

PEKING REVIEW

19

May 10, 1963

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報

Sino-Cambodian Relations Closer Than Ever

Chairman Liu Shao-chi concludes fruitful visit (p. 7).

Basing Industry on Agriculture

A study of the policy to develop the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor (p. 11).

Out to the People; On to the Offensive Against Monopoly

Excerpts from General Secretary V.G. Wilcox's general report to the National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand (p. 15).

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



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OF
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(In English)

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Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 10, 1963 Vol. VI No. 19

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Cambodia gave Chairman Liu Shao-chi a hearty welcome. The Sino-Cambodian joint statement issued on May 5 signaled the success of his visit.

Chairman Liu and his party will soon visit the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Reports from Hanoi indicate that a warm, comradely welcome is awaiting the Chinese head of state there. The Vietnamese Government has set up a special reception committee; newspapers, announcing the visit, have paid tribute to the unbreakable, militant friendship between the two peoples; the Vietnamese workers have launched an emulation campaign and the Vietnamese Charge d'Affaires in Peking gave a special reception—all in honour of the forthcoming visit.

- China and Guinea signed a commercial protocol for 1963 and a supplementary protocol to the Sino-Guinean agreement on economic and technical co-operation.

- More Indian military personnel, including a brigadier and 26 field-grade officers captured during the Indian Army's attack on the Chinese frontier guards last year were released and repatriated.

- Chinese public opinion hailed the success of the Asian-African journalists' conference. The Chinese press gave big coverage to the Djakarta Declaration and resolutions adopted by the conference.

- The 145th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx was commemorated.

- The Chinese press extensively quoted an editorial article of the *Rodong Shinmoon*, organ of the Korean Workers' Party, commemorating the anniversary of the birth of Marx. It denounces modern revisionism as an agent for paralysing the revolutionary will of the people and points out that there can be no question of peace without struggle against U.S. imperialism.

- The 44th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement was celebrated by the young people across the land.

Anniversary of Marx's Birth

May 5 this year was the 145th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx—the great teacher of the world's proletariat and the founder of scientific communism. All the leading newspapers in the capital published articles and pictures commemorating the occasion. A set of stamps was issued by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications in honour of the anniversary.

Renmin Ribao published a commemorative article entitled "The Great Life of Karl Marx—Founder of Scientific Communism," giving an account of Marx's militant life and showing how his revolutionary teachings took shape and developed in the course of his struggles against various trends of bourgeois and reactionary thought. "Marx left us 80 years ago,"

said the article, "but his life and teachings will for ever illuminate the path of mankind. Today, Marxism has become the all-conquering weapon of the world's proletariat. Marx's theories, grasped by millions upon millions of people throughout the world, have become a great material force. Guided and inspired by Marx's revolutionary teachings and militant spirit, more and more revolutionary people have resolutely and valiantly joined in the struggle. Marx's great ideal has triumphed among one-third of mankind; it will eventually triumph all over the world."

Renmin Ribao also carried an article briefly describing how Marx's works were introduced into China.

New China attaches great importance to the translation and publication of works by Marx and his

comrade-in-arms Engels. In 1953, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party set up the Bureau for Editing and Translating Works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In the past few years, more than 160 works by Marx and Engels have been put out by the People's Publishing House in Peking, in editions totalling over 7 million copies. Some of these works have also been translated into the languages of China's national minorities.

The publication of the complete works of Marx and Engels in 36 volumes has been planned. To date, the first 13 volumes have been brought out by the People's Publishing House. The translation is based on the second edition of the *Complete Works of Marx and Engels* in Russian and checked against the original German text. The revised translation of the first volume of *Capital* will soon come off the press.

The People's Publishing House has put out many important works by Marx and Engels, including *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* (in two volumes), *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, *Military Writings of Engels*, *Marx's Critique of Political Economy* and *Engels' Dialectics of Nature*.

The *Communist Manifesto*, *The Class Struggle in France*, *The Civil War in France* and other important works were first published in Chinese before liberation. These have now been reprinted in the translations done for the complete works.

May Fourth Movement Marked

May 4, China's Youth Day, was celebrated throughout the land with meetings, stage performances, sports meets and other commemorative activities.

At meetings in factories, rural people's communes, schools and government organizations, speakers recalled the history of the movement and urged the young people to carry forward the revolutionary tradition established 44 years ago, on May 4, 1919, when Peking students demonstrated in Tien An Men Square against the traitorous warlord government which was selling out the country to imperialism. The movement they initiated swept the nation, and mammoth demonstrations against the imperialists and their warlord lackeys took place in all the major cities.

The impact of the May Fourth Movement was far-reaching. Developing into a revolutionary mass movement with working-class participation, it marked the beginning of a new era in the Chinese revolution — the New-Democratic Revolution which ended triumphantly with the overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China and the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of the May Fourth Movement since that date, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have further scored great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

But the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people has not yet reached its goal, which is the completion of the socialist revolution and socialist construction — to build China into a great socialist country with a modern agriculture and industry, a modern science and culture and national defence — and go forward to the building of a communist society. Great efforts will still be needed to achieve all this, and a special responsibility devolves on the young people — the future builders of communism.

In its editorial of the day, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party had always placed great hopes on the young people, sparing no efforts to educate them in communist ideology and the revolutionary tradition so that they would mature into a strong force both in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. One of the outstanding traditions of the May Fourth Movement, the editorial noted, was that the revolutionary intellectuals at that time began to go out among the workers and peasants and apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. In inheriting and carrying forward the Communist Party's revolutionary tradition, the editorial continued, the young intellectuals and students today must go among the workers and peasants to take an active part in the class struggle and in production. The editorial ended with an exhortation to the young people of the whole country to rally still more closely round the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, uphold the Party's revolutionary tradition and carry the great cause of the socialist

revolution and socialist construction through to completion.

Youth Solidarity

The meeting of Peking youth to welcome the delegation of the Union of Working Youth of Albania on April 29 was an animated demonstration of the comradeship-in-arms of the young men and women of the two countries, united by common ideals and common struggles.

When Todi Lubonja, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of Albania's Union of Working Youth, and the delegation he led, arrived at the auditorium where the meeting was held, 1,500 young Chinese greeted their guests with thunderous applause and cheers of "Peking-Tirana!" and "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!"

Extending a welcome to the Albanian comrades, Wang Wei, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, said that the heroic and revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people was a great inspiration to the young people of China.

"The foul wind blown by the imperialists, the reactionaries and modern revisionists against China and Albania, against Marxism-Leninism and revolution, cannot harm China and Albania in the least," declared Wang Wei. "It only makes us become more resolute and still more closely united."

In the struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S., against the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism, the young people of China, he pointed out, would always be on the side of the Albanian people and the more than 90 per cent of the world's people who wanted to carry on the revolution. Victory would certainly go to those people who adhered steadfastly to Marxism-Leninism, Wang Wei stressed.

Thunderous applause greeted Todi Lubonja when he took the floor.

"The young people of our country regard the birth of the People's Republic of China as the greatest historical event of our times following the Great October Socialist Revolution," he said. "The birth of New China is the decisive factor that has tipped the balance of forces of the

world in favour of socialism, peace and social progress."

Praising the achievements of the Chinese people in building socialism the Albanian youth leader declared that U.S. imperialist attempts to browbeat and isolate China could never succeed. Describing the advances of the Albanian people, he said that despite the fact that their country was surrounded by imperialism and modern revisionism, the Albanian people were courageously and resolutely building socialism.

Chairman Mao Received Albanian Guests. Chairman Mao Tse-tung last week received and had a cordial talk with visitors from Albania.

They are the Albanian journalists' delegation, the delegation of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, the Albanian trade union delegation, and the Albanian delegation of archivists.

Jose Matar's Visit

Jose Matar, President of the Cuban National Committee in Defence of the Revolution, and his hosts during his brief stay in China, hailed the daily growing brotherhood of the Chinese and Cuban peoples and the militant friendship forged between them in the struggle against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and in the common cause of building socialism. They pledged their determination to strengthen that militant friendship in every way.

Jose Matar, who came on a friendship visit to China and to attend the activities marking "Support Cuba, Latin America Day," left Peking for home on May 4. Besides Peking he visited many other Chinese cities and received a heartfelt welcome wherever he went. In his last days in Peking send-off banquets were given in his honour by the China-Cuba Friendship Association and other Chinese people's organizations and the Cuban Embassy. At these banquets Kuo Mo-jo, Liao Cheng-chih, Liu Ning-I, Chu Tu-nan, Cuban Ambassador Pino Santos and Jose Matar toasted the victories of the two peoples in opposing U.S. imperialism and building socialism.

Sino-Guinean Trade Relations

A strengthening of trade and economic relations between China and Guinea was assured when the two

countries last week signed a commercial protocol for 1963 and a supplementary protocol to the existing Sino-Guinean agreement on economic and technical co-operation.

The documents were initialled in Peking on May 2 by Yeh Chi-chuang, China's Minister of Foreign Trade, and Keita Nfamara, Guinean Minister of Commerce and head of the visiting Guinean Government Economic Delegation. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien were present at the signing ceremony.

That evening at the cocktail party given by the Guinean Ambassador to China Camara Mamady to celebrate the occasion, officials of both Governments hailed this fresh growth of friendship between the Chinese and Guinean peoples.

Keita Nfamara said in his speech at the party that the Guinean people deeply appreciated the fraternal co-operation which had developed between the two countries since President Sekou Toure's visit to China in 1960.

"Every one of us," he said, "knows your sincerity towards the Guinean people and your total disinterestedness in your co-operation with the Guinean people."

"The strength of a people," he went on, "cannot be measured by their economic and military forces, it can only be measured by their contribution to the cause of establishing a new world: a world free of colonialism and imperialism, a world rid of social differences and exploitation of man by man, in other words, a world of equality, justice and genuine peace."

The Guinean Minister declared that his country would never fail to devote its efforts to this great task.

Yeh Chi-chuang, in his speech, said that the Chinese people always followed with admiration the successes of the Guinean people gained under the leadership of President Toure in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to preserve their national independence.

"The Guinean Government and people," he added, "are held in respect by the Chinese people for their persistence in their policy of independence, peace and neutrality and their determination to develop their national economy."

The Guinean Government Economic Delegation came to Peking on April 25 and left China for home on May 4. Other Guinean friends visiting this country at the moment are the Guinean women's delegation led by Madame Camara Loffo, the Guinean health delegation led by Baba Kourouma, and the delegation of the National Confederation of Workers of Guinea led by Keita Moussa.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung last week received and had a cordial talk with several of China's guests from Guinea.

Korean Guests in China

Chairman Mao Tse-tung received and had a cordial talk with Pak Sui Chang and Kim Too Chil, leader and member respectively of the Korean lawyers' delegation now visiting China. Pak Sui Chang is Chairman of the Korean Democratic Lawyers' Association and Prosecutor-General of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

The Korean delegation arrived in Peking last month. While in the capital, its members were entertained at a banquet given by Wu Teh-feng, Vice-President of the Political Science and Law Association of China. They left Peking on May 3 on a tour of south China.

Kim Il Sung's Selected Works

A Chinese translation of the sixth volume of the *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung* was published by the People's Publishing House of China last week.

This volume of the selected works of the Korean leader was edited by the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and was originally published by the Korean Workers' Party Publishing House.

The sixth volume of the selected works include sixteen reports, speeches and articles written by Kim Il Sung in 1958 and 1959, totalling 300,000 words. Most of them appear in Chinese for the first time.

Indian Officers Released

Brigadier J.P. Dalvi and 26 field-grade officers of the Indian Army captured during the Indian troops' attack on the Chinese frontier guards last year, were released in Kunming, Yunnan Province, for repatriation on May 4 by the Chinese Red Cross

Society which was entrusted with this task by the Chinese frontier guards in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions.

H. Ahluwalia of the Indian Red Cross Society came to Kunming to take over the released officers. Acknowledging their release into his charge, he expressed gratitude to the Chinese Red Cross on behalf of the Indian Red Cross.

Some of these officers had asked for permission to tour China. Acting on their request and taking into consideration the state of their health and weather and communications conditions in Tibet and Sinkiang, the Chinese authorities decided to release and repatriate them from Kunming so that they could be reunited with their families as soon as possible. En route to Kunming the Chinese Red Cross Society arranged for them to visit Shanghai, Peking and other places.

Upon their release the Indian officers expressed thanks for the good treatment given them while in China.

More captured Indian soldiers were released and repatriated by the Chinese frontier guards last week. On May 1, 469 and on May 5 another 447 were released and repatriated on the northern side of Bang Pass in Tibet.

New Fertilizer Plants

China is building seven big new plants for making nitrogenous fertilizers. Construction of these plants began during the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) and is now being pressed ahead with vigour. The nation's farms urgently need more fertilizers to help boost output.

The new plants are designed throughout by Chinese technicians and equipped with Chinese machinery. They are conveniently located in the famous grain- or cotton-producing provinces of Kwangtung, Anhwei, Honan and Hopei and in the suburbs of Shanghai,

near to consumers, power networks and sources of raw materials. When completed, they will make a big contribution to the technical reform of China's agriculture.

The first stage of construction of the Wuching Chemical Works on Shanghai's outskirts is near completion. This is the first big fertilizer plant wholly designed and made in China. Trial operation in the past four months has shown that the equipment is of high quality and the plant well designed. Workers and staff are giving a final check-over before putting the plant into operation. Meanwhile, building of the second stage of the works has started.

Buildings for several other modern fertilizer plants in Honan, Hopei and Anhwei have been completed and thousands of workers are now busy installing equipment. In Kwangtung on the southern coast, the first stage of the building of another big plant has passed the half-way mark. Trial production in late April produced its first batch of ammonium sulphate.

Steel factories and engineering works in various parts of the country have contributed to the building of these fertilizer plants. The leading steel works in Anshan, Shanghai and Tientsin are producing many high-tensile and stainless steel products for making their machinery, while the engineering works are supplying highly mechanized and automated equipment. The nation's old fertilizer plants have also lent a big hand by sending experienced engineers and technicians to help with the installation of equipment and in getting trial production started.

Busy Farming Season in Tibet

The spring farming season is now at its busiest on the Tibetan Plateau.

The peasants are busy ploughing, sowing or cultivating the young crops. This will be the fifth harvest they are working for since the overthrow of feudal serfdom and the introduction of democratic reforms in 1959.

In the agricultural areas in the warm eastern and southern parts, the crops sown earlier this spring are already sprouting. In the Lhasa and Loka districts, the peasants have to date sown one-third of their farmland. In the Shigatse and Gyantse regions, where the climate is colder, sowing has just begun and is steadily spreading northwards as the weather gets warmer. In Phari, Tibet's highest district where the planting of crops was introduced only after the democratic reforms, the peasants are getting everything ready, determined not to lose a minute when the time comes for ploughing and sowing.

Though, as a result of the cold weather, sowing this year is somewhat later than last year, the Tibetan peasants are optimistic about garnering another good harvest this year. They have good reasons to be so.

Co-operative farming, for one thing, has been of enormous help to them in developing their farms. The rural areas of the region today have 25,000 mutual-aid teams, embracing 187,000 peasant households. Another favourable condition is the extension of irrigation. Over 30,000 water conservancy projects have been completed in the last four years since the democratic reforms began; this has brought irrigation to 60 per cent of the region's farmland.

Before the spring farming season started this year, the state shipped hundreds of thousands of iron and steel farming implements to the region. Over the past few years such modern implements have replaced practically all the primitive wooden tools the peasants were accustomed to use in the past. Besides receiving new farm tools from other provinces, Tibet has built itself eight plants which ensure a steady supply of modern tools to its farmers.

In addition to these and other favourable conditions, the government has extended loans amounting to 1.4 million yuan to the Tibetan peasants. They are using these funds to buy draught animals and other things they need to make this year another good one for agriculture in Tibet.



China-Cambodia Relations Closer Than Ever

by PIEN HSIEH

AN atmosphere of popular joy which expressed itself with warmth and spontaneity, a spirit of mutual respect and mutual support between the two countries and two peoples—these were the main features marking Chairman Liu Shao-chi's six-day visit to Cambodia. On May 6, the Chinese head of state left Phnom Penh with a wealth of friendly feelings showered upon him by the Cambodian Government and general public.

Joint Statement

The state visit was climaxed with the signing of a joint statement by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Sihanouk which shows an identity of views on the questions discussed. Here are some of the salient points made in the document (the text of which appears on p. 9):

● The two parties deem it necessary to firmly maintain Sino-Cambodian close co-operation in the political, economic, technical and cultural fields, and develop them on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

● China supports Cambodia's courageous struggle to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity and its policy of peace and neutrality, and firmly opposes the encroachment on Cambodia's sovereignty and neutrality by imperialism and its followers. China resolutely supports the Cambodian proposal that the countries participating in the Enlarged Geneva Conference undertake to guarantee and respect Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity.

● Cambodia reaffirms that Taiwan should be returned to China unconditionally and that China's legitimate rights in the United Nations should be restored to it.

● Cambodia highly evaluates the measures taken by China on its own initiative for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, and hopes that China and India will enter into direct negotiations as soon as possible on the basis of the Colombo pro-

posals. China reiterates its consistent stand on peacefully settling this question.

● China and Cambodia express deep anxiety about the worsening Laotian situation. They point out that the signatories to the Geneva agreements have the urgent duty to faithfully observe the agreements and to refrain from intervening in any form in Laotian internal affairs.

● The two countries reaffirm their determination to strive for the relaxation of international tension and the safeguarding of Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace. They resolutely oppose imperialist and colonialist aggression and intervention, and support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' just cause of striving for and safeguarding their national independence.

● China and Cambodia reiterate their support for the proposal to convene the second Asian-African conference.

The joint statement, and indeed the whole visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, signify that Sino-Cambodian friendship is closer than ever. Both Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Sihanouk expressed a very high opinion of this friendship.



Her Majesty the Queen of Cambodia and Prince Sihanouk warmly greet Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi at the Phnom Penh airport



A colourful welcome in Phnom Penh. Cambodian girls make a path of petals for Chairman Liu Shao-chi

Fine Example

As the Chinese head of state said:

In Sino-Cambodian relations, we have strictly abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit and truly lived up to the principle of respecting each other and not imposing one's will on the other, treating each other as equals and not setting oneself above the other, benefiting and helping each other and not seeking gains at the other's expense. The Sino-Cambodian relations of friendship and co-operation can be rightly considered as a fine example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Mutual respect, that essential element of true friendship, is a distinctive hallmark of Sino-Cambodian relations. Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit provided fresh proof of this.

On many occasions, the Chinese head of state paid warm tribute to Cambodia and its people. Before his departure from Phnom Penh, he once again greeted the Cambodians, saying: "Your achievements in national construction, your desire to become strong and prosperous through your own vigorous efforts, your ancient and fine culture, your high sense of national dignity, particularly your determination to defend national sovereignty and pursue a peaceful and neutral policy, have filled us with admiration."

Prince Sihanouk, on his part, emphatically pointed out that "all Asian peoples pay respect to [China's] will to save peace and to its determination to co-operate loyally with all countries in perfect harmony with the Bandung principles." The Cambodian head of state added that China is being held in esteem which "it deserves as a result of its extraordinary progress in all fields, and of

the total absence of chauvinism in its relations with all countries, big or small."

In their public speeches, the Chinese and Cambodian leaders also underlined another important component of Sino-Cambodian friendship — mutual assistance and mutual support.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed gratitude for Cambodia's support to the Chinese struggle to liberate Taiwan and to oppose "two Chinas," and for its stand that China's lawful rights in the United Nations should be restored. He also heartily thanked Prince Sihanouk for his sincere efforts and impartial attitude in promoting direct Sino-Indian boundary talks. On several occasions, the Chinese head of state reiterated China's support for Cambodia's just cause, declaring that "the Chinese people will remain for ever dependable friends of the Cambodian people."

Prince Sihanouk, too, expressed appreciation of China's support to his country. He stated:

We shall never forget that China alone gave us unequivocal support in our resistance to pressure and to imperialist menaces against our independence and neutrality. We shall never forget the economic and technical aid so generously offered to us by China for our national construction, especially for our industrialization. Nor can we forget that powerful China places its relations with Cambodia on a completely equal footing, in an epoch when the great make so little of the rights of small countries or treat them with such condescension.

Having thus united themselves in firm friendship, China and Cambodia are, furthermore, making concerted efforts for broader Asian-African solidarity in the cause of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism and for the defence of world peace. This is evidenced in the joint statement signed by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Sihanouk.

Heart-Warming Welcome

Sino-Cambodian relations being what they are, there is small wonder that they have won wholehearted approval of the two peoples. And that is why Cambodia, during Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit, was pervaded with a "popular and national joy which expresses itself with such warmth and spontaneity" as Prince Sihanouk aptly put it. The Cambodian press, too, pointed out that the Chinese guests were given "the most impressive reception" (*The Phnom Penh Presse*) and "the greatest and most enthusiastic welcome ever accorded a head of state of a friendly country" (*Realites Cambodgiennes*).

Uplifted by the success of Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit and the fruitful results of Sino-Cambodian friendship, public opinion in both countries is pledging sustained efforts to nurture the robust growth of this friendship in the years to come.

China's Head of State Tours Cambodia

May 1. Festive and colourfully bedecked Phnom Penh gives a mammoth welcome to Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi. Her Majesty the Queen of Cambodia and Prince Sihanouk meet them at the airport. Girls strew flowers on the red carpet as the guests walk along—a solemn Cambodian rite of benediction reserved for distinguished visitors. As many as 200,000 people, dressed in their holiday best, dancing or singing, waving Cambodian and Chinese flags, or shouting *chay oy!* (long live!), greet the Chinese guests along the 12-kilometre road from the airport to the Royal Palace.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi call on Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Sihanouk at the Throne Hall in the Royal Palace.

Conducted personally by Prince Sihanouk, Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi visit a permanent exhibition on Cambodia's progress since 1955.

Usually no paper appears on May Day. But the Cambodian news agency *AKP* and the *Kampuchea* put out special editions of welcome. *Kampuchea's* eight-page special issue has 46 photos featuring China and Cambodia-China friendship. Both before and after Chairman Liu Shao-chi's arrival, the Cambodian press extensively covers and warmly comments on the visit.

May 2. Accompanied by Prince Sihanouk and Madame Monik Sihanouk, Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi fly to Siem Reap which is noted for the world-famous ancient monuments at Angkor. Huge throngs of people turn out to greet the guests upon their arrival. Many streamers across the road bear such inscriptions as: "Sino-Cambodian friendship is the reliable guarantee for the independence of Cambodia," "Without the People's Republic of China a world of progress cannot be built," and "No other country in the world renders such unselfish assistance to Cambodia as China."

With Prince Sihanouk himself at the wheel, hosts and guests drive to Angkor in the afternoon and, after a visit there, return to Siem Reap.

May 3. Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi, together with Prince Sihanouk and Madame Monik Sihanouk, fly to Kompong Cham where they visit the Cambodia-China Friendship Textile Mill built with Chinese aid. Workers are so happy that some of them burst into tears of joy when shaking hands with Chairman Liu Shao-chi.

Returning to Phnom Penh, Prince Sihanouk gives a magnificent state banquet in honour of Chairman and

Madame Liu Shao-chi at the State Guest House in the Prince's Villa.

Hosts and guests attend a concert of Cambodian and Chinese songs and dances after the banquet. The evening's programme is highlighted by the graceful dances of Princess Buppadevi who had returned from Paris specially for the occasion.

May 4. Prince Sihanouk accompanies Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi on a visit to Kirirom, a mountain resort under construction, where the Chinese and Cambodian leaders hold talks.

Prince Sihanouk names the main road of Kirirom after Chairman Liu Shao-chi. A monument will be erected in this rising city to commemorate Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit.

May 5. Back to Phnom Penh from Kirirom, Chairman Liu Shao-chi gives a farewell banquet in honour of Prince Sihanouk.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Sihanouk sign a joint statement at the Moon Pavilion in the Royal Palace.

Two hundred thousand Phnom Penh citizens give a stormy ovation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi at a mass rally held in his honour in front of the Royal Palace. Many red and white streamers flutter over the huge crowds. Coloured balloons and doves fly in the sky. Chairman Liu Shao-chi delivers a speech which draws thunderous applause. Then there is a fireworks display above a nearby river.

Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi pay a farewell call to Her Majesty the Queen at the Royal Palace.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi calls on Cambodian Premier Prince Norodom Kantol.

Madame Liu Shao-chi and Madame Chen Yi, accompanied by Princess Rasmī Sobphna, visit the pediatric centre and a Red Cross dispensary in Phnom Penh. Madame Liu Shao-chi donates 200,000 riels to the centre and 300,000 riels to the dispensary in the name of Chinese women.

May 6. Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi, after exchanging gifts with Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Sihanouk, leave the Cambodian capital for China's Kunming accompanied by Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi and other members of the Chinese party. Thousands upon thousands of Phnom Penh residents come out of their homes to say bon voyage. Prince Sihanouk and high-ranking Cambodian officials give them a warm send-off at the airport.

Document

Joint Sino-Cambodian Statement

Following is the text of the Sino-Cambodian joint statement on the state visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to Cambodia signed on May 5, 1963, in Phnom Penh. — Ed.

HIS Excellency Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, at the invitation of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cam-

bodia, paid a state visit to the Kingdom of Cambodia from May 1 to 6, 1963.

Accompanying His Excellency Chairman Liu Shao-chi on the visit were Madame Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marshal Chen Yi and Madame Chen Yi, and other high-ranking Chinese officials.

During the visit to Cambodia, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Liu Shao-chi and the other distinguished guests visited the capital Phnom Penh, Kompong Cham, Siem Reap, the ancient ruins of Angkor and the mountain resort of Kirirom. Everywhere the distinguished guests were accorded an extremely warm and friendly reception by the Cambodian people.

This welcome and fraternal hospitality shown by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, and by the Government and people of the Kingdom of Cambodia gave full expression to the kinsman-like friendship between China and Cambodia.

Her Majesty the Queen of Cambodia met Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Madame Liu Shao-chi, Marshal Chen Yi and Madame Chen Yi, and other members of the party, and held cordial and friendly talks with them.

The distinguished Chinese guests acquired a better understanding of the history and culture of Cambodia and expressed admiration for the efforts made by the Cambodian people under the brilliant leadership of their Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and for their achievements in the development of the national economy, culture and education, and health service.

His Excellency Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, held long talks for the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Cambodia and on international issues of common concern to both parties, and in particular, the situation of Southeast Asia.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Chen, Deputy Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council Lo Ching-chang, Counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Wang Yu-ping, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Cambodia Chen Shu-liang, Director of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Chou Chiu-yeh, and Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kung Peng.

Taking part in the talks on the Cambodian side were His Royal Highness Premier of the Royal Government Prince Norodom Kantol, His Excellency Private Advisor of the Head of State Prince Penn Nouth, His Excellency Vice-Chairman of the High Council of the Throne NhieK Tioulong, His Excellency Private Advisor of the Head of State Son Sann, His Excellency Minister of State for National Defence Lieutenant-General Lon Nol, His Excellency Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Hout Sambath, and His Royal Highness Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the People's Republic of China Prince Sirik Matak.

The talks, marked by complete understanding, proceeded in an atmosphere of utmost sincerity. The results of the talks show a complete identity of views of the two parties on the questions discussed.

The two parties point out that the close co-operation between the two countries in the political, economic, technical and cultural fields is of great significance and is highly fruitful. They hold it necessary firmly to maintain these relations of co-operation, and strengthen and develop them on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

The two parties hold that the relations between China and Cambodia are a genuine expression of the spirit of mutual

respect and equality and have set an excellent example of peaceful coexistence among countries of different social systems.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi reaffirms that the Chinese Government supports the courageous struggle waged consistently by the Cambodian people to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia and the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Royal Cambodian Government and that it firmly opposes the encroachment on Cambodia's sovereignty and neutrality by imperialism and its followers.

The Chinese side holds that the proposal put forward by the Royal Cambodian Government in 1962 that the countries which participated in the Enlarged Geneva Conference undertake to guarantee and respect Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity, not only meets the aspirations of the Cambodian people but is conducive to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government firmly supports this proposal and is ready at any time to sign the two documents put forward by the Royal Cambodian Government on this question. The Chinese side hopes that other countries concerned will likewise respond positively to this proposal so that it may be realized rapidly.

The Cambodian side expresses the gratitude of the Royal Government and people of Cambodia to the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people for their constant and firm support to Cambodia in the latter's defence of its just cause and for their generous and unconditional assistance.

The Cambodian side reaffirms its consistent attitude in regard to the question of Taiwan: this island is an integral part of China and should be returned to China unconditionally. Similarly, the People's Republic of China should be restored its legitimate rights in the United Nations and its organizations. The Chinese side appreciates Cambodia's firm and constant support for China to take the place due to it in the discussion of international problems.

On the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Cambodian side highly evaluates the decision made by the People's Republic of China on its own initiative on the release of the captured Indian military personnel after China's unilateral ceasefire and the withdrawal of Chinese frontier guards. This decision is a new measure which helps the easing of the situation and shows China's sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The Cambodian side expresses the hope that China and India will as soon as possible enter into direct negotiations on the basis of the Colombo proposals and settle the boundary dispute peacefully. The Cambodian side holds that all international disputes should be settled fairly and reasonably by peaceful means.

The Chinese side expresses the gratitude of the Chinese Government and people to Cambodian Head of State His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk for actively participating in the Colombo conference and for his sincere efforts and fair attitude in promoting direct negotiations between China and India. The Chinese side reaffirms that the Chinese Government will adhere to its consistent stand on peacefully settling the Sino-Indian boundary question and will continue to make efforts to this end.

The two parties hold that the formation of the coalition government of Laos and the signing of the Geneva agreements for the settlement of the Laotian question are of great importance to the realization of the desire of the Laotian people for independence, neutrality and peace and to the safeguarding of the peace and security of that area. Chairman Liu Shao-chi expresses admiration for the important contributions made

by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

The two parties hold that the worsening of the situation of Laos in recent months has seriously menaced the independence and neutrality of that Kingdom and threatens to undermine the implementation of the Geneva agreements altogether. China and Cambodia, as neighbours of Laos and signatories to the 1962 Geneva agreements, express deep anxiety about this. The two parties point out that the signatories to the Geneva agreements have the urgent duty to faithfully observe the Geneva agreements and to refrain from intervening in whatever form in the internal affairs of Laos. Only by faithfully and strictly carrying out these agreements can the independence and neutrality of Laos and the peace of that area be safeguarded.

The two parties reaffirm that they are determined to strive for the relaxation of international tension and the safeguarding of Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace; that they resolutely oppose the imperialist and colonialist aggression and intervention; and that they support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' just cause of striving for and safeguarding national independence. The two parties hold that the principle of the equality of all countries in international relations must be strictly observed. Cambodia praises China for its being free from chauvinism and racism.

The two parties reiterate their support for the proposal of convening the second Asian-African conference. At the

same time, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk points out that in order to strengthen the mutual understanding and solidarity among Asian countries, it would be useful for the heads of state or government of the Asian countries to hold intimate meetings to exchange views on questions which concern them. To this, Chairman Liu Shao-chi expresses agreement.

The two parties hold that the exchange of visits between leaders of the two countries have contributed greatly to enhancing mutual understanding and trust, to developing the friendly relation between the two countries, to promoting Afro-Asian solidarity, and to safeguarding world peace. The two parties note with satisfaction that the visits of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk to China in 1956, 1958, 1960 and 1963 and the visits of His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China to Cambodia in 1956 and 1960 brought about a steady development of the friendship between China and Cambodia.

The present visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to Cambodia has made important contributions towards further consolidating and strengthening the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

(Signed) **LIU SHAO-CHI** (Signed) **NORODOM SIHANOUK**
Chairman of the People's Republic of China Head of State of Cambodia

Policy Guide

Basing Industry on Agriculture

by **CHUNG HUANG**

THE Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its historic Tenth Plenary Session held last September pointed out that "the urgent task facing the people of our country at present is to carry through the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor, as put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attach first importance to the development of agriculture, correctly handle the relationship between industry and agriculture and resolutely readjust the work of the industrial departments according to the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy."

Agriculture's Role as Foundation

The work of the industrial departments must be readjusted according to the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy because agriculture is the primary source of the means of life—the precondition of all productive activities and, indeed, of man's very existence. Agriculture provides industry with foodstuffs, raw materials, manpower, markets and funds for capital construction, and these are the prerequisites for the growth of industry and of the national economy as a whole. This also explains why agriculture is the foundation of industry as well as the entire national economy.

Agriculture derives its role as the foundation of the national economy from its innate characteristics and its position in the national economy and from the fact that it is the supplier of the basic necessities of life without which the reproduction of labour power cannot go on. No other branch of the national economy can replace agriculture in this role. As Marx said long ago: "An agricultural productivity exceeding the individual requirements of the labourer is the basis of all societies. . . ." It is therefore clear that to base industry and the national economy as a whole on agriculture is to work in conformity with the objective law of economic development.

Special Importance of Agriculture in China. Out of China's population of 650 million, more than 500 million are peasants. It is therefore of special importance for China to develop its industry and the entire national economy with agriculture as the foundation. All the foodstuffs consumed by the working class and other city dwellers and all the raw materials used by light industry such as cotton, bast-fibre crops, silk, sugar-bearing crops and tobacco come from agriculture, and so does most of the manpower

* Karl Marx, *Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, Vol. III, p. 766.

needed by the growth of industry and the other branches of the national economy. The countryside is industry's major market, absorbing over 80 per cent of the light industrial goods and a considerable proportion of the heavy industrial products. Agriculture also provides, directly and indirectly, more than half of the capital for China's socialist construction. It follows that China's industry can grow rapidly only when it is based on agriculture.

Back in 1957 Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in his talk *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*:

As China is a great agricultural country, with over eighty per cent of its population in the villages, its industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously. Only then will industry have raw materials and a market, and only so will it be possible to accumulate fairly large funds for the building up of a powerful heavy industry. Everyone knows that light industry is closely related to agriculture. Without agriculture there can be no light industry. But it is not so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as the gradual progress of technological improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizers, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers. The entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry during the period of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans. With the development of agriculture and light industry, heavy industry will be assured of its market and funds, and thus grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization is actually not so, and indeed the tempo may even be speeded up.

The Path of China's Socialist Industrialization. The correct handling of the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry is the most important single question in socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung regards it as a question of the path to be taken in China's industrialization. In order to handle these relations correctly, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have repeatedly made it clear that China's economy must be developed with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor. Only in this way can China's socialist construction proceed in a way that brings greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Industry must be based on agriculture. This means:

Firstly, industry should be developed on a scale that corresponds, to a certain extent, with the amount of foodstuffs and raw materials that agriculture can supply, the manpower that can be transferred from the farms, the amount of industrial goods that the rural market can absorb, and the capital that can be accumulated in agriculture.

Secondly, industry should look to the rural areas inhabited by more than 500 million peasants as its major market, attach first importance to aiding agriculture and the collective economy of the people's communes, and exert its utmost efforts to bring about the technical transformation of agriculture step by step so as to modernize

China's socialist agriculture in harmony with the country's industrialization.

But to say industry must be based on agriculture does not mean that industry is altogether a passive element in the national economy or that its position and role in economic growth are not important. On the contrary, on the condition that agriculture is taken as the foundation, industry plays a leading role in the national economy in China's socialist construction. It leads the other branches of the national economy forward along the socialist road of modernization.

Leading Role of Industry

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said as early as 1948 in his "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area" that "The abolition of the feudal system and the development of agricultural production will lay the foundation for the development of industrial production and the transformation of an agricultural country into an industrial one."* In this statement Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only set forth the important thesis that agriculture is the foundation of the growth of the Chinese economy, but explicitly expounded the aim of making agriculture the foundation for the transformation of China from an agricultural to an industrial country, for the building of China into a powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and culture and modern national defence. If agriculture is developed in isolation independently of this aim and of the growth of industry and the national economy as a whole, its role as foundation would be utterly aborted and it could not be developed successfully.

The experience of all countries shows that the productive forces in agriculture are severely circumscribed when manual operations predominate, when tilling is done chiefly by animal power, and when farmyard manures are the sole fertilizers used. Having been collectivized, China's agriculture must be modernized if it is to make further significant progress. Without industry the modernization of agriculture, and of the national economy as a whole for that matter, is unthinkable. Without socialist industry China will never be able to shed its economic backwardness. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that "only when socialist transformation of the socio-economic system is complete and when, in the technical field, all branches of production and places wherein work can be done by machinery are using it, will the social and economic appearance of China be radically changed."** To achieve this goal, it is necessary to achieve a tremendous development of industry.

To switch all branches of the national economy, and agriculture above all, on to the basis of new techniques—the technical basis of modern large-scale production—is the main task in China's technical revolution as well as the basic task in China's socialist industrialization. It is precisely in this sphere that industry plays its leading role in the national economy.

* *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 238.

** *The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*.

Why Industry Leads. The Chinese economy is being developed with industry as the leading factor. This is because, in the first place, large-scale modern industry represents in our time the most advanced force of production. Equipped with advanced modern technology it produces the means of production, and especially the instruments of production, and it shoulders the task of technically transforming — modernizing — agriculture as well as the other branches of the national economy.

Secondly, socialist industry owned by the whole people also represents the most advanced relations of production. It leads agriculture and the handicrafts in gradually transforming themselves into collective economies, and, in the distant future, into economies owned by the whole people.

Thirdly, the working class, which is associated with large-scale modern industry, is the most revolutionary and progressive class. Representing the new forces of production it is the leading force in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The working class can transform nature by means of the advanced techniques at its disposal; it can transform the entire national economy in the image of its own advanced economic form; and it can transform all mankind by its own world outlook — the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. In short, the role of industry as the leading factor in the national economy is determined by its innate characteristics and its place in the national economy.

By basing itself on agriculture the role of industry as the leading factor is not thereby weakened. In fact the contrary is true. If industry were not based on, did not serve, agriculture and did not help bring about the technical transformation of agriculture and the other branches of the national economy, it would not be playing its leading role. By basing itself on agriculture and promoting the growth of agriculture, industry provides the very conditions for its own growth.

Farm Modernization and Socialist Industrialization

The general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, as formulated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, accurately expresses the mutually promoting relationship between socialist industrialization and farm modernization.

The modernization of agriculture cannot be realized without socialist industrialization which provides the machinery, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, water conservancy works, electric power, modern transport facilities, fuel and building materials needed for the technical transformation of agriculture. But socialist industrialization and farm modernization are a unified, indivisible process. It would be wrong to believe that the latter can be realized only after the former is accomplished. This is because the two are mutually interdependent and promote each other. The development of socialist industry and its modernization depend not only on the amount and kind of mineral resources available, the quantity of equipment industry itself can provide, and the rapidity of growth of a technical force, but also, and to a greater measure, on the prerequisites — marketable grain, raw

materials, manpower, markets and capital — that agriculture can provide. In the course of gradually accomplishing socialist industrialization, industry will be able to get an increasing supply of marketable grain and raw materials, constantly reinforce its labour force, and expand its rural market and steadily increase its source of capital from agriculture only by energetically promoting the technical reform of agriculture and helping to bring about its modernization step by step. Farm modernization will be accomplished more rapidly and effectively in this way and this, in turn, will give an impetus to socialist industrialization and enable it to proceed more swiftly and effectively.

China's Experience. This truth has been borne out by the experience of socialist construction in China. Guided by the Communist Party's general line of going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, China's agriculture has, over the two past five-year plans, made great progress through co-operation and the switch-over to people's communes. It has become a large-scale economy providing favourable conditions for the introduction on a large-scale of modern techniques and the realization of farm modernization.

Industry too has made tremendous progress. The preliminary foundation has been laid for an independent, comprehensive modern economic system. China has built up a solidly based and more or less comprehensive heavy industry. Its light industry has also made great headway. New branches of industry unknown in old China have been or are being established. China already has its own industries producing tractors, automobiles, aeroplanes, highly efficient steam locomotives, power generating, metallurgical, mining, chemical fertilizer and oil-refining equipment, modern machine tools and precision meters and instruments. China's mining and timber industries have also made big strides forward. Compared with some years ago, China is meeting from home sources a far greater percentage of its needs for raw and other materials and machines and equipment. The geographical distribution of industry has been improved. Many provinces devoid of any modern industry in the past are beginning to build their own modern industry. Local industry, due to its proximity to the countryside, will play a big role in the technical reform of agriculture. China's industry is in a position to provide for the technical reform and gradual modernization of agriculture material and technological conditions that are constantly being improved. No tractors were made in China before 1957. Now tractors are being mass produced within the country. Today the farms have 4.2-fold as many tractors working as in 1957; compared with 1952 the increase is 5.2-fold. There were very few drainage and irrigation machines in China before liberation. Today in terms of horse power there is an over tenfold increase in these machines compared to 1957, or a 50-fold increase compared to 1952. Last year industry gave the farms over four times as much chemical fertilizers as in 1957, or over 13 times as much as in 1952. There have also been big increases in the amounts of other means of production supplied by industry to the farms. Power transmission lines have been set up and power-driven equipment installed in over half of all China's counties. All this will enable China to carry

out the technical reform of agriculture stage by stage and gradually realize farm modernization.

Gearing Industry to Agriculture

But possibility is not yet reality. China's heavy industry is not yet powerful enough to meet all the needs of agricultural technical reform; nor is China's light industry capable of satisfying all the needs of the peasants. China's industrial development is not yet fully scaled to the current level of agricultural production. The industrial departments, therefore, must still resolutely readjust their work in line with the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy.

In building an independent, comprehensive and modern industrial system, in order to make industry serve farm modernization better, adequate attention must be paid to the requirements arising therefrom. Attention should in the first place be turned to meeting the tremendous demand of the vast countryside for both capital and consumer goods. In these circumstances, those branches of industry serving agriculture and the peasants are being built and strengthened as rapidly as possible, and they are regarded as the major components of the independent, comprehensive modern industrial system that is being created in China.

In other words, the building of such an industrial system calls for the establishment and strengthening in a planned way of industries making chemical fertilizers, insecticides, farm machinery — including tractors, and the necessary tractor-drawn implements and equipment for processing farm produce — water conservancy equipment, power equipment and various types of vehicles and vessels for use in rural transport, and also of those other industries which serve the other branches of the national economy as well as agriculture, namely, coal, oil, power, metallurgical, and building materials industries, and industries producing equipment for making fertilizers, farm machines, vehicles and vessels, and the machine-tool industry. It also calls for the building and strengthening of light industry serving both urban and rural consumers, and especially those branches of industry which work up raw materials made by heavy industry, namely, the synthetic fibre, plastic and synthetic rubber industries. This list includes practically all the industries there are. Their building and strengthening will obviously meet not only the needs of farm modernization, but the needs of industry itself and the other branches of the national economy as well, and will therefore help to bring about China's socialist industrialization as speedily as possible.

It goes without saying that industry is also called upon to serve the modernization of transport and communications and of all the other branches of the national economy, of science and culture and national defence. In order better to serve the various branches of the national economy and national defence, industry itself needs to be constantly strengthened. It is of particular importance to build up and reinforce comprehensive mining, machine-building and chemical industries.

Industry's role as the leading factor in the national economy is well demonstrated in the new technical equip-

ment that it supplies for the modernization of the other branches of the national economy. The better it serves these other branches, the greater will its leading role be, and the more modern will it become itself.

Countryside as Industry's Major Market

Facts have fully borne out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that China's industry must look to the countryside as its major market. As mentioned earlier, over the first two five-year plans (1953 through 1962) when the technical reform of agriculture was not yet carried out on a large scale, the capital goods supplied by industry to agriculture already registered increases ranging from several to dozens of times; the supply of industrial consumer goods also rose many times. Now that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided to mobilize and concentrate the strength of the whole Party and the whole nation in an active way to give agriculture and the collective economy of the people's communes every possible material, technical and financial aid as well as aid in the fields of leadership and personnel, and to bring about the technical transformation of agriculture, stage by stage and in a manner suited to local conditions, the rural areas are demanding more and more capital and consumer goods. With the farms collectivized, the rural market embracing over 500 million peasants is a socialist home market with tremendous potential. It will be able to absorb ever increasing quantities of both heavy and light industrial goods.

The modernization of China's agriculture calls for over a million or even millions of tractors and as many other motor vehicles, tens of millions of tons of chemical fertilizers, over ten million tons of oil, and tremendous increases in other capital and consumer goods. Over 100 million tons of metals will be needed to make these goods, and they will have to come in a vastly extended range of types and specifications. Even greater quantities of ores, coal and other minerals will have to be mined in order to make these metals. Once industry is geared to the rural market, vast possibilities are opened to it.

* * *

The gradual realization of farm modernization will enable agriculture to produce incomparably larger quantities of grain, animal products, vegetables, fruits and raw materials for industry and the national economy as a whole than it does today, and to set aside more manpower for industry and other purposes, provide an ever expanding market and steadily larger amounts of capital. In this way China's industry and the national economy as a whole will be founded on a really solid basis. On that basis, China will be able to develop its industry, transport and communications, science and culture and all other undertakings on a scale far larger than today.

Advancing along the path of industrialization charted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and developing China's industry and the national economy as a whole with agriculture as the foundation, the Chinese people are confident that they will be able to speed up their socialist construction and build China into a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and culture and modern national defence in a relatively short historical period.

Out to the People; On to the Offensive Against Monopoly

by V.G. WILCOX

On April 12, V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, made the general report entitled "Out to the People; On to the Offensive Against Monopoly" to the National Conference of the C.P.N.Z. Following are excerpts from the report. Sub-heads and emphases are ours. — Ed.

THIS conference meets at what could be an historic turning point in the struggles of the working people of our country for peace and against capitalist exploitation.

There is no longer complete confidence in the immediate economic future within the framework of present government or Labour Party policies. For the Communist Party this presents favourable opportunities for growth and for increased influence. The tasks facing our Party [are] to achieve that growth. The objective conditions in our country make it a practical task if correct policies and tactics are pursued, although we should not imagine that the road is now an easy one.

Today, the concept advanced clearly at the time of the 1960 conference of our Party—that we must move to the offensive — becomes the cornerstone of our whole approach. "To the Offensive, Out to New People," must be to all Communists in the coming period no mere catch-cry but a way of life. The purpose of this conference must be to make decisions that will help us in the coming period to use our policy decisions in this way.

Conditions, both on the world front and internally, are more favourable than a few years ago. There is not only the deepening of the world crisis of capitalism. In New Zealand, too, there is developing a crisis. This crisis means in practice either a drastic reduction of the living standards of the mass of people or a new policy. Tinkering and small reforms are today useless. Only the Communist Party is presenting that alternative policy.

Questions Concerning International Communist Movement And the Attitude of C.P.N.Z. It is true, and as Marxists we must face the fact, that certain ideological problems in our world Marxist-Leninist movement (particularly in view of the very public debate that started at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) have to some degree had a retarding effect on progress.

* To keep our readers informed on the development of the international communist movement, *Peking Review* will henceforth reproduce materials dealing with this subject. — Ed.

They have left many supporters confused and to a degree have diverted comrades' efforts from the application of policy locally into the channels of concentration on the ideological differences. This problem has affected our Party at all levels and has been an acute one at National Centre level.

Asked for World Meeting

[The] leadership [of the C.P.N.Z.] took firm action in February 1962, on this issue. It recognized the danger from allowing such a situation to continue. It asked that the leadership of the Parties concerned meet and discuss in an objective manner the best way of solving the problems as a preliminary to the holding of a world meeting of Parties similar to those held in 1957 and 1960. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China agreed with this and themselves (April 1962) made a similar suggestion to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

A number of letters and much time and energy have been spent on this issue and it is pleasing to note that, not only have a considerable number of other Parties since made similar suggestions, but now the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. itself considers that it is desirable to hold bilateral and multilateral meetings at top level as a preliminary to a world meeting. We are confident that existing ideological differences will be overcome before long and that a united world movement will continue to build the socialist world to new heights on the one hand and to strike deadly blows against imperialism on the other hand.

If we view it in this way, we will be able to counteract any slowing-down effect on our own Party activity caused by these differences, and we will be better able to quell the doubts and problems of many non-Party supporters. Your National Committee will itself have something to say as far as the question of ideology is concerned at any future world meeting and our opinion on many of the issues in dispute will be reported on later in this conference.

It is sufficient at this stage to say publicly that our ideological approach, both in relation to ideological problems overseas and in relation to our own policy here, is based on our understanding of Marxism-Leninism—in the latter case as applied to the particular conditions of New Zealand—and that we are firmly applying, to the best of our ability, the world decisions of the 1957 Moscow

Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Fight for Policy

Significance of the Moscow Declaration and Statement For C.P.N.Z. The policy of our Party today, both in regard to our programme of immediate demands around which the broad mass of the people can be rallied and in relation to the question of a socialist New Zealand, is one that has been achieved after a long struggle against opportunism and against "Left" sectarianism in our Party. For many years the issue was one of either a Party based firmly on Marxism-Leninism and applying its understanding of that to the particular conditions of New Zealand, a Party with a working-class content in outlook as well as membership; or a Party hiding under the cloak of Marxism but in reality based on a form of petty-bourgeois idealism. In the later days of Scott's leadership, it was that aspect that in many ways was dominant. Certainly it was Scott's own position, as subsequent events and his anti-Party activities have shown.

In this struggle for a correct policy and for understanding of the nature of the role of our Communist Party in recent years, we have been greatly helped towards clarity by the two international meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, held in Moscow in 1957 and in 1960. The Declaration of 1957 was a breath of life to our Party, because it confirmed much of what we had been striving to do (particularly from about 1950 onwards), and it gave clearly the broad perspectives for advance that were opening up for us. No longer could we doubt that the period of "holding on" had passed. It was plain that we must firmly grasp the need to move to the offensive. The 1960 81 Parties' Statement gave added clarity to our Party on the significance for us of the fact that we were part of a world now in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It is true to say that our present programme is based ideologically on our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and on those two international Marxist-Leninist documents, applied to the conditions of our country as we see them.

On the Question of Peaceful Coexistence. Our attitude is best seen in our approach to the question of peaceful coexistence. Take that portion of our programme in which we face up to the crisis created in our capitalist economy by the problems of an adequate market giving reasonable prices for our exports of primary produce, something in which the prosperity of that capitalist economy depends. Is our approach not an example of our approach to this question of peaceful coexistence? Here we suggest that New Zealand look to the potential markets of the whole of the socialist world, the only portion where there are consistently rising living standards and sell to them. (At present butter is 12/- a lb. in the Soviet Union.) At the same time we pointed out that there is no solution in just trying to sell. New Zealand must also buy from those to whom it sells if stable trade relations are to be built. That is, of course, if they have what we wish to import, as the socialist countries certainly do have.

At the same time, we point out that this is but a temporary and partial solution. We point out that a more balanced economy, together with some changes in the

nature of production in our countryside, is essential in the long run—even before the question of a socialist New Zealand goes on the agenda. And we have some positive suggestions in regard to the development of basic industry where possible in New Zealand. We have suggested that, in regard to the matter of financing such development, today in the world there is not one financial centre but two—the imperialist centre through the World Bank and the financial centre in the socialist world, based on their expanding economy. From the latter, at a very cheap rate of interest, there is finance and the goods behind it, plus the possibility of some technical assistance in the early stages of building up such industries and the skilled technicians and workers needed to run them. From the World Bank, on the other hand, comes increased domination by international monopoly. Others among the undeveloped nations have eluded the grasp of this octopus. New Zealand can do the same.

This is applying to the particular problems of New Zealand general approach to peaceful coexistence expressed in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 81 Parties' Statement, agreed upon by all Workers' and Communist Parties except the League of Yugoslav Communists. (They were present at the 1957 meeting but did not sign and were absent in 1960 because of their total opposition to the 1957 Declaration.)

The Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence

On War and Peace; On Relationship Between Peaceful Coexistence and Class Struggle, Anti-Imperialist Struggle; On Peaceful Transition. Inherent in this approach is a sharpening of struggle in our own country against monopoly on both the international and local scene. The "Cold War" advocates of imperialism are the dominant section, as anyone will see who looks at events in regard to relations with the socialist world, with Southeast Asia, with Africa, with the Arab world and, particularly obvious since the time of our last conference, with Latin America. They are held back only by the "joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces." (Statement of the 81 Parties.) That is, by the strength and unity of the socialist world, by the struggles of the newly liberated and colonial countries and by the strength of the working class and broad peace forces in the imperialist lands. Inherent in imperialism are the basic factors that lead to war in our modern world—war against the socialist world, war between rival imperialisms or local wars conducted by individual imperialisms to preserve their exploitation in a given area. The latter are still taking place in many parts of the world.

This needs careful thought lest we reach the illusory idealistic heaven of thinking that for a long period there can be peaceful, stable relations without strain between imperialism and socialism; and that the objective is to see that this is achieved at all cost, even to the extent of trying to soften down the class struggle in various parts of the capitalist world.

Yes, as our programme shows, we stand for peaceful coexistence. The alternative is to stand for world war.

But we also recognize that the nature of imperialism has not changed, that the class struggle in capitalist countries will deepen and erupt into action (even if we try to stop it) and that a correct policy of peaceful coexistence will, in fact, but sharpen the contradictions within capitalism.

Already, indeed, we can see the deepening of the contradictions within the imperialist camp. The interests of the imperialist rivals are already clashing more sharply. It is obvious in the present block put in the way of Britain joining the E.E.C. by the French imperialists, in spite of the urgent efforts of the major imperialist country, the U.S.A., to get Britain in as a full member and in spite of Britain's own efforts in that direction. Not that we have any doubts that the U.S. imperialists remain the economic, political and military centre of the world capitalist camp. But unity is maintained—for example, in Europe under NATO—with increasing strain. France is developing her own nuclear force and is united with West Germany under a treaty that other imperialisms regard with disfavour.

American Strength Is Declining

In fact, definite changes are taking place in the situation within capitalism which must be noted. It is an interesting fact that Stalin, not long before his death, predicted just such a development, in spite of the almost complete domination of U.S. monopoly at that time. The United States now is gradually losing its dominating position in the world capitalist production and commerce. Its share in the economy of the capitalist world is tending to drop and with it the first signs of its hold on world politics. At this point we should ask whether the strongest capitalist nation is not passing its zenith. In industrial production in the world, the U.S.A. in 1929 had 43.34 per cent, in 1937 it had 41.4 per cent (this small drop was no doubt accounted for by the fact that, as we approached World War II, the German industrial production and those associated with them were boosted desperately), in 1948 it had 53.4 per cent, in 1960 it had dropped to 44.1 per cent, and in 1961 down to 43 per cent. In other words, back to 1929 figures.

This trend will be accelerated as the impact of an expanding socialist world economy hits, through peaceful competition, the weakening world capitalist economy. It would be a bold Marxist who would rule out the possibility of eventual conflict developing between rival imperialisms as they face the successes of socialist economy, in spite of the present U.S. domination.

Internally also, in each capitalist country, economic competition with socialism, the key to successful peaceful coexistence, places added strain on each individual capitalist economy. One way in which this is expressed is by the fact that, while imperialist leaders talk peace, the military budgets of the capitalist world have this year reached a new high level for peacetime. This has happened despite the campaign for total disarmament, though as a rallying call it is attracting ever new support among the masses of the people in the capitalist world. The plain fact is that more, not less, is being spent, in spite of top-level negotiations on the one hand and the efforts of the mass of the people on the other.

When we speak of peace or war we would be idealistic to ignore these facts. If we did, we would not prepare the necessary campaign to counter them in the interests of all humanity.

Competition between socialism and capitalism will be sharp. And out of that will come a drive to intensify the exploitation of the workers, of the farmers, of everyone used by monopoly in the capitalist world. That is why we have always said that the class struggle will intensify with the world development of peaceful coexistence. We stress this because some seem to think that, with peaceful coexistence as the state policy of the governments of socialist countries, the class struggle becomes out-dated in its old form and that we should now look to socialist strength to provide the basis for socialism in our country. Internal contradictions and rising class struggle are going to be the decisive factor in our development towards socialism. Socialist success is helpful, but it is secondary.

It is true that socialist successes will help us ideologically in the battle against imperialism as far as the mass of the people are concerned, and the hold of bourgeois ideology will tend to weaken. But we will advance to socialism and build it successfully only on the basis of our own efforts conducted in our own way.

We must not start thinking that Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems means that coexistence in the ideological sphere will also be created. The battle continues as it always did.

At this point we will give a direct quote from our 1960 National Conference Report, unanimously endorsed at the time:

Imperialism Is Fighting

This point, with its consequences, must be fully understood. Peaceful coexistence does not guarantee a peaceful path to socialism within each particular country. Today we should have no illusions about that. The capitalist class will fight. The degree and methods of that final fight will be determined by the relative strengths of the opposing forces.

But, as a revolutionary party, it would be foolish for the Communist Party to expect the capitalist class to wait until it is too weak to act. The menace of a new fascism is still before us. (In many parts of the world it exists in fact right now.) The fight will still be bitter and, from our standards, anything but peaceful.

Today, we see the major imperialisms, particularly the U.S.A., interfering in the internal affairs of small nations.

This applies particularly to colonial and semi-colonial countries of the recent past. Guarantees of aid against "internal communist aggression" are the order of the day. We nearly saw intervention in Laos and war against socialist north Viet Nam recently. It was obvious that our membership of SEATO would have committed us on the side of the U.S. imperialists. Eisenhower recently enlarged the idea of the Monroe Doctrine to include "aid" to South American states faced with "internal subversion." Because of their overall weakness, a large section of the imperialist ruling class is obviously looking more to "small" wars, open or under the cloak of "aid" to a satellite government. They propose to stop the advance of socialism.

This is not a pipe dream. It is happening in the world right now.

An understanding of these factors brings out more clearly the need for a party such as the Communist Party and undermines ideas about a new "Left" Labour bent on the "peaceful" but "genuine" road to socialism. Indeed, we see that such developments, unless the Party strength grows and wins such elements to a revolutionary position, are but added weapons for the capitalist class. Today, it is Nash, the Labour leader, who answers the call of Washington just as quickly as the National Party leaders did a few years ago. Only our strength, our growth, workers' mass support for our Party, will create the conditions where there will be no repetition of such a performance by anyone inside the labour movement in the future.

Comrades:

Who would doubt that Nordmeyer, our new Labour leader, will not jump just as quickly as Nash [the former Labour leader—*Ed.*] to the whistle of the Pentagon? Overall, is it not a fact that what we said then (which I have just quoted) remains correct today? We consider it is.

Intervention by direct methods and "aid" in Southeast Asia is with us still, as it is in the Arab world, in Latin America and in the Congo. Today there is still a threat of intervention into Cuba, in spite of the solving of the crisis last year and Kennedy's promise of non-intervention. It was not long after that before he was addressing the "veterans" of the earlier abortive invasion and saying that the "battle flags" of that invasion force would eventually fly over "free" Havana. Since then, the U.S. Government has been found preparing further aid to anti-Cuban Government forces, as well as making moves towards direct intervention. It is not only Castro but the Soviet leaders who say that another Cuban crisis is on the agenda. So much for reliance on the word of any imperialist leader.

The belief held by our National Committee that under certain conditions the possibility in some areas of peaceful transition to socialism within the framework of growing world socialist strength is a correct one. But also correct is our view that incorrect overstress of this cannot only hold back but be harmful to the whole Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement. At the time of the 81 Parties' meeting we were right to place due importance on the "other methods" mentioned in the Statement issued. In fact, armed struggle is being conducted in many parts of the world right now—in Southeast Asia and South America in particular. There is no guarantee that, hard as we will try to achieve it, our road to socialism will be the peaceful way.

The Fight for Peace

Importance of the Fight. The 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 81 Parties' Statement brought out clearly that the central task, the hard core of our work, is the fight for peace. Consideration of how this is to be most effectively carried out and what are the ramifications of such a struggle is the key to an improvement in our activity in this vital sphere. The fact is that we have in the past, and still do to a degree, put "peace activity" into a

special compartment in which only some comrades are active. Yet all Communists must be peace-fighters and the battle for peace must be carried on on all fronts.

The central task of our Party is still to conduct on all possible fronts an effective struggle for a peace policy as far as our country and its government is concerned. We know that our government's present policy is one of direct support for the imperialist policies that fundamentally lead to war and that they have, on several occasions, led us to the brink of it. Take, for example, our government's approach to the recent crisis in Southeast Asia, where our link with SEATO would place us behind the U.S.A. Its attitude and policy over the Cuban crisis have also made this plain. That there was considerable opposition to our government's policy was apparent at the time, but it remained to a large degree unorganized and, consequently, ineffective. We should realize the seriousness of the question and ask whether we have been conducting the peace struggle consistently and effectively, using all our strength and contact. We think the answer is "No" and that this conference must ensure an improvement.

In our opinion, too many comrades have tended to think that activity in the peace struggle meant just the various peace organizations and the task was only one of strengthening these organizations on the broad front. That this has to be done and that it is of primary importance is correct. But comrades have in too many instances regarded this activity as something to be done solely by Party "experts" who work in this field. Thus the whole struggle is, as far as our Party effort is concerned, narrowed at that point.

Again, many have adopted the point of view that the everyday fight against monopoly's growth in New Zealand is also conducting the peace struggle and therefore they have done enough. That the fight against monopoly is part of the fight for peace in our country is correct, but no comrade should leave it at this vague stage and be satisfied with what he has done.

Based on the Working Class

Formation of a Broad Peace Movement Based on the Working Class. In relation to the peace organizations, what has been our attitude? All the time we have stressed the necessity for the building of the general broad movement, based firmly on the working class, because, when they become peace conscious, they will be the most stable element in any fight. Has not our experience taught us that if this is not done and the movement is left in the control of intellectuals, of "public figures," of those whose whole outlook is based on a petty-bourgeois position, then in times of crisis there will be wavering and argument rather than a decisive lead given to the New Zealand people? Surely that is the lesson to be learnt from what occurred with the sudden Soviet decision to start retesting recently. Soviet reasons were valid and were based not on preparation for nuclear war, like the imperialist testing, but on the preserving of peace. Socialist strength in this field, as in all others, was the only effective answer to the imperialists that could be made. What then emerged in many cases was not a fight to make the new Soviet decision the base for renewed effort for the

total banning of the manufacturing and testing of the bomb but an attitude of "a plague on both your houses," some despondency and a reliance on a pacifist position with all its weaknesses.

We therefore say that the immediate task is to make the workers "peace conscious" and to draw more of them, both individually and through the trade union movement, into active organization. In saying this, we do not ignore the work done by those outside the workers' ranks or the valuable contribution they will make in the future. But we stress that the essential base must be the workers — the masses — if consistent struggle and leadership is to be achieved.

This may seem a local problem, but it is also an international one as far as peace organization is concerned. The World Peace and Disarmament Congress in Moscow last year, while drawing in a large number of people representing wide strata of the population, was deplorably weak in direct trade union representation. There is no excuse for us to accept such a situation here in our own country.

Another point is that in our approach to the broad peace organizations there is a tendency for many comrades to try (and expect) to get our Party's policy for peace accepted to the full. That this will only narrow the movement is obvious, and to persist in it is plainly very sectarian. The Communist Party has a particular approach to the peace struggle that can and will be put forward only by the Party itself in its own publications and activity. The root causes of modern war arise from the nature of imperialism. Therefore, for the Party, the struggle for peace is the struggle against imperialism. But our Party accepts the position that, in the struggle for peace, the broad peace organizations in the imperialist world and elsewhere, and similar organizations in the socialist world, will play an important role. But it follows that we also believe that the struggle against imperialism in the colonial world and in the newly liberated areas, the movement for national liberation, also plays a vital part, as does the struggle against imperialism anywhere. But at present we can expect nobody but ourselves and our immediate supporters to realize the implications of this.

On this aspect of our peace work we have been weak, though, judging by branch and industry bulletins, by reports from districts and by perusal of the *People's Voice*, the *Communist Review* and other publications, it has improved during the past year.

Peace organizations will undoubtedly continue to have different concepts and policies in their struggle for peace. We must expect this. Some will have limited objectives, such as the C.N.D., though even there the scope of activity and even the objectives will vary from place to place. The peace councils, on the other hand, have wider objectives and do to a degree recognize the importance of the struggle against imperialism—as shown by their approach to SEATO and the liberation struggle in Southeast Asia and by their recent attitude to the Cuban crisis. For anyone to rush in and try to force, at the present stage of the peace organizations, such a policy would be hopeless. But there is a field for an attempt to get general unity around specific issues, such as the proposed French H-bomb tests in the Pacific. Unfortunately,

this has not been achieved and the lack of unity weakens the protests.

With regard to those outside the Party ranks who are active peace-fighters, we have generally regarded their work as a sufficient achievement. But we have failed to see that, to be fully effective, the best of the peace-fighters must be won to a communist position. This, too, is a task facing us and it will require great flexibility to ensure that we win these peace workers to the ranks of the Communist Party while not in any way narrowing the broad movement. The broad movement must be built; but so must the Communist Party if an effective fight is to be conducted against our reactionary government's foreign policy and the fight for peace made a living thing in every home in New Zealand.

There is no doubt that more attention will have to be paid to these angles so that, right down through our Party, our policy is carried out organizationally and to the full. Understanding of the all-embracing aspect of the struggle for world peace will be the starting point for conviction on the need for immediate action.

Let us always remember the statement in the 81 Parties' Statement of 1960, which reads:

The problem of war or peace is the most burning problem of our time. As long as imperialism exists, there will be soil for wars of aggression. The people of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.

Fight Monopoly Now

The 81 Parties' Statement clearly indicated that the main task of the Communist Parties in the imperialist world was to organize the mass of the people in the fight against monopoly. Both before and since that Statement was issued, this aspect has been the central point of Party policy.

Hardest Hit at the Continuing Invasion of Overseas Monopoly. . . . On a world scale, the scope for profitable investment for overseas monopoly has been narrowed by the victories of socialism and of the national-liberation movement. We should, indeed, be warned by imperialism's desperate efforts, unfortunately with some success, to turn the victories of the national-liberation movement of the former colonial world away from advance to the socialist revolution and into the channels of a neo-colonialism. In this way, imperialism's opportunity for exploitation of those areas is to a degree regained. A classic example of this trend has been the recent developments in India under Nehru and the Congress government.

There is today a desperate drive on the part of international finance to get into the "underdeveloped" areas. New Zealand is in this sense an undeveloped country, with basic industry almost non-existent. Thus it is an attractive proposition. This is the reason for recent developments in that direction.

. . . The situation that faces it on a world scale will ensure that the drive for the exploitation of both our country's natural resources and its people will rise to the

maximum. This struggle against monopoly is no "kid-glove" struggle.

The Communist Party today must be sure that all aspects of our policy and activity hit hard at monopoly interests.

... The fact is that the most dangerous, the strongest and the most vicious ... of the monopoly interests ... are those located overseas. ...

Therefore, tactically, we must make overseas monopoly the main enemy.

There is a need for firmness on principle but flexibility in tactics.

Communists Face Man-Sized Task

... To mobilize all those opposed to monopoly, starting with the developing of a united front of the working class as the nucleus, the Communist Party faces a man-sized task. This task can be carried out only if we clearly recognize the special role of our Party as leaders of the struggle and if we now make every effort to strengthen our Party by increased membership and influence. To do this to the full along the lines of our concept of "Out to the People" with our policy is the core to success. We can't tail behind certain "Left"-Labour elements and we can't tail behind the Federation of Labour leadership or anybody else.

If we do, the fight at this point will be lost. We ourselves must move more openly and effectively to the offensive.

Struggle Against Social-Democratic Ideology. In considering the ways to develop more effective struggle around peace and against monopoly, the first stumbling block we reach is the hold of social-democratic ideology on the minds of the workers. The building of the united front of the working class is the starting point of the road ahead. Yet this ideology stands in the way at once. It leads to acceptance of things as they are, the idea that it is hopeless to struggle.

The question now arises: Is social-democratic ideology as firmly based today as it was in former years? We say it is not.

... There have been very few people satisfied with either Labour or National governments during the last few years.

... This is the idea, held by many, that the workers will automatically pass to a working-class ideological outlook. And that this will have a tremendous effect on the ideological outlook of the allies of the working class, too. ... This idea is quite wrong. For we must always consider the fact that for many long years the New Zealand worker has received (when Social Security aspects are taken into account) one of the highest living standards in the capitalist world; and that, during that period, there has been full employment.

Is it not a fact ... that more and more people say they agree with many of our programme points and in some cases even adopt them in the organizations in which they are active, including the trade union movement?

At first sight, this may not seem much. But consider the more favourable objective situation for Party work that is constantly developing. Take into account the growing capitalist crisis on the one hand and the growing ideological impact of socialist successes on the other hand. Then we see that all this provides the conditions for our Party to start to win the bulk of the working people (80 per cent of the population) to a working-class approach ideologically. And it provides the conditions for the whole labour movement, industrial and political, to adopt a fighting workers' programme against monopoly and for peace. And is that not, in fact, the united front of the working class?

... Today imperialism is in decline. Its scope for exploiting activities is dwindling and there are few new areas to move into. This proves the correctness of the conception that we are in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism. If Lenin was correct in describing the material basis on which this ideology [social democracy — *Ed.*], a form of bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the working class, grew up, does not the opposite follow today? Does it not logically follow that, in a time of imperialist decline, in the period of the growing world crisis of imperialism, today the material basis of this ideology is also disappearing, creating the material conditions for the decline of the ideology itself?

It is in this situation that we say the objective conditions are arising that will aid our Party in its task of winning the workers to a working-class ideological outlook. Our slogan is "Out to the People — On to the Offensive."

The Countryside. The Party has recently gained respect and a little influence in some of our rural areas. This small advance among the working farmers and the rural population in general has been based on our forthright policy on the European Economic Community and the marketing problems of primary produce. The average farmer is facing acute difficulties as far as future market prospects are concerned. In many cases, he is deeply in debt through mortgages, hire purchases of farm machinery and other things. He is hit by the rising costs of production, due to the fact that most farm requirements are sold to him by groupings where monopoly price rings are operating. Consequently, he is not impressed with present government policies.

Among the smaller farmers, the old hostility towards monopoly is reappearing and a trend towards the extension of co-operative methods in distribution and purchase of farm requirements has started. ... The time is ripe for our Party, difficult as it may be, to make the preliminary moves to get out into the countryside. ...

The winning of our allies in the countryside is a vital question for us, not only now in the immediate struggles but for the future as we look towards the People's Alliance — to socialism. ...

Foreign Policy

Seek new markets for New Zealand's exports on the basis of mutually advantageous and reciprocal trade with the countries of socialism and the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa.

Break completely with the disastrous foreign policy of "follow the U.S.A., right or wrong."

Demand withdrawal from the SEATO Pact on the grounds that its membership is against the national interests, the United Nations Charter and the furtherance of Pacific and world peace; and from the ANZUS Pact for the same basic reasons.

Insist that our government should lead in the United Nations and elsewhere in the campaign for banning atom bombs and for world disarmament.

Demand withdrawal of New Zealand's forces from Malaya, refuse to engage on behalf of any imperialism in any similar aggressive action elsewhere.

Base foreign policy on peaceful coexistence and friendship and base New Zealand's defence policy on recognition that friendship and mutual trade with our neighbours and the world are our soundest defence. On this principle we would reduce defence expenditure to £5 million annually from the present £30-odd million and use part of the funds saved in pursuing a policy of establishing friendly relations and trade with our Asian neighbours and with the socialist nations.

Recognize the Chinese People's Republic straight away.

[As for domestic policies, Wilcox demands: nationalization of key industries; full trade union representation on controlling bodies of nationalized industries; establishment of a minimum wage of £16 for a 40-hour week for workers; repealing of all anti-trade union laws; pegging of prices, profits and rents and placing of the burden of taxation on the wealthy; increase of funds for education; giving essential aid to all small farmers and an increased grant to agriculture, etc. — Ed.]

The main factor in our situation in New Zealand is that we remain tied firmly to the plans of imperialism, particularly those of the United States. Events every day show more clearly that this prevents any freedom of action towards solving the internal economic problems that face us.

The growing crisis in capitalism sharpens the struggle against monopoly and against imperialism in our own country. There is only one way out and that is to fight. We have to make the rank and file of the labour movement see this and from that knowledge go forward together on the offensive. On a world scale, reaction, to meet the growing problems arising from imperialist decline, is mounting a worldwide offensive against the working peoples and against the revolutionary movements. They will deliver sharp blows in New Zealand as elsewhere. Communist policy is the only one that provides the answer.

The Coming Elections. This is election year and our Party must prepare to participate in the campaign to the full. This presents us with the opportunity of taking our programme out to a wide section of interested workers.

It is interesting to note that a number of comrades and non-Party friends, as well as Party branches, have raised the issue of the need today to stand Communist candidates in as many seats as possible.

Our general approach must be:

To defeat the National government.

...

We must base our propaganda on our immediate programme but we must not forget to bring forward, as the only socialist political party, the question of our objective — a socialist New Zealand.

Our Party

Our Party is stronger in both membership and influence than it was some five or six years ago. There has been an overall gain in membership, conviction has grown that we are in a period where we can make gains and, from that, activity and application of policy have improved. I think this is so right from the national leadership down, and the rank and file up. The development of the method of collective leadership has continued at all levels and our propaganda has not only increased but has improved in content.

[Wilcox said that in the 1962-63 "Build the Party" campaign Party membership showed an overall gain of approximately 5 per cent and that there was a general increase in circulation of *People's Voice* and other publications of the Party. — Ed.]

There is no doubt that we must continue our "Build the Party" campaign in the coming year with targets that mean a real advance but which are reasonable and capable of being achieved, taking into account our strength and the objective conditions. The whole approach of this report indicates that we can make a further advance.

Guard Against Complacency With Results Achieved. With the problems that exist in our communist movement internationally in the ideological field, it is evident that our Party education must be based more closely on fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory.

The main thing is that the general march of advance in the socialist world has continued.

In the imperialist world, the crisis grows and imperialist decline continues to intensify the class struggle in all capitalist countries, including our own.

The world peace forces grow everywhere. The defenders of imperialism, while attempting to mount a new reactionary offensive in Latin America, in Southeast Asia, in Africa, in the Arab world and elsewhere, are in reality fighting with their backs to the wall. Victory for peace and for socialism on a world scale is getting closer.

The battle will be hard and we cannot expect to emerge unscathed. Imperialism in its death throes will, like the dying tiger, still retain its fangs. But the victory will be to the working people, to all the exploited masses everywhere, if all over the world our Parties retain their international proletarian approach, based on Marxism-Leninism, and utilize to the full the policy and conclusions reached and set out in those valuable Marxist-Leninist documents, the 1957 Declaration and the 81 Parties' Statement of 1960.

As with us in New Zealand, so on a world scale it is a question of from policy, from theory, to practice. Application of that on a world scale means peace and socialism.

Asian and African Journalists Meet

by SU PAO

TEN thousand Indonesians who came to greet the first Asian-African Journalists' Conference sang rousing anti-imperialist songs before a huge picture-cartoon hung in the Sukarno Stadium where the opening ceremony was held. On the left side of the cartoon was pictured the peoples of the Asian and African countries breaking the chains of U.S. imperialism; on the right, journalists from these countries were stabbing with a mighty pen a wolf with a star-spangled banner around its neck leading a pack of dismayed imperialists labelled SEATO and NATO. Two enormous streamers carried the slogans: "We Love Peace, But We Love Freedom More!" "Asian and African Journalists Struggle for the Independence of the Oppressed Peoples!" Those songs, that cartoon and those slogans admirably summed up the spirit of the conference which opened in Djakarta on April 24.

The conference was a big event in the history of the Asian and African press. Journalists from more than 40 Asian and African countries and regions met here for the first time to discuss how to play their part to the best advantage in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for complete national independence, how to strengthen solidarity and co-operation among themselves, and other burning issues of common concern. "The Asian and African Journalists' Conference symbolizes the growth of the Bandung spirit," said the message of greetings sent by China's Premier Chou En-lai to the conference, predicting that it "will greatly contribute to the promotion of the common struggles of the Asian and African journalists and peoples to oppose imperialism and colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence and to defend world peace, and to the furtherance of their friendship and solidarity in these struggles."

"Pen Mightier Than Sword"

President Sukarno of Indonesia attended the opening ceremony and delivered an address entitled "Let Us Transform the World." He warned again that colonialism was not yet dead. In this 20th century, he continued, abiding peace meant something more than the apparent absence of war. Until national independence was worldwide and the practice of social justice was general within and among nations, disarmament agreements could not ensure peace for long. He expressed the hope that the Asian and African press would become an effective instrument in the struggle of the Asian and African peoples to win full national independence. The Asian and African press, the pen of the struggle for national independence, he said, must become a pen mightier than the sword in the revolution of mankind to build a new order in the world. "Let the press struggle, strive and work itself to the bone, to ensure national independence. And let our Asian and African press truly reflect the cry for social justice, the cry for abiding peace that dwells deep in the hearts of all men," he declared.

Mei Yi, head of the Chinese delegation, in his speech to the conference, called it "an extension of the cause of unity of the Asian-African peoples against imperialism," and submitted a six-point proposal. He proposed that Asian-African journalists should unite and get organized, that they should expose the crimes of old and new colonialism, expose the policies of aggression and war of the imperialists headed by the United States, strengthen their unity and co-operation and actively promote the early convocation of the first Conference of Asian, African and Latin American Journalists.

The awakened peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America had become an invincible new emerging force safeguarding world peace and influencing more and more the course of human history; imperialism and colonialism were still waging a death-bed struggle in an attempt to maintain and restore colonial rule in the vast regions of the three continents, Mei Yi said. At such a crucial historic moment, he continued, Asian and African journalists shouldered a responsibility of the utmost importance. They should make full use of all propaganda media, and play an active role as the ears and mouthpiece of the people, he declared.

Anti-Imperialism: Keynote of the Conference

Anti-imperialism was the keynote of the conference. Journalists from many countries condemned imperialism and colonialism for their enslavement of the Asian and African peoples. There was also general denunciation of the monopolization of Asian and African press services by the imperialists. Speakers from Guinea, Uganda, Morocco, Kuwait and Lebanon put forward concrete proposals to develop Asian and African national press services. Ambrose H. Kandjii, a delegate from South-west Africa saw the conference as fresh proof that Asian-African solidarity and unity could stand any test. "No force on earth," he declared, "even the most destructive weapons of today, can hold back the rolling wheel of history, nor the march of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to freedom and independence, from victory to victory." Japanese delegate Yuichi Kobayashi, speaking on behalf of the Asian journalists, said: "Our foremost moral responsibility as journalists is to serve the interests of our respective peoples, as is stated in the Baden Resolution [made in 1960]. In our case, it is to contribute to the victories of the people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism headed by the U.S. ruling class by way of reporting the truth."

Gologo, Mali delegate, speaking on behalf of the African journalists, said that the Asian, African and Latin American peoples had realized long ago that the difficulties and problems confronting them were all caused by imperialism and colonialism. Therefore, he noted, the pressing task was to expose and oppose them in every form or manifestation. He urged the conference to wage a steadfast struggle against imperialism, colonial-

ism and neo-colonialism on the basis of unity and pledged that he and his colleagues would not retreat before this fight.

Djakarta Declaration and Resolutions

Delegates of over 40 countries held a solemn closing ceremony at the spacious hall of Istana Merdeka (Independence Palace) in Bandung, where the Afro-Asian conference was held eight years ago.

The conference, amidst thunderous applause, passed the Resolution on the Struggle Against Imperialism and Colonialism and 29 other resolutions condemning U.S. imperialist aggression and extending support to the struggles of the Asian and African peoples. The heads of the delegations to the conference put their signatures on the Djakarta Declaration; the Indian delegate was the only one who refused to sign.

The Djakarta Declaration, the Resolution on the Struggle Against Imperialism and Colonialism and the 29 other resolutions make up a common programme of struggle for Asian and African journalists. They reflect the tide of the times and embody the common aspirations of the Asian and African peoples.

The Djakarta Declaration enumerates seven points. They are: oppose imperialism and colonialism, old and new; fight for the political independence of the peoples in the colonies; fight for world peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, the banning of nuclear weapons tests and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; fight for the fundamental human rights of the people of all lands and oppose racial discrimination; promote Asian-African solidarity in the economic, cultural, social and other fields; cultivate a sense of loyalty to the spirit and programmes of the Bandung Conference; promote professional co-operation among the Asian and African journalists. These seven points will serve as a guide to every Asian and African journalist in his work; they will also serve as a common programme in struggle and as moral principles for newswork.

A 48-nation Asian and African Journalists Association was set up as resolved by the conference and a constitution for it was adopted. For a long time past, many honest journalists of the Asian and African countries have felt the need for greater unity and co-operation in order the more effectively to wage the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to consolidate and further comradeship-in-arms among the Asian and African peoples, and to break the monopoly of Asian-

African journalism held by the Western countries. Asian and African journalists have now formed their own militant organization in the service of their peoples' struggles to win and maintain their national independence.

The imperialists are not pleased with the success of the conference. Wall Street's propaganda machine slandered it, saying that "it has been more like a political convention" and "nothing has been done towards considering the problems of working journalists." It is common knowledge that in the face of the world situation today and of the rising national and democratic movements, journalists stand either on the side of imperialism and reaction or on the side of the people and revolution. The press is either a medium to reflect reality and propagate truth or to spread lies and obscurantism. Thus, it is clear that the idea of the press being "above politics" is a fallacy spread by the U.S. propaganda machine because this serves the interests of U.S. monopoly capital. This slogan is itself highly political.

The Bandung Spirit Lives For Ever

Madame Hartini Sukarno, who is the Honorary Chairman of the Indonesian Preparatory Committee of the Asian and African Journalists' Conference, was present both at the opening and closing ceremonies. In Bandung she warmly greeted the conference on its great successes in completing its tasks. She expressed the hope that the delegates would tell their people at home that they had lived together like members of one family. The existence of Asian-African solidarity was due to the existence of issues of common interest among these peoples. It was the source of strength of the Asian-African peoples in their fight against imperialism and colonialism, she added.

Abdulgani, Indonesian Minister of Information, greeted the conference on behalf of his government. Its success, he said, showed that the Bandung spirit was still working and that, under the protection of the Asian-African peoples, it would never die.

Greeting the success of the conference, *Renmin Ribao* (May 3) wrote editorially that the Chinese journalists would unite closely with their colleagues in all other Asian and African countries and were ready to fight side by side with them for the prosperity and growth of the Asian-African press and for new victories in the revolutionary struggles of the Asian and African peoples.

The Return of West Irian

Indonesia's Red-Letter Day

MAY 1, 1963, has a special significance for Indonesia: on that day, West Irian returned to the embrace of the Indonesian Republic. The Indonesian Government took over the administration of West Irian from the U.N. temporary executive authority which replaced the rule of the Dutch colonialists on October 1, 1962. The goal of territorial integrity for which Indonesia under the leadership of President Sukarno has fought so steadfastly ever since its independence has become a reality. "From May

1," President Sukarno declared, "our independence, both de jure and de facto, has become complete from Sabang to Marauke, covering the whole of the former Dutch East Indies."

Long and Hard Struggles

The liberation of West Irian is the result of long and hard struggles by the Indonesian people. After Indonesia's independence, the Netherlands, in the agreements signed

between the two countries in 1947 and 1948, affirmed that Indonesia's sovereignty covered the whole of the former Dutch East Indies, including West Irian. But the Dutch colonialists, backed by U.S. imperialism, continued to occupy West Irian as a base for threats and aggression against Indonesia. U.S. imperialism has also tried to plunder West Irian's rich resources and turn it into a stepping stone for aggression in Southeast Asia. From 1950 to 1954, Indonesia conducted a series of talks with the Netherlands on the question of returning West Irian to Indonesia but, because of U.S. intervention and the stubborn colonialist stand of the Netherlands, no agreement was reached. On the contrary, the Dutch colonialists proclaimed West Irian Dutch territory and were plotting to establish a puppet regime there in order to perpetuate their occupation.

Faced with this situation, the Indonesian people stepped up their struggle for the recovery of West Irian. In October 1957, the Indonesian Government set up the "Action Committee to Liberate West Irian." Following this, liberation of West Irian became a nationwide action in which workers, peasants, intellectuals and other sections of the Indonesian people joined.

A New Stage

Following the exposure of the imperialists' plot to create a "Papua state," the struggle entered a new stage. On December 19, 1961, President Sukarno issued three orders for the liberation of West Irian: (1) to smash the Dutch colonialists' plot to create a "Papua state"; (2) to hoist the Indonesian flag in West Irian; and (3) to prepare for general mobilization in order to defend the freedom and unity of the motherland. The Indonesian people responded wholeheartedly to President Sukarno's call, executed his three orders with determination and actively took part in military training.

At the same time, armed struggle against the Dutch colonialists was carried to West Irian itself. In early April 1962, guerrillas organized by patriotic Indonesian youth landed in Sorong, Fakfak and Kaimana, and conducted military operations against the Dutch colonialists. They established guerrilla strongpoints and occupied a number of towns, dealing hard blows at the colonialists. The local population also went into action against the colonialists in co-ordination with the guerrilla forces. These resolute struggles of the Indonesian people compelled the Netherlands to sign an agreement with Indonesia on August 16, 1962, on the basis of transferring the administration of West Irian to Indonesia.

In accordance with the Indonesian-Dutch agreement, the Netherlands transferred the administration of West Irian to the U.N. temporary executive authority on October 1, 1962.

After this agreement, the Indonesian people remained vigilant against the imperialist plot to undermine it. On December 19, 1962, President Sukarno declared that if West Irian was not returned by May 1, 1963, Indonesia would carry on its struggle and would use armed force when necessary. The colonialists' plot to undermine the agreement was thus frustrated by the indomitable struggle of the Indonesian people.

In West Irian, the local people continued their fight for reunion with the motherland speedily. In January of this year, there were demonstrations in Kotabaru, capital of West Irian, and other cities, demanding early transfer of the administration of West Irian to Indonesia by the U.N. temporary executive authority.

It is because of the determination and the steadfast struggle of the Indonesian people that the complete administration of West Irian was handed over to Indonesia at the date prescribed by the Indonesian-Dutch agreement.

Colonialists' New Plot

The imperialists and colonialists, unreconciled to the loss of their control of West Irian, will continue to play all sorts of tricks to obstruct and sabotage the territory's development. The Indonesian paper *Warta Berita* exposed a conspiracy of the United States and the Netherlands to wrest West Irian again from Indonesia after its recovery. The paper reported that a committee for the "independence" of West Irian, financed by the Dutch colonialists, had been set up in the Netherlands as a centre to co-ordinate subversion against Indonesia. The committee included such arch-reactionaries as the notorious Captain Westerling who had killed 40,000 peaceful civilians on the island of Sulawesi. Dutch members of the United Nations administration in West Irian had exerted every effort to convince the people there of the need to create an "independent Papua state" and to arouse hostility to the Indonesians. All these subversive activities of the Dutch colonialists were approved and supported by Washington.

President Sukarno has good reasons to warn the nation that diehard and conservative forces, the colonialists and neo-colonialists are still trying by every possible means to weaken and disrupt the Indonesian nation and state. Therefore, President Sukarno called on the Indonesian people to stand vigilant against every threat and challenge.

China's Support

The Indonesian people's struggle to recover West Irian has always had the support of the Chinese people. In the Sino-Indonesian joint statement signed on April 20, 1963, the Chinese Government reaffirmed its resolute support to the Indonesian people in their just struggle to recover West Irian and reunify their country. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, in their message of greetings to President Sukarno, acclaimed the taking over of the administration of West Irian by Indonesia as "a new major victory won by the Indonesian people and Government in their struggle to uphold national independence and national sovereignty." "This victory," the message added, "is a new encouragement to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggles against imperialism and against colonialism, old and new; it gives added proof that, provided they persevere in their unity and dare to struggle, oppressed nations and oppressed peoples are surely able to defeat imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and win victory in achieving and safeguarding national independence and upholding national unity and territorial integrity."

ROUND THE WORLD

LAOS

Intervention Through I.C.C.

Among other things, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk's latest visit to New Delhi and his confidential talks with Indian Prime Minister Nehru (May 2-4) were concerned with manoeuvres to use the International Control Commission in Laos for stepped-up U.S. intervention in that country.

Under the 1962 Geneva agreements, the commission with India, Poland and Canada as members was assigned the task of helping to supervise and control the ceasefire with the concurrence of the Royal Laotian Government and the three parties to the Government. Washington, however, always wanted the commission to have free access throughout Laos and in every way run the affairs of the country like a supra-national body. This interventionist scheme was rejected by the Geneva conference, but now the U.S. is trying to revive it on the sly.

Two days before Rusk's arrival in New Delhi, the Indian chairman of the I.C.C. Singh announced over the protest of the Polish member the formation of a permanent I.C.C. group

in the Plain of Jars. This is against the provisions of the 1962 Geneva agreements, and also violates the principle of unanimity among the three parties to the Laotian Government of National Union.

This illegal move, however, won the immediate approval of Harriman, U.S. Under Secretary of State recently in Europe to peddle the same I.C.C. scheme. He lauded the Indian I.C.C. member for his "courage," while trying to bring pressure to bear on Poland by openly attacking the Polish member for his "non-cooperation."

The attempt to enlarge the powers of the I.C.C. has nothing to do with real efforts to lessen Laotian tension and preserve national unity. This is shown by undisguised U.S. obstruction of negotiations between the Neo Lao Haksat and the neutralist forces. When, after several meetings between Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Souvanna Phouma in Khang Khay, a proposal was brought up for a mixed committee of Laotian civil and military officers to work for a ceasefire agreement, State Department press officer White tried to sabotage it, asserting that the "U.S. is opposed to diminishing the I.C.C. role." Clearly Washington is worried that the fighting which it provoked might be stopped.

PAKISTAN AND U.S.

Not Made in Heaven

In Karachi as much as in New Delhi, Rusk used his talents to push Washington's anti-China scheme and interventionist plot in Laos. However, if in Nehru the U.S. Secretary of State had an attentive listener, he found plenty of jarring notes in Karachi when he tried to dictate the line during the two-day discussions of the CENTO ministerial council.

Pakistan's papers published reports and comments on the sharp differences at the CENTO meeting. *Dawn* wrote that Rusk

had come to Karachi to pressurize Pakistan "to accept a dictated Kashmir settlement, to enter into a defence arrangement with India, to play stooge to the West and help Western designs against China." However, it reported Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto as saying point blank that "it was not the People's Republic of China which had committed aggression against India, but India which was responsible for the military flare-up of October and November last year." Bhutto was reported to have attacked U.S. and British military aid to India and defended the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement which had been the cause of extreme pressure on his government from Washington.

Criticizing Western exhortations to Pakistan to fall into line with their anti-China strategy, the *Civil and Military Gazette* asked: Is it not true that China has gladly agreed to demarcate her frontier with Pakistan, thus greatly reducing the possibility of any friction along the borders? Why should Pakistan go out of its way to alienate and antagonize China? The paper noted on the other hand that U.S. and British military aid to India on the pretext of "fighting Chinese aggression" has greatly increased the danger to Pakistan from India.

The conclusions of this paper are interesting. "Pakistan," it wrote, "is a sovereign state and is free to change its policy towards America and Britain. Our present association with them was not made in heaven, nor is it beyond our capacity to change these associations as the interests of the country and the will of the people demand."

JAPAN

C.P. Election Gains

The Japanese Communist Party and other democratic forces made marked gains at the recent local elections for prefectural governors and assemblymen, mayors and municipal council members and district and village assemblymen.

Besides putting forward its own independent candidates, the Communist Party co-operated where possible with the Socialist Party and other democratic forces. These united-front candidates won the hotly contested governorships of Fukuoka, Iwate and Oita.



Using the Same Old Junk

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

They were also successful in mayoral elections in two major cities, Osaka and Yokohama. In industrial Osaka, the victor had a huge majority of 140,000 votes. In the 46 prefectural assemblies, the C.P. gained 22 seats against 10 before the election and the Socialists increased theirs from 422 to 519. Practically all these gains were at the expense of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party which lost 108 seats.

As usual, the Japanese ruling group resorted to all sorts of irregular practices to rig the elections, including open buying of votes, forgery, and attacks against C.P. candidates. In Tokyo where competition was hottest, the reactionaries put up a candidate named Masaru Hashimoto, using a name similar to that of Masaru Sakamoto, the candidate of the democratic forces, to confuse the electorate. Investigation revealed that Masaru Hashimoto had died in February this year.

Communist election successes were the outcome of the tremendous growth of Party strength since the last elections four years ago and the emergence of a great number of mass organizations in which the Party plays a leading role. It was the only party which in its election programme explicitly opposed the two enemies of the Japanese people—U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. This programme upheld the economic and democratic rights of the people. It included demands for dismantling U.S. military bases and opposition to the presence of U.S. nuclear submarines, to the Japan-ROK talks and to the policies of the Liberal Democratic Party serving the interests of the monopoly capitalists at the expense of the Japanese people.

HAITI

Behind Washington's Antics

Following several abortive revolts by his U.S.-trained army officers, Haitian dictator Duvalier declared martial law and imposed a country-wide curfew on May 3. He faces the threat of armed action by Dominican President Bosch, who charged that Duvalier's security guards violated international practice and forced their way into the Dominican Embassy in Port au Prince when searching for rebellious officers. Yankee warships with marines on board are cruising just beyond Haitian waters, threaten-

ing intervention on the pretext of protecting U.S. citizens.

Ostensibly, the dispute is one between Duvalier and Bosch, a current State Department protege. In fact, as a UPI report noted on May 3, it is "taking on more of a Haitian-U.S. aspect."

In an editorial on May 2, the *New York Herald Tribune* openly called for U.S. intervention in Haiti, following the "successful precedent" established in the Dominican Republic. "The justification for action in the case of Haiti," it wrote, "is powerful: the Duvalier regime, as in the case of the late Trujillo regime in the neighbouring Dominican Republic, is producing a revolutionary situation." The *New York Times* was equally outspoken, saying "the United States has wished for some time for the downfall of the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti, and it may now have found an opportunity."

Duvalier enjoyed U.S. support when he first came to power in 1957. To train his armed forces, there has been a U.S. marine mission in Port au Prince since 1958. However, as Duvalier's rule faced increasing resistance from the Haitian people and as his crackdowns on dissidents sharpened contradictions within the ruling circles, he lost the favour of his Washington masters who felt that Duvalier's extremes were creating a revolutionary situation too hot for their comfort. That was the beginning of much arm-twisting, including the suspension of U.S. economic aid for almost a year. Attacks appeared in the U.S. press against the dictator, labelling him as "corrupt and arbitrary," and Duvalier found his U.S.-trained armed forces conspiring against him. Two years ago, the Dominican dictator and one-time U.S. favourite Trujillo was brought down by the same means, and precisely for the same reasons. Now it has come to Duvalier's turn.

SHORT NOTES

General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, has practically admitted that India started the armed conflict along the Sino-Indian border. In testimony made last February and released only recently although still not in full, Taylor declared that the Indians were "edging forward in the disputed area" when the hostilities started. He also conceded that "there is no generally accepted international boundary" between

China and India. He said: "I am sorry to be vague about this, but I can assure you that I spent several hours trying to find out where the McMahon Line is." Shortly after the Taylor testimony was released, the U.S. Defence Department hastily issued a "clarification," claiming that it "did not imply in any way that the Indians started the hostilities."

De Gaulle has given a body blow to the Washington-inspired reports that France was changing her policy of establishing her own nuclear force and realizing her "grand design" in Europe. In a televised broadcast reaffirming France's stand, the French President said: "This policy is no easy. The world abounds in sirens who sing us songs of the sweetness of renunciation, or who, disconcerted at seeing us insensible to their charms, raise a noisy choir of abuse at us. However, without bombast . . . in our own interests, our ship pursues its course."

In Washington, Kennedy told newsmen that his European itinerary this summer does not include France. Although protocol requires that de Gaulle visit U.S.A. next, Kennedy has said this need not prevent a meeting. But de Gaulle is not going to the U.S. nor is he inviting Kennedy to Paris.

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Worker's Party at its March plenary session unanimously approved the directives issued by the Party and Government to Rumania's representative attending the February meeting of the executive committee of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

A communique carried by *Scinteia* states that the plenum reaffirmed its full endorsement of the "Basic Principles Governing the International Socialist Division of Labour" adopted at the conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the participant countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance held in June 1962. It adds that the chief means of assuring the successful development and the strengthening of the international socialist division of labour according to these principles is to co-ordinate plans of the national economies in the spirit of the principles stipulated in the 1960 Moscow Statement—respect for independence and national sovereignty, full equality of rights and comradesly mutual assistance and mutual benefit.

PAINTING

Exhibition of British Water-Colours

Chinese art-lovers have long been familiar with such great names in British water-colour painting as Cozens, Sandby, Turner, Constable and others. They had a rare opportunity recently of seeing some of their masterpieces in the original at the British Water-Colour Painting Exhibition held last month in Peking and now being shown in Shanghai.

Organized by the Britain-China Friendship Association, the exhibition has brought together from all parts of Britain a well-chosen selection of 158 works by 98 British water-colour artists. It is thanks to the zealous energy of the organizers led by Mr. Richard Carline, who accompanied the exhibition, and the friendly generosity of many private collectors and public museums that the pictures on show include representative works of almost all of the outstanding figures in British water-colour art and so provide a most comprehensive review of the history of British water-colour painting from the 17th century to today. This is the first time that a water-colour exhibition of such content and scope has left Britain for China.

The exhibition falls roughly into six parts. The first shows works of the earliest period including four by Francis Place (1647-1728). The second covers the great masters of the 18th century: the Cozens and Paul Sandby. The late 18th to mid-19th centuries saw the flowering of water-colour painting in Britain. Britain in this sphere became pre-eminent in the West. This is the section which attracted the most attention from Chinese visitors: many lingered long before the works of Crome, Girtin, Turner, Constable, Varley, Cotman, Cox and de Wint, studying them with minute attention or making copies of them. The meticulously detailed and heavily coloured paintings of the Victorian period and the Pre-Raphaelites also aroused much interest. With their airy atmosphere and lightness the works of Steer, Sargent and Brangwyn in the late 19th to early 20th centuries showed a reversion to and development of the fine traditions of earlier British water-colours as well as the influence of French impressionism. In the last section 30 works — includ-

ing those of Smith, Hodgkins, Grant, Knight, the Nash brothers, Spencer and Piper — show some of the modern trends.

Western water-colour painting was introduced into China some three quarters of a century ago. Early Chinese water-colour artists such as Li Yi-shih and Kuan Kuang-chih studied art in England. Today many Chinese artists like and use this technique, and British water-colour painting, in particular, is well known to the Chinese art public at large.

Chinese artists were deeply interested in the paintings of Alexander Cozens among the works of the earliest period. His free and powerful brushwork and imaginative concepts which refuse to be confined to the role of merely recording nature, have much in common with traditional Chinese brushwork styles. Girtin's *Waterfall Near Dolgelley, Wales*, too, in both content and conception, has points of similarity with traditional Chinese painting. Although its colours and brushstrokes are more restrained than those used by Chinese masters, it shows consummate technical skill.

Turner is probably best known in China of all the British water-colour artists. Six of his works — here was a treat indeed — showed different periods in the development of his style. *Dudley Castle* attracted partic-

ular interest. Here the artist broke through the convention of applying local colour to each separate object and fused light, shade and colour into a single entity. The greater part of the picture surface is shrouded in a dreamy mist, bringing out well the romantic beauty of the scene, its light and shade and movement. This painting is a synthesis of the real and ideal worlds, a symphony of colour. It shows Turner's unique style and creative spirit at its mature best. Its influence on the rise of French impressionism is evident.

Four works by Wilson Steer show his light, free touch, his soft and harmonious colours. Simple at first glance, they linger on in one's memory. They represent the best features of water-colour painting, and mark him out to be the undisputed successor of Turner and Constable.

The exhibition, after two weeks in Peking, has now gone on to tour Shanghai and other Chinese cities. In Peking, it has not only given art-lovers great aesthetic enjoyment, but also provided its artists with a valuable store of material from which to study the history of water-colour painting and learn its techniques. It was a most popular exhibition. On Sundays long queues lined up to see it and people stood three and four deep in front of favourite paintings.

—CHANG AN-CHIH

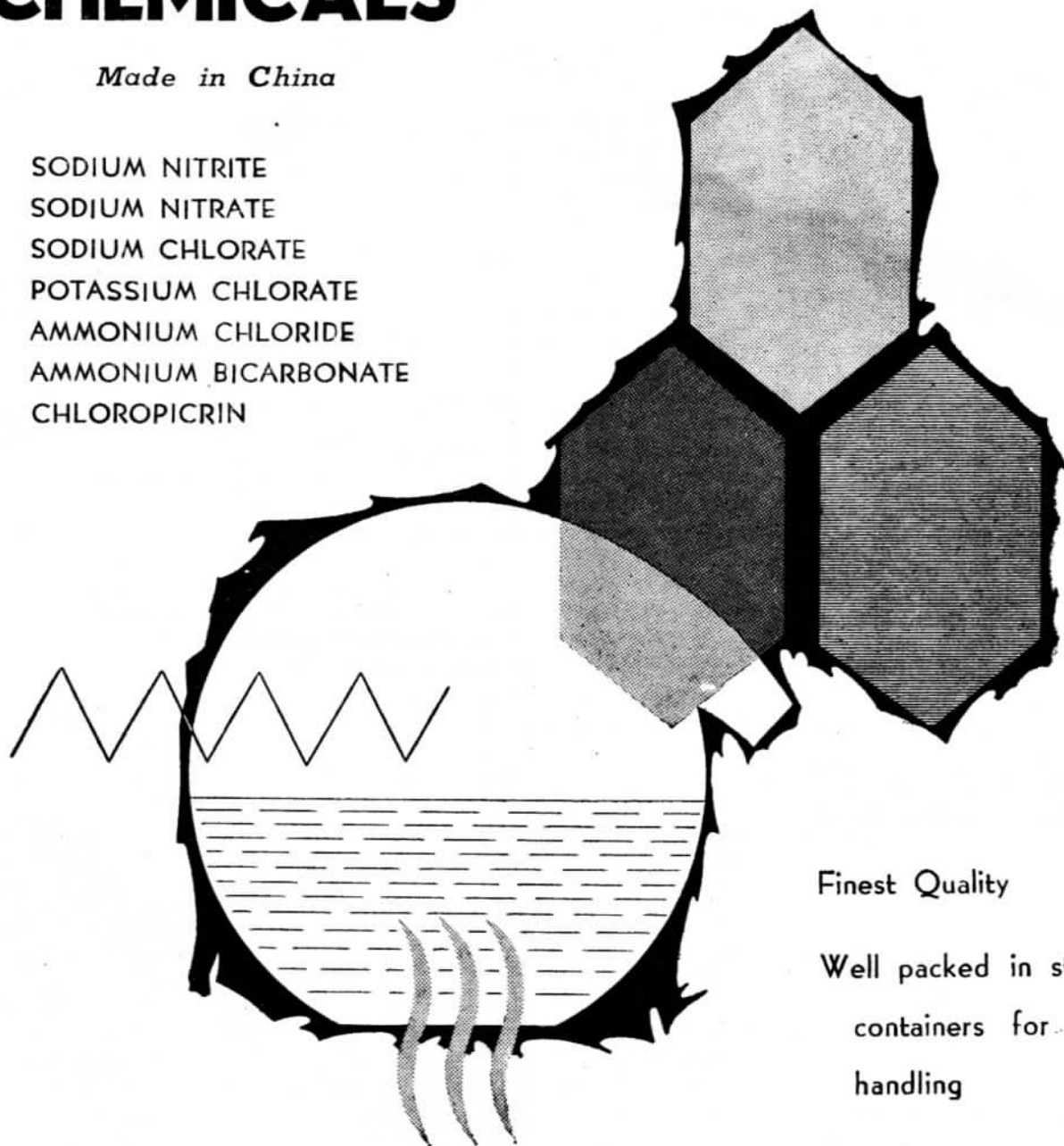


Waterfall Near Dolgelley, Wales By T. Girtin City Art Gallery, Birmingham

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