties more effectively.

In order to make the policy of building socialism by self-reliance the guide to conscious action on the part of every worker, it is essential to regard education in the revolutionary tradition of simple living and hard struggle as an important part of socialist education. The mass of workers should be encouraged to learn from the staunch militant spirit the veteran Red Armymen showed when they crossed the snow-clad mountains and marshes on their Long March, and from the "Yenan style" of overcoming difficulties in a spirit of self-reliance. They should be encouraged to bring their sense of responsibility as masters of their country into full play and value every bit of the property of socialist enterprises. Given the spirit of running all enterprises with industry and thrift, it becomes possible to carry out the policy of self-reliance more effectively, increase the prosperity of our country and bring about a vigorous political situation in which everyone highly values the collective, the state and socialism. Given such a fine style of work, enterprises will become outstanding collectives in production and staunch bulwarks of socialism which bring up generation after generation of new people with a communist consciousness and high moral standards as well as professional skill.

This style of simple living and hard struggle and building the country with industry and thrift has been developed in constant struggle against corruption by bourgeois ideas and the influence of the habits of the old society. It cannot be fostered if the workers are exposed to these influences without combating them. This is why in educating the younger generation of workers in the revolutionary tradition of simple living and hard struggle they should be encouraged to take over this style of work as a revolutionary tradition and an important step in developing a proletarian world outlook.

The bourgeoisie, in trying to find a market for its ideology, often begins by corrupting the people's way of life, for decadent living inevitably leads to political degeneration. In order to be able to resist bourgeois ideological influence, recognize bourgeois ideas even if they are camouflaged and avoid temptation and corruption by the rotten bourgeois way of life, it is essential for the rising generation of workers to understand, from the height of their understanding of classes and class struggle, the great significance of simple living and hard struggle and of building the country with industry and thrift, and regard the upholding of the working-class tradition of plain living and hard struggle and of industry and thrift as fundamental in carrying the proletarian revolution through to the end.

To sum up: to strengthen socialist education among the mass of workers means to educate them in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to give

them a firm class stand and correct political orientation, revolutionary, collectivist ideas, and a style of plain living and hard struggle.

The source of the revolutionary spirit is invincible Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao Tse-tung's thinking which is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the basic guarantee of victory for the Chinese people in revolution and construction. Socialist education must be guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking. To help the workers grasp the essence of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it is necessary to organize them to make a serious study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings. This is an important part of political and ideological work and a fundamental task of socialist education. Only by persistently educating the workers in Mao Tse-tung's thinking will they be able to have a better understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in the light of their knowledge of the actual revolutionary struggle; only in this way, will they be able to keep the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat alive, gain a clear understanding of the situation and orient themselves correctly in the current class struggle both at home and abroad.

The experience of many years shows that in order to educate the workers in socialism effectively, it is essential to handle the following relations correctly:

#### **Ideological Work and Economic Work**

In the first place, it is necessary to handle correctly the relation between ideological and political work on the one hand and economic work on the other. Ideological and political work serves the economic base and guarantees the success of economic and technical work. It must proceed from production, be conducted in close connection with it and aim at guaranteeing the fulfilment of production targets. Otherwise it would be divorced from reality as well as the masses and weakened to such an extent as to be ineffectual. Ideology and politics are in command; they are the soul of all work. Once ideological and political work is relaxed, economic and technical work will inevitably go astray. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the economic system of a society is undergoing a fundamental change."<sup>5</sup>

If a socialist enterprise is to run production well, it is essential for its administration to give full consideration to people. This means first of all to do ideological work. When this work is well done and the people's political consciousness is enhanced, their wisdom and talent can be given maximum scope. This is why production in a socialist enterprise can be constantly developed only when the workers' political consciousness is constantly heightened and their revolutionary initiative brought into fuller play. If an industrial or

<sup>5</sup> Editor's note to "A Serious Lesson," *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p.302.

mining enterprise relies solely on "material incentive" to stimulate its workers' initiative without doing persistent ideological and political work, the result will be a progressive lessening of the revolutionary and production initiative of the workers and the unbridled growth of bourgeois individualism.

### **Socialist Education and Revolutionary Practice**

Secondly, socialist education must be integrated with revolutionary practice. It is quite aimless and fruitless if it is divorced from the practical tasks of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The working class is a militant class and it is precisely the aim of socialist education to arm the workers for struggle. Experience shows that the more complex the struggle, the more urgently the workers need the theory of Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action. Socialist education, therefore, must not be conducted in an abstract way, but in relation to the class struggle and struggle for production. A characteristic feature of the workers' study of Marxist-Leninist theory is that they learn amidst struggle and for the purpose of carrying on the struggle. It is also a characteristic feature of socialist education that it is given in the midst of struggle and designed for carrying on the struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that "In the class struggle and the struggle against nature, the working class remoulds the whole society, and at the same time remoulds itself."<sup>6</sup> Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings, the Chinese working class is closely integrating its activities in remoulding the objective world with the remoulding of their subjective world and closely linking practice with study.

### **Linking Theory With Ideological Education By Living Example**

Thirdly, it is necessary to integrate theoretical training with ideological education by living example. The Party's line, principles and policies are the products of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; they are the embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. A fundamental requirement in socialist education is that the workers must not only understand the universal truth, but also its actual application to the practice of the Chinese revolution. They must not only understand the Party's principles and policies in various periods, but must also follow them as a guide in their own action. In carrying on socialist education, therefore, it is necessary to go among the masses, study their ideological trends, master the laws governing their thinking, and then use the Party's principles and policies as a guide in answering the specific questions raised by the masses in the course of their actual struggles and in solving the practical problems troubling their minds. To discover living examples of how workers think, it is necessary to integrate education with production. It is necessary to gain a knowledge of each

individual's mental and emotional state, character and temperament in the process of production as well as the interconnection between their outlook on the one hand and their material conditions of production and living conditions on the other. Different cases should be handled differently on the basis of specific analysis; ideological and political work should be carried out with a well-defined objective in mind.

### **Teaching and Self-Education of the Masses**

Fourthly, it is necessary to integrate enlightenment from above with self-education of the masses, with the main emphasis on the latter. Mass self-education is the Party's mass line applied to ideological education. Socialist education cannot be penetrating and really solve ideological problems without bringing the workers' own initiative into play and relying on their voluntary action. In relying on the workers to educate themselves, reliance should be placed mainly on the skilled veteran workers and outstanding workers who have a firm class stand. The rich experience of the veteran workers in production and life, their class consciousness and organizational discipline must play a big role in educating the younger generation of workers. In this educational process, the sense of responsibility of the veteran workers themselves should be heightened so that they can maintain their advance and become the mainstay of the socialist cause.

The method of the masses educating themselves is a democratic method of persuasion, a method of criticism and self-criticism.

In relying on the masses to educate themselves, good use should be made of those forms that the masses prefer. Cultural activities and the propaganda media in factories and mines should be used as keen instruments for educating the workers and attacking the enemy. The struggle against the bourgeoisie and feudal remnants in the ideological sphere is a very complicated one. Bourgeois and feudal ideas find profound and elegant expression in the arts, literature and religion and the younger generation of workers often come under their influence. In carrying on self-education, therefore, it is necessary to use various artistic and literary forms in order to resist corruption by bourgeois ideas and propagate the new culture.

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To spread proletarian ideology and root out bourgeois ideology is a long-term struggle. Class education of the workers is a strategic task for the entire period of socialism; it cannot be fulfilled in a short time, say eight or ten years; it is an activity of a whole historic period. Only by upholding the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and bringing their proletarian revolutionary spirit into play, will the Chinese working class be able through the class struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and accelerate socialist construction; only thus will they be able to carry the revolution through to the end and finally fulfil the historic task of the proletariat.

<sup>6</sup>On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, p.39.

# Zanzibar People Carry The Revolution Forward

by YI MIN

SINCE the January revolution, the world has learnt much more about Zanzibar, the island country off the east coast of Africa with an area of slightly over 2,600 square kilometres and a population of only 315,000. Before people knew little of it apart from its cloves which make up 80 per cent of world production. But today the name Zanzibar is often on people's lips. Among noteworthy events of the last few weeks have been the headlong flight and finding refuge in London of the deposed Sultan Seyyid Djamshid Bin Abdulla, the appearance of imperialist warships off Zanzibar's coasts, and the expulsion from the country of the U.S. Charge d'Affaires and the British High Commissioner. More recently there has been the resounding proclamation of the Declaration of Zanzibar by President Abeid Amani Karume.

An earlier official statement had declared that the armed revolution of Zanzibar is a popular revolution, and that it is "only a historical phenomenon brought about by the unbearable social conditions of the Zanzibar people who had been oppressed for ages." It added that the people would carry on their struggle to "destroy completely the vestiges of oppression and exploitation caused by capitalism, feudalism and imperialism." These words took on new force in the Declaration of Zanzibar which gives full expression to the people's determination to protect the fruits of revolution and to carry the revolution further forward.

## Meeting the People's Demands

During the days of colonial and feudal rule, 80 per cent of the land was owned by 13 per cent of the population. When reading the Declaration to a huge mass rally of 60,000 people on March 8 President Karume said: "We are taking these progressive steps in order to rectify the unjust and anomalous situation, whereby the minority owns the bulk of our land while our people are left to starve."

Under the Declaration, the Zanzibar Government will nationalize all land and redistribute it to the peasants. It will take over plantations from capitalist exploiters and nationalize all racial clubs.

Referring to these racial clubs where the colonialists established unreasonable rules in order to play up racial issues, thus distracting attention from social differences and diverting the people from the struggle for genuine independence, President Karume declared that the colonialists divided the people racially to facilitate their domination. In taking the present historic step the Government wished to eradicate all traces of racialism, so that all people might march forward in true unity and friendship.

The victory of the Zanzibar people's revolution is another sign of the awakening of the African people. The memory of untold misery under the earlier sultanates and then the Imperial British East Africa Co. in the late 19th century is still burnt deep in the minds of the people of Zanzibar. They knew only too well from their experience that without a revolution there could not have been for them any path forward, or prosperity.

All the people of Africa and other continents warmly greeted the victory of the Zanzibar revolution and have expressed firm support for its people in their struggle. On the other hand, the imperialists did not at all like what had happened. The revolution took them by surprise, and they hated it to the marrow of their bones. They resorted to intimidation, intervention and subversive activities in an attempt to strangle the revolution in its cradle. However, the Zanzibar Government has refused to knuckle under to the imperialists. The Zanzibar Declaration comes as a proud rebuff to them.

Of course, the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists will not abandon their dream of subjugating the Zanzibar people once more. Zanzibar, because of its position, played a key role in the imperialist exploitation and division of Africa. From its ports, colonial slave-traders and freebooters made their expeditions to and conquests on the mainland. Their modern successors will not let their interests in Zanzibar and East Africa go, they will not give up their neo-colonialist scheme to control Zanzibar and turn it into a base for neo-colonialist intrigues against the mainland.

## Ready for Further Struggle

The Zanzibar people know this clearly from both history and present-day reality, they understand that the hard struggle against imperialism is not over.

A newly founded united trade union—the Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions—in a communique declared that U.S. imperialism and U.S. monopoly capitalism were the most ferocious enemies of the people. "We know clearly that U.S. imperialism will never stop causing confusion and carrying out counter-revolutionary activities in our country just as it has never stopped doing these bad things in other countries," the communique added.

"If U.S. imperialism fights us with guns, we must fight it with guns," said the Swahili language paper *Kweupe* (Dawn), organ of the Government.

Relying on the strength of the people and upholding national unity, the People's Republic of Zanzibar will without doubt surmount all difficulties in its forward march.

# Rising Armed Struggle in the Congo

I HAVE never for a single moment doubted that the cause to which my colleagues and I have devoted our whole lives will win final victory. . . . The Congolese people will never give up their struggle until our country has been rid of the colonialists and their mercenaries."

It is only three years since Lumumba wrote these confident words in a letter to his wife before he was murdered. Today, the Congolese people, inspired by their fallen national hero, have carried their national-liberation movement to a new stage.

In late January, a patriotic armed struggle broke out in the Kwilu region, 300 miles east of Leopoldville, capital of the Congo. The declared aim is: "Liberate our country from the imperialists, the neo-colonialists and their hangers-on."

## Fast Growth

Rapid development of the armed struggle has been taking place for more than two months now. Opening the fighting with the siege of the town of Idiofa, a post of the Adoula forces, armed Congolese have partly occupied the township of Feshi in the nearby Kwango region and attacked another town, Gungu, about 50 miles south of Idiofa. The people's forces have closed in on Leverville, palm oil centre of the British-Dutch Unilever Combine in the Congo, and advanced to Yuka and Mangai in north Kwilu on the banks of the Kasai River. The railway between Elisabethville, capital of Katanga Province, and Port Francqui — an important link accounting for 40 per cent of the exports of Katanga-mined ore — has been cut.

According to recent reports, the area controlled by the armed Congolese people has been extended from 110 to 5,800 square miles, about half the size of Belgium. The vast countryside in the eastern and southern part of the Kwilu region is completely under their control. The ranks of the armed patriots are swelling, having increased from only dozens at the beginning of the struggle to about 10,000.

It has been proved in the Congo as elsewhere that it is men, not weapons, that count. To crush the people's struggle, the panic-stricken Adoula regime repeatedly has sent well-equipped reinforcements to the Kwilu region. Moreover, "U.N. forces," a U.S. tool for aggression, have not contented themselves with transporting supplies for Adoula's troops and carrying out air reconnaissance for them; they have taken a direct hand in armed suppression. But none of this has proved successful. Fighting with bows and arrows, spears and pangas, the patriotic Congolese people have increased in strength, dealing heavy blows to the Adoula troops officered by U.S. and Belgian "advisers."

The armed patriots not only are fighting heroically, but resourcefully. After the outbreak of the armed struggle, Eugene Abeya, chief of staff of the Adoula army, rushed well-equipped commando troops to the Kwilu region. On February 5, two of his platoons were ambushed during their advance from Gungu to Totshi in the southern part of Kwilu. Abeya, driving in a jeep, was killed by an arrow.

## Wide Support

The Congolese liberators also have distinguished themselves by another feature of a people's force — good discipline. In their military operations, they follow eight simple and straight-forward rules: 1) respect all people; 2) honest purchases from villagers; 3) return in time everything borrowed; 4) pay for anything damaged; 5) don't beat or curse others; 6) don't destroy or damage farmland of villagers; 7) respect women and don't insult them; and 8) don't maltreat prisoners of war, don't confiscate or take their personal belongings such as rings, money, watches and other things.

Even the Western press, which has made no bones about its hostility to the patriotic armed forces, has had to admit that they are "well-organized" and have the "following" of the local people.

The U.S.-backed Adoula regime might consider it a bolt from the blue that its troubles should have cropped up in a region where it only recently resorted to terror to tighten its grip. At the end of last September, in a search for patriots' leaders in the Kwilu region, Adoula's police and army first burnt down a village in Lukamba and massacred all the villagers. Then, the



Sketch map by Su Li

entire area of Lukamba was put to the torch and all inhabitants killed.

After the start of the Congolese people's armed struggle, an article in the British *Sunday Telegraph* on February 16 disclosed that 1,500 well-equipped Adoula troops were carrying out "a systematic clean-up" in the Kwilu region and a "kill and destroy indiscriminately" operation. However, all the terrorist acts of the Adoula regime certainly can only arouse the indignant Congolese people to determined action. The paper admitted that attempts by Adoula troops to wipe out the patriotic forces "are making little headway."

### Washington Shaken Up

This recent march of events has inspired the Congolese people with greater confidence in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for genuine national independence. It has caused alarm in Leopoldville and anxiety in Washington. On March 1, when he announced an indefinite postponement of the resumption of the Congolese parliament, U.S.-backed President Joseph Kasavubu said that allowing parliament to meet at that time seemed "ill-timed." The Adoula regime has declared a state of emergency throughout the Kwilu region, banning gatherings of five or more persons.

UPI has warned of "the most critical" situation since 1961 in the Congo. The *New York Herald Tribune* (February 14) said that the Congolese guerrillas "send shivers of concern into Westerners." What is dangerous about the Congolese guerrilla operation, it added, "is that it has expanded successfully. Moreover, it is a definite pilot scheme to adapt revolution to local conditions."

U.S. imperialism is particularly fearful of the influence of the Congolese patriotic armed struggle. U.S. Ambassador to the Congo Edmund Gullion who visited the Kwilu region soon after the outbreak of the struggle said that "the danger came not from the military point of view, but from the effect it might have on other regions." Refusing to learn from the situation, Washington has decided to help strengthen Adoula's police force in an attempt to suppress the Congolese people, beginning with the police of the three major cities — Leopoldville, Stanleyville and Elisabethville.

One of the mottoes of the Congolese people is: "endurance and perseverance." No matter what efforts are made by U.S. imperialism in its attempts to hang on in the Congo, the people's armed forces will continue to fight on until they have won final victory.

— WANG LIN

### International Communist Movement

## V.G. Wilcox's Speech at Party School In Canton

*V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, made a speech on February 18 at the Party School of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Canton. The full text of his speech follows. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

Comrades,

It is a great pleasure and honour to speak to you today. An honour not only for myself personally but for the Communist Party of New Zealand of which I am General Secretary, a Party that in the capitalist world is endeavouring to the best of its ability to uphold the banners of Marxism-Leninism and prepare the way by correct policy and practice for the future advance to a socialist New Zealand. That we face many difficulties you will realize. We have made some gains and we have made some mistakes, the experience of which we have tried to study in order to eliminate them from our theory and practice in the future. In our own way, based on our own experiences and understanding, we have tried to apply the theories of Marxism to our country and its conditions. For any Marxist-Leninist party there is no other way because otherwise one takes the road of sectarianism, of dog-

matism. Therefore our Party programme is based on New Zealand conditions while using the worldwide experience of our movement both before and since the Great October Revolution of 1917 led by Lenin.

### Firm Support for 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement

We have stood firm in support of the recent documents of our world movement—the 1957 Declaration and the 81 Parties' Statement of 1960. We have refused to follow the illusions advanced by the revisionists that so much has occurred since 1960 that without world collective consideration at the request of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. whole portions of the 1957 Declaration and the 81 Parties' Statement of 1960 should either be ignored or unilaterally altered. We have refused to accept the revisionist concept that the League of Yugoslavian Communists should be brought back into our Marxist-Leninist fold without retracting their revisionist views or activity in order, so say the revisionists, to save what so-called socialism still exists in their country. We have refused to accept the idea that so many things have changed since 1960 that dogmatism and not revisionism is now the main danger in our world Marxist-Leninist movement.

No! We stand firm, upholding, as we see them, the principles of Marxism-Leninism in our part of the capitalist world, in so doing we have made many enemies but we have found many friends, both in New Zealand and in other countries. In time we will gain more friends and the enemy will retreat and finally be overcome by the offensive of the correct principles of Marxism.

### **The N.Z. Party Fights for Marxism-Leninism**

Comrades, as the 81 Parties' Statement put it, we are in the era of the decline of imperialism and the victory of socialism on a world scale. Today it is apparent that this situation has brought not only gains but also new problems. New difficulties have brought sharp contradictions, struggles within our world movement and within each individual Communist Party. This should not discourage any Marxist. Without difficulties, contradictions and struggle we do not advance. If we do not recognize this first stagnation sets in and then retreat. It is useless in such a situation to remain placid like a cow chewing its cud and hope that time will bring a solution without our help. No — we must fight, we must oppose all who want to emasculate Marxism-Leninism in such a way that ultimately it would survive as but a bourgeois theory. The Communist Party of New Zealand in its congress decision last year recognized this and we are fighting for the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Within our world Marxist-Leninist movement those who today take a stand will emerge victorious and modern revisionism will be defeated.

Today the idea has arisen that because of the strength of the socialist world the way forward has now become easy, that socialism can be won in the main through reliance on the socialist world and not on the organized fighting ability of the masses led by their own Communist Parties. Looking at it in this way the class struggle as the motive force for change in each individual country assumes less and less importance and class collaboration ideas grow, both in internal policy and international affairs. This is but an expression of revisionism, the same revisionism that Lenin fought, the basic idea being the same as that advanced by the Bernsteins and the Kautskys. The modern revisionists may express it in different language, they may try to cloak it by talking about the "new era" but in content it is the same old story.

### **Modern Revisionists Defend U.S. Imperialism**

In the imperialist world new contradictions are arising, contradictions which all Marxists should welcome and use, but do the revisionists suggest doing this? No. They profess to see no new contradictions or else they ignore them. They see imperialism in decline as a monolithic whole, hence they attempt to deal with it as a whole. That imperialist France is, in a small but nevertheless significant way, throwing out challenges to the hegemony of United States imperialism is not, for the revisionists, something to be welcomed, something that will help our movement advance in its

struggle against all imperialism. No! It is to them a bad thing against which a main blow must be delivered and they end up seeing French imperialism as the most reactionary force in the world, and advising us to concentrate our forces against it. What are they doing really when they advocate this? They are assisting the most reactionary force in the world, United States imperialism, to maintain unchallenged its present dominating position in the imperialist camp.

This issue, of growing divisions within imperialism, shows clearly what is the role of modern revisionism in practice. Because of a wrong theory, that of dealing with imperialism as a monolithic whole which to them in practice means dealing with United States imperialist leaders, they find themselves defending United States imperialism and its interests against other imperialisms. Is that not the explanation of our Czech comrades' attack on the Chinese for establishing, at this stage, diplomatic relations with France? Of course it is. Since when, we ask, did Marxist-Leninists act in this way? Did not Stalin after World War II point out that divisions of importance would again arise in the imperialist camp and that we should welcome them and use them to the advantage of the struggle against imperialism and for the victory of socialism on a world scale? Who was right, the revisionists who see imperialism as a whole and who in fact conciliate with it in the false belief that it will weaken and die peacefully, or Stalin? Of course it was Stalin. Stalin did make serious mistakes but they were small and unimportant in comparison with those of the revisionists of today. He, not they, has a history of standing firm against imperialism.

Comrades, I have spoken briefly of how the revisionists in our world movement are trying to revise Marxism-Leninism in such a way that it would become just a bourgeois theory with an outer coating of Marxist phrases. That they should continue to use Marxist language and for that matter continue occasionally to advance correct Marxist theory is not unexpected. A study of Kautsky shows that that is precisely what he did when he had passed from the Marxist camp to that of the bourgeoisie. Lenin exposed this cunning approach and we must do the same with the modern revisionists. They talk big in Marxist-Leninist language, if possible every third word refers to the great Lenin, but when their words have to be put into practice where are the revisionists? They are missing!

### **Revisionism in Action**

Does this not apply to the national-liberation struggle? The revisionists speak as if the national-liberation struggle is nearly ended and as if we were now passing into a new period. This is just not correct. Hundred of millions of people still live under colonialism or under conditions where imperialism is still the dominating factor in deciding their living standards and their way of life. The revisionists refuse to see the growing danger of neo-colonialism because to do so will bring them into direct conflict with imperialism which they pretend to believe is gently fading.

ing away. Their solution is to compete peacefully with imperialism through "economic aid." This is what has been done in India. The leadership of the C.P.S.U. persists in regarding India not as a capitalist country, becoming more and more under the influence of United States imperialism, but as a country still in the process of a national-liberation struggle led by Nehru and the Congress. Today the Congress policy is reactionary—it aids imperialism, prevents real independence and leads to the further impoverishment of the masses of the people of India. But Khrushchov and his followers fawn over Nehru, give aid which is used directly against another socialist country, the People's Republic of China, and persist in the story that the Sino-Indian border dispute is the fault of China! This latter point they persist in, in spite of the fact that no other Asian or Southeast Asian country, socialist or non-socialist, is of their opinion. What is this in practice but assisting in the infiltration of United States imperialism into India, the strengthening of the most reactionary force in our modern world, the building up of the power that has huge stockpiles of atomic weapons and which remains a daily threat to world peace. The revisionists prattle about world peace, a world without arms and without war, but through their deeds they strengthen the forces that now and in the future, are the main danger, as far as world war is concerned and as far as local imperialist wars are concerned too. These local imperialist wars are waged to protect and advance U.S. imperialist interests and strengthen the U.S. imperialists in their backing of reactionary regimes by aid and armed force in Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

This is revisionism in action.

Again, where armed struggle is being conducted, in many cases under the leadership of the Communist Party, do they show their concern for the victory of the liberation forces? No, their main worry is to find a peaceful way in co-operation with the imperialists. Recent history proves this point.

How does this affect our Party in New Zealand?

### **You Can't Stand Aside From the Battle Against Revisionism**

For a long time many comrades thought that we were not directly involved and that the policy decided by our national conferences, based on Marxism-Leninism as we saw it, would proceed unhindered by the overseas development of revisionism; that in fact this question could be settled by others so that while we might deplore what was occurring we could stand aside from the battle.

Obviously this was incorrect. Our proletarian duty meant that we had to battle not only internally but on the international front for Marxism-Leninism in our world movement. It soon became apparent too that the application of our Marxist-Leninist policy in New Zealand was hindered and made more difficult by growth of revisionism on a world scale.

I have spoken of the concept of dealing with imperialism as a monolithic whole while ignoring the growth of divisions within imperialism and I have stated how this lead some to think that People's China should not recognize imperialist France because France desires to challenge the United States monopoly of the nuclear weapon for its own imperialist purposes. Here, straight away, we have a difference in policy in N.Z. Not only do we welcome France's recognition of People's China but we do not consider that French imperialism, because it desires to test nuclear weapons in the Pacific thus ignoring the partial test ban agreement, immediately become the most reactionary force, against which the main blow against imperialism at this stage must be dealt, in countries bordering on the Pacific. Yet that is what some Parties with revisionist leadership are doing in that area. They are taking the heat off U.S. imperialism which is the most reactionary force in the world today. They demand protests against the French tests but they carry out no effective campaign for the total end to all testing, manufacture, and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles which is the only effective guarantee against nuclear war. These Parties call the Chinese Government's appeal for such action premature. It is apparent that they are beginning to accept the United States proposal that there be only two nuclear powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and that they are going to pretend that that is a secure basis for world peace.

Our Party says, yes, we should protest against French tests in the Pacific right at our front door but we should also make plain that the main enemy is U.S. imperialism, which tested and perfected atomic weapons at the same front door.

While protesting against the French tests we should link such a protest with the demand that all nuclear tests be stopped and all stockpiles be destroyed. The revisionists do not agree, so at this stage unity in action, both in N.Z. and between Parties bordering the Pacific, is damaged by revisionism.

### **The Question of Malaysia**

In the countries of the South Pacific and those bordering the Pacific, the question of Malaysia is of immediate concern. In New Zealand our Government, like that of Australia, is committed to aid the armed forces of the British imperialist puppet, Tunku Rahman, if called upon to do so. At any moment we are faced with the danger of being involved in war with our neighbour to the north, Indonesia. But do the revisionists recognize this danger as an urgent one? No, they are too concerned about concentrating their fire on French imperialism and they do not realize the fact that tied up in this issue is a revival of more open conflict between British imperialism and the present dominant imperialism, the U.S.A. The U.S.A. does not want effective British success in Malaysia, it wants its own imperialist influence to be the major factor there, hence its approach through R. Kennedy recently, the talks with Sukarno, etc. The United States moves are



not genuine moves designed to preserve peace in South-east Asia and the South Pacific but are intended to check the interests of British imperialism while of course they hope to extend their own. Fortunately the Indonesian Government realizes that such differences can be used to advantage but the revisionists cannot see any possibilities in such a situation.

What is the position now in New Zealand? Our Government is pledged to aid by armed force, if called upon, the newly created Malaysia but it is making it very plain that it does not want to be called upon to do so. The reason is obvious. The domination of British imperialism, as far as N.Z. foreign policy is concerned, no longer exists. The new factor, U.S. imperialist influence in our area, enters and the result is to some extent confusion and no decisive action. Our Party can of course use such differences arising in our ruling class to advantage. It can use this situation to ensure that no troops go to Malaysia by raising opposition not only from the working class but from sections of the bourgeoisie. Can the revisionists in the countries of the Pacific see this? No they cannot, because they only regard imperialism as a monolithic whole. To them, in the "new era" divisions within imperialism either do not exist or are unimportant.

### **Strategy and Tactics Towards Social Democracy**

Where do the revisionists stand on what is for us in New Zealand the basic question of correct strategy and tactics towards social democracy? They confuse the mass working-class base of social democracy in countries such as ours with a mass working-class ideology. In fact they are starting to argue that if a Labour Party has an overwhelming majority of workers in its membership it must follow that it has a working-class outlook in policy, or at least that correct policy can be achieved without an ideological battle to win the workers to an understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the necessity for a Communist Party. In fact, they persist in ignoring the historical fact that social democracy nowhere in the world has led the working people and their allies to the achievement of state power and the creation of a socialist society. It is only where a strong and decisive leadership has come from the Party of the working class, the Communist Party, has that been achieved. The modern revisionists, claiming that we are in a new era and that things are different to what they used to be, say that now we can work in a different way and somehow or other through parliamentary road with little additions here and there achieve a socialist society. In fact they say we can do it without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Utter and complete nonsense! They expect to achieve socialism by a Labour Party, assisted by a few injections from the present membership of the Communist Party. This leads to the negation of the correct concept of the leading role of a Communist Party and in fact starts it on the road to liquidation. In the mid-1940s the Browder line, advanced for a time in the Communist Party of the U.S.A. suggested organiza-

tional steps towards the liquidation of effective communist organization based on Marxism-Leninism and many of the present revisionists opposed it then. Today they are taking the Browder road. At the best they treat the Labour Party as a two class Party, but all Marxists know that such a thing is an impossibility. They refuse to learn from Lenin who categorically declared that social democratic political parties, labour parties, are capitalist parties.

The Communist Party of New Zealand does not view social democracy in this revisionist way. We see the necessity to work and unite on immediate issues of struggle with all sections of the workers including those most strongly influenced by and supporting the Labour Party, we also see the need to conduct side by side with such united front work a continuing educational ideological battle to win the workers to Marxism-Leninism and to an understanding of why no social democratic party ever leads them to socialism but in fact merely strengthens the stranglehold of capitalism. We unite in action with these sections but we do not unite ideologically. On the contrary we bring out strongly the leading role of our Communist Party, the reasons why it must be strengthened and its influence widened if we are to effectively lead the struggle for a socialist New Zealand.

In other words, in dealing with social democracy we unite with but we also struggle against. When we do this the revisionists in the world movement say we are dogmatists, Left sectarians and that we do not understand the changed situation in the world. They say we do not realize that, as with the nature of imperialism in our present era, so also the nature of social democracy has changed. Lenin has thus become outdated! The revisionist leaders of the Second International, Kautsky in particular, when they passed from a correct Marxist approach to one of revising Marxism because they say that it was outdated and did not meet the new conditions of the strong imperialist world of those days quickly passed from revising Marxism to complete opposition to all aspects of Marxist theory and practice. They rapidly become social democrats as we understood it. In the years of about 1905 to 1915-16, most of them went overboard but were still hanging on to Marxism at the outbreak of World War I.

One can well say of the modern revisionists that unless they quickly return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism they too will cease to be revisionists of Marxism-Leninism and will become complete opponents of all aspects of Marxism-Leninism. They will become as ardent social democrats as leaders of our labour parties in the capitalist world.

And some Communist Parties of Europe today, the Communist Party of Italy in particular, are very much near that position. There is no middle road between Marxism-Leninism and social democracy for revisionists.

Viewing them in this way, what are our Communist Parties in the classic countries of social democracy in fact becoming? Nothing more than a Left wing of social democracy, a useful tool of the capitalist class

for preserving a little longer their privileged class position and their exploitation of the masses. In the era of the decline of imperialism and the victory of socialism on a world scale they are, in the strongholds of imperialism, helping imperialism to live a little longer.

The incorrect ideological approach to social democracy had immediate repercussions as far as policy and activity in the trade union movement (the movement that Lenin referred to as the mass organs of struggle of the workers) was concerned.

New Zealand is the country that Lenin described as the paradise of the Second International. The social democratic idea of a workers' capitalism, the so-called welfare state, was founded in our country away back in the 1890s by legislative action by the Liberal-Labour governments of that time. This was when the concept of class collaboration between the worker and the employer in the industrial field through government legislation arose. For the majority of the workers industrial conciliation and arbitration became the only way to advance claims for higher wages, better conditions, etc. The idea, spread successfully by the ruling class, is that the workers could rely on industrial issues in any dispute receiving impartial justice from an appointee of the capitalist state if agreement could not be reached between the workers and employers. Needless to say, the result has always been class justice — justice favouring the employing class.

Social democratic ideology has kept such illusions as "impartial justice from the capitalist state" strong in the minds of our workers and has up to now been accepted by the majority of trade unions. Recently however the deepening crisis of capitalism on a world scale has begun to affect the economy of New Zealand in a more direct way. Although our living standards remain possibly the highest in the capitalist world, the workers, small farmers and small businessmen have found that their living standards are down compared with ten or fifteen years ago and that they are still falling. The growing infiltration of international monopoly into New Zealand, together with the fact that our economy relies upon the price received from the export of farm products (a doubtful factor on the world market today), has meant that prices have risen, increasing the cost of living, but no increase in income has occurred. In the trade union movement this has given birth to a more militant policy, the beginning of a nationwide move to break from the stranglehold of class collaboration and the wider use of the strike weapon against the employing class. Last year more workers went on strike than for many a long year. Conditions for our Party to develop, inside the trade union movement, a clearer class understanding and more progressive working class politics have become more favourable.

However, if we accept the revisionist ideas we cannot utilize these favourable conditions. Collaboration with imperialism at the top, and waiting for it to be peacefully competed out of existence, leads inevitably

to accepting the idea of class peace and not class struggle in our own internal affairs.

### **C.P.S.U. Leaders Turn Away From Revolution**

And so leaving the question of social democracy it is no wonder these revisionists say that we are suggesting something outside of the general line of our world movement when we insist that today the storm centres of world revolution are in Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. Suslov told our delegation this when it was in Moscow for bilateral talks with the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Since when have Marxist-Leninists expected the next break-through, the next advance of socialism, to occur in the strong-points of imperialism? In actual practice the further success of the revolutionary movements in the weak links of imperialism will greatly aid our struggle against imperialism and help to break the stranglehold of social democratic ideology on the minds of our workers.

In actual life, what Suslov, Khrushchov and other leaders of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. are saying to us: look to the strongpoints of imperialism to break through. What does that mean? In fact they turn away from revolution. No wonder they turn to conciliation with imperialism.

### **Social Democracy — Servant of Imperialism**

To return to social democracy. Lenin outlined the reasons for its rise in the ranks of the workers' movements and in Marxist parties many long years ago. He pointed out that with the development of imperialism the ruling class in imperialist countries were able by their excessive exploitation of their new colonial empires to buy off sections of the workers in their own countries by giving them slightly higher living standards, crumbs from the rich man's table. They were able to buy off workers leaders by flattery, by honours and knighthoods and by straight out bribery. This could be done without in any way affecting their own profits; in fact the dampening down of class struggle, the development of theories of class collaboration and class peace in the imperialist countries always showed a good dividend on any profit and loss balance sheet. Social democratic ideology and social democratic political parties were thus created among the working class in the capitalist world.

What becomes of social democratic ideology and its political expression among the workers in the period of imperialist decline? If Lenin was right, and we consider that he was, should we not expect a decline in this particular brand of bourgeois theory? We think so but the revisionists do not agree. In the era of the decline of imperialism they see social democracy remaining but changing like imperialism which they now say can be made through its weakness to accept a peace policy and die gracefully without struggle. In their opinion, social democracy, labour parties, will become parties with which not only can we unite and work on certain limited issues in the interests of the masses but with which we can unite in the struggle for socialism in our own countries.

What utter nonsense! As the struggle in the imperialist world grows social democracy becomes an ever more vicious servant of capitalism in each individual country. Its mass support must be won to a working-class outlook and to support of the Communist Party. It is obvious that the decline of imperialism produces naturally the opposite to what Lenin saw occur in the days of its rise and that the hold of social democratic ideology in the ranks of the working class diminishes. That is so in N.Z. today. No longer do the mass of the workers expect the Labour Party to provide a solution to their problems, much less lead them to socialism as they used to believe in former years, social democracy's hold on them is based on the thin hope that they may prove a little better than other bourgeois political parties. In many cases the hope has gone and many workers have supported other capitalist parties as may be proved by an analysis of the results of the last two general elections in N.Z.

### **Road to Victory**

The task of a Communist Party is to win them away from all bourgeois theories to a working-class ideology, to support of Marxism-Leninism. This will not be achieved by the false call for unity in everything (including ideology) just because the workers still constitute the mass of the social democratic parties which is what the revisionists are doing. No! It will be achieved in a Marxist-Leninist way by unity only on immediate issues, in action, in struggles, which will lift the understanding of the workers. They will learn by experience that way that the capitalist today, as always, concedes nothing unless the workers fight for it and that no capitalist intends to hand over state power to the working people and their allies without a struggle. They will learn to think about the ideological outlook and policy advanced by the Communist Party, an outlook based on Marxism-Leninism.

This is the road to the strengthening of the Communist Parties in the capitalist world where social democracy still remains a major problem. It is the road to victory. The revisionist road is the road to the liquidation of the Communist Parties as far as playing any independent role, or giving decisive leadership is concerned.

When our delegation to the bilateral talks in Moscow raised this question, so important not only to us in N.Z. but to our whole world movement, because as yet a major break-through against social democracy has yet to be made in any of the countries where social democratic ideology has been dominant among the ranks of the workers, what did Suslov have to say on behalf of the C.C.C.P.S.U.?

He said: "Why blame us? This is your problem. You must solve it." What a Marxist-Leninist attitude to adopt! Should we adopt the attitude to the struggle for national liberation and socialism in Southeast Asia, of saying that is not our problem and therefore does not concern us? Of course not. Any Marxist must be concerned because collectively the correct policy on all these matters means that we will achieve what the 81

Parties' Statement said we would and that is the world victory of socialism.

You see these revisionists as was apparent in our discussion in Moscow, when they do not want to deal with a thing, say that is your problem. But, then as Suslov did on behalf of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. in the conclusion of his talk to us, he had no hesitation in saying: you are wrong. We had hope that you might change. If you change, you will remain within the ranks of the fraternal world Parties of Marxism-Leninism. But if you do not change, then, of course, you will be outside and excluded.

In other words, social democracy is our problem, but they decide who is going to remain in the framework of fraternal Parties.

### **Leadership of C.P.S.U. Can't Dodge Responsibility**

Then again, when we spoke of the fact that their actions in regard to policies to socialist Albania, to socialist China and to other Communist Parties throughout the world, had shown that they were adopting an attitude that we could only sum up as great-nation chauvinism. When we said that, they had no effective answer. When in discussion we said, as we see it, your concept is by exploiting the rest of the socialist world you are going to advance to communism. In other words, they are going to advance to communism on the backs of the socialist world and the people and Communist Parties of other countries. When we said that, no effective reply. But what was the answer that came after a little while: In effect it was, Comrade Wilcox, we are very perturbed at the position of the Communist Party of New Zealand and your position in leadership. You are little-nation chauvinists.

In any case the statement that the C.C.C.P.S.U. leadership has no concern and no responsibility in the formulation of communist policy for the eradication of social democratic ideology from the ranks of the workers in the capitalist world is false. Their general policy since the 20th Congress, because of their former special position in our world movement and because since the Great October Revolution of 1917 they have held a particular leading role, has meant that they have played a big part in aiding the revisionist confusion between tactics in work among the masses under social democratic influence and action to achieve the strategic aim of defeating social democratic ideology in the workers' ranks and replacing it by Marxism-Leninism. Like other revisionists they cannot dodge that responsibility.

I say once again that the struggle against revisionism is in N.Z. a struggle for the survival of our Communist Party as a Marxist-Leninist party and that this basic problem affects all aspects of our policy.

From my experience in Moscow and elsewhere, if they told me that black was black, I still have an idea that it might be white and have a very careful look, because they certainly lie very, very effectively about everything.

### **Strategical and Tactical Aim of Our World Movement**

I have discussed the problem of strategy and tactics for overcoming social democracy. This raises the

question of what is the fundamental strategical and tactical aim of our world movement today.

The Communist Party of New Zealand considers that the strategical aim of our world movement is the elimination of monopoly, of imperialism, the achieving of state power by the working class and the building of socialism from that point; the main tactical concentration at this stage being on the prevention of imperialist world war, particularly nuclear war. That is how we expressed it at the bilateral talks in Moscow last September.

But in Moscow when I put this forward, how did Suslov reply on behalf of the C.C.C.P.S.U.? He said, "You know the problem of preventing thermonuclear war occupies an important place. The Declaration and Statement adopted by world Communists says: 'That Communists consider the struggle for peace their primary task.' Frankly, do you agree with this? It was far from your speech. You diminish the role of the struggle for peace, but the 81 Parties' Statement says that the problems of war and peace are the most urgent problems of our time, that we have great responsibility for preventing a world nuclear war, first of all on the world working class. The fight for peace is not just a tactical matter but one of the basis of strategy of the international communist movement."

### **Social Democratic Revisionism**

Comrades, our approach is the classical Marxist one and in spite of the spate of words in Moscow last September we still consider it correct. Suslov's concept opens up loopholes for social democratic revisionism to enter. Our objective, our strategic aim, assumes less importance and other things take their place, not just as far as immediate tactics are concerned but from a strategical approach too. The next step will be to ask for peace at any price from imperialism, complete conciliation and finally capitulation.

In N.Z. this issue assumes immediate importance for our Party. In the struggle for world peace and the drawing of the N.Z. people into maximum effort in that direction and in the struggle to get a peace policy on the international field from our Government, what is involved? We have to decide whether we must fight against imperialism in all aspects of its activities and influence as the basis of the struggle for peace or whether we as a Communist Party restrict our activities to certain forms of the struggle for peace. If we do the latter we will find that we have handed the leadership in the struggle for peace to bourgeois pacifist leaders and have ourselves become pacifist in outlook. We will ignore the inherent nature of imperialism, the nature that is the cause of modern war. Before long we will start prattling about the peaceful intentions of some imperialist leaders, overestimating the importance of top-level negotiations and underestimating the role of the working class, the role of the masses in the struggle for world peace. In other words we would turn away from the strategic aim of our Party which is the overthrow of imperialism, and make peace at any price our objective. That is what the modern revisionists

have actually done. Of course it leads not to peace but to war. The imperialists have no peaceful intentions, they are not indulgent. They welcome the revisionist approach as a sign of weakness in our world movement. At this stage we become easy victims, lambs for the slaughter. The imperialist lions will never lie down with the socialist lambs and allow them slowly and peacefully to economically compete imperialism out of existence. No, we must build bigger, stronger, fiercer lions ourselves. So says the Communist Party of New Zealand.

### **Question of Open Polemics**

And now let me turn to the question of open polemics. The Communist Party of New Zealand called in the early stages for the dropping of open polemics as in our opinion at that time it was harmful. The leadership of the C.P.S.U., headed by Khrushchov, would not agree. We called for a world meeting to discuss, in an objective and dialectical manner, the issues in dispute. Other Parties including the Communist Party of China did the same. But what occurred? The revisionists in the leadership of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. persisted in open polemics. They have continued to do so. At the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. a violent attack was made on the leadership of another fraternal Party, the Albanian Party of Labour. While cooing like doves around the imperialist leaders the C.P.S.U. told the world that the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour were betrayers and traitors. Having publicly fired these heavy shots they for a time became a little quieter. Then at the end of 1962 and the beginning of 1963 a series of Party congresses in both the socialist and capitalist sectors of Europe took place. Again open attacks were launched, a disgraceful, uncomradely attitude was adopted towards the fraternal delegates of the Communist Party of China and others who stood firm on Marxism-Leninism, one which culminated in the diatribe of Khrushchov at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party in East Germany and in the welcoming of the representatives of the Yugoslav revisionists.

A call then came for the stopping of polemics although they themselves carried them on openly and this call has been repeated. Let time solve the problem and prove who is right, they say.

It is our opinion that at this stage open polemics cannot be stopped. The issues involved are too fundamental, they affect the future not only of our Parties but of the whole socialist world, the future of humanity. The polemics can only be stopped now if the revisionists give up their revisionism both in words and deeds. If they do not we will suffer great losses. What kind of Marxism-Leninism is it to say "let time solve the problem?" The whole essence of Marxism implies active aid in the solving of problems. A whole new world is being born, we are in the era of the victory of socialism on a world scale, do we assist in its creation or do we stand aside as the revisionists are asking us to do?

Now, why do they at this stage want to stop open polemics? Such an approach is but a trick. Their

tactics are those of firing in a frenzied manner all possible shots, of poisoning people's minds everywhere against the defenders of Marxism-Leninism and then saying please don't you start using your heavy ammunition. We'll all stop now and let time solve it. The fact is they are not too happy about the way increasing numbers of members of all Communist Parties and supporters are beginning to see through their revisionism, to see that it will lead to defeat and not victory. They fear a reply. They fear the offensive of Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. They want to carry on revisionism while all remain silent and wait for time to solve the question. No, we cannot accept such a proposal. Our world movement must consider the questions in dispute. Marxist-Leninists everywhere must be given aid and support. Recently Ted Hill, former Member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Australia, a leading Marxist-Leninist, visited New Zealand. What were we supposed to do: Ignore him and only talk with the revisionists? No, we would talk with anybody in the interests of developing our Marxist-Leninist movement, on correct principled basis, in New Zealand and throughout the world. That is what we did, in spite of the fact that some revisionists apparently considered that they are protected by the 81 Parties' Statement which in their interpretation, we can talk to nobody but to them. Revisionist leaderships of some Communist Parties must be forced, by the offensive of those holding firm to Marxism-Leninism, to allow their membership to read and study not only what revisionism today has to say about Marxism-Leninism and about those who oppose revisionism but also what Marxist-Leninists have to say. In the Communist Party of New Zealand the leadership has consistently tried to provide its membership with all known facts and varying opinions. The views of our Party, as presented by our delegation to Moscow last September to discuss ideological issues in dispute bilaterally with the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., have been given to every Party member to study but we did not act like the revisionist leaders, we did not stop with our own views. Every word of what Suslov, the leader of the Soviet delegation at the talks, said was also given to all members at the same time together with a report adopted by our National Committee after our delegation's return to N.Z. in which we explained why we cannot accept the views advanced by Suslov on behalf of the C.C.C.P.S.U. International documents expressing varying views have been widely distributed. We have encouraged the attempt to obtain material on ideology being issued by the legation of the U.S.S.R. in Wellington, New Zealand. We have placed no black ban on our members reading and studying what the revisionists have to say, why do not the revisionists in the leadership of Communist Parties act in the same way? Why do they not tell their membership the truth about the Bucharest meeting called by the C.P.S.U. leaders after the Rumanian Congress in 1960? Why do they not tell the truth about the issues that had to be debated at the 81 Parties' meeting in November 1960? The

reason is obvious. They fear the widespread knowledge of the facts. Is this Marxism? When have Marxists ever ignored, misrepresented, or evaded facts? Every Marxist must consider and study all known facts. Widespread open discussion, after consideration of all opinions, will lead quickly to the victory of Marxism-Leninism, hence the present tactics of abuse and blackout.

### **Worldwide Ferment in Marxist Ranks**

We must not be despondent because such a situation faces us. Certainly not. Today millions are studying Marxism-Leninism, are studying the problems that arise after the victory of socialism in a number of countries. They are losing their idealistic illusions that class struggle, contradictions, the clash of opposites, inevitably vanish as the motive force for progress after socialist victory. They are reaching the conclusion, too, that the nature of imperialism has not changed, that in the capitalist world class struggle not class collaboration is still the primary factor in the fight for socialism and the defeat of imperialism.

A worldwide ferment is taking place in Marxist ranks. A new blossoming of creative Marxism will emerge that will guarantee the victory of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale. Let the revisionists shout and rave, let them manoeuvre how they may. We stand firm, knowing that there will be no victory for socialism on a world scale, no final defeat for world imperialism, while revisionism is dominant in important sectors of our world movement.

You all heard of the cult of the individual. I have had a lot to say about this. It can explain failures in the countryside, lack of bread, problems in industry, bad literature, poor painting. It can explain everything. Of course, Comrade Stalin died in 1953 and Khrushchov had been around a long time since and they do not explain that one.

Comrades, may I conclude by paying tribute to the great Communist Party of China and its leader Mao Tse-tung in their firm Marxist-Leninist stand on this issue. It has given heart to countless thousands, encouraging them in the battle for Marxism-Leninism in every country of the world.

We know that the masses make history. We have lived and are living in a period that demonstrates the correctness of this Marxist approach, but in each time and age great thinkers and leaders do have their role. It has been always so in our world movement. We have the example of the creative thought and practical activity of Marx and Engels, then of Lenin and to a degree of Stalin. Now, in the era when we face the problems of keeping firm the class struggle base as the motive force for change in the capitalist world as well as the problem of how to deal with the conflicts and the class struggle still existing in socialist society again we find a great creative Marxist-Leninist leader — your leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Proletarian history will record his achievements and those of your Party in letters of gold when the puny leaders of modern revisionism are in their right place — the dust bin of history.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## McNamara in Saigon

### No Way Out

He came, he saw—he knew not what to do to clean up the mess. That just about sums up McNamara's recent mission to south Viet Nam to seek a way out of the dilemma facing the U.S. aggressors.

McNamara spent five busy days with American civilian and military officials in Saigon and the provinces. He had several meetings with the latest local strongman, pocket-sized U.S.-puppet Nguyen Khanh. He also witnessed the destruction by the people's forces of a 700,000-litre gasoline installation and the crash of one of his escorting helicopters. Before he left, he told the press, "We are prepared to furnish whatever economic aid, whatever military training and logistical support, whatever military equipment is required, in whatever quantities are required and for as long as required."

McNamara did two things in Saigon. He praised to the skies Nguyen Khanh's "pacification plan"—which the Western press reveals is to increase the mobility of the puppet forces, concentrate attacks in the Mekong Delta and launch "social welfare" projects to charm the peasants. This is nothing but a refurbishing of the "Staley-Taylor Plan" which brought U.S. intervention in south Viet Nam to its present sorry plight.

And McNamara also made a special point of emphasizing American support for Khanh. This is because the summary manner in which Washington has done away with such faithful yesmen as Diem and Minh has struck fear into the hearts of those whom they call their friends. Even when he was still in Saigon, the local paper *Dan Chu* recalled that the same McNamara had used similar terms to laud Diem and Minh and added "we all know the result of that support."

McNamara is back in Washington, reporting to President Johnson. He

admits that "there is no magic formula for winning an anti-guerrilla war." The *New York Times* wails that the whole situation in south Viet Nam is reminiscent of the U.S. debacle in 1949, when its intervention against the Chinese people collapsed.

## Cambodia

### Meeting the U.S. Threat

In Cambodia as in south Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists are not curbing their ambition, let alone admitting their mistakes. Though exposed and repulsed, they continue their diplomatic pressures, their cloak-and-dagger operations against Prince Sihanouk and egg on their lackeys in Saigon and Bangkok to still more provocations and frontier intrusions.

To Cambodia's request for a U.S.-south Viet Nam-Thai-Cambodian conference to guarantee her neutrality and territorial integrity, Washington, adding insult to injury, counter-proposed a "frontier delimitation committee." This would not only bypass the quadripartite conference, and the 14-nation Geneva conference from which the United States and its satellites have always shied away; it also implies that Cambodia's frontiers need re-delimitation. Prince Sihanouk rejected it as "the most grotesque farce ever staged by a big nation." As the Prince pointed out at a press conference, "the United States does not permit us to remain neutral."

The American cold-war warriors are however badly mistaken if they think they can get away with their disdainful treatment of Cambodia. On March 11, 300,000 citizens of Phnom Penh crowded into the streets to shout "Ugly Yankees go home," "Down with U.S. imperialism" and "Down with the free world" before the U.S. embassy and the local U.S. Information Service office. Cities in the provinces witnessed similar demonstrations. These developments, pointing to a new upsurge against U.S. imperialism,

foretell still bigger defeats for the Washington schemers.

## Apartheid

### Those For and Against

While the struggle against white racist rule is being intensified inside South Africa, the international polarization of forces for and against apartheid is gathering speed. The imperialists are backing up the Verwoerd regime, trading with it, supplying arms to it and making large investments in South Africa. The peoples of Africa, Asia and the other parts of the world and the international working class, on the other hand, are giving ever firmer support to their South African brothers.

The recent Lagos Conference of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity declared an all-African ban on planes and ships trading with South Africa.

A meeting of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa has called on the workers of the world to step up their struggle against the hated apartheid and to "break the alliance between the imperialist powers and the racists of South Africa."

At this latter meeting in Accra, Huang Min-wei, leader of the Chinese delegation, reiterated China's support for the South African people and proposed that countries: 1) take effective moral and material actions to support the struggle of the South African people and sever diplomatic and economic relations with the South African colonial authorities; 2) initiate united actions on the "Day of Freedom for South Africa" (June 26, 1964) and the "Day of Solidarity With South Africa" (Feb. 7, 1965), give full publicity to the heroic struggle of the South African people and expose the crimes of the colonialists; and 3) oppose racial oppression in all its forms in all parts of the world and support the American Negroes.

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*Correction:* In our last issue (No 11), in "New Anti-U.S. Upsurge in Japan" on page 11, the figure on the fifth line from the bottom in the right-hand column should read, "13,000" and not "1,300."

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# ART

## Sketches of Heroic Cuba

Everyone who comes back from revolutionary Cuba is deluged with questions about it. That heroic land and people leave an indelible impression on all who visit it. Not all, however, are so fortunate in being able to share their impressions as vividly as a sketch artist can. Shao Yu, in three weeks in Cuba towards the end of last year, recorded his daily impressions in a diary of pen sketches, 63 of which have been printed in an album, *In Heroic Cuba*, by the People's Art Publishing House of Peking. Handsomely large and square (23.5 × 26 cm.), this is now on sale throughout China. It opens with his very first glimpses of Cuba: a group of sombreroed Cubans at Jose Marti Airport strumming a welcome on their guitars to their arriving Chinese guests; skyscrapers of Havana offset by graceful, luxuriant palms; the busy waters of Havana Harbour; its lighthouses standing over the Caribbean; a noble head of Jose Marti.

As the artist's stay lengthened, his pen more deeply reflected the life and spirit of the Cuban people. On a sketch of two women militia fighters on sentry duty, rifles in hand, he wrote: "The night is still in Havana, but the Caribbean remains uncalm! They are at their posts." In other portraits of Cuban workers, peasants, soldiers or students, the same spirit and resolution to guard their revolution are manifest. At Giron Beach where U.S. imperialism's armed invasion in 1961 was smashed by the Cuban people within 72 hours, the artist caught the moment when a bearded veteran, one arm around a light-haired boy and the other stretched to point out the historic spot, said to him: "Take a good look there. The enemy is beyond."

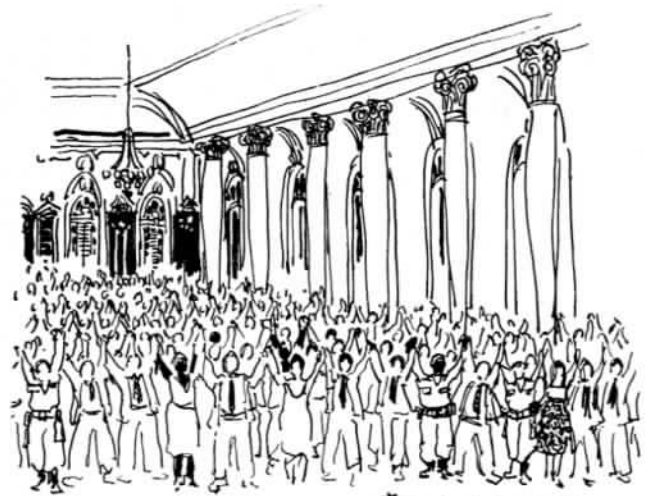
Cuba in construction and the Cuban people's friendship for China

are much in evidence in these sketches. New buildings going up at the National Academy of Fine Arts, a construction site at a farm, the lush growth of cane fields, and fine old buildings, are sketched with warmth and admiration. A mass scene at the Spanish Hall in Havana shows everyone standing, arms raised together as they sing the *Internationale*. That was the Cubans' salute to October 1st, China's National Day.

Shao Yu is a well-known graphic artist as well as a painter in the traditional Chinese style. Born of a hired farmhand's family, he joined the Communist-led New Fourth Army early in the 1940s. Among subsequent experiences was a bitter period of imprisonment in the notorious Kuomintang concentration camp at Shangyao. He escaped, made his way back to the revolutionary base and has worked as a revolutionary artist ever since.

Shao Yu as a boy was fascinated by the traditional New Year pictures and folk toys in his village. Later he made acquaintance with the woodcuts of the German revolutionary artist Kathe Kollwitz, and was deeply influenced by them. He also studied Western painting for a time at the Secondary School of Fine Arts in Peking.

*In Heroic Cuba* is typical of his recent work. He selects his subjects with a revolutionary's eyes. His



當地的同胞在慶祝  
十月一日中國國慶日  
的時候，紛紛舉起  
右手，高呼口號，  
慶祝這偉大的日子。

October 1st, China's National Day. In Havana's Spanish Hall

sketches have a strong, lively, expressive line and make a modern use of compositional principles characteristic of Chinese traditional painting. He uses blank space, for instance, in the traditional Chinese manner, enticing the viewer's imagination to expand the sketch beyond its actual limits. And the expressive inscriptions, like a classical master's colophon, are an integral part of the visual image.



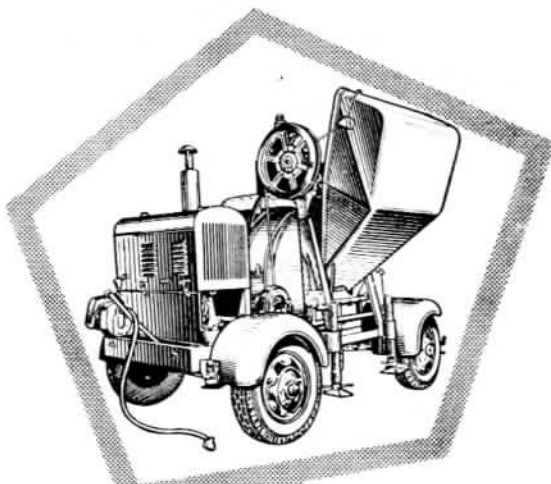
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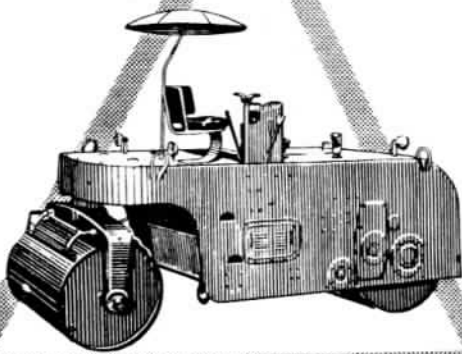
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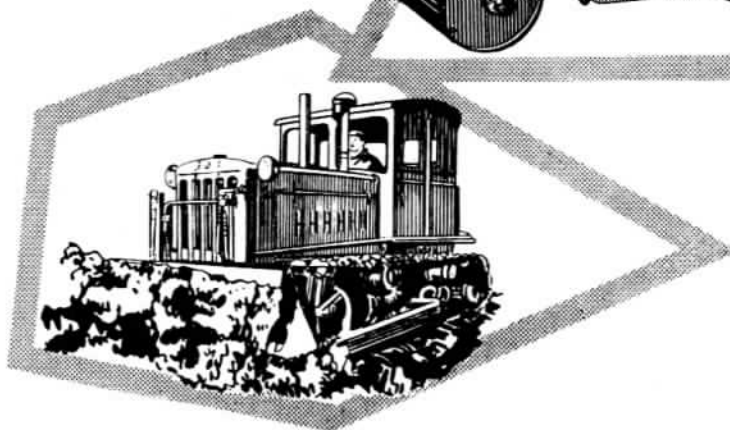
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