

JULY, 1970

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**COMMUNIST
REVIEW**

- MAO'S CLARION CALL
- YOUTH PROTEST AND UNIONS
- FERMENT IN COAL FIELDS
- REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

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NOTE TO CONTRIBUTORS

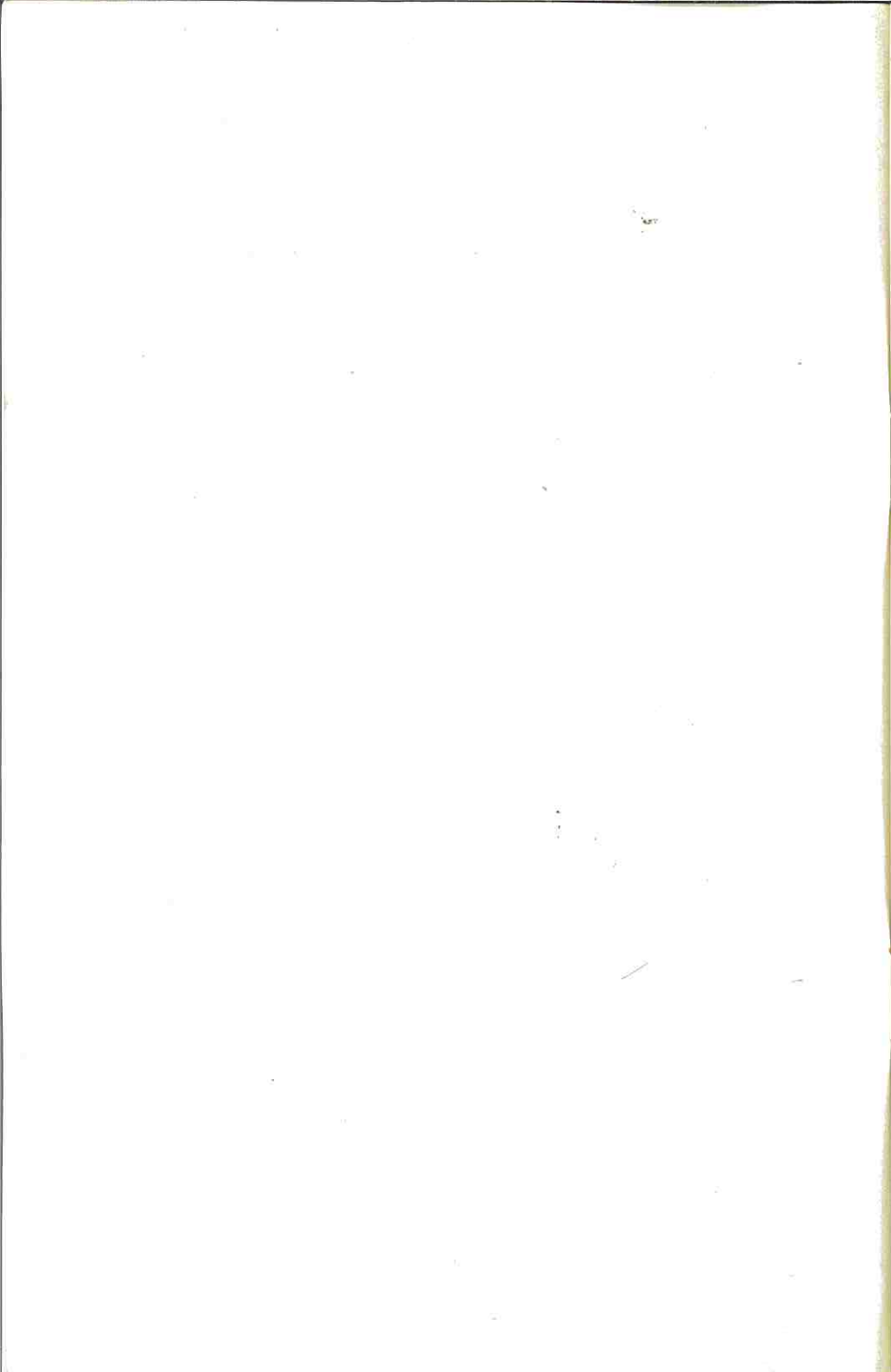
The response to our request for local articles has been so great that we have been forced to hold some articles over to the next issue. These have not been held over on ground of secondary importance but, on the contrary, because their political value will not suffer by holding them until the August issue.

—Editorial Board.

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Editorial Board Comment on: Mao's Clarion Call

The solemn statement of Mao Tsetung issued on May 20th represents the continuation, in present days conditions, of the mighty "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels of 1848.

"PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE AND DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND ALL THEIR RUNNING DOGS." This is the great present day clarion call of Mao Tsetung.

Mao's statement, though brief, is an immensely rich and profound analysis of the class struggle of the world's people against the common enemy of mankind—foreign monopoly (Imperialism) headed by the U.S.A.

It must be studied and re-studied. Each study will make clearer, that it is not only a general call. Contained within it, is the call to action against U.S. Imperialism, and its lackeys, in each particular country in the world.

It is not only a call to the people of the revolutionary storm-centres—Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is a call to the working people of each country, including the metropolitan countries, to raise their class struggle too, to the level of storm centres of revolt against American Imperialism.

Mao shows the common bond that makes the revolution of oppressed people anywhere, the revolution of the working class everywhere.

Mao's clarion call is a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the decisions of the 1966 Conference of the CPNZ. That Conference disclosed two major political tasks of the New Zealand working class as:—

- 1. Build the anti-Imperialist movement.**
- 2. Intensify the fight against revisionism.**

It also confirms our line that the struggles of the workers of New Zealand and the workers and peasants of Viet Nam are the common struggles of common victims against a common enemy—U.S. Imperialism.

The escalation of the U.S. aggression to Cambodia and Laos, has enlarged this common struggle for the N.Z. workers. It has given rise to a broad South East Asian united front. This extends far beyond the boundaries of the three countries.

The working class of New Zealand, Maori and Pakeha, and its allies, are swept, by their very class position, and by the U.S. political and economic aggression against N.Z., into a South East Asian and Oceanic united front against U.S. Imperialism.

Penetrating study of Mao's statement will help the N.Z. working class, and in particular N.Z. youth, to see how their role can be lifted from its present level, to higher forms of revolutionary action.*

Every blow that we can strike against **Imperialism in N.Z.** is a blow for our class brothers throughout Oceania, South East Asia and the world. It is a necessary step in the emancipation of the N.Z. working class from Capitalist wage slavery.

In 1958 the CPNZ disclosed that N.Z. had become the neo-colonialist victim of foreign monopoly (Imperialism). It has since, repeatedly shown that no matter what political party was in office in Parliament, it was merely an instrument to serve the foreign masters.

The problems of the N.Z. workers and working farmers, and the problems of the Maori people, no less than those of the people of South East Asia and Oceania, cannot be solved while the means of producing the means of life, remain the property of the few.

Today, the Communist Party line, exposing foreign monopoly and the role of Holyoake and Kirk as stooges of the U.S., has become widely understood. It is becoming clearer, to ever wider sections daily.

Never have the conditions been more favourable for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class to fulfill its task of arming the industrial workers, and the N.Z. youth, with the spirit of Marxist-Leninism.

Never has it been more favourable to expose the opportunist elements in the working class movement and in the ranks of the revolutionary Party.

Mao's statement makes much easier the exposure of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites. Practice exposes their role as Social-Imperialists and their collusion with the U.S.A.

The impact of the Soviet traitors to Marxism-Leninism on the revisionist Parties, can no longer be concealed. Nor, can the role of the splitting elements which follow the same Soviet revisionist line, within the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, be hidden any longer from the rank-and-file and the working class.

The study of Mao's clarion call raises the question of carrying the class struggle in N.Z., through to the end—to establishment of state power of the working class (dictatorship of the proletariat).

The raising of this question forces us to examine, what are the main obstacles in the way of building the revolutionary unity of the working class, necessary to fulfill this task. **That study, in turn, exposes Labour Party ideology and trade union politics as the main roadblocks.** They prevent the N.Z. working class from turning its struggles, for economic demands, into struggles against the political power of the exploiting class—in the first place U.S. Imperialism.

Revolutionary unity — unity of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism — is death to Imperialism. Revolutionary unity is the key to the victory of the Socialist revolution in New Zealand.

Mao's call is ringing around the world. It is giving new impetus to the world-wide anti-Imperialist movement. It is awakening new millions to the invincibility of the working class, once they unite the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of their OWN revolution.

This historic clarion call is the embodiment of all the great new developments, which Mao himself has contributed to the science of Marxism-Leninism.

They have transformed Marxism-Leninism into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism—the working class science of the era of the total collapse of Imperialism and the victory of Socialism on a world scale.

The time for talk is past. The time for action—for arming the working class with the consciousness of its revolutionary role is NOW.

These are the inspiring lessons to be learned from the study of the profound statement of Mao Tsetung of May 20, 1970.

* **Footnote.** The full statement is published on Page 6. The full fruits of this profound statement will be realised not only by the study of the statement itself, but of selected works of Mao and the editorials of the Communist journals, relating to the statement, which appear frequently in the Peking Review.



Solemn Statement of Mao Tsetung

May 20, 1970

A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Viet Nam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of north Viet Nam, and this has aroused furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression in Cambodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was

recognised by nearly 20 countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!



Youth Protest and the Trade Union Movement

(V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary CPNZ)

IN New Zealand, as in the rest of the world where imperialism is descending to its final doom, we have seen the rapid growth of a protest movement among our youth. True it is still a minority but it has great significance.

It is also true that in the main it has been confined to the protest against the war in Vietnam and our involvement. This was a correct starting-point for protest and has led to a more general anti-imperialist one particularly directed against the leading imperialist force — the United States.

This protest has taken many forms and has developed from meetings in small halls to mass demonstrations in the streets. Recently, youth protest against the policy and actions of the “establishment” of the capitalist state and its form of society has taken wider forms with anti-apartheid actions, actions against the selling of our natural resources to overseas monopoly and the spoiling of our great natural beauty spots — something we must preserve not only for ourselves but future generations.

In protest on these various issues our youth have acted very courageously against police provocation and many attempts to create violence.

OBJECTIVE — ACTION TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM

This is very good and no one but a reactionary would attempt to discourage its further development. But if protest is to be a potent force for social change it cannot stop at its present level. This is a problem that the protesters must realise — and quickly too. Demonstration against something bad is very well but it must lead to a positive struggle and develop a wider objective. An objective that will start to change the social system that created the bad things now being challenged such as the satellite role our Government plays within the imperialist camp.

In other words it is not enough to fight against certain things within our system, we must have the objective of changing the whole structure of society to something else — a higher form of social living than decadent modern monopoly capitalism can provide.

This is where, if it plays its correct role, the Communist Party has a vital place among our growing number of young “revolutionaries”.

The “establishment”, as the young people tend to call the state power of capitalism, will only be overcome by organisation, organ-

isation based originally on Marxism — Leninism and now also on the thoughts of Mao Tse-Tung, the Lenin of our times. Of course we have to take into consideration the objective conditions and background of New Zealand, but the theory and general practice serves for us as for other parts of the world.

It is our job to develop this concept and to encourage the study of Mao Tse-Tung's activity and written works among our youth. It is our job to encourage the most advanced of them to join our ranks, making them understand that in the final analysis struggle, no matter what form it takes, becomes abortive unless it is led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party. It is our job not only to give this advice but to be in action alongside our militant youth, no matter what our age.

UNITED ACTION OF WORKERS & STUDENT YOUTH

Today the youth protest is drawing in ever wider numbers, not only of students (as some persist in thinking) but of working youth. The unity of these is vital for progress. We should beware of those old social democrats and the new "revisionist" ones, who insist that protest is just a "student outburst", a passing phase. This is capitalist propaganda to prevent older militants from understanding the real nature, the depth, and the consistency of our younger people's reactions to our present way of life.

Youth today, in protest, holds many different opinions. With these varying opinions older comrades must be very patient and realise that from our experiences in the past we have much aid to give as far as correct methods of struggle are concerned. But we must also realise that youth, in the era of a rapidly developing crisis within imperialism leading to its elimination, has much to give the older people too, much from which we must learn if we are to be in the vanguard.

It is only in this way, not by a "grandfatherly" attitude but by patient discussion, that we will both learn and in the process we will win modern militant youth to Marxism-Leninism.

Now let us return to the concept that it is only the students who demonstrate. The fact is that sections of industrial working youth are becoming ever more prominent, particularly in Auckland. Let us also remember that under N.Z. conditions the majority of our university students and even some high school students spend their term breaks working in industry and on our farms. This is done from economic necessity but it does counteract the 'ivory castle' attitude encouraged by a total university atmosphere in our capitalist world.

The importance of the growing youth protest has been stressed. Its significance in our opposition to imperialist aggressive actions of a world wide nature (extended now to the whole of South East Asian military action) cannot be overestimated. It is in fact one of the most important developments in our country in the last decade.

NEW INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLES VERSUS ARBITRATION

There is, however, another aspect of major importance. This is the development of direct class struggle arising among wider sections of the industrial working class. This is on a broader basis than for many a long year (possibly unprecedented in our history) although in the main still only at the level of bread and butter economic struggles. It is significant that many rank and file and a number of "middle" trade union leaders are no longer prepared to accept the old concept of conciliation and arbitration. They see through its fallacy, they see it as a weapon of the boss against their struggle for higher wages and improved conditions and they are beginning to develop a more effective form of struggle against the employing class and its Government.

It is true that the top leadership of the F.O.L. at Conference has given lip service to "class struggle", to "action" outside the old framework when "necessary". **But in practice they support the old methods. All they really want are new forms that will in fact fool the workers into another period of passivity. In spite of what they say they do in fact collaborate with the class enemy on many issues.**

Their approach to the National Development Conference is an outstanding example. What was the objective behind these discussions? Was it not the further development of monopoly capitalism in our country? Through international capital (often hidden under N.Z. company names) and through N.Z. capital the whole object is to exploit the natural resources, mineral and other of N.Z., build local industry for export and reap greater profits from the labour power of the New Zealand working class. The workers are told it will provide jobs, but naturally they are not told there is another way they can have secure jobs without exploitation — namely the socialist way.

More and more workers at ground level, at the point of direct exploitation on their own jobs, are seeing this, sometimes consciously and sometimes instinctively. The cause of the growth of industrial struggle so worrying to the "reformist" trade union leaders, the Labour Party leaders, international monopoly, the employing class in general, and The National Party Government.

UNITE ECONOMIC & POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

However, while it is good that the workers can see the need for direct industrial struggle around immediate issues, it is not enough.

Trade unionists have to be won to realise that a victory within the capitalist system can never be more than a temporary one. Introduced into their minds must be the understanding that their basic objective is to achieve a new social order through political struggle, in fact Socialism, as conceived by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung. The introduction of this idea is a primary

task of the Communist Party.

Patiently but by continual effort we have to get the industrial working class to realise that as well as correct trade union work, including political struggle, **it also needs a revolutionary Party with the clear objective of socialism. We must try all the time to win workers to the understanding that the Communist Party, as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party is such a Party and must be supported and we must draw the more advanced elements among the working class industrial workers into our ranks. It is the only road forward for the Communist Party and the only road of advance to socialism.**

BUILDING ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE VITAL TO N.Z. WORKERS

We know that the introduction of these ideas into the trade union movement is a slow and sometimes for individuals a painful process, but if we don't achieve this the struggle remains at the immediate economic level within capitalism and fundamentally is no danger to the system as a whole. This concept must be taken from the general to the more specific. Workers must be won to realise that the struggle in South East Asia today will deeply affect them and their families in the near future if U.S. imperialism and not the South East Asian people win. It is obvious that more than a few pious resolutions are necessary. Some active protest against present policies on this issue is needed, whether it is directed against the F.O.L. approach, the Labour Leaders' approach or that of the National Government because all end up in the final analysis in the camp of U.S. policies. The same applies to the revolutionary struggles in South America, the situation in Africa and the Middle East. In the modern world nobody can isolate themselves from events and struggles overseas because they affect us in N.Z. whether we like it or not. They affect our future living standards and way of life and our right to determine our own way forward. If imperialism wins we will do as we are told and will be exploited to the full by international monopoly capitalism.

Very often middle-aged militant trade unionists are so conditioned by the past influence of passive social democracy and Labour Parliamentarism that they find it difficult to see beyond the immediate issues.

YOUTH'S ROLE IN CHANGING T.U. POLITICS

This is why serious consideration must be given to the fact that many young workers who have joined in the anti-Vietnam policy and other protests play no part in their trade unions and express contempt for them as a useless part of the "Establishment", useless, that is, as far as struggle is concerned and decide that they are something they don't want to take part in.

This is very incorrect. The growing participation of the young worker in trade union affairs is vital. It would bring a breath of

fresh air in and greatly aid the knocking of the old reformist illusions. These young people have not been conditioned to the ideas of social democracy; they would cause a headache to the old reformist leaderships and make the older militants think on a wider scale.

Every effort must be made to encourage the younger workers (and students when working in industry) to take an active part in their trade unions with emphasis on fellow Trade Unionists on the job and to try to introduce the politics of anti-imperialist struggle and finally the socialist objective into their struggles. The young worker of today is our future for tomorrow. It is through them that we will see the development of wide struggle to remove reformist ideas and revisionist leadership.

CLASS FIGHTERS OLD & YOUNG UNITE

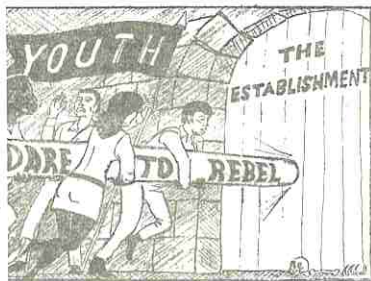
Our older militants must realise this. They must be patient with ideas that may seem a little "Haywire" and they must be prepared not only to advise **but to learn**. This particularly applies to our Party members in the trade union movement who must take great care of the younger militants as they emerge, not knocking them back but encouraging them to come forward.

As Mao Tse-Tung says:—

"The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking".

And this quotation is for those who are emerging through active struggle as leaders of youth.

"How shall we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There is only one criterion, namely whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice." (Mao Tse-Tung).



The Role of the People's Voice

Harold Crook

IDEOLOGICAL struggle must always develop in a Marxist-Leninist Party. Certain breaches of the fundamental principle of Democratic Centralism has pinpointed weaknesses in our attitude to the Party press.

The attitude of a refusal to distribute some issues of the P.V., because some Comrades did not agree with certain content, is an **extreme extension** of weaknesses which I feel are quite prevalent among us all.

Theoretically most of us are clear about the role of the P.V. We support it without too much thought as to its **role as an organiser**. As in all things, there are many sides to this.

Each week, the P.V. attempts to convey to Party members and people who read it, the day to day attitude of our Party to current developments; to analyse and explain Party policy as applied to the concrete objective situation in N.Z. political and economic life.

How well this is done depends on many factors. **The most important one is the amount of objective reporting to the P.V. editorial staff by the basic contacts with the N.Z. people, which is the rank and file of the Party.**

Given a fairly wide and accurate reporting from members, with which to integrate with the other sources of information, plus, of course, certain international Marxist-Leninist sources, a consistent Marxist line, based on the concrete realities of N.Z. life, can be continued each week.

In reporting the facts of any experience to the P.V. there are two sides of equal value. The assistance and participation towards content of the paper, keeping the editorial staff close to N.Z. reality, helps develop the Comrade reporters' ability to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the facts. And, this assists in the application of Marxism-Leninism to N.Z. objective conditions. So, that here the role of the P.V. becomes one of developing the mass line method of work in the field of seeing the facts and developing policy based on objective realities.

If, along with this, we develop criticism and self-criticism in an objective manner, this becomes an important side of supporting the P.V. **The collective mass line method of work is necessary to create an organiser** that consistently carries the line and policy of the Party, returning to the masses a systematic programme for action based on their own needs and demands.

This alerts the general membership of the Party in their

attempts to further apply the principles of class struggle based on Marxism-Leninism to the objective conditions of N.Z. life.

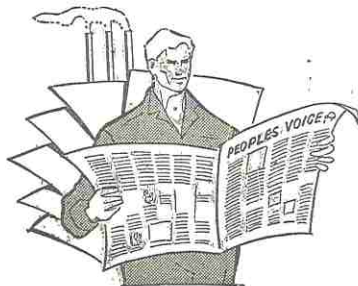
Weakness in developing this aspect of working with the Party Press is still persistent in our Party and is one which prevents the press playing its full role in building our Party.

The other aspect of the paper as an organiser is in how we use it, even if the first role of the paper were complete.

It is important that as many N.Z. people as possible be able to read our paper. To this end, every Party member and every contact we can encourage, should be an agent and distributor of the paper, as well as a contributor to its content and its financial support. This means attempting to make mass sales in pubs, on the street, meetings, etc. **Then, the paper itself becomes a means of carrying the Party line and policy to people.**

It is on the job, or elsewhere, where we have close contact with people that the role of the P.V. in building the Party is best realised. **Use the paper to start real polemics with people that will win them to a Marxist-Leninist outlook.**

This is the basic role of our press, whether in the form of pamphlets, bulletins, etc. Out of this successful application of personal and close contact with people will come the cadres and agents who will eventually ensure the mass distribution of our paper, as well as the continual improvement in the content.



**HAVE YOU FOUND A
NEW READER LATELY**

Roadblocks to Our Party's Progress

(Toiler)

MOST of the roadblocks preventing our Party from conveying to the working class the science of Marxism-Leninism, as a means of changing the world, are created within the Party. We fail badly when it comes to treating and dealing with people inside and outside the Party.

It is my belief that one must not only have a firm grasp of Marxism-Leninism, but be of tough moral and mental fibres to survive the vicissitudes of party life and working class struggle. More often we are unduly impressed by the ability to spin words, rather than on integrity, commonly known as honesty.

Many of us may never master the science of Marxism-Leninism — the highest, the noblest science of and for mankind — but all can play a part, make a contribution, within the vast framework of the class struggle.

I would say that the integrity of party members is regarded as good amongst industrial workers and their allies (Farmers, intellectuals, public servants. And although they are not always prepared to accept our lead they do expect a high standard of leadership and behaviour from us.

THE CLASS ENEMY ATTACKS

Our party is always under attack from the class enemy, and it is true that we often fail to counter attacks effectively.

For example, the legend is widespread that our party believes in violence, that we plan a violent change from capitalism to socialism. Change can only be brought about by the will, the great determination of the masses of the people. Our Party should be the vanguard in the struggles of the working class to maintain and improve working and living conditions and in the process sign-post the roads to socialism.

It is the ruling class, maintaining their privileged position by the power of the gun and violence that has to be fought by the power of the gun and violence.

Our Party does not advocate this in present conditions, the masses will decide when, what they have rightfully won has been wrested from them. History teaches us that all social systems with class contradictions, from slavery, feudalism, capitalism, make way for the next stage of man's development with violence. Violence is initiated by the old, the dying, carried through to victory by the new who are forced to maintain power through the "barrel of the

gun". It is the duty of the Communist Party to show the inevitability of this.

It is only in a higher stage of society, Communism, where classes have disappeared and man becomes master of his destiny will the need for violence cease to exist. Our dialectic method of thinking leads us to believe that in a class-less society, Communism, where no man makes profit from another's labour, violence, "power from the barrel of a gun" will cease to exist.

CRITICISM AND SELF CRITICISM POTENT WEAPON

The greatest obstacle to our Party's progress is our failure to make use of the very potent weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

If mistakes are made, by individual or collective action, they must be admitted and examined to find out the source.

Too often we tend to form into cliques, we are inclined to jump to the defence of condemnation of particular actions without examination. Consequently individual thinkers may feel isolated from the collective. This harms the party and our work among the workers on the job. Our Party is made up of individuals, who, after reasonable examination of a particular problem, strive to act collectively.

We complacently accept the fact that ideological struggle will always go on in the Party and that it is a healthy condition, but when we confuse correct Marxist ideology, when we confuse strategy with tactics, and in the process turn non-antagonistic contradictions within our party into antagonistic ones, the result is widespread confusion and distrust and consequently our work amongst the masses suffers accordingly.

Contradictions within our Party can be solved only by fearless and honest use of criticism and self-criticism. It is not enough to be critical in the collective, we must learn to be objective and critical with ourselves as individuals.

STUDY MARXISM AND LENINISM TO USE IT

In collective discussion of some problems it is not uncommon to be reminded with undue emphasis that if our ideological line is correct, so must be our practice. Agreed. **But the problem remains unsolved.** This presupposes that we have all mastered the science of Marxism-Leninism. This is most unlikely.

The study of Marxism-Leninism is a continuing process allied to the movement of life.

We do not move all at the same level. We are not all able to withstand the same pressures in this capitalist society. A strong class consciousness and a fairly sound knowledge of history coupled with a cursory study of Marxist theory is as far as most party members get. This is not to belittle study, particularly individual study of Mao Tse-Tung's works. **We are fond of quoting him without understanding the essence of his thought.** When reading "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" do we really understand the contradictions within our party, our class itself?

ON LEADERSHIP

The duty of a party member elected to leadership is to lead in practice and theory. All leaders make mistakes. If his or her mistakes cannot be corrected in the collective and will not be admitted to, the comrade should be removed from office. It is no disgrace. Have we not all taken heart from Chairman Mao's dictum that the patient should be cured, not killed? **If a comrade loses his position does he still not remain a proud rank and file member of our party?** As he or she reaches political maturity, political leadership is again open to them. But on the job amongst people a comrade can serve anywhere. Leadership in our Party is very important and responsible position for our country and people, infinitely more important than that of Holyoake and Kirk.

Liaison between branches, district committees and National Secretariat is not good enough. It is important that where possible leading organs of our party keep in personal touch with branches and District Committees. The basis of the organisational principle of Democratic Centralism is from the lower to the upper, from the upper to the lower, and no amount of circulars "sent down" can supplant this.

Party members should not have any doubts about the part they play in the process of mankind's emancipation. The historical role of the working class, guided by a Marxist-Leninist Party, thrown up from its ranks, is to change society. Engels said that the working class can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits it without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggle.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY GUIDE TO ACTION

The unplanned, social and productive forces of man work like the forces of nature, blindly, forcibly and destructively.

Marxist-Leninist theory, developed further by Mao Tse-Tung, and acted on in practice, directs these social forces so that they do not act blindly and destructively, but constructively and with disciplined vigour in time of social crisis.

Marx said, "Capitalism, brought into being by the laws of historical evolution, will be destroyed by the inexorable working of those same laws."

We assert quite frankly that the capitalist class will not resign from their privileged position in society peacefully, and it would be a crime against our class to say otherwise. The triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The conditions for revolution are generated in the capitalist system itself. If the conditions are not there, our Party cannot guide social unrest on the direct road to Socialism.

In the meantime we cannot allow ourselves to be dismayed by set-backs, ideological disputes, splinter groups, but get out amongst the workers and do patient sustained political work, for it is they who are the makers of history.

Ferment Rising in the Coalfields

(by young miner)

AMONG the miners of the Waikato coal fields there is a growing unrest at our present day wage structure and conditions.

Miners were often called "the aristocrats of Labour". Even now they are still well off as far as wages and conditions are concerned compared to other industries. But talking and listening to my workmates I can sense a ferment smouldering especially over our "measureups". Once a fortnight officials approach a miner and his mate and compare what they, the officials think, a particular pair of miners should get. This always leads to bickering and disputes as the officials never give what the miners think they should get.

A few years ago when the coal mining industry was economically better off miners used to get a better and quite fair measure up. In the last two years especially this year with the present economic system becoming worse the management are tightening up on all aspects particularly on the "measure ups."

This of course is bringing plenty of bitching and arguments among the workers, including maintenance workers and surface workers. You must realise that all other workers in the industry excluding staff are paid on a contract system so the more coal miners fill the bigger the contract.

Our branch members have tried with limited success to link up this question of the contract system and deteriorating wages with the struggle against Capitalism and the war in Vietnam. We have also tried getting direct action on these questions but so far without success. The workers in the industry still suffer, like most workers, from social democratic ideology and "lets sit around the table and discuss it" attitude.

The miners however are gradually awakening to this philosophy and I think that it won't be long before things hot up in the Waikato coalfields.

This is where I think we local comrades will have to keep our noses close to the ground and act correctly among the miners to bring forth a political awareness leading to Marxism-Leninism.

FERMENT NOT CONFINED TO MINERS

Among our local college students there has been quite a political awakening. Last year in sympathy with Moritorium Day in the USA, a whole class at the college wore black arm-bands.

A few weeks ago a bus load of college pupils travelled to Auckland to see a film on the rise and fall of Hitler. After this they

travelled to Western Springs and listened and spoke to Dennis Brutus. This did not arise through any activity of our branch. We had no contacts in the college and few with youth at all outside the industry.

I find less hostility to the Party now than a few years ago. People are more prepared to listen and discuss party philosophy with us, although only in a limited way. I am finding myself even in my limited practice with a more conscientious approach to people and in my practice with them. This is due I think to my fuller understanding of Comrade Mao's writings.

I urge all comrades to study Mao more fully as it is only when we Communists grasp the essence of his writings that we can fully prepare the N.Z. workers to struggle towards a socialist N.Z.



Combining Two Sides of Serving the Masses

(Housewife)

THE youngest, newest member of our Branch taught me a lesson the other day.

We were selling PVs at a factory gate where I have sold for years. Now the young Comrade is taking over the work.

It was a bitter cold day. I was thinking of how shivery I was feeling and concerned to sell the papers. All of a sudden, the young Comrade took off like a flash down the street. I didn't know what had got into him. Then I saw: an old man was handling crates of milk in order to get them into the factory. Our Comrade, in a modest, quiet way said a few words and then assisted the old worker.

How many older, more experienced Comrades would spontaneously act in this proper working class way? It was impressive as an expression of not just talking about serving the masses, but immediately seeing a need and attending to it.

Many of us have been served by the working class. Workers at this factory have worried about me when it was raining, etc. I saw this as an expression of their respect and care for the Party itself.

The seemingly small action I have described, showed a proper Communist concern for the material interests of a member of the working class. Our efforts to sell the People's Voice to workers of the factory, is part of the other aspect of serving the class — the raising of revolutionary class fighters.

“The struggle against the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere is a major question concerning whether the state will change its political colour, whether the Party will become revisionist and whether the people will degenerate.” **Peking Review** No. 30, 1969. Page 12.

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“In making revolution, we must also revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot succeed in making this revolution.” Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.

Trade Union Ideology Serves the Boss

(Rank & Filer)

WAGE earners can well ask themselves why it is that, in the most prosperous period of New Zealand's history, important gains, made in more difficult times, have been lost.

Why it is, for instance, that we have destroyed the eight-hour day; likewise the forty-hour week.

Why we have the unseemly scramble for overtime.

Why some workers have spare-time jobs, and sometimes even two full-time jobs.

Or why it is that we have a record number of working wives.

There is no doubt that these things have been brought about by the fact that the normal eight-hour day, forty-hour week wage has not kept pace with the flood of goods being poured out by the new techniques of mass production. Add to this the fact that we have now the most intense advertising campaign in history, aimed at convincing workers and housewives that these articles must be purchased today, not tomorrow.

Surely this is because the ideology of the Labour Party (social democracy) has been dominant in the leadership of the trade unions during these years.

These leaders have carefully built up such a bureaucratic structure over the years, that even those workers who realise the folly of longer hours, find it very difficult to break through the tremendous barrier of rules and regulations. While some of the union leaders will from time to time condemn overtime, they give it their tacit approval, because it keeps the worker supplied with enough money for his immediate needs. It also keeps him physically and mentally tired and in poor shape even to attend his union meetings where he might challenge the union "establishment". Consequently we find many unions run by committees dominated by full-time officials. And woe betide the few militants who, by attending union meetings, seek to alter this snug little empire! The leaders will suddenly spring into unprecedented activity to demonstrate the dangers arising from the irresponsible actions of militants and reds!

The leaders will even go so far as to bewail the apathy of the members for not attending their union meetings etc., but at the same time they are not slow to see the advantages of their absences. At least one large union in New Zealand is regularly being presented with remits to abolish elections for certain full-time officials and also remits to give those in authority power to veto nominations for positions of leadership.

Significantly, these proposals emanate from those already in authority. The reasons: to protect the members from their own folly of possibly electing an "irresponsible" person; also, the oft repeated accusation that workers are not capable of judging the situation anyway!

Marxism-Leninism and Education

(by Teacher)

AS a teacher, I often try to picture our New Zealand education system existing, not under a bourgeois-idealist regime, but under a scientifically-based system that China has succeeded in developing, where educational decisions are a joint effort of worker, student and teacher.

Education should be a means of informing the masses. Its end should be towards the establishment of a people's government by 'serving the people'. As a means of attaining this goal, it properly belongs in the hands of the people, not the intellectual minority.

The educational position in New Zealand seems to be one of preserving the status quo, no-change and conservatism.

The more outspoken or revolutionary teachers often are viewed with distrust and suspicion by their more timorous colleagues and by their 'superiors', who for fear of putting their comfortable positions in jeopardy, more often than not remain silent or noncommittal on issues of a political or controversial nature.

Footnote: This contribution, although very brief raises extremely important questions of the role of education as a part of the Superstructure. In studies on Foundation and Superstructure, our experience was that there was some difficulty in understanding how Education, basically served the class ruling the economic foundation. It is a part of the Superstructure that arises, on the Foundation, and **must serve it**. The contribution above, indicates such a role in N.Z. education.

We all need to get a great deal clearer on the relation of the political and ideological Superstructures and their role in the defence of the economic Foundation.

An article in the Peking Review No. 10, 1970 page 7 entitled, "Who Transforms Whom?" is very helpful in this connection. It is a criticism of the Soviet revisionist view on education and theory of knowledge and its opposite — the Marxist-Leninist theory on these questions It should be read and studied by all readers.

State Violence in U.S.A.

(by Worker)

WORLDWIDE struggles against mankind's No. 1 enemy — U.S. Finance Capital (Imperialism) are growing hourly.

New Zealanders, too, are struggling more and more against that same enemy.

In the United States, struggles on a national scale are at all-time high pitch. Many were triggered off by last month's murders at Kent State University. There state forces killed four students. (Note: National Guardsmen act as the home state army).

The whole history of U.S. Finance Capital is the history of state violence at home and Imperialist aggression aboard.

State brutality and murder has always protected Big Business interests in the U.S.A., against the working class and its struggles. Trade Unionism was born amidst terror, violence and murder.

To organise the working class was a crime. Joe Hill, murdered by the Utah Mining Company (now sharing juicy profits from Manapouri) and immortalised in song throughout the world, is a symbol of the long, long list of working class martyrs.

Some readers will remember celebrated frame-up cases: Haymarket murder (2), Vanzetti, Tom Mooney (born in N.Z., released after a lifetime in prison to die soon after).

As Unions began to organise new sections of industrial and agricultural workers, violence became the order of the day. Organisers were tarred-and-feathered, lynched and shot in the back.

Big companies hired gangsters as scabs who were protected by National Guardsmen. They killed "accidentally" many men and women pickets. The early 1930's were gory years:—

- . . Strikers were massacred at Ford's plant at River Rouge.
- . . Workers — disabled veterans of World War 1 marched in the hundreds of thousands on the U.S. Capitol. Near starvation they sought a few more crumbs to survive. They were met with "patriotic" speeches and bullets. Some were killed, many injured.
- . . A giant March of unemployed on Washington, D.C., was also fed bullets.
- . . Negroes were lynched throughout the Southern States.

"Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. War is politics continued by forcible means". U.S. state violence is Big Business politics continued by forcible means.

This is an objective law of capitalism. Its state is always armed against the working class — poised, ready to murder when necessary to preserve the economic interests of the capitalist class.

There is also a long history in the U.S. of betrayal of the working class. Numbers of Right-wing trade union misleaders channelled

militant trade union struggle into class collaboration. They protected Capitalism and built financial union empires for themselves.

Part of the history of class collaboration is the sell-out by white and "Uncle Tom" misleaders of the Negro working class. (Note: "Uncle Toms" are Negroes who sold out to white capitalism). They have done their utmost to divert Negro struggles into "peaceful and safe" channels; using racial fervour to isolate them from their white working class brothers.

To really understand the U.S. situation, appearances alone cannot give the answer. It is necessary to use a Dialectical-Materialist approach to understand the essence. Then, we can correctly evaluate historical developments and see in the present situation, what is new and emerging — the beginnings of revolutionary movement.

It will become obvious that Capitalism itself forces the workers to struggle. This is so, despite betrayals by those who claim to serve the working class. We will recognise that the working class inevitably throws up spontaneous struggles against wage slavery.

In N.Z. we have had experience of periods of militancy (such as we see today) followed by periods of relatively "peaceful" acceptance of class collaboration — arbitration. This has been the official policy of the trade union movement since the smashing of the Red Federation in 1913.

The present militancy has begun to break through this capitalist class weapon. Independent economic struggles by N.Z. workers has resulted in some temporary exceptional wage gains. Workers are beginning to use new forms of struggle.

The Government and Labour Party and its agents within the trade union movement, carry the banner for the Capitalist class. They strive with might and main to bring workers' struggles back into "safe" channels under the umbrella of arbitration. But, the gun is ready for use when this weapon fails.

In the U.S., where there is no Labour Party, the revisionist CPUSA fills the same role. But, new groupings based on the science of Marxism-Leninism are arising. They will ultimately find their way. Then a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party will be able to guide the storm of economic and political upheavals, welding the working class into a united army. It will inevitably overthrow the system of wage slavery in the United States.

The CPNZ has often correctly referred to U.S. Finance Capital (Imperialism) as the inheritors of Hitler's Fascist mantle. Open terror at home is growing. Abroad its role is well known to the peoples of the world.

The people's struggles in S.E. Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe, Oceania and elsewhere are all unified detachments of the working class of the world against Imperialism, headed by the U.S.

In New Zealand the working class must lead the struggle of all real patriots to throw out foreign monopoly (Imperialism). Our unified detachment will be part of the worldwide army.

Class battles of workers everywhere, are part of the class war of workers everywhere. "Workers of the world unite".

How Labour Party Ideology Serves the Capitalist Class

(This item was prepared by a young Party member as a contribution to his Branch over a year ago. It is a good and timely exposure of Labour Party ideology).

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS (i.e. the N.Z. Labour Party) claim that their Party represents and struggles for the hopes and ambitions of the majority of the people of all nations. Is this true? No. On the contrary, this is a fallacy.

While, it is true that the majority of their members, the rank and file of their Parties, are from the ranks of the working class, the structure and policies of the Social-Democratic Parties are aimed to serve Capitalism.

History and the experiences of the world's trade union, nationalistic and revolutionary struggles have proved this true.

Take the Labour Party here in N.Z. for example. It is true that the people of New Zealand gained a few conditions during the reign of the first Labour Government. But, these conditions weren't granted by the Labour Party leadership through their own goodness of heart or because they thought that the N.Z. Working class were entitled to them.

They were won because they were the needs and aspirations of the N.Z. people, after having gone through a long and arduous struggle — the depression years of thirty years ago.

At that time, the Labour Party advocated Socialism by means of parliamentary forms. They duped and fooled the N.Z. working class into believing that if they elected the Labour Party into Government, all they had to do was sit back and leave all their problems for the Labour Party to solve. This they managed to do and what happened? Today, the Labour Party has abandoned finally its platform of Socialism. **It has exposed itself in its true colours as a Capitalist party.**

Thirty years ago, Labour said it would bring in a living wage for a forty-hour week. They would nationalise banks, industries, etc. They would replace Capitalism by Socialism by parliamentary means. Have they done these things? No, because as we see today, not only here in N.Z. but in other countries also (i.e. England, Australia, etc.), the struggle by the workers is still going on for these things.

The Labour Party, along with all other Social-Democratic

parties, is a party raised by the Capitalist class in their hour of need to divert and hold back the rising tide of revolutionary struggle by the mass of the people for Socialism.

They succeeded, to some extent, temporarily, by throwing a few crumbs to the N.Z., and the other European countries' working classes, at the sacrifice of Asian and colonial peoples.

The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.

—Mao Tsetung.

Labour Party Attitude to People's War

(A Young Branch Member)

THE outlook of the Social-Democrats towards revolutionary and national liberation wars, is that of the most reactionary Capitalist party.

For example, instead of helping and cementing the struggles of the Asian and colonial countries in their struggles for liberation, they are most profound in their hatred of these revolutionary People's Wars and struggles.

As we can see in England today, the Labour Party which is the Government of England, has troops and planes in her colonies suppressing People's movements. For example, in Aden, British Guiana, British Honduras and in South East Asia (Malaysia).

On the other hand, when the Capitalists of Rhodesia defied the British Government and decided to deny the coloured people of Rhodesia their right to rule their own country, did the British Government send in troops to protect and help the coloured people? No, they did not. But, instead it imposes "sanctions" against the colony, which rather than affecting or forcing the Rhodesian Government to capitulate, is in fact, causing the majority of the Rhodesian people further suffering.

If, as in other colonies, the coloured people of Rhodesia decided to take their future in their own hands, no doubt the British Government would have sent troops to suppress this movement as quickly as they could.

This is the role of the N.Z. Labour Party too, regarding revolutionary struggle.

They advocate and defend the sending of N.Z. troops to Malaya and Borneo to suppress People's movements and to guard the profits of the big monopolists in these countries.

They have not denounced the Right wing elements in Indonesia for their wanton slaughter of hundreds of thousand of the Indonesian people. Nor, have they supported the Indonesian people in their struggle to overthrow this dictatorship.

While, they publically condemn the sending of troops to South Viet Nam, they say that even if they became the Government, N.Z. troops will stay there. They have, in fact, become a mouthpiece of American Imperialism.

Socialist Revolution is the Struggle Against Imperialism and Revisionism

This quotation is taken from an article "Strengthen Further the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" by the Writing Group of the Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee. (Peking Review No. 15, 1970.)

It is of particular importance to the N.Z. working class. The two major political tasks laid down by our National Conference, still the law for our entire Party are:—

- Build the Anti-Imperialist Movement.
- Fight Revisionism.

Actually, they are two aspects of our present-day struggle to abolish Capitalism and establish Socialism in N.Z.

Of particular interest is the stress on the inter-connection of the national and international tasks of the class struggle of the working class. Here is the material basis for our proletarian internationalism. This prevents us falling into bourgeois nationalism and yet, standing forth as the real patriots of N.Z.

Also, of great interest are remarks which allow us to see more clearly the tasks on both fronts.

The reference to the inter-connection of the tasks of the class enemy abroad and at home exposes Imperialism, headed by the U.S., as the common enemy of the workers of the entire world.

—Editorial Board.

"INTERNATIONALLY the socialist revolution means the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction."

Domestically, the socialist revolution means the struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other counter-revolutionary forces which attempt to stage a comeback.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie manifests itself in many ways and takes diverse forms. It sometimes manifests itself prominently in the political arena, sometimes prominently in the ideological-cultural field, and sometimes prominently in the economic field.

Although the struggle assumes different forms in these three fields, it centres on the question of political power.

The class enemies undertake counter-revolutionary disruptive activities in the political arena, demoralize and poison the masses in the ideological-cultural field, and take graft, embezzle public funds and engage in speculation in the economic field. Their criminal aim is one and the same, that is, to sabotage and disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If we look at things in an isolated way, paying attention to one aspect or one period only, or see only the superficial side and not the essence, we are following the metaphysical method and turning the complex class struggle into something simple.

We should view class struggle in these fields as inter-related

and not independent, and we should exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in an all-round way in the political, ideological-cultural and economic fields.

Chairman Mao points out: 'The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute.' (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People). Class struggles always have ups and downs, high for some time and then low for some time, rolling on like waves. We must understand and grasp this characteristic.

The internal class struggle and the international class struggle are inter-related. Experience in class struggle tells us that what the class enemy abroad tries to fan up is precisely what the handful of the domestic class enemy attempts to stir up.

Chairman Mao points out: 'It was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder.' (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People).

We must understand and be good at detecting this kind of enemy plot and smash all the enemy's disruptive activities by our great revolutionary unity."

" . . . power is in the hands of man, and man's actions are guided by his thinking. Whether we use this power well after seizing it back is, after all, determined by the revolutionization of man's ideology." **Peking Review** No. 30, 1969, Page 13.

" . . . the ideological revolution and the social revolution are inseparable." **Peking Review** No. 30, 1969, Page 13.

Man to be

Rewi Alley

Youth rebels; some
frown at organisation
stressing a need to be
completely free, while
demanding the cleanliness
of truth in all.

there is, of course,
freedom from self; that's what
the profit hogs claim
as their own; then does come
the understanding that tough
organisation for the straight way
forward, is truth in action.

for ever does the old society
cover its sores with lies;
how good it is to strip
gaudy clothing away, see
what lies beneath; clean wholesome,
or rotten, stinking!

real freedom is a kind
of cement, comradeship in daring
together; truth is like steel;
steel and cement together
can carry today's need
for a different species
of man, one which can grow
in service to the people
scornful of death, determined
to be no fake, or any kind
of cheap skate out on the make
this truly
the man to be.

—Peking, November 27th, 1969



