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**COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
NEW ZEALAND**

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**REPORT  
TO THE  
23rd  
NATIONAL  
CONFERENCE  
APRIL 21 & 22,  
1984.**

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# REPORT TO 23rd NATIONAL CONFERENCE, C.P.N.Z.

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Comrades, this is an historic Conference of our Party for two reasons.

First: Twenty-two years ago our Party was beset with the problem of revisionism. At that time an immense struggle against all kinds of revisionism took place. A minority of comrades tackled one problem at a time, each of these in turn successfully resolved until the present time. A great foundation has been laid for continuing to build a Marxist-Leninist Party of a new type, as the weapon to raise the socialist consciousness of the working class, as Stalin has outlined. The minority Marxist Leninists have become the majority in our Party.

Secondly: The second historical importance of this conference is that from the days of the arbitrationists till this time we have had in N.Z. class collaboration, belief in the parliamentary road, reformism and compulsory unionism, which the social democrats saw as an instrument of class conciliation and class peace. Stalin, in his classic "On The Party" tells of this period of more or less peaceful development.

Today the N.Z. monopoly capitalists are caught up in internal and external contradictions of acute dimensions. The crisis of imperialism is not only finding inadequate returns in the foreign market place, but struggle with other imperialists as to who is going to have the market. N.Z.'s \$14 billion loan debts, much of which has been used to cover up this crisis, is now raising the outside pressure of conditionality of loans.

New Zealand capitalism cannot operate in the old way and they threaten to throw overboard the old



means of holding down the workers as outdated means of extending the exploitation of the workers. We now enter the period when the workers must learn from experience, and from our struggle to raise their socialist consciousness, to abandon the old ideas and to adopt a new weapon - the weapon of socialism.

Not only is it so that Stalin was correct in explaining this period of peaceful development but we now see more clearly the need for a party of a new type. Comrades should re-study that classic of Stalin and strengthen their conviction of these important Marxist-Leninist fundamentals.

### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

The Conference of 1979 was held at an historical period when our Party was consolidating its basic line by firmly rejecting Chinese revisionism ("C.P. N.Z.'s Firm Stand Against the New Revisionism"). Conference decisions upheld the proletarian Marxist-Leninist line and laid down guidelines to carry forward the struggle against Chinese revisionism and other variants.

Since the 1979 Conference the struggle against revisionism and its various trends has been deepened there is within the Party a clearer concept that we must intensify our ideological work in all fields, ideology, politics, organisation.

The whole Party is becoming more tempered in the struggle to uphold Marxist-Leninist ideology against the bourgeois ideology and against those who try to infiltrate bourgeois ideology into the Party. The Party has had great successes in carrying forward the struggle against revisionism both internationally and internally, but we must be ever vigilant in the struggle against opportunism and all variants of revisionism that thrive on opportunism.

The 1979 Conference took place at a period when the Party had been given blows from the Communist

Party of China, and while the origins of Chinese revisionism were not yet clear to us, their practice was clearly anti-Marxist-Leninist.

The Communist Party of China had instigated and then openly supported the attack on our Party by E.F.Hill (Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L)) in "Vanguard" (paper of the C.P.A. (M-L)), which they re-published in "Peking Review". Without Chinese backing this attack would have had little effect internationally nor even locally.

This thoroughly unprincipled attack helped to expose the devious nature of the Communist Party of China and was further proof that the C.P.C. was not based on Marxism-Leninism, that it rejected proletarian internationalism and their actions against the C.P.N.Z. were for the purpose of breaking up our Party. This kind of treatment from the C.P.C. was experienced also by other Marxist-Leninist parties around the world when they refused to accept the opportunist "Theory of Three Worlds". Then there was the surprise attack by the C.P.C. against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian socialist state.

Conference decisions were that the Communist Party of China was a bourgeois and national chauvinist Party totally opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

The Conference resolved to carry on the struggle within N.Z. to expose and isolate the revisionism of the Soviet social-imperialists and the Chinese revisionists and the local revisionist groupings aligned with each, which in turn serve the interests of imperialism and particularly that of U.S. imperialism.

In the period of the 1979 Conference the question of Mao and his leading role in the advent of Chinese revisionism was not clear to us, and the decision of the Firm Stand document, which stated that we should take time and not make hasty decisions on the question of Mao, was upheld as correct.

Ideological unclarity at this stage on the



essence of Mao and his role in the advent of Chinese revisionism made the Party vulnerable to ideas that the C.P.C. had departed from Mao's line etc, which were being propagated internationally by such groupings as the "Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A." and within our own Party by Nunes and Gould, then members of the Central Committee, who continued to blindly uphold Mao, and who organised factional activity within the Party to continue to uphold the anti-Marxist-Leninist essence of "Mao Tsetung Thought".

#### MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT - The Roots of Chinese Revisionism.

The exposure of "Mao Tsetung Thought" as the source of Chinese revisionism was brought to a head by the factional campaign of Nunes and Gould who, in order to defend "Mao Tsetung Thought", had to discredit the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania. This they set out to do by carrying out a slanderous attack against the P.L.A. and particularly against Enver Hoxha. This they did inside the Party and also used the Communist Review, which was at that time published by the Party, to propagate their line outside the Party and in the international arena.

There is no doubt that this helped considerably to develop and open up the struggle to expose the real essence of "Mao Tsetung Thought" as the source of Chinese revisionism. In this situation there could only be one path to take and that was to defend the Marxist-Leninist stand of the P.L.A. There was no middle course. We came to realise that "Mao Tsetung Thought" could not be separated from the history of the C.P.C. and was in fact the source of its revisionism.

The line and actions of Nunes and Gould, who tried to introduce an alternative line into the Party, exposed Mao's advocacy of "two lines in the Party" which was concealed as the manifestation of

"contradictions among the people", therefore non-antagonistic, as the struggle of opposites, but which was no more than compromise with the bourgeois line.

We now saw clearly that the class struggle within the Party had nothing in common with Mao's concept of "two line struggle". Our Party could have only one line and that was the line of the Conference.

It was clear that the "Mao Tsetung Thought" concept of "two lines" was to meet the needs of the Chinese bourgeoisie, to meet the needs of classes with contrary interests who came together to foster the ideas of a great China, a Party where rival factions could have each their own line and even organisations, with Mao supporting one or the other according to how he saw the greater interests of Chinese nationalism. According to Mao's concept the Party should not wage class struggle against opportunist elements, who infiltrated bourgeois ideas into the Party and engaged in factional splitting activities, with the objective of purging them from the Party.

According to Mao's line these matters should be treated as "contradictions among the people", which is what the Manson-Bailey group claimed when they attacked the line and split from the Party in 1969.

The defeat of the Nunes and Gould faction and the rejection of "Mao Tsetung Thought" as an anti-Marxist-Leninist doctrine was a great victory for our Party. It showed the maturity of the Party to struggle against revisionism and strengthen its class outlook.

It showed the Party's ability to consciously apply the methods of dialectical and material analysis and examination of its practice from a class position, and the necessity of upholding the basic norms of organisation - strengthening discipline, recognising the danger of liberalism, practising democratic centralism.



These were the rocks on which the anti-Party and pro-revisionist ideology of Nunes and Gould was shattered. The way was then clear to continue the struggle to deepen understanding of "Mao Tsetung Thought" revisionism and the affects it had on our practice and the world movement.

#### DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

The struggle against revisionism must continuously be waged inside the Party and we must play our part in international struggles against developing trends of revisionism by upholding proletarian internationalism. The bourgeoisie will continue to use old trends and to develop new revisionist groups to divert the Marxist-Leninist Parties from their leading role at the head of the proletariat.

The Chinese variant of revisionism goes further against Lenin's ideas than all the previous revisionist ideas, particularly with the line which developed out of "Mao Tsetung Thought" - the "Theory of Three Worlds". This theory denies the major contradiction which characterises this epoch and covers up the class character of the political forces which are acting in the world today.

In the scheme of the "Three Worlds" the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie doesn't exist and it covers up the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the reactionaries and the pro-imperialists in the lesser developed countries.

Our Party must continue to expose the counter-revolutionary nature of this theory and of the anti-Marxist-Leninist "Mao Tsetung Thought" which spawned it. (Study the pamphlet "The Theory and Practice of the Revolution")

The historical, social and economic conditions which are the material base for the many variants of revisionism are now more understood within our Party. The process which leads to the degeneration

of Parties and individuals has been analysed very clearly in the writings of Lenin and Stalin and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Revisionism arises out of a bourgeois class stand which distorts Marxism-Leninism in order to ignore the primary interests of the working class and the basic features of the capitalist system which is based on class exploitation, to sacrifice the primary interests of the working class for real or assumed advantages in the immediate situation.

Opportunism also manifests itself in individualism, big-shottism and liberalism, which undermine the foundations of the Party if allowed to develop. the firmer the class stand of the Party, the greater the understanding of Marxism-Leninism of its membership, then the better the Party is able to combat liberalism and all forms of opportunism.

Revisionism is fostered by the class enemy because it opposes Marxism-Leninism on all fronts. in this era of the last stage of capitalism it becomes the prime ideological weapon of imperialism to split the proletariat. It creates ideological confusion among the working class, disrupts the revolutionary movement and diverts the working class struggle into reformist and parliamentary channels, using all the veneers of communist phrases and theories. The revisionists are defenders of capital within the working class ranks.

On the international level the revisionists have given considerable breathing space to capitalism. The shining example of Stalin's Soviet Union, which millions of workers around the world took inspiration from, has been deformed into a tyrannical dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and state bureaucrats, interfering in the affairs of other nations and peoples, and its economy wracked with crisis.

The betrayals of firstly the Titoites in Yugoslavia, then the Soviet bloc, and then the opening up of China to imperialism have also provided a



great economic boost to imperialism - with great new opportunities for investment and markets.

There are many lessons which we can learn from these experiences of the international movement, but the most important is the vital question of maintaining an ideologically strong Marxist-Leninist Party based firmly on the principles laid down by Lenin and Stalin, and firmly combatting all forms of opportunism, liberalism and revisionism. Without such a Party the working class has no leadership in its struggle against capital and there is no prospect of ending this struggle through the building of a socialist society under the dictatorship of the working class.

#### VARIANTS OF REVISIONISM

Yugoslav revisionism was exposed early as the imperialists' Trojan horse inside the socialist camp, and it laid the pattern for others to follow. It still festers as a source of bourgeois infection, spreading the Titoite myths about decentralised socialism and anti-Stalinism, and as a hostile border against socialist Albania, brutally suppressing the Albanian population in Kosova.

Soviet revisionism remains the most dangerous form of international revisionism. It still masks its treachery and its imperialist actions behind the glorious banner of the October Revolution, and uses the name of Lenin to destroy Leninism. As a super-power it rivals the United States as a source of international conflict and as a leading arms merchant.

Because it conceals its aggression behind the mask of Leninism and the phoney calls for "peace" and "disarmament", Soviet imperialism is able to mislead some people and tries to capitalise on the developing anti-war movement throughout the world.

Its tactic is to elevate the demand for "peace" to the primary demand for the working class and the peoples of the world, and to present the Soviet Union as the leading force for world peace, so it

covers up the real position that it is itself an imperialist power, a threat and menace to world peace. This tactic of the Soviet revisionists completely wipes the class struggle of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution as the only ultimate guarantee of world peace. And behind its calls for peace, Soviet troops and those of its satellites like Cuba invade other countries and subjugate other peoples.

Soviet imperialism and national chauvanism is concealed behind glib phrases about "international aid" and "limited sovereignty" (of countries under the Soviet umbrella, which is an excuse for military intervention in Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and Poland if necessary). But regardless of what guises it uses, the facts are that the Soviet working class are wage slaves of the new bourgeoisie in power, and the Soviet economy is a form of state bureaucratic capitalism, and there is no vestige of capitalism left.

The proletariat have again to make the revolution in the Soviet Union. It is our task as Marxist-Leninists to continue to tear these disguises off. The deeds of the Soviet imperialists assist this.

Our stand against Chinese revisionism and "Mao Tsetung Thought" has already been dealt with. The alignment of the Chinese bourgeoisie with imperialism, and its support for all kinds of reactionary and fascist regimes undermines the struggles of the working class and people for liberation and socialism. It also fans the danger of imperialist war.

Inside our Party, the agents of Chinese revisionism tried to undermine the monolithic nature of the Party, pull out its Marxist-Leninist teeth and turn it into an agency for Chinese chauvanism.

These international revisionist currents have been reflected in our own Party and in our struggle here in N.Z., and have taken organisational form in the "Socialist Unity Party", "Workers' Communist League" and "Preparatory Committee" (the Wilcox grouping). While they each have their own peculiar anti-Marxist theories they also have a common base.



of attacking Marxism-Leninism and our Party, denying the necessity for revolution and selling out the long-term interests and even the immediate objectives and demands of the working class.

Under the disguise of "socialism" all these elements try to divert the working class struggle and head off the rising political consciousness by putting the Labour Party forward as the immediate hope of the workers.

The Socialist Unity Party (S.U.P.) and Workers' Communist League (W.C.L.) in particular are in competition for domination of the trade union bureaucracy - from which position they can try to curb working class struggle and adapt the workers to the crisis conditions of capitalism. As this crisis worsens and working class anger at the impotence of the F.O.L. bureaucrats grows, the revisionists are frantically trying to cover up this failure of reformism by using isolated sections of workers for token 'struggles', or conducting safety valve rallies where workers' anger can be cooled by long speeches of Labour Party politicians.

They are out and out agents of the bourgeoisie and must be consistently exposed as such, but this exposure must be led by communists organising workers around concrete issues, by lifting their class consciousness.

The S.U.P. is the local agency for Soviet imperialism, trying to square off for every action of their Soviet masters. The Preparatory Committee, like its big-brother party of E.F.Hill which it apes in everything, are no more than Chinese agents following every revisionist manoeuvre of the Chinese Party and State, and so covering up for and aiding U.S. imperialism with its one-sided attack on Soviet imperialism as the "main danger".

The W.C.L. too is a product of Chinese revisionism. It adopts a more cautious public position on China (preferring to say little or nothing about

China) but follows a clear Mao Tsetung Thought line in its outlook. For example its manifesto claims that while Soviet imperialism is on the offensive, U.S. imperialism is on the "strategic defensive" and in a strategically passive position, therefore according to the W.C.L. the Soviet Union is the greater danger and the W.C.L. calls for the broadest possible international united front against super-power hegemonism "and the Soviet Union in particular" - the very basis used by the Chinese revisionists for their alliance with U.S. imperialism.

This is the Theory of the "three Worlds", that one imperialism can be used for protection against the other. It is a dangerous theory. Both U.S. and Soviet imperialism are equal and ferocious enemies of all exploited peoples.

U.S. imperialism is the enemy which immediately confronts the N.Z. people and working class. Its multi-national monopolies merge with the internal state monopoly capital to exploit the N.Z. working class. The U.S. state departments direct the N.Z. Government external political and military strategy. The U.S. drags N.Z. into its aggressive plans for world domination from the Middle East to the Caribbean. It is determined to keep N.Z. as an ally against the other super-power.

More recently the Party had to wage a struggle against the anarchist, petty-bourgeois outlook of elements in the Party and their cronies. These linked up with elements around the fringes of the Party to undermine and divert the Party from its line of building its influence and base among the working class.

Under the disguise of "initiative" and "new methods" (because supposedly the old methods have failed) they attacked the Party's rich history of defending Marxism-Leninism and tried to bury the Party in the broad spontaneous movement as just another "progressive" force, a servant of the broad movement which would inevitably lose sight of its



independent role and its socialist objectives.

The individualist and adventurist activities of one of these people threw overboard the very principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party. And his big-shottism led him to be used by the state television in an attack on the Party, its line and history.

The Party can only grow stronger by purging itself of such elements, who will logically develop towards terroristic actions, to acts of individual violence against property and people. These methods are totally opposed to those of the Party. The Party works consciously and collectively at raising the consciousness of people and developing mass organisation arising from this consciousness.

There will be many more such deviations thrown up by imperialism, but as Enver Hoxha stated in the "Report to the 8th Congress of the P.L.A.": "Any disguises and falsifications, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited."

On a world scale revisionism is in crisis. The betrayal of a planned socialist economy, the development of capitalist relations of production and the opening up for imperialist penetration have ruined Soviet agriculture and placed the countries of Eastern Europe in a state of near-bankruptcy.

Yugoslavia is heavily in debt to the imperialists with its "federation" torn between national chauvinist groupings, and its people in poverty. Because the Chinese revolution remained at the bourgeois democratic stage (which Mao disguised as the dictatorship of "four revolutionary classes") China can now be clearly seen to be in the imperialist camp and its people and resources opened for plunder by the multi-nationals.

Locally the deepening economic crisis and the in-

creasing attacks on the working class are increasingly exposing the revisionists and drawing more sharply the demarcation between genuine Marxism and sham Marxism and making the truth of our Party's stand clearer to workers. However their defeat will not come about of its own accord but only through the merciless struggle of the Marxist-Leninists.

It is not enough to expose the evils of capitalism and show the socialist alternative without thoroughly exposing the revisionist 5th column inside the working class ranks, which poses as socialist and in words from time to time attacks capitalism and imperialism, while in practice performs a vital service to capital by diverting the working class from real struggle for socialism, causing splits and confusion, and attacking Marxism-Leninism.

This is the task which only our Party can perform and we should make no apology for taking up the principled struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism. We must firmly take up the struggle and develop correct methods and styles to explain the role of these traitors to the working class, and to the peoples who are in struggle against imperialism.

#### THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS: A Catalyst That Sharpens All Imperialist Contradictions.

The world system of imperialism is now gripped by deep economic crisis. This began as a cyclical economic crisis following the regular pattern of the boom and bust type, where periodically the production forces burst out of the bounds of the existing markets. But unlike those in the past the present crisis is continuing for a long time and there is no real sign of emerging from it, and it has extended throughout the whole imperialist world. Such economic crises become a catalyst that sets up a chain reaction and inflames all the contradictions within imperialism.



The imperialists are frantic to solve the crisis by diverse ways:- by manipulation of currency; by state financial aid for the monopolies; through use of tax resources; by use of inflationary devaluation of the national currency; and above all by fiercer exploitation of the working class and cutting down of living standards of the masses. Past experience shows that imperialism may get out of a particular economic crisis, even one on a world scale, by destruction of the productive forces of rival imperialists; by more intensive exploitation of the working class, by wiping out large sectors of the productive forces of the middle class, and by diverting the productive forces towards war preparations. Finally the imperialists' solution in this era is a world war to re-divide the world. This was the experience of the 1930's.

Economic crises are the effects arising from within the imperialist economy, from basic contradictions within imperialism. We need to be clear on these contradictions, and Stalin in "The Foundations of Leninism" sets out clearly the three most important:

The *first contradiction* is the contradiction between labour and capital. Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oligarchy, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class—trade unions and cooperative organizations, parliamentary parties and the parliamentary struggle—have proved to be totally inadequate. Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, linger in misery as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon—this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism brings the working class to revolution.

The *second contradiction* is the contradiction among the various financial groups and imperial-

ist Powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory. Imperialism is the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, the frenzied struggle for monopolist possession of these sources, the struggle for a redivision of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and Powers seeking a "place in the sun" against the old groups and Powers which cling tightly to what they have seized. This frenzied struggle among the various groups of capitalists is notable in that it includes as an inevitable element imperialist wars, wars for the annexation of foreign territories. This circumstance, in its turn, is notable in that it leads to the mutual weakening of the imperialists, to the weakening of the position of capitalism in general, to the acceleration of the advent of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity of this revolution.

The *third contradiction* is the contradiction between the handful of ruling, "civilized" nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world. Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of this oppression is to squeeze out superprofits. But in exploiting these countries imperialism is compelled to build railroads, factories and mills there, to create industrial and commercial centres. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the growth of the movement for emancipation—such are the inevitable results of this "policy." The growth of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception clearly testifies to this fact. This circumstance is of importance for the proletariat in that it radically undermines the position of capitalism by converting the colonies



and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution.

Such, in general, are the principal contradictions of imperialism which have converted the old, "flourishing" capitalism into moribund capitalism.

In the decades since 1924, when Stalin put forward these three contradictions, history has added another. A new developing one - that between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism.

A very complex situation has been created in the world at present. Operating in the international arena today are various imperialist and social-imperialist forces which, on the one hand, are fighting in unison against the proletarian forces and the freedom of the peoples, while contending and clashing with each other over markets, spheres of influence and domination of the world resources. The imperialist camp is divided into two groups headed by the super-powers of the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. - both ferocious enemies of the proletariat and equal opponents of the proletarian revolution and socialism, but each caught up in fierce competition to expand and to dominate the world.

All these factors exacerbate the basic contradictions and bring into being a host of lesser ones from imperialism.

At the same time the prospects of socialism and the peoples liberation has not been eliminated by the betrayals of the Titoites, the Soviet and Chinese revisionists, but on the contrary after the temporary setbacks it is now on the verge of a new leap forward. Revolution is a question to be taken up for solution as our Albanian comrades say.

The economic and political factors and contradictions making changes inevitable are maturing in N.Z.. The multi-national monopolies are merging with local monopolies, and both are assisted by and

combine with the capitalist state to intensify the exploitation of the working class and other exploited sections.

State monopoly capital dominates N.Z. economic and political life. In the drive for the maximum profit, without which the tremendous accumulation of capital for new development cannot be made, the monopolies extend and develop the productive forces and involve the whole of society, but the end product is still appropriated by an ever diminishing class of exploiters. The small manufacturers, even monopolies which are not on the top of the heap, have their productive forces either taken over or destroyed. (Lenin terms this the parasitical nature of imperialism.)

Those who survive the takeovers and who oppose the complete domination of the state by the state monopoly section, as portrayed by the Muldoon Government, set up political groups to promote their own sectional interests politically, with splinter groups like the N.Z. Party of Bob Jones, and individual opposition within the National Party as instanced by the Quigleys and Minogues etc.

These new splits in the traditional line up of National versus Labour come into existence because of the economic crisis and the fierce competition between sections of the exploiting classes as each struggles for its own sectional interests as the most powerful monopolies, with state support, take over the whole economy. Farmers and small businessmen are forced into the ranks of the working class, or unemployment alongside the redundant workers. Opportunities for the intellectuals and artisans etc diminish. The whole life of the nation is submitted to the maximum profits of a few monopolists.

The N.Z. imperialists are now in serious disarray, with deep internal class divisions, and expression of the deepening crisis of the capitalist class relations of production.

For a hundred years N.Z. has been able to contin-



uously expand its grass-lands production which has been at the same time the main means of extracting unpaid labour from the working class. Today this is threatened on all sides. Iran for example has been paying N.Z. capitalists \$2,000 per tonne for sheep-meat. Today Brazil is offering Iran chicken meat at \$500 per tonne.

N.Z. state monopoly capitalism has had to try and resolve this problem. Massive subsidies by taxing the workers, manipulation of the foreign exchange rate, wage freezes etc have all been used to try to resolve this huge problem at the expense of the N.Z. working class.

In the meantime, over the last 8 years N.Z.'s foreign debt has gone from \$2.3 billion to \$14 billion and the overseas banks are now applying conditionality of loans to N.Z. to put its economic house in order.

None of these measures of screwing down the workers' living standards has been enough to resolve this class problem. the capitalist class cannot operate in the old way. Under these conditions conciliation and arbitration for wage increases, or the weapon of compulsory unions with a bureaucracy serving the capitalists as in the past is no longer sufficient. The N.Z. monopoly section, and the multi-nationals, are throwing the old methods overboard.

And further wage increases or more likely decreases will be by state decree. The peaceful period Stalin talked of is virtually over. The new methods of the state are a declaration of class war.

Therefore raising the class consciousness of the working class, the protracted struggle to explain the principles of Marxism-Leninism, building the Party, extending its influence within the class struggle and spontaneous movements are the important subjective factors which, when linked up with the changing material conditions where capitalism is in decline, will bring about the change to socialism.

Where this developing process is influenced or

lead by the anarchists or other vacillating middle class elements, who cover up the class nature of capitalism, and who oppose the discipline and firm organisational principles of the Marxist-Leninists, class consciousness will not develop, the role of the workers as the decisive class will be negated and the spontaneous working class movements against capital will waver, lose direction and be defeated.

The Party itself must grow, must extend its influence among the working class. Therefore we must work more correctly and temper the Party to use the present forces more correctly as well as replenishing the ranks with new people and our collectives with new cadres. If we continue to uphold our Marxist-Leninist ideology, carry it into the class struggle, and work correctly to build the Party, then these developing material conditions in N.Z. will assist our ideological struggle to break the grip of reformism and revisionism on the working class.

#### THE ERA OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE FINAL DEFEAT OF IMPERIALISM.

The 1979 Conference re-affirmed our basic line as one of carrying through the revolutionary class struggle to the end in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to build a socialist New Zealand.

This line is based on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the classes and class relations in N.Z., on recognising the relations of N.Z. to the world imperialist system, of which it forms a part, on considering the alignment of class forces internationally in their historical development; and hence having an understanding that the working class is the class, with support from other sections, that will end capitalism and build socialism.

To develop this line, to carry through to this



end our maximum programme, to be objective about the world in which our struggle is taking place, we must at all times apply the methods of analysis and examination by the dialectical materialist method. Then we uphold the world outlook of the proletariat, and proletarian internationalism, will see the world as a whole, be clear on the forces at work both for Marxism-Leninism and against it, in the internal and external situations where there is continual development or decline.

Comrade Enver Hoxha in his work "Imperialism and the Revolution" has given a lead which restores the Marxist-Leninist methods of examination and analysis of the contemporary world; a lead which clears up the distortion and confusion which "Mao Tsetung Thought" had inflicted on the Marxist-Leninist movement for a lengthy period under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party of China had foisted this deception on the world movement in the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie and to assist their national chauvanistic aspirations for a great China.

In preparation for our Conference, our Party has reproduced some of the material from the Party of Labour of Albania which deals with the era in which we live. In particular, "The Revolution - A Question Taken Up For Solution" by Ramiz Alia, which supports and updates the works of Lenin and Stalin and which must be well-studied by Cdes and popularised among our contacts and supporters. Also there is a shorter pamphlet on this question "The Theory and Practice of the Revolution", which we published in January 1982.

Hence to sum up our Party's basic line on the era in which we live, we quote from this latter work:

«The Communist Manifesto» of Marx and Engels and their call «Workers of all countries, unite!» came out to announce that the fundamental contradiction of human society was now that between labour and capital, and the proletariat was called on to resolve it

by revolution. With his analysis of imperialism, Lenin showed that the contradictions of capitalist society have reached their culmination and that the world has entered the period of proletarian revolutions and the triumph of socialism.

The great October Socialist Revolution confirmed the brilliant conclusions of Marx and Lenin in practice. After the death of Lenin, too, the international communist movement resolutely adhered to his teachings about the present epoch, adhered to his revolutionary strategy. The triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of other countries confirmed that the Leninist thesis on the present epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, reflects the fundamental law of the development of present day human society. The collapse of the colonial system, the winning of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the countries of Asia, Africa, etc., is another confirmation of the Leninist theory on the epoch and the revolution. The fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution were betrayed in the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries does not alter the Leninist thesis on the character of the present epoch in the least, because this is nothing but a zigzag in the course of the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale.

Our Party upholds these conclusions, the world is on the eve of socialist revolution. Revolutions are not made to order, but they are not accidental either, but break out as a result of the interactions of objective and subjective factors, both external and internal, which should be well understood by the Marxist-Leninist party - that certain conditions within the social and economic structure must develop which sharpen the contradictions within capitalism, and where the working class has been prepared under the leadership of its own party to carry out the struggle against capital to the end.

#### THE PARTY AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY TASKS

Developing a Marxist-Leninist party capable of giving leadership to a broad proletarian movement



is a task which our Party must take up resolutely - to build a party which will lift the consciousness of the working class and convince it of its invincible strength, of the need to overthrow the bourgeoisie and imperialism here in N.Z.

In building the party of a new type, material conditions may help or hinder this work, but the prime factor is the subjective factor, the correct ideas within our Party which in time become a material force when gripped by the masses. Therefore the present situation within our Party, where we have made clear ideological and political lines of demarcation between ourselves and the variants of revisionism, syndicalism and reformism, is the important ideological beginning and sets us firmly on the road to building this Party.

But this only lays an ideological base. We have now to extend our political work and our organisational base to measure up to the ideological and political-organisational needs of our class, while never letting up within the Party the struggle against revisionist trends.

#### STRUGGLE AGAINST LIBERALISM

The enemies the party faces in its work are very real and range from bad ideas and habits ingrained in our life-style by the bourgeois hangups to material ones where the state forces or fascist gangs operate against the Marxist-Leninists.

Here in N.Z. the worst forms of repression are not yet being used. Bourgeois democracy exists. But there must be no illusions about "democracy". the class enemy holds state power and will use this on every front.

The present drive to open repression and to the police state will grow as the class enemy grows more desperate. The old forms of class rule by deception and bribery will be secondary to repression by force. The Party must therefore pay attention to

new methods and styles of work so that, no matter how repressive are the state and reactionary forces, its line goes out to the working class and exploited people who are in struggle.

At present we must take every advantage of the legal possibilities that exist to get our Marxist-Leninist ideas out to the working class and continually develop methods and styles that fit the objective situation. We must be careful not to become spontaneous or formal, or routine in our work.

We have a correct line. If we persist it will bring results, but only if we develop our organisational methods, our style of work so that these are always Marxist-Leninist. We must cut out the liberalism that still persists; combat the illusion that we can coast along in a routine way; that it is only a small thing if we idly put things off for tomorrow, if we leave Party documents around, if we talk idly on the phone, if we gossip about the affairs of the collective to those whom it should not concern.

We are not monks or fanatical friars of a sectarian order. But we are in struggle against vicious forces to become the vanguard leaders of the proletariat and tribunes of the people, as Lenin stated, and there is no other road for Marxist-Leninists than that of the class struggle to the victory of the proletarian class rule and the triumph of communism on a world scale.

Our immediate objective is to go out with our Marxist-Leninist line, to sharpen up our methods and style in work so that we can build up the Marxist-Leninist bases of the Party to meet the needs of the developing situation.

#### LIFT THE ORGANISATION TO CARRY THE CORRECT

##### LINE FORWARD

The concentration of all the present work of the Party is towards establishing the leading role of the Party at the head of the working class. The



Party does not get its leading role by chance, or by decree of fate, but through its persistent protracted struggle to carry forward its decided line, its planned work and decisions. Stalin puts it this way; "After a correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution to the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organised."

We have a correct line but we must fight to further develop this line and develop the organisation to take our line out to our class.

We must now further develop the basic organs of the Party, the Branches, fractions and each individual comrade. It is here at the grass-roots of the Party, and in its everyday practice, that the Party wins its leading role. The collective decisions must result in practical tasks with the People's Voice, leaflets and in personal contacts by individual comrades because by this agitation among the people the face of the Party is seen.

The whole Party must gear itself and build the Branches as Marxist-Leninist bases where class thinking, proletarian ideology, and Marxist-Leninist courage dominates in the solution of each problem, where activity is based on the line because comrades consciously understand the line and are dedicated to carrying it out, where methods of ceaseless struggle against alien ideas temper each comrade and develop the Party spirit.

Then the Branches will really act as leading collectives because they have this outlook dominant in the collective; where there is debate and confrontation of opinions in a comradely spirit, a lively exchange of ideas and clashes of ideas all aimed at carrying out the line, and for solving the problems. By carrying out these methods correctly there will be ease of mind and it will be natural for each Comrade to use self-criticism, and to correctly criticise others so that everyone can learn from mistakes or errors.

## BRANCH LEADERSHIP

These methods do not develop spontaneously. Correct leadership within the Branch has to be struggled for, because the level of consciousness is always uneven depending on the experience of each comrade, and the possibilities each has for activity. Each Branch must have its Marxist-Leninist leadership which is firm on the line, an executive of the most developed comrades, whom the Branch elects to this leadership not as a formality but because of their practice, because comrades are convinced of their steadfastness in upholding Marxism-Leninism, and because they give leadership in the practical problems in taking the line out to the class.

In exchange the executive can only carry out its leading role if the whole Branch unites around it in practice, by correctly reporting everyday events, by each comrade supplying the necessary information so the executive can make objective decisions. Then the executive can carry out analysis and examination of each individual's work and of the whole Branch's practice.

In this way, the executive can stimulate correct ideological struggle within the Branch by correct reports which raise problems which tie in with the basic line of the Party, the lead from the Centre, with the practice of the Branch. Then each meeting will be lively and get down to solving problems, so the line is carried out and developed further.

The branch executive must lead, but can only lead correctly if all comrades play their part. The dialectical relationship of centralism to democracy must be practised, and the struggle of these opposites bring about a higher form of unity; a monolithic branch. The individual is subordinate to the collective and the basic collective to the leading collectives.



It is never possible to have all the time nor all the cadres to do everything, but many things can be done if there is correct activity and good leadership which knows the forces it can muster for each task, and can direct these on a collective basis.

Rushing from here to there, spreading forces all over the place, letting individuals do their own thing and charging headlong into practice without theory or a plan, are all methods alien to Marxist-Leninists. Branch leaders must always be practical and objective and develop the collective ideas on how best to use the forces available, to see what are the concrete tasks which can be carried out with success within the spontaneous movements, where are the points of concentration for branch work, e.g. where are the targets for P.V. sales, the particular contact on whom to concentrate, and who is the best comrade for the job.

These methods should not in any way stifle individual initiative, indeed initiative should be encouraged so comrades correctly and consciously work in struggle, but not in the manner of bourgeois individualism, where opportunism may develop by neglecting the collective opinion, but by initiative that develops the collective.

The vanguard role of the Party comes into existence, develops out of the vanguard role of each comrade, where each struggles resolutely to uphold Marxism-Leninism within the Party and carry it out to the class. This is achieved by correct Marxist-Leninist struggle, through a class stand and behaviour of each Party member, through conscious effort to raise ideological and political levels, and by upholding Marxist-Leninist organisational principles.

Party branches must become schools of Marxism-Leninism where correct theory is further developed by practice, and where Marxism-Leninism is always the guiding star.

## THE LEADING BODIES

Previously we have stated that in the immediate situation our work in building the Party must be especially directed towards strengthening the base organs of the Party - towards tempering the Branches as Marxist-Leninist collectives using initiative, drive and lively methods in implementing the decided line out to the working class with our revolutionary ideas.

Concentration on this direction does not mean that our leading bodies are perfect and should not have critical examination. On the contrary, unless the leading role of each committee of the Party is strengthened and continues to develop evenly there are bound to be road blocks that will affect others.

It is incorrect to think that the weaknesses within the leading bodies at the last Conference have all disappeared, because we have won some victories and have purged ourselves of those who were the worst offenders against the proletarian line.

It is not difficult to find in our practice examples of liberalism, or, the other side of the coin, bureaucracy. To find trends within our collectives and in individuals of not going deeply into things, of spontaneous action, of going along without being clear where things will end up, of coasting along with the routine things and not keeping up with events or looking ahead.

Class struggle against these manifestations is a continuous thing. We live in a class society and the bourgeoisie will never stop attacking the Party.

The weapons we must keep sharp to keep our ideology, politics and organisation always proletarian are criticism and self-criticism to ensure that we are always guided by the basic Marxist-Leninist theory in making examination and analysis, and always use the method of dialectical materialism. These methods are vital to the upholding of the democratic centralist organisational methods which



make the Party a monolithic whole.

It is vital to democratic centralism that each lower collective and each comrade in the collective attentively follows the work of all the units at all times, not only at the meetings, but in the working out of the decisions made and in the work to implement these. It is a bad mistake to accept that the leading role of the committee is confined to meetings, no matter how lively and ideologically united these may be. This idea must be combatted because it leads to bureaucracy, it replaces the lively work of personal investigation, study, then going out among people to test the line by practice.

Preparing a meeting, holding it and taking decisions is important but is only the beginning of the real work for the collective and each comrade. Organising struggle among people to carry out the decisions, whether this is within the Party or in the mass movements, is the front on which all comrades show their initiatives and abilities as organisers and leaders.

When this side of work is done well the question of meetings falls into place because instead of waiting for a meeting comrades will be giving to those responsible for calling meetings lively accounts, information and ideas, so drawing up agendas and reports comes more easily. Instead of calls to the Centre to do something about this or that, Comrades will be sending in concrete ideas rising from their practice which can be systematised and sent down through the Party.

But we must have a balanced approach, because while there are still these weaknesses, the leading bodies of the Party have shown in concrete practice ability to uphold Marxism-Leninism in intense class struggles within its own ranks and within the international Marxist-Leninist movement and have led the Party to important victories over revisionist intrigues and attacks and kept the Party firm on the proletarian line.

## COMBINING TOGETHER

What is needed now is new comrades to be brought forward to supplement and combine with the more experienced comrades. As Stalin said, there are never enough experienced cadres. The Party must cherish every cadre and fully utilise each one's potential. If we uphold correct Leninist norms in organisation, where there is no hierarchy, no stereotyped reliance on ranks or titles in the Party organisation but only correct collective and correct individual responsibility, then each comrade can play a part and all find useful work to do. This is the dialectical method in work.

The Party, through its leading bodies works within the law of uneven development of comrades to keep the balance between democracy and centralism. New comrades who are showing initiative within the basic collectives are encouraged to assist the higher bodies with their new ideas and methods. These are taken up by the leading bodies, improved on, then these examples are given to others not simply to emulate but to develop in their own styles. For example the Centre has successfully used this method in its work to extend the ideological content in the P.V., especially in the lift-outs.

When these methods are extended throughout the whole Party, the work of branches and of individual comrades can be lifted beyond the level of simple reporting of facts and information, to doing basic ideological work, and so lift the whole propaganda work of the whole Party. New ideas and new methods in work will arise spontaneously out of experience as comrades get into action around our line. The important thing is that the leading bodies consciously look out for these new ideas, develop what is positive and make them the property of the whole party. The prime thing is combining together to practice Marxism-Leninism.



## RIGHTS AND DUTIES

We must do all possible to develop the spirit of combining together. There must be no Chinese wall between each committee of the Party - no tiers or hierarchy to shelter bureaucrats or those who coast along; but responsible comrades elected to positions where they have collectively determined responsibilities for areas of work for which they are responsible to their immediate collective. The Political Committee to the Central Committee and the Secretariat to the Political Committee.

Combining the aspects of democracy, where all relevant information, facts and data are available to the collective so that its decisions are objective, and centralism where particular comrades are given individual responsibility of special tasks, should preclude any liberalism that would undermine the security of the Party.

The question of "right" and "duties" for each comrade is always a dialectical question, where duty, i.e. responsibility to the collective and its decisions, takes precedence over the rights, i.e. the desire to know more, insisting on one's own point of view, the holding of minority opinions.

The Party works in a hostile environment, where there are forces always probing for ways to attack Marxism-Leninism and the Party. Therefore the Party must have its secrets, and must avoid loose talk, idle questions about the work of others, but always be vigilant on the ideological and political questions and to criticise any slackness or errors involving these.

The Party must also have its apparatus and the cadres to run this, who are responsible to the leading bodies through a particular collective, and the correct balance between their role as functionaries serving the Party in a particular way and their duties as members of other collectives must always be carefully maintained. The apparatus of the

Party are always responsible to the collective that sets them up and at no time should assume responsibilities that takes over a leading role.

All these ideological and organisational factors form the leading bodies of the Party. They are responsible to each other and to the whole Party through the process of democratic centralism.

This democratic but highly centralised process where all combine together makes the monolithic nature of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The better the ideological and political line of the Party, in general, and of each decision and directive, in particular, are grasped by each comrade and applied in every organisation, the stronger the Party and its committees, and the greater its leading role, both from the committees within the Party and from the whole Party among the working class and the exploited peoples.

## THE PARTY DOES NOT WORK SPONTANEOUSLY

The work of the Branches and of individual comrades inevitably involves participating in the multitude of spontaneous struggles that are all around, and Branches and comrades individually must find the style and methods to take Marxism-Leninism and the Party's decided line into these struggles. Lessons recently learned in our inner-Party struggles are that it was not wrong for comrades to get involved in broad protest movements or spontaneous struggles, but what was wrong was to do this in an anarchical and spontaneous way without consultation analysis or examination, and without direction from the collectives of the party.

At all times the work of the Branch and the individual comrades must be consciously directed, and based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis to get the most concrete results for the Party and the class. The spontaneous movements are not the Party and can never be the highest form of class organisation.



They only carry out specific tasks and functions, which may become very important at the particular time, and the Party may give them good support, but only the Marxist-Leninist party can give the overall long-term leadership required by the proletariat and other progressive forces.

Therefore our mass work in the spontaneous struggles in the immediate and foreseeable future will involve work with the P.V. as our main organiser and propaganda weapon, with our leaflets and personal contacts, which support this work. Fulfilling tasks around increased sales of the P.V., raising finance to support it and our Party, work to improve the ideological and political content within the P.V. are important tasks for the collectives and Party members.

However this is only a beginning, within our present day society, and especially as the economic crisis sharpens up all contradictions, to carry our ideological work into these ever increasing struggles of the working class and to win people to our Party, and to find new methods to extend wider the influence of our Party.

Work in the spontaneous is work with people, with people who are at different levels of developing consciousness in learning how to struggle against imperialism. Therefore without any compromise on basic principles, we have to adapt our work and find methods that lift the consciousness. This can only be done by giving simple explanations of the objective class realities, so we assist people to organise against imperialism.

Branches must display communist initiative and courage, selectively direct their work towards the working class. It is in consciously led work of the Branches in that direction and within the spontaneous struggles, that the Party's line and directives are tested in practice. When this practice is correctly reported from the Branches to the Central Committee the whole Party gains knowledge and learns

new things, and the Party line becomes more objective in each concrete situation.



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