

Resolutions of the 21st National Conference of C.P.N.Z.

Resolution on National Independence

THE process of turning New Zealand from a semi-colony into a full colony has been growing apace over recent years. It is best described by two words, "take-over" and "sell-out." Excepting only in the field of newspapers, the Government has given a free hand for the giant overseas American and British combines to take over established New Zealand companies and to start new enterprises with the privilege of specially-granted monopoly rights. No field of finance or industry is exempt. To-day at least 25 per cent. of capital invested in this country is overseas monopoly capital.

This is the outstanding fact of life which confronts the New Zealand people to-day—that overseas financiers and industrialists have a controlling interest in the national economy! The basic condition for any independent New Zealand policy to be pursued by any government is therefore the wresting of control from the grip of foreign monopoly.

National independence for the people is a vital question, for the economic control of this country by overseas monopoly is the basis for political control in the interests of a handful of big concerns. Thus the politics of the New Zealand Government are to send troops to Viet Nam to help U.S. monopoly capital to secure the lion's share of world plunder, and troops to "Malaysia" to help British monopoly capital secure the jackal's share.

This same political control enables armed U.S. security police to manhandle New Zealanders in their own country, to command the approaches to the supposed "guardian" of independence, Parliament.

Formerly under the control of British Big Business, New Zealand to-day is more and more being dominated by U.S. Big Business. It is becoming, in fact, a semi-colony

of America's as U.S. big capital strengthens its grip on basic New Zealand industry and finance. Other parts of Oceania, such as Australia, are in similar positions.

U.S. imperialism is to-day the main enemy of the world's peoples. It is striving to subject every country and people to its domination.

A constant stream of U.S. politicians comes to these shores, bringing the dictates of Washington to the New Zealand Government. The willingness of the Government to accept these dictates and carry them out shows just WHO is prepared to sell out the people's interests. The real patriots are not those who have already turned New Zealand into a U.S. dependency and to whom independence is a commodity to be sold to the highest bidder. No! The only genuinely patriotic party in New Zealand to-day is the Communist Party, which stands firmly for national independence and against domination by any other country. It is the only political force capable of showing correct and consistent leadership to the many other courageous patriotic elements who are struggling against the sell-out to foreign monopoly control.

It is they who lead the struggle, vital to New Zealand's future, against Washington's demands that New Zealand confine its trade to those countries and peoples of whom the U.S. monopolies approve.

The sell-out of New Zealand's national resources—such as Lake Manapouri—and of the production skills of the working people to foreign big business is not exclusive to the present National Government, ardent advocate though it is of wholesale take-over by overseas tycoons. It has been carried on equally by Labour in power as by the National Party. The leaders of both parties have vied with each other in begging for foreign capital to come into New Zealand on terms which guarantee the biggest possible profits, underwritten, where necessary, by public funds.

"Send us your capital," they have cried. "If you wish us to send troops to help you guard your rights of exploitation somewhere, we will send them! If you ask us to pass laws against trade union liberties, we will pass them! If you wish us to act as your tool in the United Nations, to move resolutions against China or back up your lies about the Congo, we will not hesitate! If you wish us to place embargoes on trade with countries whose governments oppose imperialism, it will be done. Only send us your capital!"

They have been able to carry on the sell-out only by

means of a vast confidence trick played on the people. While handing over the real control of New Zealand to Washington and London under the urging of their masters, they invoke the danger of "Communist aggression," of a Chinese invasion, just as Chamberlain invoked the Bolshevik bogey to do a deal with Hitler at Munich.

The results of Government policy to-day endanger the lives and living standards of the entire people. The threat comes, not from China or, indeed, from any socialist country, for in the countries of Socialism no-one profits from war or the preparation for war, as is the case under monopoly capitalism. No, the threat comes from the involvement of New Zealand in the network of imperialist exploitation and aggression, in the growing economic burden of arms purchases and debt to international financiers. The struggle for genuine national independence is thus a struggle against economic and political domination by imperialism, headed by American imperialism. It is a struggle for a genuine peace policy, for the slashing of inflated war expenditure, for the shifting of the tax burden from the low-income groups to the big companies and the high-income groups.

The basic interest of the mass of New Zealand workers, middle classes and small farmers cannot be reconciled with the interests of monopoly, foreign or domestic. Only the take-over of these monopolies by the people can bring about a fundamental change, and only the working class can head the struggle for this take-over.

The Communist Party of New Zealand, which is the only political party demanding and actively struggling for the curbing and elimination of foreign monopoly, is also the sole party standing for genuine national independence. This Conference declares that the Party will continue to wage an unremitting struggle for the working class to stand at the head of a great people's movement that will sweep aside the bought politicians of Capitalism, stop the sell-out to overseas monopoly and establish a genuinely independent New Zealand—economically, socially, politically and culturally.

Resolution on Viet Nam

THIS National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand declares that:

The war being waged by the U.S. and its satellites in Viet Nam is a war of imperialist plunder and aggression, a war for the suppression of the independence of the Viet

Nameese people and to further Washington's aim of world domination.

By maintaining an artillery force in Viet Nam, and increasing its size, the New Zealand Government is conniving at the plunder, suppression and domination of Viet Nam by the U.S.A.

In its slavish following of U.S. policies, the Government is committing the people of New Zealand to be cannon-fodder for the enrichment of the billionaire corporations which rule the U.S.A. These corporations obtain enormous profits from investments in Asia, Africa, Latin America and, indeed, in most of the capitalist sector of the world, including New Zealand. At the same time, they obtain enormous profits from war contracts handed to them by a government which operates as their executive committee.

The Viet Nameese people have refused to be the slaves of the U.S. and the successive puppet regimes installed by the U.S.A. They have stood up and are fighting for their national liberation and for elementary human rights.

Their war is a just war, a war of 90 per cent. of the people against enslavement by imperialism. Such a people's war will surely triumph, because it will also have the support of all the class-conscious workers and genuine democrats throughout the world.

It will triumph despite the vast armaments of the U.S. aggressors and despite the fact that the U.S. imperialists are receiving behind-the-scenes assistance from the modern revisionists who head the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet State. While they publicly parade their "aid" to north Viet Nam, the Soviet leaders privately ensure that it will not be on a scale that would annoy the U.S. Government. The latter, in fact, regards the Soviet leaders as allies who are working to obtain a capitulation of the Viet Nameese people under the cloak of "negotiations."

Under such circumstances, the C.P.N.Z. can have no confidence in protestations by C.P.S.U. leaders that they seek united action against U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam. Their deeds contradict their words. Such "united action" is but a trap for the unwary, designed to cover up the real assistance the C.P.S.U. leaders are giving to imperialism.

A great movement in opposition to the U.S. aggressors has grown up internationally. In growing numbers, the U.S. people themselves are awakening to the fact that the war the U.S. Government is waging in Viet Nam is aggressive and colonialist. They are coming out in hundreds of thousands in open struggle against it, constituting a new

and vital factor in world politics.

It is significant, too, that the movement of struggle against U.S. aggression in Viet Nam has been growing in the Philippines, so that Washington's efforts to add another Asian "ally" to its Viet Nam forces have met with increasing resistance.

Within New Zealand the great movement against the sending of troops to support U.S. aggression has grown into a movement for their recall and is bound to grow further.

Despite a use of the "big-lie" technique that makes Hitler look an amateur, the corrupt politicians of the U.S. and its satellites cannot overcome the repugnance of great numbers of people to a war so patently unjust. The new upsurge of opposition shown at the time of Hubert Humphrey's visit to New Zealand is evidence of this.

The Government is following a dangerous course. It is daily plunging the country more heavily into debt to support the ambitions of the U.S. bankers and industrialists. It is ever-ready to execute the military, political and economic demands of Washington, whether these are conveyed through ordinary channels or through special envoys such as Lodge and Humphrey.

The continued strengthening of economic control of New Zealand through investment of capital by the giant U.S. banks and industrial corporations enables Washington to call the tune in New Zealand politics. The National Party leaders are openly in President Johnson's pocket. The Labour leaders have never come out in flat opposition to the sending of troops, but have adopted their familiar fence-sitting posture. What opposition they have expressed has always been qualified, while to-day they jump from pillar to post to avoid a commitment to withdraw New Zealand troops. Thus their position is one of appearing to oppose the Government and the U.S. while doing what they can to weaken and emasculate the mass movement by temporising and fence-sitting.

In this situation, this National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand calls on all who work by hand and brain to reject the Government's blind allegiance to the war policies of the U.S.A. and to demand from the Labour Party leaders a definite commitment that they will withdraw New Zealand forces.

It declares that the C.P.N.Z. will devote its utmost energies to building and participating in the mass movement of opposition to America's war of enslavement in Viet Nam and to the use of New Zealand troops in its

support. It also recognises the need for increased participation by the organised working class in this mass movement.

It declares that the National Liberation Front, which has the support of 90 per cent. of the people of south Viet Nam, is the only body that has the right to represent them. Recent events show that the U.S. puppet Ky Government has absolutely no support among the population.

The Conference declares its full support for the four points advanced by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five points of the March, 1965, statement of the National Liberation Front as the only basis on which peace in Viet Nam can be achieved.

It demands:

- Immediate cessation of U.S. attacks on north Viet Nam and the withdrawal of its forces from the south.
- Immediate recall of all New Zealand troops in Viet Nam.
- Recognition of the right of the Viet Nameese people to determine their own social system, form of government and the question of re-unification of their country.

Resolution on Revisionism and Social Democracy

TWO fundamentally opposed trends exist in the international working-class movement to-day—the revolutionary trend and the opportunist trend.

The revolutionary trend is represented by those parties and groupings firmly upholding the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and conducting their practice according to these principles. The opportunist trend is represented openly by the bourgeois social-democratic and Labour parties and in concealed form by those parties and groupings, nominally Communist, but adhering to the modern revisionist ideology, which is nothing other than bourgeois ideology deceptively cloaked in Marxist phrases.

The struggle between these two trends has gone on since the days of the Second International. The economic roots of these trends, the basic political features of both, and the nature of the struggle between them were thoroughly analysed by V. I. Lenin in a great number of works. But, whereas, in the time of Lenin (and later of Stalin), the leadership of the first socialist state was implacably opposed to opportunism, to-day the leaders of the Soviet Party and state are the foremost proponents of it. This has

created a situation which has confused and misled millions of good Communists and politically-active workers throughout the world, leading them in a step-by-step process on to the path of social democracy.

Social democracy is the theory and practice of class collaboration. Modern revisionism is social democracy in the era of dying imperialism.

Within the capitalist world, the modern revisionist outlook merges with that of social democracy, and the modern revisionist practice is directed towards organisational subservience and merger with social-democratic and Labour parties. Particularly is this evident in the economic strongholds of imperialism, among which New Zealand must be numbered.

Thus the recent defectors from the Communist Party of New Zealand, while asserting that their differences with the Party arise mainly in regard to the basic differences in the Communist movement internationally, show by their whole approach and by their specific tactical views that they are also influenced to an opportunist position by the strength of social democracy in New Zealand.

It is precisely because the modern revisionist ideology inevitably leads within the socialist world to the eventual restoration of Capitalism, and within the capitalist world to the transformation of Communists into social democrats, that it is imperative for Marxist-Leninists to wage an unremitting struggle against it.

This task pre-supposes that within our own Party the closest attention must be paid to ideological work. This must be directed particularly towards deepening our comrades' understanding of fundamental theory and increasing their direct acquaintance with the classic works of Marxism-Leninism. It must also include the question of organisation and methods of work and leadership.

In view of the close connection of economism with social-democratic and revisionist ideology, it is necessary to devote special attention to combatting economist tendencies within the Party. Such tendencies inevitably arise, firstly, because of the strength of the labour aristocracy in New Zealand, and, secondly, because there is a great deal of routine involved in full-time trade union positions, much of it connected with the legalities of the arbitration system and capable of smothering the politics even of good Communists who become full-time union officials.

For our work in the trade unions and among the masses of the workers to be Communist work, it must have as its primary objective the lifting of socialist consciousness and

not be confined solely to economic agitation. At the same time, we must strive to overcome tendencies to separate Party work from work in the trade unions, recognising that the latter is an integral part of the more general campaign to strengthen our basis among the industrial workers.

A further task is the re-drafting of the Party programme to ensure that it fully conforms with the strategic and tactical line of Marxism-Leninism in this period.

The ideological stand of the Communist Party of New Zealand is not a matter of chance, but arises from factors in the past development of our Party. It is of considerable importance, both for our future growth and for the international movement, that these factors be examined and understood, not merely for historical interest, but in order to enrich the international storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

Our Conference warmly greets the representatives of three other Marxist-Leninist Parties who are participating in our deliberations. Together with the many other Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups throughout the world, we will continue firmly on the path of building genuine Communist unity throughout the ranks of the international working-class movement.

We affirm our unshakeable confidence in the victory of the Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary trend over the opportunist trend of reformism and modern revisionism. We base this confidence on the historical experience of the working-class movement, which shows irrefutably that a policy of adherence to principles will always win in the long run, because the principles correspond to the basic interests of the working class and to the objective laws of social development.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the fraternal unity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups, forged in common struggle against imperialism and its ally, modern revisionism!

Resolution on Indonesia

THE events of the last six months in Indonesia, which have culminated in the temporary ascendancy of a pro-imperialist military clique and the relegation of President Soekarno to the position of a figurehead, are closely connected with the present world-wide counter-offensive of imperialism against Socialism and national liberation.

Despite their efforts at stemming the tide of advance

of the peoples towards Socialism and national independence in the last decade, the imperialists met with many reverses, not the least of which was the ignominious failure of their sponsored invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Since then, the imperialists, headed by the most vicious and ruthless of reactionaries in the U.S.A., have redoubled their efforts to turn back the course of history. Through a combination of force, fraud and bribery, they have temporarily succeeded in ousting popular, anti-imperialist governments in a number of countries by means of military coups d'etat carried out by reactionary generals.

Nevertheless, the imperialist counter-offensive is basically a mark of desperation and weakness. It is for this reason that they resort constantly to military dictatorships, regarding these as the only means of suppressing the growing anti-imperialist forces. The weapon of the military coup d'etat is always ready in the arsenal of imperialism as a last resort.

Such a coup d'etat was planned and carried out in Indonesia with the connivance of the Central Intelligence Agency.

In the blood-bath which accompanied the generals' coup, upwards of 100,000 workers and peasants were brutally massacred, according to "official" figures. What the actual total is may not be revealed for years.

Such is the reality which lies behind the mask of "humaneness" adopted by the U.S. imperialists and their local agents for everyday purposes. Whenever it is a question of actually maintaining imperialist power against any peaceful advance by the masses, however, they will stop at nothing in the way of slaughter and violence against the people.

The Indonesian experience is once again a striking confirmation—if further confirmation were needed—of the utter fallacy of revisionist theories of peaceful transition to Socialism.

Once again it confirms all the experience of history that, in the face of a rising movement which threatens their power, the bourgeoisie will ALWAYS place the bayonet on the agenda, irrespective of whether the working class is armed or unarmed.

This only emphasises the need for the working class and its Party to exercise the utmost vigilance, even while working to make the most of legal conditions.

A second, most-important lesson is the demonstration that, unless the working class has the leadership in a

national-liberation revolution, the transformation of such a revolution into a socialist revolution will inevitably come up against the opposition of a compromising section of the national bourgeoisie who would rather return their country to imperialist domination than accept a transition to Socialism in any form.

Thus, Communist and Workers' Parties in newly-independent states, headed by elements of the national bourgeoisie, no less than those in the imperialist states, need to maintain vigilance against the menace of overnight suppression.

It is clear that in the storm centres, where the masses are struggling to free themselves from old and new colonialism, the question of the role of the peasantry must be the major one. Having been kept economically backward by imperialism, these countries as a rule have only a small working class, the vast majority of the people being peasants. Thus, where Communist and Workers' Parties exist, the development of a firm alliance of the workers with the peasant masses must be a priority task so as to ensure a development leading to Socialism and in order to secure bases for the continuation of revolutionary struggle under conditions of suppression.

Despite the recent setback, and the massacres and suppression, the P.K.I. will not be eliminated from the Indonesian scene. On the one hand, it is known that the leadership of the Party has been preserved at all levels. On the other, the critical economic position and the sufferings inflicted on the population by the rampant speculation, profiteering and landlordism are a very unstable basis for the generals' junta to establish itself firmly in political power. Nothing is surer than that a mass revolutionary movement will again develop and that the P.K.I. will be its leadership.

Whatever assistance we can render to the struggle of the Indonesian people must be given. We are aware that the P.K.I. is developing new organisational forms and new means of struggle to uphold the basic interests of the workers and peasants of Indonesia. We are confident that it will overcome all obstacles, to the continued development of the Indonesian revolution, including the present imperialist-sponsored military dictatorship.

Long live the fraternal solidarity of the workers of our country with the toiling millions of Indonesia.

Long live the unbreakable solidarity between the Communist Party of New Zealand, the P.K.I. and Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.