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at 21st National Conference  
of the Communist Party of  
New Zealand

THE  
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# C O N T E N T S

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

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## Resolution on National Independence

**T**HE 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

**T**HIS 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**

**T**WO 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

**T**HE 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.

# Speech of a Canterbury Delegate

**T**O start with, we in this area are very thankful for the material assistance from the National Centre and, although financial and new-member increases may appear small, we can report considerable development in our district.

## **The Fight on Two Fronts—Left and Right Opportunism**

Since the last Conference, we have had to fight on two fronts—against right and left opportunism, both of which were revisionist. The left opportunists used the Party line for opportunist objectives to cease the leadership of the Party—they appeared to support our Marxist stand and held numerous fractional meetings, creating in the district two centres of the Party. They exploited the fact that their tactics were dividing our Party into sections, thereby making organisational leadership of the District Secretary an impossibility, even having the temerity to point to the results of the conflict as the reflection of the “utter incompetence of the District Secretary.”

When they could see no headway by their work, they threatened to make public the differences within the Party. At this point, in defence of the Party centre, we had no hesitation about it. We expelled the two offenders—and their personal friends went with them.

Personally, I would never apologise for the action taken. The politics printed by them since proves them to be revisionists. At the moment, when we are helping to organise the biggest demonstration yet in Christchurch against the United States in Viet Nam, they decide on a demonstration against British Royalty visits to New Zealand. Also they print leaflets in opposition to our line that the U.S. is the main enemy of mankind and try to counterpoise Great Britain as being the main enemy of New Zealand. So much for left opportunism.

We had no sooner dealt with this than the right revisionists decided it was time to deal with the elements of the Party which supported the National decisions of our Party at the 1963 National Conference.

At the District Conference of 1964, they made an attempt to seize the leadership of the Party. They failed, and walked out of our Party. We who had been the

minority had now become the majority. The Canterbury District to-day stands firm to Marxism-Leninism, and is stronger to-day than when the battle started.

### **The Struggle to Recover and Rebuild our District**

When the district began to sort itself out, the remains for our branch did not look too good, and for the other branch even worse. In our branch, the biggest number of people were men from the age of 64 years to 77 years. They could have stayed at home, but were made of better stuff. They have helped us make a recovery and strengthened the Party. Putting up posters, "No Troops for Viet Nam," delivering leaflets outside the factories, helping in the municipal elections, helping the District Secretary in the office, taking cadre positions on the executive. As a consequence, we gained in strength with new members, all of them young people.

We realised our very serious position and knew that attention to politics and cadre development would determine our future. So we started a campaign to develop younger people. The secretary and the chairman swapped positions to help develop a younger branch secretary, and we brought forward a young comrade on the executive. We improved and developed this cadre, assisting to raise the political understanding of the executive. At our annual meeting this week we have further extended this attention to cadre development by adding new and younger people to play a leading role in the branch work. To-day we have a young branch secretary, a young branch chairman, a young branch finance cadre, and the original branch secretary is on the executive in charge of the new bulletin committee and in charge of membership and contact list work around our branch plans. We have targets that we can fulfil with confidence. The target for new members is small, though we are confident it can be reached. The branch members between them have accepted direction to spend special attention on a number of the best contacts of the branch. Our bulletin target is six by the end of the year, and for the first time in two years we have a cadre to cut stencils for the branch. Our young people are holding regular film evenings where over 20 young people attend, and this work is broadly based. They have agreed to spend maximum attention on the three best they have been working with. This is in line with our branch policy. The objective is Party membership.

Our emphasis is industrial concentration, and we have over 90 industrial contacts. We have only one member in

the main industry, but almost all members are making a personal contribution, such as delivering leaflets outside the factory gate. We have four of the best contacts in the factory getting our personal attention and in this work two members, not on the job, now deliver the People's Voice to these people and are giving them maximum attention. We have got past individual work and have now achieved collective work, accepting collective direction and at the same time expecting collective assistance. There are no "Mr. Bigs" in our branch struggling for personal interests, but a branch subordinating everything to the branch interest. I have been in the Party for 25 years and have never seen such a transformation.

Here we see the startling truths of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin: The Party strengthens itself by purging itself of opportunism . . . we must understand the difference between . . . organisations of workers and organisations of revolutionaries . . . organisation is the weapon of the class . . . cadres decide everything . . . Man is a product of his own labour . . . labour is primary, the product of his hands secondary . . . Man is a social animal, not an individual.

These are the lessons we are learning, and, further to these lessons, we agree with that section of the report which states as follows: "Our Party has inherited much from the past . . . some of which must be eradicated. Some organisational methods and procedures are basically social democratic." We would agree, and we are starting on this struggle. We are going to attempt to institute a method more suited to that of a Party of a new type. In future, we will be concentrating on reports from the members on the work of the branch and the decisions regarding people. Our problems of association with people? What are they? What can we do about this? We will discuss what we have learned from house-meetings and other associated activity. We will be finding out where the next house-meetings are going to be. We will see what we can do about normal social association with people—a dance, football matches, a few beers in the pub. Have you and the wife been out with your main contact and his wife? If not, why not? And what can we do about resolving this?

**We must eradicate armchair-discussion branch meetings. We must establish conscious understanding among members that People Voice contacts are collective property and not the private property of the member responsible for them. We must firmly establish the principle that**



democratic centralism is an asset to develop a branch as a social group prepared to submit to the collective direction and prepared to submerge the individual interest in the collective good. We must get past the stage when new members appear to come from the sky as a consequence of general activity and not from particular plans by the collective. In fact, comrades, we can have no real security whatever from the class enemy until we do establish this method. The past method, where virtually anybody who would join our Party is accepted into the Party, must change. Much of this headache springs from lack of understanding of the importance of the principles contained in organisation of workers and organisation of revolutionaries by Lenin in "What Is To Be Done?" Better, much better, to have a smaller organisation than a larger one if it means breaking down fundamental principles of Leninism.

### **Problems Concerning Study**

We must establish in our Party a better appreciation of the need to air differences ideologically and politically. How is it that in the ten years prior to the differences we never had differences when studying dialectical materialism or basis and superstructure? Comrades are too easily embarrassed if any member raises a controversial issue. Comrades, there have to be differences if we wish to apply dialectical materialism in our method of examining life. Why? Because the particular side one member sees is still only one side. Without differences we must arrive at a subjective answer. Only by encouraging the airing of all ideas, sides or facets are we more likely to arrive at objective truth. Besides, how can I have my possibly wrong idea corrected if I am not encouraged to air my different conclusions?

The comrades in Canterbury wish the Conference success and will carry on the good work to build our Communist Party.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live our Marxist-Leninist movement!

# Speech of an Auckland Delegate

**PERMIT** me to greet you in this fashion: When did your branch or fraction last get out a bulletin to the workers? How often do you get them out?

I believe it is necessary to hammer home this point, to absorb it into our very bones—that consistent production of sharp, hard-hitting bulletins is the way to building our influence among industrial workers and building the Party.

Here's a good example—a "Link" special, which City Branch, Auckland, got out to general labourers and others during the labourers' dispute on the Williamson Pacific Hotel job. I understand the Auckland District also got out a good one to the Bitumix workers.

Learn from this splendid example. This is the way to do it—the way to link effectively political and economic issues, the way to build political consciousness among the workers.

It is not a good excuse to say that we have been too busy lately, what with routine tasks or the Viet Nam campaign, to get out a bulletin. For this is precisely when a bulletin is most important, when it will have the maximum effect—when the Party leads the workers into activity.

**Build unity! Build political consciousness! Build the Party with branch bulletins!**

## **Education**

Theory must be a guide to action else it loses its point—it is academic, is sterile. We have doubtless all learnt this—in theory.

The report very well deals with the necessity of our education being designed to produce mass organisers, active class fighters. However, I suggest that our best mass organisers, political leaders, are not invariably also good tutors at schools and study classes. They may be good talkers but they fail to impart that Party spirit and desire for self-education without which we cannot succeed in creating ideologically strong Party members. Therefore, in addition to schools on Marxism-Leninism, we need some form of tutor training, not to create narrow specialists but to fill in a gap in our cadre development. But I consider, furthermore, that we must take a wider view of education

than tuition in the classics of Marxism-Leninism or memorising texts.

The whole of Party life and work is itself a school for Communists, developing cadres, and I think that education organisers should widen their view of their responsibilities to the all-round political development health of every branch member.

To inculcate a good revolutionary Party spirit, respect for your collective, love for our great Party and the workers, and hatred of the imperialists and their hangers-on (the right-wing social-democrats)—this should be our educational task and the especial responsibility of education organisers.

If we can perform this task well, then the seeds of opportunism will have no chance to grow into a new revisionism, and we will build an ideologically strong Party worthy to rank alongside the great Parties of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

We can, and will, certainly build a strong Party with ever-growing links with the masses. The revisionists always harp on our "small results," our "insignificant numbers." But the strength of a Marxist-Leninist Party lies in its ideology. Quality precedes and will determine quantity.

Forward, comrades, with renewed energy, to a powerful Communist Party of New Zealand. Forward to the great historic cause of the working class—Socialism!

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## **Speech of Chinese Fraternal Delegate**

Speech by **LIU NING-I**, head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, at the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

**DEAR COMRADES,—**

The delegation of the Communist Party of China has come across the wide seas most elated and happy to attend the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand at your invitation. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and on behalf of all the members of the

**Chinese Communist Party and all Chinese people, we extend our warmest fraternal greetings to the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand and pay our high respects to the glorious Communist Party of New Zealand, headed by Comrade Wilcox, and to the working class and labouring people of New Zealand.**

The Communist Party of New Zealand is a glorious Marxist-Leninist Party. Holding aloft the banner of revolution, it is uniting the working class and the democratic and progressive forces of New Zealand to fight resolutely against domestic and international monopoly capital and against social democracy, which is the important pillar of the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, and is waging unremitting struggles to defend the vital interests of the labouring people of New Zealand, defend national independence and strive for the victory of Socialism. It is worthy of the name of the fighting vanguard of the New Zealand working class.

The Communist Party of New Zealand is a Party that firmly opposes imperialism and upholds proletarian internationalism. It firmly opposes the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, supports the Viet Nameese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and supports the national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries. By its own deeds, the Communist Party of New Zealand has placed itself in the forefront of the New Zealand people's struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Party of New Zealand is a Party that firmly opposes modern revisionism, with the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, and valiantly defends Marxism-Leninism. At a time when the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been betraying Marxism-Leninism and going farther and farther down the path of revisionism, the Communist Party of New Zealand has unyieldingly taken a Marxist-Leninist position and waged tit-for-tat struggles against Khrushchov revisionism, defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international Communist movement. With dauntless spirit, it has exposed all the cheap and dirty tricks played by the revisionist leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whether threats, bribery, blackmail or deception. Again and again, it has frustrated their attempts to subvert and sabotage the Communist Party of New Zealand and thus

strengthened and consolidated the unity of the Party.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people rejoice over the great victories the Communist Party of New Zealand has won in leading the New Zealand people in the struggle against imperialism, headed by the United States, in the struggle against modern revisionism, with the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, and in the struggle for national independence and Socialism.

Comrades, at present the peoples' revolutionary forces in all countries are growing, while the decadent forces of U.S.-led imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are declining. U.S. imperialism, which is the main enemy of the people of the world, is already heavily besieged by the world's peoples. Confronted with the surging tide of revolution, U.S.-led imperialism and its lackeys are putting up desperate last-ditch struggles. With the daily deepening of the international class struggle, drastic division and re-alignment of political forces are taking place. The peoples' revolutionary struggles in all countries will certainly triumph. Imperialism, headed by the United States and its lackeys, will inevitably meet their doom. This is the inexorable law of development of world history which no decadent reactionary force can change.

The Viet Nameese people's fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the focal point of the present struggle between the revolutionary forces of the people of the world and the counter-revolutionary forces of imperialism. U.S. imperialism has dispatched over 200,000 U.S. troops to invade southern Viet Nam and collected other troops from several vassal countries as helpers in its barbarous war of aggression in southern Viet Nam; moreover, it is wantonly bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

**In its war of aggression against Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has already received heavy blows from the Viet Nameese people. The heroic Viet Nameese people have scored one great victory after another in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Their victories have once again eloquently proved that U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger. It can be defeated and its vassals will come to no good end. Revolutionary people who persevere in people's war against imperialist aggression are invincible.**

While continuing to expand its war of aggression, U.S. imperialism is pressing forward with its plots for peace talks in the hope of getting at the conference table what

it cannot get on the battlefield. These are the cunning dual tactics of counter-revolution. The revisionist leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been working in active co-ordination with these counter-revolutionary dual tactics of U.S. imperialism and has done everything possible to peddle the U.S. hoax of peace talks. On the question of Viet Nam, however, they cannot hide their betrayal, no matter what tricks they use or what means they resort to. They are playing the role of a "fire brigade," trying to put out the flames of revolution and deliberately undermine the Viet Nameese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation; they are serving as the accomplice of U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese people resolutely support and assist the Viet Nameese people in their fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We firmly support the four points of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five-part statement of the south Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. All U.S. aggressive forces must get out of southern Viet Nam. The sole representative of southern Viet Nam is the south Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The Viet Nam question must be solved by the Viet Nameese people themselves. U.S. imperialism must stop its aggression against the whole of Viet Nam. The Chinese people will always stand on the side of the fraternal Viet Nameese people for the thorough defeat of the U.S. aggressors, no matter to what length U.S. imperialism may go in escalating its war of aggression in Viet Nam.

The Chinese people firmly support the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggles of the working class and labouring people in Oceania, Europe, North America and other capitalist countries against monopoly capital and domestic reaction, the movements of the American people against wars of aggression, oppression and exploitation, the American Negro people's struggle for emancipation, the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and the anti-U.S. struggles waged by all countries and peoples that are subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression and bullying.

Comrades, it is in order to oppose imperialism, headed by the United States, and the reactionaries of all countries effectively that the Marxist-Leninists of the world are waging tit-for-tat struggles against Khrushchov revisionism, which serves U.S. imperialism.

**As Comrade Wilcox pointed out in his report to your National Committee meeting in July last year, Marxist-Leninists face two major inter-related tasks, i.e., the fight**

**against U.S. imperialism and the fight against Khrushchov revisionism. Only by carrying the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end can one wage a successful struggle against U.S. imperialism.**

In the present situation, in which the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sides with U.S. imperialism against the revolutionary peoples of the world and increasingly resorts to its trick of "united action," all Marxist-Leninist Parties must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and that group and firmly struggle against it, and must in no circumstances prettify that group and so help it deceive the people of the Soviet Union and of the world.

Comrades, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have adhered to the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building Socialism. Relying on themselves and striving to build their country through diligence and thrift, they have overcome the difficulties caused by the serious natural calamities a few years ago and by the perfidious actions of the Khrushchov group, and have achieved important successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In recent years, China's national economy has been very good. Industrial and agricultural output have been growing and the markets flourishing. At present we are unfolding a socialist education movement throughout the countryside and in the cities, and there is a surging movement to study Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung among the people of the whole country. Facts have proved that, once the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung are grasped by the broad masses, they produce a powerful material force which propels forward the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

We have always held that socialist countries are the products of struggles by the international proletariat and labouring people and therefore belong not only to the people of the particular socialist countries, but also to the international proletariat and the labouring people of the world. Accordingly, while we work to build our own country into a socialist power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology, we have always considered that it is our bounden internationalist duty to support the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations

of the world in their revolutionary struggles. The imperialists, headed by the United States, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists are joining hands in an attempt to isolate and contain China. But these are only a handful of miserable creatures who set themselves against the people. Holding aloft the red revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and standing together with the people who constitute more than ninety per cent. of the world's population, we shall never be isolated. We enjoy the support and assistance of all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and all Marxist-Leninists, as well as the support and assistance of the people throughout the world. Here, we wish to express our heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party of New Zealand and the New Zealand people for the support they have given us.

Dear comrades, we are very happy to see that in the common struggle against the imperialists, the reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists, and in the common struggle for world peace, people's democracy, national liberation and Socialism, a close fighting friendship has been forged between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand. We will steadfastly stand together with the Communist Party of New Zealand, march forward shoulder to shoulder and fight as one. We wish the Communist Party of New Zealand greater successes in leading the working class of New Zealand and uniting the broad masses of the people in the struggle to safeguard national independence and democratic rights and to win world peace and Socialism.

Now, please allow me to read the message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China:

**Dear Comrades,—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China warmly greets the successful convening of the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand.**

Holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of New Zealand is uniting the working class and progressive forces of New Zealand to fight resolutely against domestic and international monopoly capital and against social democracy which is the important pillar of the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, and is waging unremitting struggles to safeguard the vital interests of the labouring people, defend national independence and strive for the victory of Socialism. It has scored important successes in all these respects.

Holding aloft the banner of struggle against U.S.



imperialism and its lackeys, the Communist Party of New Zealand is leading the New Zealand people in firmly combatting the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and firmly supporting the Viet Nameese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries. It is thus displaying a lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Holding aloft the banner of struggle against modern revisionism, the Communist Party of New Zealand stands together with the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world in firmly opposing modern revisionism, of which the centre is the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and has made important contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The modern revisionists accuse your Party of being "dogmatic." This precisely proves that your Party adheres to a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. The modern revisionists accuse your Party of being "sectarian." This precisely proves that your Party upholds mutual support and international solidarity among the genuine revolutionary vanguards of the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries. The Communist Party of New Zealand has defeated the subversive and disruptive activities of the revisionist leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their agents, and has thus strengthened the unity of the Party and consolidated its ranks.

By its principled steadfastness, the Communist Party of New Zealand, headed by Comrade Wilcox, has set a brilliant example in the struggle between the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line of modern revisionism in the international Communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people rejoice over the victories won by the Communist Party of New Zealand on all the fronts of its revolutionary struggle. We are convinced that after the present Conference the Communist Party of New Zealand will further strengthen its fighting capacity and exercise still wider influence at home and abroad, and that the New Zealand people will win still greater new victories in their revolutionary cause.

U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the people of the world. The people the world over must further unite to smash the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war. U.S. imperialism is now waging a frenzied war of

aggression in Viet Nam. People everywhere should firmly support the Viet Nameese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The modern revisionists, whose centre is the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have already degenerated into accomplices of U.S. imperialism and set themselves against the revolutionary people of the world. In order to lead the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to new victories, all Marxist-Leninists must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the modern revisionists and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism, of which the centre is the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

**In the common struggle against the imperialist, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists, a close fighting friendship has been formed between the Chinese Communist Party and the New Zealand Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party is proud of having such a staunch class comrade-in-arms as the Communist Party of New Zealand. Our two Parties will forever closely unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, advance shoulder to shoulder, support each other and fight together.**

May the 21st National Conference of the New Zealand Communist Party be crowned with success!

Long live the glorious and heroic Communist Party of New Zealand!

Long live the fighting friendship between the Communist Parties and the peoples of China and New Zealand!

Long live ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of China,

April 5, 1966.

# Speech by Australian Fraternal Delegate

Speech by **Cde. E. F. HILL**, Chairman, Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), at 21st National Conference, Communist Party of New Zealand.

**COMRADES,—**

**Cde. O'Shea and I bring to your 21st National Conference the warmest fraternal revolutionary greetings of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).**

Your Conference meets at a time when the issues in dispute in the international Communist movement have become much clearer than they were five years ago. Really, our Party does not see this as a dispute but as the upholding of Marxism-Leninism against a revisionist assault. Our Party is a Party that has consistently upheld or striven to uphold Marxism-Leninism. In that sense, it is the original Communist Party in Australia. Those who have embraced revisionism have split away from Marxism-Leninism, from Communism. They have purified the Communist movement by their desertion.

Many of you will remember that up until the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it was known as the C.P.S.U. (B.). The significance of the bracketed "Bolsheviks" was to make the distinction between Marxist-Leninists and those who had deserted Marxism-Leninism. Our Party's name carries with it in brackets "Marxist-Leninist" to distinguish it from those who have deserted Marxism-Leninism but masquerade under the name Communist.

We are very happy that your Party fully subscribes to the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and that in this part of the world our two Parties enjoy the most cordial relations. For our part, we have unqualified admiration for your magnificent stand in upholding the cause of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism. Never can this be a question of isolation, as some people say. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist revolution, national independence, accord with the real interests of more than 90 per cent. of the people—all but a handful of monopolists.

**The New Zealand Communist Party has been an inspiration to all Marxist-Leninists. It has gone from**

strength to strength. On the other hand, it is a simple fact that the Australian revisionist group is disintegrating. This is not an exaggeration nor is it wishful thinking. The last few years have strengthened us all as Marxist-Leninists, and now we can make a concrete examination of concrete conditions much better than once we could. Now there is no need for wishful thinking or exaggeration. Now we can use the all-powerful weapon of dialectics to understand contradiction, that one divides into two eternally.

Therefore, we can trace this process within the Australian Communist movement free from subjective wishes. That movement from its very beginning contained contradiction. It could not be otherwise because nothing exists without contradiction. As Mao Tse-tung said, without contradiction there would be no life. What was the main contradiction from the very foundation in 1920 of the Communist Party of Australia? It was the contradiction within its ranks between social democracy and Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, despite all weaknesses in its upholders, had the ascendancy. In 1961, 1962, 1963, because of the rise of modern revisionism, the contradiction assumed an antagonistic form. The revisionists split away. One divided into two. Marxist-Leninists emerged greatly strengthened and rejuvenated.

Thus we are here to-day sharing with you joy in the great world advance of the Marxist-Leninists. Who can deny that out of this conflict of opposites, revisionism and Marxism-Leninism, the great principles of Marxism-Leninism have emerged stronger than ever? Who can deny that dialectical materialism is to-day much more a mass question than a few years ago? Who can deny that the aggressive nature of imperialism is much better understood than a few years ago? Who can deny that the necessity for revolutionary struggle against Capitalism, smashing the capitalist state, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, are much better understood than a few years ago? Who can deny that the struggle for national independence is much better understood than a few years ago? Who can deny that the essential link between the struggle for better economic conditions for working people, for democratic rights, for other partial demands and the over-all struggle for Socialism is better understood than a few years ago?

Those Parties which have a common adherence to Marxism-Leninism—the great Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour, your Party, the Belgian

Party, our Party and many others command the real respect and support of the oppressed peoples of the world. This is no question of counting heads at a Moscow Congress—heads anyway that bob up and down and shift and turn in uneasy alliance—but a question of whether or not Marxism-Leninism is correct and whether or not it offers life and freedom to the people. We say unhesitatingly that it does, and any concrete study of the concrete conditions more than amply confirms it.

**By its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, the New Zealand Party has grown in strength and stature. It commands the respect not only of the New Zealand people but also of the New Zealand reaction. When the reactionaries praise a Communist Party (as they do the C.P.S.U.), then is the time for the workers and working people to beware. If the reactionaries praised the New Zealand Party or failed to oppose it, then is the time for the New Zealand workers and working people to beware. The New Zealand Party has integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of New Zealand. It has participated in the day-to-day struggles of the New Zealand people, but never lost sight of the goals of Socialism and national independence. Nor has it lost sight of the international character of our movement. In the opinion of our Party, the New Zealand Party has made a unique contribution to the cause of Marxism-Leninism internationally.**

Marxism-Leninism in the first place is a world outlook. The monopoly capitalists continually strive to destroy that world outlook. They secured the assistance of the Khrushchov revisionists. From within the international Communist movement they made an assault on the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism. It behoved all Marxist-Leninists on an international scale (I do not lose sight of national tasks) to withstand that attack, but we know that great Communist Parties succumbed to the leadership of revisionist groups. Western European Communist Parties which had been looked upon as the leaders of Marxism-Leninism were revealed as permeated with social democracy. Social democracy, revisionism, came to the top under the influence of the revisionists centred in the C.P.S.U. In this apparent sea of revisionism, the C.P.N.Z., headed by Cde. Wilcox, remained calm and serene, inspired by the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

Cde. Wilcox honourably discharged and discharges the international duty of a leading Marxist-Leninist. He

participated in and contributed magnificently to international discussions aimed at strengthening Marxism-Leninism. He still does so, and correctly. May he continue long to do so. No words can adequately measure his contribution. The C.P.N.Z. was in the position, that alone of the Parties of the Third International in the so-called Western world, it upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism. In 1914, the Party of Lenin, alone in a sea of reformism, upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism. There were those at that time who shouted out about isolation, doctrinaireism, sectarianism, and so on. But, far from being isolated, the Party of Lenin was proved correct. Far from being isolated, it took men of courage and conviction. To-day, the situation has advanced. The mighty Communist Party of China constitutes the steel sheet-anchor of Marxism-Leninism and there are big Marxist-Leninist forces. In this respect, the glorious contribution of the C.P.N.Z. to the cause of Marxism-Leninism will never be forgotten. To-day, this is much clearer than it was.

We in Australia feel the contribution of the C.P.N.Z. with special warmth. The surge of revisionism in Australia appeared strong; Marxism-Leninism appeared weak. We derived great strength and encouragement from the knowledge of your strength. At the critical meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia in February, 1962, Cde. Wilcox was present. He refused to be a party to the desertion of Communism by the Australian revisionist leaders. They who appeared strong turned out to be very weak; they who appeared weak turned out to be very strong. You will know the Australian revisionist leaders for years spoke of your Party as "immature," "sectarian," "dogmatic," "isolated." Now it is they who have been shown to be "immature," "sectarian," "dogmatic," "isolated," and the C.P.N.Z. as mature and far from isolated.

I spoke a moment ago of the disintegration of the revisionist forces in Australia. Let me give one or two examples. The other day Aarons and Mortimer, another member of the revisionist Central Committee, participated in a national television programme. Mortimer was interviewed as expressing the so-called "Italian line" within the Communist Party of Australia and he avowed that he did. In this party of "democratic-centralism" and "unity," two different variants of revisionism were put forward by two leaders. In 1962-63, the revisionists took action against Marxist-Leninists in the name of "democratic-centralism" and "unity." They said there could not be

two views. From this television programme we may conclude that there is room for two views so long as they are not Marxist-Leninist views, so long as they are anti-Marxist-Leninist views. In our country, we are used to Australian Labour Party leaders speaking with different voices on the one question. Now the revisionists do the same. Revisionism is without principle—so long as revolution is removed, anything goes.

Again, the revisionist leaders removed eight well-known leaders from their positions within the revisionist organisation. Such well-known figures as Thornton and Watt were sacked. These people subscribed to revisionism. The history of Khrushchov was marked by the removal of a series of people who "supported him." Because there is no principle binding them, there is an eternal struggle for power. Intrigue, expulsion, groupings characterise the revisionists. Still again, the Australian-wide circulation of Tribune, upon which the revisionists put such store, has declined dramatically. Whole branches have collapsed. Many revisionist trade union leaders have lost their positions. They describe the Tribune now, not as a worker's paper or as a Communist paper, but as "Australia's National Progressive Weekly." Unity with the Australian Labour Party is the main feature of the revisionist group's policy, and the Australian Labour Party fully supports U.S. imperialism. Such is the degeneration and disintegration of revision.

On the other hand, the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) is vigorously struggling to consolidate the break from revisionism—ideologically, politically and organisationally. Our experience has been that it was not so difficult to see the disasters into which revisionist politics were leading. It is not so difficult to see Soviet-U.S. collaboration, nor the treachery of peaceful co-existence and peaceful transition to Socialism, nor the present treachery of so-called united socialist action over Viet Nam. Within our country it is not so difficult to see the treachery involved in the revisionist support for the Australian Labour Party, nor their sell-out of workers' struggle, nor their sell-out of the peace struggle, to name but a few examples. We may put it the other way—in every field influenced by the revisionists there has been degeneration into outright class collaboration—in the fields of youth, women, trade unions, art and literature, peace, education and so on.

But what we have found more difficult and even more important, because it is the basis of our position, is the

break ideologically. We must say at the outset that we, too, shared in the errors and weaknesses of the Communist movement in Australia. Please do not let us present ourselves as people who have always been correct. We did not emerge as Simon Pure's. We, too, develop by contradiction—the good and the bad, the old and the new, social democracy and Marxism-Leninism. But, because we understand the existence and development of contradiction, we can influence its development and that of its components. **The ideological break is precisely the struggle to master dialectical materialism and dialectical method and style of work—the supreme synthesis of theory and practice.** That struggle we have tried to wage. Contradiction exists in everything and it is the method of development of everything. Thus we see that contradiction exists in our Party, social democracy still and Marxism-Leninism. That contradiction exists within ourselves. How can it be otherwise in Australia, with a deeply-based tradition of social democracy in the working class and relatively high living standards? But, because we understand that the developing side of the contradiction is the new, the good, is Marxism-Leninism, and not the old, bad, dying, social democracy, we advance.

The struggle to build a Marxist-Leninist Party is a never-ending one. We have found that. In the first place we see Party-building in our country as ideological building. We believe that if our Party develops its understanding of contradiction within every sphere of life in Australia, as elsewhere, it will be able to operate under all conditions; it will develop absolutely selfless revolutionaries who put on one side everything that stands in the way of revolutionary work. In other words, our Party is waging the struggle to re-mould its members into people who, because they understand the science of revolution, the law of contradiction, are people who serve the Australian workers and working people in the battle for Socialism and national independence. This is an arduous process, but at the same time a glorious process. It requires hard and consistent work. It has setbacks and ups and downs. This our Party is setting as its main objective in Party-building.

**Ideology governs politics and organisation.** Our experience has been that the social-democratic side of the contradiction, which always existed in the Communist movement in Australia, influenced very considerably the organisation of the Party. Accordingly, we have tried to analyse the contradictions of Capitalism anew. The main



contradiction of Capitalism is that between the productive forces and the relations of production and, within that, that between the socialised processes of production and individual appropriation. That operates in Australia. Upon that is erected the super-structure of state apparatus—the dictatorship of the individual appropriators over the socialised producers. All that is hidden under the veil of democracy—parliamentary elections, equality before the law, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, freedom of organisation. In Australia, all that is highly developed.

For the working class, it has great importance, if it is understood, as the facade which can certainly be used, but which is really to cover the real dictatorship. This dictatorship is exercised by a growing Australian standing army, secret police, repressive legislation (particularly against the trade unions), breaking up demonstrations, and so on. Here, again, the contradiction between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism in Australia can be clearly seen. The Marxist-Leninist must ask himself what is the essence of the position? The essence is the dictatorship, the appearance is democracy. The revisionists say in practice the essence is the democracy and the dictatorship is subsidiary. Accordingly, their organisation is conditioned to parliamentary elections and trade union elections. Our organisation takes full account of the dictatorship while taking full advantage of the democracy.

Democratic rights in Australia mean that there are vast numbers of mass organisations of the people. The most important work for our Party members is in those mass organisations—in every sphere and stratum, as Lenin said, and not collected in small “left” groups. That, too, is an arduous struggle—the habits of the past weigh heavily. It is difficult to understand. But, gradually, the number of Party members who understand is increasing. Our comrades are seeking to be identified with the masses so that they cannot be picked off and, at the same time, they are not identified with the masses because of their adherence to the most-advanced science, Marxism-Leninism, and their membership of our Party. But it is membership which takes the form of much more carefully-worked-out links than in the past, that does not draw people into the “left” blocs of the past. This, too, is an arduous and difficult task, but we have reached the conclusion, based upon our experience, that in the gathering crisis of Capitalism only a Party so organised and with such an ideology can withstand the blows of the enemy and turn the tables of the people against the enemy.

Our Party seeks quality in its members—not quantity of members. It is somewhat difficult to join and somewhat easy to leave. We have paid great attention to Lenin's teaching and the teachings set out in point 10 of the Chinese Party's proposals concerning the general line of the international Communist movement. The experience of our Indonesian comrades is bad, but it is good because it contains rich lessons in this regard. The refutation of the idea of peaceful transition to Socialism has far-reaching implications. Our estimate is that the revolutionary crisis is advancing throughout the world. It does not pass Australia by. We are trying to take to heart the implications of Mao Tse-tung's statement: "In some capitalist countries the Communist Parties are allowed to exist legally, but only to the extent that they do not endanger the fundamental interests of the bourgeois; beyond that they are not permitted legal existence."

Politically there is great ferment in Australia. The struggle against involvement in the Viet Nameese war has reached new heights. Magnificent demonstrations have developed. The struggle for the economic conditions of the workers is advancing. Cde. O'Shea's union has just won an important victory. The postal workers are in struggle, the teachers, the nurses, many others. Precisely where the revisionists are weakest, struggles of all kinds are at their strongest. Our comrades are active in all struggles, though not publicly identified as Communists, in accordance with the possibilities within the given sphere or stratum. All this assists our ideological and organisational struggle. Nor do we regard the trade unions as the only important sphere. We regard them as an important sphere—very important—but, whereas in the past they were regarded virtually as the vehicles of revolution, now we see the Marxist-Leninist Party, ideologically, politically and organisationally as the heart, soul and conscience of our country and revolution. Contrary to revisionist assertions, our Party is strong in the trade unions, even on the tests the revisionists use—trade union official positions. We regard trade unions as only one of those spheres and strata of the people of which Lenin spoke.

It is a fact that the most outstanding and incorruptible of the trade union leaders, such as Cde. O'Shea and Cde. Malone, to name but two (there are others) upheld Marxism-Leninism. Even the Australian Labour Party and reformist leaders respect us more than they do the revisionists. **But our view is that the sphere of work in the trade unions is mass work among the trade unionists. We**

are aiming to change the ideological and organisational approach. That requires the most intense, hard work. Mass work in the factories, in the people's organisations, among the farmers, in the army, everywhere, is the only way we see our role.

Our view is that such mass work can only be carried out by devoted Marxist-Leninists who have trained themselves in the process of practice, ideologically, as Marxist-Leninists. Ideology will ensure correct politics and organisation. If our members are fully trained, then they are capable of the infinite flexibility and identity, with the given sphere or stratum of people, required of mass workers. Slowly, gradually, we are developing such people. There are those who say we are abstract. Of course, that is true, or partially true. At the same time, we are concrete. They are but two sides of the contradiction. Taken singly we are one-sided. Taken together we are not one-sided. Mass work—summing up (abstraction, if you like)—mass work again, and again summing up.

Our comrades have paid particular attention to Mao Tse-tung's "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" as an essential part of our development as a Party. These writings have opened many doors for us, in mass work and in understanding theory. They have enabled us to challenge many of the old ideas we had, to test them anew, to take what was good and discard what was bad.

Once more we must say that we are feeling our way. There are successes and failures. But our comrades are full of optimism because they are inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

You comrades have had the great advantage of a leadership that was firm in Marxism-Leninism. Your course has not been exactly similar to ours. Your contribution has been much greater. In the past, we have expressed to your leading comrades our profound admiration and respect for them and our profound gratitude for the assistance we have had from the example of your Party. We should like now to avail ourselves of this opportunity of conveying those sentiments to the delegates to this Conference and, through you, to your whole Party, and to wish you even greater successes in the struggle for Socialism and independence in New Zealand.

**Long live Marxism-Leninism!**

**Long live the solidarity of the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)!**

# Speech by Belgian Fraternal Delegate

(Speech by Cde. RENE RAINDORF, Member of the Political Bureau, Communist Party of Belgium, to the 21st Conference, C.P.N.Z.)

**COMRADES,—**

**The Communist Party of Belgium was happy to receive the fraternal invitation of the Communist Party of New Zealand to attend its 21st National Conference.**

In the message of Cde. Grippa, read yesterday, you find expressed our very great appreciation of the firm stand of your Party in the long and hard struggle of our time against the main enemy—imperialism, headed by the U.S.A.—and the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists.

In our country, Belgium, the attacks and manœuvres of the monopolies and their government are running up against ever-elert class-consciousness, a proletariat whose vigilance is constantly displayed.

Particular evidence is the 1960 “strike of one million,” still well-remembered, the action by public servants at the end of 1961; that of the metal-workers in 1963; the struggle against the anti-strike laws in 1964; more recently, the action for 10 per cent. in 1965; the strike in Limburg against closing of new coal-mines—with two workers shot down; and, to-day, the historic strike, already two months long, of the women of the F.N. (National Factory of War Weapons) in Herstal-Liege, in spite of the brutal—and gentle—sabotage of the union leadership, Labour and revisionists, united against the working women!

They are fighting for “equal pay”, for “equal rights”—a “right” ensured by the Treaty of Rome, creating the European Economic Community, which means 9d more per hour.

**This strike, we believe, has great significance for the working women and the whole working class throughout the capitalist world, and we thank the Women’s Union of New Zealand for its message of support.**

What so far has prevented this admirable working-class from achieving the results its fighting spirit should produce? What is the reason the nett share of wages in

the national income has decreased? Why are threats against democratic freedoms and the right to strike becoming more frequent? Why are we still bound to the aggressive NATO pact under the leadership of U.S. imperialism? Why does armament expenditure keep increasing? Why is Capitalism still so strong in our country, despite this readiness of the working class to fight for its rights?

It is the deceitful ideology of opportunism and reformism; that is the main and basic cause—the opportunism and reformism which the Belgian Labour Party have propagated for decades. Reformism, which presents revolutionaries as dangerous, impatient individuals, dogmatists, doctrinaires or romanticists, according to a vocabulary we found in the utterances of the revisionist party leadership. Reformism, which claims that negotiations can take the place of action. Opportunism, which is ever speaking of so-called “efficiency” and “good compromise” to cover up its capitulation. Reformism, which sings the praises of bourgeois parliamentarianism. Reformism, which has constantly denied the class content of wars and gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie in the massacres it provoked. Reformism, which slanderously accuses revolutionaries of hoping for war, and the socialist countries of being aggressive. Reformists, who deceitfully claimed to serve the cause of peace but betrayed Republican Spain, approved of Munich, and thus contributed to plunging the world into World War II, participated in the cold war and supported NATO. Reformism, which, of course, wants no vanguard fighting party. Reformism, which has a powerful organisation, using it to introduce bourgeois ideology into the working class and trying to impose on the latter the mystifying decisions of the “peers” of the national reformist leadership.

Opportunism and reformism, whose defeat always has been the prior condition for any victorious revolution and even of any partial success. Opportunism, revisionism, reformism, against which Lenin struggled all his life. What has this reformism built? What has it brought us other than blighted hopes and betrayals of the working class? The proletariat becomes more and more disgusted. It is trying to get rid of every kind of traitor.

At this very moment, the revisionists in Belgium are trying either to replace the classical Labour Party or to give it “fresh” blood by merging with it! These are the “two lines” of treason between which the revisionist “Congress” in November, 1965, was trying to make a choice!

The ideological and political disintegration of the Khrushchov Party in Belgium is now commencing at the level of organisation. I remember the words of Cde. Ted Hill yesterday, describing the same process inside the Aarons-Sharkey group, which also slanders the glorious name of "Communist."

But, actually, if the main enemy is U.S. imperialism, and on world scale, if modern revisionism is its main agent in the workers' movement, we consider that in Belgium the **main blow** had to be aimed at the Belgian Labour Party, which is the **main political support in the working class** of imperialism, headed by the U.S.A.—the party of Spaak, of NATO, of aggression in the Congo, the party of the support of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam—and we exposed it as the party of war!

In the parliamentary elections of spring, 1965, our Party, still re-building, considered itself very successful in gaining 30,000 votes. It was politically more important that the coalition government was defeated, and, if the Christian Democrats lost 400,000 votes, the Labour Party lost nearly 500,000 votes. The presence and struggles and hard blows of a Marxist-Leninist Party are certainly not the only reasons for this important defeat. But look towards the elections in Finland last month. And last week in the United Kingdom. In Finland, the revisionists supported the bitter anti-Communism of social democracy. And in Britain they supported Wilson, lackey of the heir of Hitler, L. B. Johnson. We must consider that, if not exposed, social democracy in parliamentary states is not exactly dying—for the moment, of course!—in the capitalist countries. Historically, social democracy is a corpse. But, you know, a corpse which must be killed! In connection with the supplementary report of Cde. Wilcox yesterday, we must say, if the delegates allow me, that we endorse completely this report, as if it was a Belgian one!

The process of development of fascism in Belgium is daily growing. We had experiences over the last eight months. Confronting us in September was Massoz, an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, a police provocateur who was unmasked by the vigilance of the Party and its leadership. A member of the old party for 15 years, he was sent into the re-built party by the Central Intelligence Agency in April, 1963. In October, a second part of his group had to be expelled from the Party and from the leadership of the Communist Youth Movement.

These two events made us more attentive to the different methods which the imperialists employ, attacking the

revolutionary forces from outside and inside, either with emergency regulations, anti-strike laws, etc., or with provocateurs inside our organisations. The Massoz group passed in November over to an open attack (nine men with revolvers and a machine-gun) against the Party House, stole a car, typewriters, duplicator and other material—under police protection! The Party, mobilised in three hours, rapidly re-occupied its House, and the gangsters finally failed—and went to jail. **But the boss of the Central Intelligence Agency demanded and obtained their release after one month!** The trial is not yet fixed. And early this year the process went further. On one side, the little gang of the agent Massoz quite openly joined with an open police group which had been expelled in 1964, making it clear for everyone who wanted to see.

As soon as the government crisis began in February, 1966, we were gratified by a "Message to the Nation" from the Belgian King. This appeal was obvious interference in the political life of Belgium, interference of an ultra-reactionary type, demanding that the workers make an end to striking, that the government of the Christian-Democrats and Social-Democrats together should continue to further disarm the working class for the main interests of Belgian capitalism, of U.S. imperialism.

Our Central Committee, the day after, protested openly and strongly against this interference and published 200,000 bulletins to be distributed in the factories on a country-wide scale. On the first day, the bulletins were seized by the police—BUT 150,000 succeeded in reaching the workers! In the same week, our People's Voice was also seized by the police because it reprinted the statement of the Central Committee—BUT a special edition was ready to be sent to the districts at the very moment the state police were seizing the normal edition!

In February, a great strike of coal-miners in Limburg was betrayed by Labour and revisionist union leaders. Afterwards state police attacked the strikers, first by gas, second by guns. Two workers were killed. A third one is dying. And the Minister of Security was a Labour M.P.!

At that stage, the government called 3,000 paratroops to control and break the strike. **After the union meeting before the ending of the strike, the Labour M.P., General Secretary of the Belgian Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), told the press in quite a good explanation of the role of revisionism, old and new: "We succeeded where armed gendarmes failed."** In the strike, our Party was always present. Three of our members were arrested; one of them

because he was known as a Communist was detained in jail for one month without any serious charge!

**A last word about the revisionists. The demarcation line between false Communists, real Labourites and we Marxist-Leninists must be stressed on ideological, political and organisational levels. Lenin had to do it in Russia in 1903, expelling the Mensheviks. He did it! The Communist movement had to do it in 1920. Also in New Zealand; also in Belgium we did it!**

That was explained again in the report of Cde. Wilcox and in the contributions of two comrades. We fundamentally agree with this absolute necessity. In our experience, when we meet revisionists in the trade unions, or in Viet Nam solidarity committees, the demarcation is made on principles. In the unions we expose them in their betrayal policy before the workers, who more and more see Labour and Khrushchov-revisionists as one and the same thing.

In the Viet Nam committees we demand **ONLY** entire solidarity with the five points of the National Liberation Front of south Viet Nam. On this basis, we work with Catholic priests, Protestants, Scouts, Y.M.C.A., non-Party and also with several rank-and-file followers of the Social-Democrats. But, quite automatically, the bourgeois pacifists, the shameless Khrushchov spokesmen of "negotiation" between U.S.A. Nazi-Yankees and Viet Nameese fighters for freedom, are compelled to disappear from the movement, to feel expelled **on the basis of principle**. Not on the Party line, but on the **mass-minimum-principle line**.

We also are glad to note how your glorious Party takes the opportunity of getting nearer to the youth in its activity against the U.S. aggression in Viet Nam. In Belgium also, the Movement of Communist Youth, whose secretary is Michel Graindorge, is composed of the Communist Students, the Communist Youth, the Pioneers (the little ones). But, as well as social demands of conscript, working and student youth, there is a growing willingness to struggle against the criminal aggression of the American Nazis in Viet Nam.

In our policy towards a United Popular Front of Youth, we use the birth of Action Committees for Viet Nam in cities and districts for the Anti-Atom March of April 24 as elements for the later building of this Front.

We think, around the Communist Youth, that this building of a Youth Front, based on limited issues of a social, political, anti-imperialist nature, is the normal



vehicle by which to prepare youth for the great struggle against the capitalist stooges of imperialism, for the carrying on of this struggle side by side with the older people.

And this brings me, naturally, to the policy of the United Popular Front, proposed by our Party, as the main way for achieving national democratic objectives under the leadership of the working class and its Communist Party.

**At this time, when the general crisis of Capitalism is rapidly deepening, when the Belgian big bourgeoisie, in league with U.S. imperialism, shows that its contradictions are more and more insurmountable, the Khrushchov and Trotsky-ite revisionists develop in an unbelievable way their neo-reformist "theories" of structural reform, of bourgeois nationalisations, as a "step to Socialism," of workers' "control" of capitalist production — theories denying the class character of the capitalist state, denying the necessity of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

There is no consequent struggle against Capitalism, or against imperialism, without consequent struggle against old and new reformism, against modern revisionism, against all their theories aimed at disarming the workers, at spreading illusions about the bourgeois state apparatus and in maintaining, in fact, the capitalist system.

As an emergency platform for the United Popular Front (U.P.F.), our Party suggests:

- (1) Labour Demands (not union wishes!)—10 per cent. wage increase (9d); 40-hour week; four weeks' holiday; retirement at 60 years, £420 on retirement; a public health service guaranteeing free medical and pharmaceutical care.
- (2) Defence of civil liberties and democratic rights.
- (3) Self-determination for the Flemish and Walloon people and the Brussels community by achieving national independence and federation.
- (4) The Anti-Imperialist Struggle—U.S., get out! NATO, get out! American atomic bases, German bases, out of Belgium! Colonialists, American and Belgian, get out of the Congo! Full solidarity with the Viet Nameese people! Long live the National Liberation Front, the only real representative of the people of south Viet Nam!

The U.P.F. will be the result of two approaches. In certain districts, the U.P.F. is ripe to be built on a district level. In certain cities, on a city level. But, in

several factories, facing the passivity and the treason of union leaderships, sometimes at the level of factory leaderships we supported the creation of "action committees" for carrying on the struggle for one or several demands. Our Party is of the opinion that these action committees can be often elements, basic elements, of a U.P.F. On what conditions? If they uphold one or several points of the U.P.F.—AND if they do not deny the other main points. This way the conditions exist for a development which encourages militant, class unionism, which unites unionists and non-unionists.

The U.P.F. should become the organised form of the alliance of the working class with all the toiling masses for winning national democratic demands, for the gaining of national independence, and against U.S. imperialism and its Belgian big business lackeys.

The carrying out of this struggle to its end must raise the question of power, of the achievement of popular democracy.

The mass organisations supported by our comrades are: Action for Peace and People's Independence; Committee for Solidarity with the Viet Namese People; Committee for Solidarity with the Congolese Resistance; Women's Union of Belgium. And are also "parts" of a U.P.F.

We will examine more and more deeply in the future all the developments of this policy of broad alliance around the necessary vanguard Party which we are re-building.

I apologise for such a long outline of our situation in Belgium, but the New Zealand comrades were showing real interest, and I hope not to have disappointed them.

You must know how much the Central Committee and the whole Party appreciate and follow the glorious history, the daily struggle, of our brother Party in New Zealand, its National Committee, its Political Committee, its membership and your People's Voice and Communist Review. There are not yet many Communist Parties in highly-developed capitalist countries which have chosen faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism.

**Besides all the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the socialist countries, our close co-operation with the Parties of New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Spain, Colombia, Peru and other Parties and groups of Marxist-Leninists is very important in the coming future. The struggle for national independence, against U.S. imperialism and "national" monopolies, against betrayal by modern revisionism, is the**

same as that against the heirs of Kautsky, Bernstein, Browder of the U.S., Tito, Togliatti, Khrushchov, Kosygin, Gollan of England, Aarons of Australia, Brunelle of Belgium, and your Andersen and Jackson.

The high level of Cde. Wilcox's report and of your contributions, comrade delegates, was for us very important. It proves that your Party, gaining in purity when losing revisionist elements, will carry on with honour its glorious fight under class leadership for an independent New Zealand, for civil liberties, for the rights of the workers, for Socialism.

The new attention you have paid in re-evaluating the possibility of building a youth organisation is also a guarantee of the brilliant future of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and the same is to be said regarding your approach to the Maori problem.

The development along a correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Parties is to-day of very great importance of the whole international Communist movement. Both countries belong to that section of the non-socialist, non-exactly-imperialist camp which is partly imperialist, and yet at the same time part of the field for neo-colonial exploitation by the main countries of imperialism.

**Not only in New Zealand, but also in Belgium, we are faced with the immediate question: Colonial subjection to American imperialism or national independence?**

**It is our common duty for the world movement and for our peoples to give the correct answer to the question.**

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## Greetings from Indonesia

DEAR Comrades,—

In connection with the convening of the 21st National Congress of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) herewith conveys the most cordial Communist greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and through you to all participants of the Congress and to all members of your Party.

We are convinced that this Congress will be crowned with success and will strengthen the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand in the struggle of the proletariat and the working people of New Zealand against monopolist exploitation, for democracy, peace and Socialism.

We know the Communist Party of New Zealand as a Marxist-Leninist Party which stands in the forefront in the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists.

It is a Communist Party which unswervingly supports the struggle of the oppressed nations for their national liberation.

We know the Communist Party of New Zealand as a proletarian Party which highly upholds the banner of proletarian internationalism, and which firmly and consistently defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism nationally and internationally, fights against modern revisionism, which constitutes the main danger in the international Communist movement at present.

The Communist Party of New Zealand has given a tremendous contribution to the cause of strengthening Marxist-Leninist unity in the international Communist movement.

At present, when reactionary forces in Indonesia are persecuting, terrorising and wantonly murdering Communists, democrats and patriots, your Party resolutely protested against these inhuman acts and expressed its solidarity with the Communist Party of Indonesia and all progressive people in Indonesia. We appraise highly your attitude, which is an expression of proletarian internationalism and which means a great support for our struggle.

The seizure of power by the fascist-militarist group in Indonesia has brought the struggle of the Indonesian people, led by the P.K.I., into a new stage, a stage of protracted and complicated struggle, full of danger and even more intense.

The events in Indonesia have once again proved that there is no ruling class willing voluntarily to hand over its power, that there is no reactionary force which permits the revolutionary forces to achieve victory in a "peaceful way."

But the struggle of the Indonesian people for democracy and complete national independence cannot be halted. The P.K.I., the vanguard of the Indonesian people, will never be destroyed. Up to this moment, the P.K.I. is continuing the struggle, organising and leading the struggle of the masses of the people in conformity with the changed conditions.

The time will definitely come that this struggle will gain momentum and will wipe out completely the reaction-

ary power from the face of Indonesia. The P.K.I. will surely discharge its responsibilities towards the proletarian and the working people of Indonesia and to the proletariat of the world.

Together with the Communist Party of New Zealand and all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the P.K.I. will intensify its struggle against imperialism, dominated by U.S. imperialism, against modern revisionism, for Socialism and Communism.

We once more express our greetings to your Congress and wish you even more bigger successes in your struggle.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of New Zealand!

Long live the militant friendship between the P.K.I. and the Communist Party of New Zealand!

Long live proletarian interationalism!

—Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.).

## Greetings from Malaya

DEAR Comrades,—

On the occasion of the National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya, on behalf of its entire membership and the working people of Malaya, extend to you and, through you, to the members of the New Zealand Communist Party and the working people of New Zealand, our fraternal, warmest greetings.

The Communist Party of New Zealand, the glorious vanguard of the working class of New Zealand, has devoted itself to, and has achieved great successes in, the tasks of raising the political consciousness of the New Zealand working class, of uniting the working masses and other democratic and progressive forces of New Zealand in the struggle against monopoly capital and bourgeois reformism, in defence of New Zealand's national independence, as well as the vital interests and democratic rights of the working people and in the cause of achieving Socialism.

The Communist Party of Malaya notes with great admiration the resolute stand the Communist Party of New Zealand has taken and the important contributions it has made in opposing U.S.-British imperialists' policies of aggression and war and in supporting the liberation struggles of oppressed nations and peoples of South-East Asia and in other parts of the world. Your efforts in

demanding the removal of New Zealand troops from Malaya are a direct support to our people's struggle for genuine national independence.

In the international Communist movement, the Communist Party of New Zealand, under the leadership of its Central Committee, headed by Cde. V. G. Wilcox, has steadfastly held aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and waged a principled struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, thus making significant contributions to the genuine unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We sincerely wish you new and greater achievements in the struggle against imperialism, headed by the United States, against Khrushchov revisionism and all reactionaries, and in the cause of national liberation, peoples' democracy, peace and Socialism.

May your National Conference score an unqualified success!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

—Central Committee, Communist Party of Malaya.

## Greetings from Viet Nam

**D**EAR Comrades,—

On the occasion of the National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand, on behalf of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, of the Viet Nameese working class and people, we extend to the Communist Party, working class and people of New Zealand our warmest greetings.

In recent years, under the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, powerful struggles of the people of New Zealand against monopoly, against the pro-U.S. imperialist reactionary policy of New Zealand ruling circles, for national independence, peace and Socialism have scored many successes.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party and Viet Nameese people follow those successes with deep sympathy and great elation.

We seize this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the Communist Party and people of New Zealand for their active support, in the past as well as at present, for the just struggle of the Viet Nameese people against aggression by the U.S. imperialists.

We wish your Conference brilliant success.

—Central Committee, Viet Nam Workers' Party.

# Greetings from Thailand

DEAR Comrades,—

In the name of all the members of our Party and all the revolutionary people of our country, we extend our warm greetings to the National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand and wish it every success.

To-day, the world political situation is entering a period of unprecedented upheavals. The anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles of all peoples and nations of the world who are subject to oppression, exploitation and aggression are surging in a way never witnessed before. Armed struggles, in particular, are sweeping like a prairie fire over Asia, Africa and Latin America, including to-day's Thailand.

U.S. imperialism, the ring-leader of world reaction, has suffered heavy blows everywhere.

Being greatly weakened by its war of aggression in Viet Nam, and having suffered many blows dealt by the forces at home which are against racism, fascism and the war, U.S. imperialism is now in an unprecedentedly difficult situation. In their desperate efforts to get out of this difficult situation, the imperialists are doing every possible thing to create new chaos everywhere, and, in collaboration with the modern revisionists, are trying to create more serious confusions in the camp of revolution.

The convocation of the present National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand is therefore of particular significance.

We firmly believe that no matter what confusions the reactionaries of all countries and the U.S. imperialists may create, and no matter what confusions the revisionist renegades may create, they can never extricate themselves from their present position.

The Communist Party of Thailand will work closely together with the Communist Party of New Zealand and all other Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world and wage a resolute, unyielding and thorough struggle against the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the revisionist renegades.

May all delegates to the Conference and all comrades of your Party enjoy good health. May the Conference achieve full success. May the Communist Party of New Zealand never cease to win victories on all fronts.

With fraternal greetings,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party  
of Thailand

## Greetings from Japan

DEAR Comrades,—

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan extends on behalf of all our Party members whole-hearted congratulations and ardent greetings of solidarity to the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

The Communist Party of New Zealand is courageously fighting for defence of fundamental interests of the New Zealand working class and people, resolutely opposing the policy of aggression and war, oppression and exploitation by international imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and domestic reactionary forces.

You are standing in the forefront of the New Zealand people and actively developing the struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and against dispatching troops to Viet Nam and "Malaysia" by the Holyoake Government. This is of important significance in the struggle for safeguarding peace in Asia and in the world.

The Communist Party of New Zealand is struggling also against modern revisionism as the main danger, upholding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We wish that your National Conference be greatly successful and the revolutionary struggle of the New Zealand working class and working people further advance.

The Communist Party of Japan is striving to develop the Japanese people's struggle for national independence, democracy, peace and better living conditions, against U.S. imperialism, which is expanding more and more ferociously their aggressive war in Viet Nam, using Japan as the biggest stronghold for aggression in Asia, and against Japanese monopoly capital, which is accelerating revival of militarism as junior ally of U.S. imperialism.

Now we are developing mass struggle and united actions based upon the activities in working-sites and districts, together with the broad democratic forces and various sections of the working people, linking such urgent economic demands as against rising prices, for higher wages and against capitalistic "rationalisation," with these political tasks like against U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam, against revision of the Japanese Constitution, for return of Okinawa and Ogasawara Islands to Japan, for dismantling U.S. military bases in Japan, for abolition of the Japan-U.S.A. "Security"



Treaty.

On March 20, meetings and demonstrations were organised in Tokyo, where 225,000 people participated in the Central Meeting, as well as in other places of the country. We are doing our best so as to further develop these successful results.

Through these struggles, the workings for building a strong Communist Party of Japan are going forward. Only in the last one year the forces of our Party organisation increased by 50 per cent., both in the number of Party membership and that of the Party central Organ's circulation. At present, the number of readers of the daily Organ and its Sunday edition altogether is one million and several hundreds of thousands, or the biggest since the Party's foundation.

Comrades, in such a situation as that, U.S. imperialism is expanding the ferocious war of aggression in Viet Nam, while intensifying aggression and interference in a number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is an important task common to us to strengthen the international united front for national liberation and peace.

The Communist Party of Japan is firmly resolved to strive furthermore for strengthening the international united front against U.S. imperialism and for a genuine unity in the international Communist movement on the basis of the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, consistently carrying out struggles against modern revisionism, big-nation chauvinism and splittism.

These avoid the fight against U.S. imperialism. At the same time we maintain vigilance against dogmatism and sectarianism.

May militant solidarity between the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of New Zealand strengthen on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

May solidarity between the peoples of our two countries against their common enemy further develop!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of New Zealand!

Long live solidarity between the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of New Zealand!

Long live indestructible Marxism-Leninism!

—Central Committee, Communist Party of Japan.

# Greetings from Ceylon

DEAR Comrades,—

On behalf of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Ceylon Communist Party, we convey to your 21st National Conference our warmest and revolutionary fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of the Conference.

The Ceylon Communist Party has always held in high admiration the resolute, principled and Marxist-Leninist stand of the Communist Party of New Zealand in the struggle against American and British imperialism, as well as against treacherous social-democracy and modern revisionism.

Our Party has valued highly the contribution made by your Party in giving leadership to the working class of your country in its tasks of defending national independence and in its fight for peace and Socialism. We have also admired the fraternal support you have given to people in your region fighting against imperialism and reaction.

In particular, we have been inspired by your successful efforts in winning the Communist Party of New Zealand to the side of the revolutionary truths of Marxism-Leninism and your success in preserving the unity of your Party against the attacks of modern revisionists.

In Ceylon, where the forces of foreign imperialism, feudalism and the compradore bourgeoisie still hold sway, and where the working class and progressive forces have been led astray by the twin evil forces of Trotskyism and modern revisionism, your valuable experience is a guidance to our less-experienced Party.

Guided by the eternal and revolutionary truths of Marxism-Leninism, we are engaged in the difficult task of building a genuinely revolutionary vanguard Party of the working class, which can, under complicated circumstances, give proper guidance to the revolutionary movement for the defeat of imperialism, feudalism, the compradore bourgeoisie and modern revisionism.

Accept, dear comrades, once again, our fervent and revolutionary greetings for the success of your Conference.

May the revolutionary truths of Marxism-Leninism triumph all over the world!

Yours fraternally,

N. Sanmugathan (for the Secretariat of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party).

