

New Zealand's

ROAD to
SOCIALISM

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NEW ZEALAND'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM

(Programme of the Communist Party of New Zealand)



FOREWORD

Today, all the capitalist-controlled mediums for influencing public opinion are falsely describing Communism and Communist methods.

The publication of anti-Communist views has become a major enterprise.

The most reliable way of studying Communism is from Communist Party publications.

This is the Communist Party programme for New Zealand. In it will be found the answer to such questions as:

In what direction lies the future of New Zealand?

Will New Zealand be dragged into another war?

What is the socialist objective?

What is the People's Movement?

What is the relationship of the Communist Party to the people?

Will Communism extend democracy?

Will our farms be nationalised?

Few New Zealanders have not considered our future, and even the few will be forced to think, as events unfold.

You may be asking yourself: In what direction should we travel?

Or you may believe that events have already decided this, and be more concerned about how to reach the socialist future.

In either case, the reading of this programme will cause you to think more about our problems, and, we hope, to do more yourself toward their solution.

V. G. Wilcox,

General Secretary,

Communist Party of New Zealand.

What is the Future of New Zealand?

The time has arrived for more serious thinking about the future of our country.

Will we be forced into an atomic war, with all its horrors of mass killing and destruction?

Will the markets for the overseas sale of our produce remain buoyant? Will we continue to have a standard of living among the best in the world?

Will we retain our democratic rights? Will New Zealand keep its sovereignty and independence?

These are questions that are being pondered deeply all over the country at the present time.

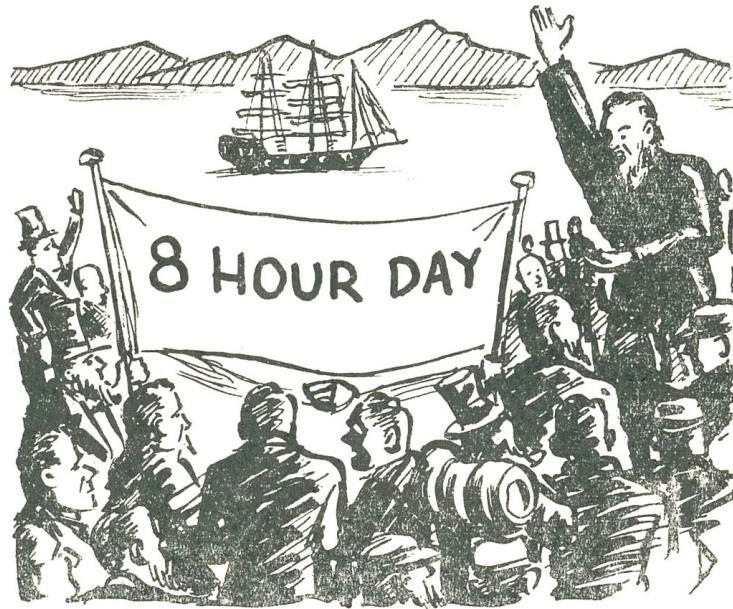
To understand the answers to them, it is first of all necessary to take a brief look at the origin of modern New Zealand, to see how it came into being and how it developed. Only then can we understand the world and local trends that are shaping our future.

The Past

New Zealanders have a right to be proud of the progressive achievements that have been pioneered in this country, and in the tradition of struggle by the people to attain a higher standard of living than most countries. From its beginnings as a British colony, to its present status as a legally independent nation within the British Commonwealth, New Zealand has, until recent years, in the main steadily progressed and developed.

The majority of the first settlers who came to New Zealand from Britain were workers and farm labourers, domestic servants and seamstresses. They faced a long and extremely uncomfortable voyage to the other end of the world to escape the wretched conditions under which they lived. They hoped for a new, better life in a better land. Moreover many of them had taken part in the great Chartist Movement for universal franchise and other parliamentary reforms, and they brought this spirit of struggle to New Zealand with them.

Their knowledge of what their new country would be like was slight but their ideas of the improvements in their life that they wanted there were much clearer. Even before the immigrant ships reached New Zealand, the workers on board had decided that when they arrived they would work only eight hours per day, and no more. On arrival, they stuck to this decision, and the first strike took place in Wellington in 1840 on that issue.



The working people soon found that while it did not bear as harshly on them as it had in Britain, owing to the shortage of labour in the first years, nevertheless the old economic system, with its relations of master and man, had been imported into the country with them. They could not get the things they wanted just by asking the employers. They had to win them by struggle.

There are two great periods of advance that put the eyes of the rest of the world on New Zealand. Each was the culmination of ever-growing struggles of the working people of town and country to have a greater share of the wealth they produced.

The first notable period was the heyday of Liberal politics under the Seddon Government—the 90's of last century. It came about as a result of an alliance of the city workers, with their struggle for recognition of their trade unions and for the eight-hour day; and of the small farmers and farm workers for the breaking of the grip on the land of the big runholders.

This alliance of interests was assisted by the leap in prosperity due to the development of refrigeration. (Refrigeration added greatly to the exports of New Zealand, making possible a tremendous expansion in the production of meat.) The alliance was able, then, to sweep into office a government that would carry out at least a portion of its wishes.

Old-age pensions and the allocation of Crown lands by ballot were the greatest achievements of this period.

The second great period of advance was from 1935-38. Again a similar alliance of town workers and the smaller farming interests grew up, welded by the great slump. The town workers wanted employment and a living wage. The small farmers wanted an adequate price for their agricultural products. Between them they put into office a Labour Government pledged to satisfy their desires.

This period gained the 40-hour week and basic wages, guaranteed the price of many farm products, and brought in all the benefits of the social security legislation.

The Problems of Today

Yet today, when the sum of New Zealand's productive wealth, primary and secondary, has reached an all-time record, the majority of the people are not becoming better off. On the contrary their standard of living is declining as the purchasing power of their income fails to keep up with rapidly-mounting prices. Modern developments have brought many changes that

vitality affect our people now, and threaten to have an even worse effect in the near future.

The great majority of workers cannot earn a living wage on the five-day 40-hour week. In order to maintain living standards the family income has had to be made up by the men working overtime or finding an extra job or sideline, or by their wives going out to work.

Small farmers are finding that the ever-rising prices of implements and fertilisers, as well as inflated land values, are in no way matched by the returns for their produce. Much of the results of their work is thus taken from them by the stock and station agents and other monopoly concerns, which make their profits from the hard work of the working farmers and farm labourers. No longer is good Crown land vacant and available cheaply.

Small-scale, individually-owned industry is overshadowed by the growth of large-scale monopolies. The small shopkeeper has been replaced by, or is threatened by, the chain stores.

The growth of monopoly is the main economic trend of our times. New Zealand has not been isolated from it. (The rapid expansion of Fletcher Holdings Ltd. is one example of this development.) Modern capitalism dominates our towns, and our countryside too. The vast majority of our people are wage and salary workers, or small farmers dominated by the great monopolies, including the stock and station agents and the banks.

New Zealand is no longer a land of cheap food and comparatively adequate housing. The rapid rise in the cost of living, with wages lagging far behind, is undermining the living standards of the whole people.

Politically, reaction is in the saddle, and is riding for the wealthy few.

Repressive laws are being put on the Statute Book. The trade unions, and all working-class parties and organisations are threatened by these laws. The police are given wider powers to deal with protests at the falling living standards. American influence is openly being accepted. There is a growing penetration of American capital, and American loans are being considered. (It was such loans that helped to ruin the economies of Britain and other European countries.)

But, worst of all, there is the dire threat of another world war. While there are increasingly desperate shortages of housing, schools, hospitals and electricity, more and more of our country's resources are being devoted to military camps, conscription and the purchase of armaments. Moreover, a flood of vicious and sadistic films and "comics", together with a torrent of inflaming propaganda in the daily press and over the radio, is poisoning the minds of our people—especially the children and young people.

We are being prepared to accept as inevitable, and even as necessary and useful, the almost unimaginable disaster of another world war.

Thus there is a developing crisis in the economic, political and social spheres.

Unless there are radical changes, our future is slump or war—or both!

What Is the Cause?

What is the root cause of this threat to our standards of living, and to our very lives? What stands in the way of our economic and social progress?

It is capitalism that stands in the way. Capitalism is the threat—the economic system of profit for the few, of ownership and control of the greatest portion of our industries and resources by a few monopolists, overseas and home-grown.

What Is Capitalism?

The basic feature of capitalist economy is the production of goods for sale for profit.

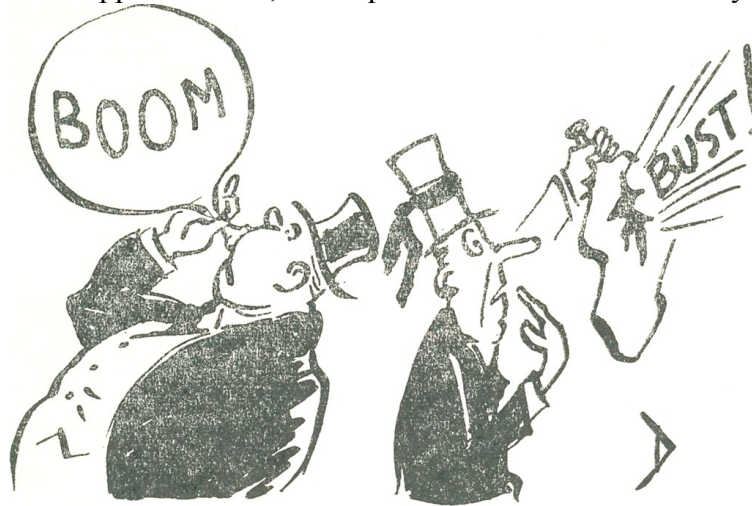
The most important of the means of production and distribution belong to a numerically

small class of persons. The vast majority of the people are compelled by this economic circumstance to work for the few owners. The working people have no option but to sell their ability to work. They are paid enough to keep themselves fit to work, and to bring up a new generation of workers to replace them.

The tremendous technical progress of the last 150 years is the great historical contribution made by capitalism to the advance of mankind. Though the price in human suffering by the working people has been severe (it made people willing to come out to New Zealand and colonise it!), yet the achievement is that it has become possible to produce the wealth of the world, the things we need, in ever greater abundance.

But while this tremendous development has gone on, the working people have continued to receive, as their share of it, no more than what is needed to provide their upkeep as workers and parents of new workers. In New Zealand this is determined by what is called “the cost of living” The workers under capitalism have always produced values in excess of their own cost of living. As mechanisation has developed, this surplus of values, above what has been needed to keep the workers and their families, has become a bigger and bigger proportion of total production. That surplus of values is what is divided up amongst the capitalist class.

As production per head has increased, the amount of this surplus in the hands of the capitalists has become more than they could spend on themselves. There has been “over-production”—that is, production greater than the workers could, buy, or the capitalists wanted to buy. So production has stopped at times, and capitalism has been wracked by periodic slumps.



These slumps ruined many owners, forcing them into the ranks of the workers. Those who survived took over what the ruined capitalists had owned, and grew bigger and richer. Ultimately this process led to the growth of huge monopolies, dominating whole industries, as well as finance and commerce.

As a solution for the recurring slumps, the capitalists sought new markets for their surplus goods, and new territories where their surplus wealth could be invested. These territories also became new sources of raw materials.

This went on all through the Nineteenth Century. Weak and backward countries were seized by powerful capitalist nations, either by force or trickery—or by a mixture of both, as in New Zealand. By 1900 the whole world was divided among a few major capitalist powers, who had thus built up huge empires. The era of imperialism, of capitalism in its imperialist stage, had been entered.

This era inevitably meant the decline of capitalism, for the solution of the problem of sale

and investment by forming great territorial and financial empires could be carried no further than the physical size of the world. Capitalism, which had to expand to live, could no longer expand.

Competition, which had been crushed and replaced by all-powerful monopolies on a national scale, reached an altogether new pitch of intensity on an international scale. Bitter struggles, with temporary and unstable agreements on spheres of influence, developed between the trusts, syndicates, cartels and combines of the various imperialist nations for the re-division of the world on the basis of their shifting relative strengths.

The law of survival of the huge monopolies of each imperialist nation became, in the words of Stalin:

“The securing of the maximum capitalist profit, through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country; through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries; and, lastly, through wars and militarisation of the nation’s economy, which are utilised for the obtaining of the highest profits.”

Of course, the full effects of this new law of existence for capitalism in its imperialist stage were not felt completely or immediately in all countries. Nevertheless it set the inevitable trend of development. Above all, it led to two world wars between the imperialist powers for the re-division of their spheres of economic and political domination.

These were wars such as the world had never known before, with the forcible mobilisation of the whole nation to fight them and to pay for them.

But far from solving the problems of imperialism, they only intensified the great general crisis into which capitalism, in its imperialist stage, had run. Instead of expanding the sphere of economic and political influence of imperialism, the result of these two world wars has been the withdrawal from this sphere, first of Russia, and later of other countries.

In trying to strangle these countries, which are now socialist or heading that way, by the economic pressure of refusing to trade with them, the imperialist nations, since World War II, have only made their own economic position even worse still.

Today the U.S.A., strongest of the remaining imperialist powers, has geared its whole post-war policy to securing its dominance over other nations and to the endeavour to build up an alliance of satellite capitalist countries, with the aim of attacking the socialist countries, and of forcibly restoring them to the fold of imperialism. They decry the natural reluctance of these countries, where the people had to make strenuous efforts to abolish the exploitation of man by man, as the most unreasonable lack of co-operation.

But the apparent unity behind this American policy is proving more and more to be only surface deep. For, while the imperialists of every country undoubtedly would like to see the socialist countries made to restore capitalism again, nevertheless their own imperialist interests come into sharp conflict with those of the U.S.A.

The American policy, therefore, is a great threat to world peace, not only from the possibility of a war between the capitalist and socialist countries, but from the even greater possibility of a new war between the imperialist powers, as the defeated aggressors of the last world war are rearmed and become powerful enough again to seek that re-division of the world which they failed to achieve in World War II.

Moreover the drive by the imperialists for the utmost exploitation of the people of their own country leads to the bitter resistance by the latter to the attack on their standards of living. And the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially the backward countries and colonies, have led to their present-day struggles for national

independence.

The imperialists become ever more ruthless in their attempts to suppress these movements of the people, both at home and abroad. Taking ever more direct control of the reins of government, they pass repressive laws, which, under the guise of protecting democracy, destroy the democratic rights of the people of their own country. Abroad, they intervene more and more brazenly against the people's struggles for independence. But, in both cases, they only arouse further the resistance of the peoples, as the latter begin to see through the torrent of lies about the "Communist menace", with which the imperialists try to cover their attacks.

Is New Zealand Different?

In New Zealand, this process of declining living standards and disappearing democratic rights, though visible, is not nearly as advanced as in other countries. This fact leads the majority of New Zealanders to a belief that there is something special about New Zealand which guarantees that this trend will never develop greatly.

But these differences do not come about because the basic law of development of modern capitalism (imperialism) does not apply to New Zealand. They arise because, up till now, certain historical economic factors, more or less peculiar to New Zealand, but disappearing today, have restricted the full operation of this law.

New Zealand has, up till now, retained a favoured position.

It was founded as an offshoot of Great Britain at a time when that nation was supplying the industrial needs of the whole world. As Britain developed a rich and powerful empire, the British imperialists made such tremendous profits by the thorough-going exploitation of the colonies that it paid them to concede a standard of living above mere subsistence level to at least a top section of the British workers. This provided a sure market for our rapidly increasing primary production.

Our relatively high standards of living have been based partly, therefore, on the misery and poverty of the colonial peoples generally, and, in particular, of the peoples of Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Today that basis is disappearing. Britain is no longer as rich and powerful, and the colonial peoples are fighting for, and winning, their independence.

Another factor that, up till recently, has helped New Zealand to retain a favourable position, but which, by its nature is also disappearing, is that the first white people came here to land with a virgin, fertile soil. There was high productivity at low cost. The initial capital cost of "buying" the land from the Maoris was also low.

Today this factor no longer exists.

The temporary prosperity of New Zealand is based, in the main, on the high prices received for the products of our primary industries— particularly wool, meat and dairy produce. A fall in the price of any of these would create serious economic difficulties.

Every indication points to the beginning of this process.

As the temporary factors that have restricted the full working of the basic law of modern capitalism (imperialism) disappear, therefore, we see the near future of New Zealand as one in which it will come into full operation with disastrous force. The



crisis which grips all capitalist countries has started to affect New Zealand.

Another slump in the capitalist world has not been averted by rearmament, but only postponed. The new burdens that rearmament has placed on the people have, even though rearmament has temporarily prolonged the period of full employment, created the conditions for an even more acute slump.

No Further Advance Possible Under Capitalism

The old system has reached its end. The time for big changes has now arrived. Capitalism cannot solve the problems of the day. They are of its own making.

All existing political parties, except the Communist Party, stand for a continuation of capitalism. That is why political victory for the Labour Party cannot basically alter the situation, nor can any new party rise which can administer capitalism in the interests of the people.

That is why the most conscious people in the Labour Party were dismayed to find that things were just about the same after 14 years of the Labour Party in office, despite some excellent, progressive legislation, within the framework of the capitalist system, in the first few years of the Labour Government.

The last few years of the Labour Government and the following years of the National Government prove that both, in practice, aid the growth of monopoly. It was with a Labour Government that the first home-grown monopolies arose (Fletchers, Kerridges, for example). And, at the same time, the older overseas monopolies (such as the P & O. shipping line, the big freezing companies, the Colonial Sugar Refinery) continued to grow stronger.

The Labour Party and the National Party both claim to be opposed to the growth of monopoly, but it grew under the Labour Party, and it grows today under the National Party.

The domination of the country's policies by United States imperialism, with its consequent threat of dragging New Zealand into American-sponsored wars, existed and exists under both parties.

The threat of capitalist crisis and slump remains under both parties.

The Labour Party disappointed the workers because it allied itself with big business, supported capitalism and rejected socialism.

Its activities are based on the present (capitalist) system. Therefore, in reality, it can, and does, only serve the interests of the capitalists. That is why the Labour Government restricted the rights and activities of the trade unions, attacked strikers, deregistered unions and conducted anti-working class activities, while, at the same time, it protected the interests of the monopolists.

Only Socialism Can Solve Problems of N.Z. Today

It is only by getting rid of the capitalist system, and replacing it with a socialist system, that New Zealand's problems can be solved. Socialism alone can guarantee the people a good life, lasting peace and steadily rising living standards.

Capitalism itself, in its development in accordance with its own economic laws, determines what can be the only solution to the problems it creates.

It concentrates the productive resources into the hands of a few owners, and makes the process of production one that involves the efforts of the whole of society. Thus capitalism provides the material basis for the only possible new society. All that is necessary is to substitute social, public ownership of the means of production for the existing private ownership. Then it is possible to organise the resources of the country, not just for the profit of the small class of owners, but for the use of the people.

Socialism cannot avoid the heritage of capitalism. It has shortages to overtake.

It also inherits, at first, the attitude to work that was ingrained in the workers by capitalism—do no more than one has to, because the fruits of extra work only go to the boss anyway. Under socialism, therefore, people must be paid on the basis of what kind of work they do, and how much of it. In time production increases, and new attitudes to work develop as workers find out that the more they do now the more they get. Socialism develops into Communism, in which people work without compulsion and share the wealth on the basis of their needs.

Socialism means the end of slumps and unemployment. What is produced can be sold, since none of it goes to private profit. Purchasing power keeps pace with increasing production, which becomes a benefit, not a threat, to living standards.

Socialism, when it exists on a world scale, will mean the end of wars and the beginning of permanent peace.

There is no longer any class that wants to find cheap labour, new sources of raw materials, new markets, or has any interest or advantage in exploiting colonial or other peoples.

Socialism Increases Personal Freedom

Socialism tremendously extends democratic liberties.

Ownership of the means of production gives the capitalists the wealth to organise the repressive forces, the state, to protect that ownership. It has made them able at any time to impose their will by force, acting under the laws they themselves have passed.

They have conceded only such democracy as they felt was no threat to their economic and political domination. They will not concede it at all within such important state forces, as, say, the armed forces. Nor have they ever willingly handed out any democratic freedoms to the people, who have had to struggle hard to gain any new liberties.

From the very first days of the British settlement of New Zealand, a long battle has been waged by the working-class movement for democratic rights.

Today, we are finding these hard-won rights are being taken away by such measures as the Police Offences Bill and the amendments to the Arbitration Act. All liberties of the working people have been severely curtailed—the right to strike, to conduct trade union affairs without state interference, to speak on the streets or to hold demonstrations, to agitate for better living conditions or express views contrary to those of the capitalist class on the radio, in schools, universities and other institutions.

When workers' rights are restricted, the capitalists' rights are extended—their right to

suppress strikes, to interfere with the conduct of trade union affairs, to prevent street meetings or demonstrations, to suppress the freedom of expression of views hostile to their own. The liberty of the capitalist to exploit the worker, to encourage national and race hatreds and to foment wars—this is increased in proportion as the liberty of the workers is restricted.

Conversely, the liberty of the working people is enlarged in proportion as that of the capitalist class is curtailed.

Socialism ensures the real liberty of the working people by abolishing the liberty of the capitalist to own and control industry and finance for his private gain.

The State under Socialism

Socialist theory (Marxism) does not advocate the worship of the state, nor do any of the governments of the socialist countries, despite the endless assertions of the propagandists of capitalism.

The state, at all periods of human history that it has existed, has been a repressive weapon in the hands of the owning and ruling class in any society.

Under socialism it will, for the first time, carry out the will of the majority, since, for the first time, the working people, who are the majority, will be the owning and ruling class. Under socialism, therefore, the state is the instrument by which the working class carries out its will.

The repressive aspects of the workers' state will be directed against remnants of the old ruling class as they try to struggle for the return of their own ruling position. But, as class divisions disappear under socialism, then the need for the state will disappear. Naturally this will not just happen overnight. When the state disappears, there will remain the co-operative organisation of the people for production.

The Freedoms of Socialism

Socialism means freedom for the vast majority of the people—freedom from poverty and insecurity, freedom from the fear of war. It means freedom for all men, women and children to develop their capacities and use their initiative to the full, since this will be in the interests, of the socialist economy.

- For women it will mean equal rights with men in the social, political and economic life of the people.
- For young people it will mean the opening of great opportunities, with the resources of the whole nation to help them.
- For the family it will mean a real home life, free from poverty and fear of unemployment—a life full of interests, based on security and a new respect for the individual.

The dictation of policy by the wealthy few makes way for the dictation of policy by the many—the workers, small farmers, middle class, scientific and cultural workers.

Socialism Is Not Just a Theory

Socialism is not just a theory. It has already been tested in practice and proved its superiority to capitalism.

During the great depression of 1930-35 there was no unemployment in the Soviet Union. It was the Red Army that “tore the guts out of the German Wehrmacht” (Churchill). In post-war reconstruction it has again proved its economic superiority. In the Soviet Union wages have been rising and prices falling. There have been annual price reductions since 1947. The vast increases in production go to the benefit of the people.

Giant tasks are being undertaken in the current Fifteen Year Plan.

Tremendous forests are being planted to change the weather of whole regions and bring them into farm production.

Large canals, dams and irrigation works are being constructed. There are colossal increases in hydro-electric development.

By 1955 production will be double that of 1950, when it was already 70 per cent above that of 1940.

For these giant construction works peace is essential *to* the people and government of the Soviet Union. Unjust wars bring nothing but misery and disaster to the working people of all countries.

Consequently the Soviet Union, in defending peace with all its might, does so not only in the interests of its own people, but, at the same time, in the interests of all humanity. This is the reason for the constant propaganda for peace inside that country, and the repeated proposals in the United Nations for banning atomic weapons and reducing armaments, for making war propaganda a criminal offence (as it is in the Soviet Union), and for a meeting of the leaders of the five biggest powers to sign a pact of peace.

The same story comes from the People's Democratic Republics of Eastern Europe, where *they* have abolished capitalism and are setting out on the road of building socialism.

In the Chinese People's Republic, too, with its 602 million people (a quarter of mankind), they have overthrown the alliance of native landlords and foreign imperialism. They are proceeding with the industrialisation of their country, with socialism as their objective.

Within a very short time the heritage of violent inflation was overcome, and earnings given a real purchasing power. Flooding, the age-old curse of the Chinese peasants, has been vigorously tackled and is, in the main, controlled. Their extremely primitive farming is being put on a modern, mechanical basis.

In all this developmental and construction work, both in Eastern Europe and in China, technical and material assistance from the Soviet Union is speeding the timetable of their growth. Here is a real act of unparalleled generosity\

In all these countries the body whose leadership the people have accepted to make these tasks possible has been the Communist Party.



Who Will Institute Socialism in New Zealand?

How then is socialism to be achieved in New Zealand?

Capitalism will not just grow into socialism unnoticed by the people. It will not be achieved just by voting out one party and voting in another to Parliament. More than that is needed!

To take the path to socialism, the people must first win real political power. To do this a People's Alliance must be built up, consisting of all those whose interests are threatened by monopoly capitalism, with its drive for maximum profit.

The wage and salary workers of New Zealand, in town and country, make up the great

majority of our people. Together with these the working farmers, small shopkeepers and other small business men, the teachers and other professional workers—all these make up an overwhelming majority.

When an alliance of all these, whose interests, future security and prospects are today in jeopardy, is built, then a mighty force will be created that will be capable of sweeping away the tiny minority of exploiters.

In this People's Alliance the organised industrial working class, in its mass organisations, the trade unions, will play the leading role.

The industrial working class has the historical role and mission of leading forward all sections of exploited people. It has this role because it is connected with modern, large-scale machine industry, the material foundation of socialism. Moreover, the industrial working class was created, brought together, organised and taught solidarity by the development of capitalism itself. Its complete lack of any economic stake in capitalism makes it the most consistent class pressing for change. The organised workers, therefore, as the advanced class, have the ability to inspire, rouse and lead this democratic coalition.

Today this potentially mighty political force, the working class, is split by the right wing leaders of the Labour Party and the Federation of Labour.

It is the task of the Communist Party to overcome this split, and to unite and organise the working class so that it can play its leading role.

The Communist Party will at all times oppose and expose the splitting moves and acts of betrayal of these leaders, who no longer work for any of the real ideals of labour.

In doing this, the Communist Party sees it is absolutely necessary to distinguish between the small group of right wing misleaders, who are conscious betrayers of the working class, and the great majority of the rank and file who are in the branches of, or support, the Labour Party and the Federation of Labour. The latter have the class interests of the working class, however much they may temporarily have been misled by the former.

The Communist Party sees that unity of the working class can be built among the rank and file workers, irrespective of their present political affiliations, on the basis of common action around their immediate common demands. With correct leadership and explanation before such struggles against the employers, a correct lead during the struggle, and further explanation after the struggle, the workers will learn from their own experience the role that the right wing misleaders and betrayers play.

This is the only way in which the latter can be exposed in the eyes of the workers. This task of exposure cannot be neglected, because there will be no real unity of the working class until it has been achieved.

The struggle for the unity of the working class is, at the same time, the struggle to build its conscious understanding of its own strength and ability to lead and inspire the whole People's Alliance.

All other sections will begin to accept the leadership of the working class to the extent that they are convinced that it is to their advantage to do so. The working class must consciously assist, in particular, the working farmers to solve their problems. New Zealand history has twice demonstrated the power of such an alliance—in the days of Seddon, and in the days of Savage.

Women in the People's Alliance

There can be no People's Alliance unless women, half the population, are drawn into activity. Women have everything to gain. Only in this way can they end their unequal position in

society, which is historically based on their separation from production, and thus from public life.

Women have all the more to gain in equal opportunity and pay, and in the ending of wars, which are a double sorrow for them! For modern wars are waged against women and children too.

Youth in the People's Alliance

Nor could there be a People's Alliance without the youth.

The youth make up that energetic, self-sacrificing and enthusiastic force without which victory for the People's Alliance would be impossible.

All the forces of capitalism aim to regiment the youth today. It wants their cheap labour power. It wants them for war. Schools, the press, the radio, lurid "comics" and films are all aimed to prepare their minds for war. Conscription is aimed to militarise the youth, using special mind-training courses to make them hate the socialist countries and the working-class movement.

The youth must be won, not only to save them from a degradation like that of the nazi youth, but, more positively, to give them a really worthwhile role as the indispensable fighting force of the People's Alliance.

Your Paper is...

The People's Voice

Read and circulate the People's Voice, the voice of New Zealand's bright future.

The only New Zealand weekly paper that fights for peace and socialism.

Read the exposures of the monopolies in New Zealand.

Follow the activities of the world movement for peace, and the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom.

The People's Voice is the people's paper.

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Subscription: Annual 20/-, three monthly 5/-, per copy 6d.

Obtainable from P.O. Box 2197, Auckland, or 109 Nelson Street, Auckland, C.I., or from your nearest Communist Party branch.

What Will People's Alliance Do?

Before a socialist economy can be built up, the People's Alliance, this mighty organised movement of the people led by the working class, must win real political power.

It must establish People's Power, with a People's Government to carry out its will.

The strength of such a government will rest not on the forces of the old capitalist state, but on the power of the people's democratic organisations, particularly those of the organised industrial workers.

Positions of authority in the administration, the police, the judiciary and the armed forces will be occupied by determined and loyal supporters of the People's Power.

The core and basis of People's Power will be the organisation of the workers, organised at their place of work, particularly in the basic industries of New Zealand. They will be the main force that will ensure that the People's Power will be able to deal quickly and effectively with any resistance from the capitalists. The People's Power, under their leadership, will break the power of the monopolists and their supporters, and prevent any attempts at sabotage or to re-introduce the power of the old order.

Parliament will be transformed into a genuine instrument of the people.

It will become not only a legislative, but also an executive working body, drawing the whole people into active participation in the administration of the laws it passes.

The growth of a vast network of popular committees, drawn into the task of assisting administration, will make the People's Power a thousand times more democratic than the present system that limits our rights to voting every three years, and being powerless in between elections.

Parliament will be composed of the true representatives of the people. These representatives will be subject to recall by their electors at any time. Electoral reform, with proportional representation, will give equality of representation to all. Voting will be the right of all over the age of 18.

Role of N.Z. Communist Party in People's Alliance

The leading role of the working class, and the need for its unity if it is to play its leading role, have been stressed. It has also been stressed that this leading role must be consciously understood by the workers themselves.

To fulfil this role and gain this consciousness, the working class must base its actions on the teachings of Marxism, the only scientific elaboration of the laws of development of human society.

The Communist Party is the only party that bases itself firmly on this foundation of Marxist theory to guide its actions. Thus the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class in the fight for the glorious socialist future.

The Communist Party is the party of the working class. It demonstrates its seriousness of purpose, and its sincerity, by submitting all its policies to the most thorough-going criticism and self-criticism. It openly and frankly discusses its mistakes in order to correct them, and to render better service to the working people, of which it is part.

It invites criticism from the people in the interests of developing policies that really are in the interests of the people themselves.

The Communist Party refutes as baseless the slanderous allegation that it aims to become a single-party dictatorship.

The whole tenor of this programme proves that only the people can institute People's Power

and build socialism. The Communist Party will work with other political parties on points of common interest in the great struggle to defeat capitalism and to build a socialist society.

The Communist Party is a voluntary organisation that unites in its ranks the most advanced, active and resolute sons and daughters of the working class, together with those from other social classes who understand the necessity of accepting the standpoint of the interests of the working class.

History proves that only such a party can lead the working class, and the whole people, along the road to socialism. Having no other interests than those of the working class, the Communist Party will devote all its energies and resources to building unity in the working class, and the broad popular alliance, for the winning of the victory of People's Power, the political basis of building socialism.

World Conditions in Which N.Z.'s Road to Socialism Will Be Travelled

New Zealand will find her own road to People's Power and socialism. It will be in accordance with her own historical traditions, her own economic level, her own political development and way of life, and her own forms of organisation.

It would be neither desirable nor practicable to try to copy, in all details, the developments in other countries that have turned to socialism.

New Zealand's road to socialism will, however, be largely determined by the prevailing conditions in the world, from which New Zealand cannot be separated. The economic conditions and political conditions that exist in the world vitally affect New Zealand, and will naturally affect the tasks of the People's Alliance.

Two Camps—1. Camp of War

The world is divided into two camps today.

In one camp are the imperialist powers, who are for the restoration of capitalism throughout the world by war. They seek to deceive the peoples into supporting their aggressive aims.

Capitalism fears the peaceful competition of socialism. It hopes by war to put back the clock of progress. This preparation for war is led by the monopolists of the U.S.A., but the monopolists of Britain, France and other countries, including our own, also have no love for the socialist countries, or for the world-wide movement of the peoples towards socialism.

The other imperialist powers have looked for help from the U.S.A. to rebuild after the war. The U.S.A. has given such "help" as will keep in power governments that will follow the American policy, and will build up those countries militarily as subordinate allies of the U.S.A. in its war aims.



The other imperialist powers want this help, but they also have their own imperialist aims, which are in conflict with those of the U.S.A. all over the world. They are torn between the aim of working with the U.S.A. to overthrow socialism, which turns out to be damaging to their own economy and advantageous to that of the U.S.A.; and the aim of looking after their own economic interests, even if that means accepting as beyond change the fact that the socialist countries exist—and are worth trading with in the interests of their own economy. More and more the other imperialists are tending to follow the latter course.

However, the New Zealand governments, whether Labour or National, have, in the post-war period, been placing themselves, the country and its people at the disposal of U.S. imperialism.

They have accepted its orders, and have embarked on rearmament and conscription at the obvious dictates of the U.S.A. It is useless for Labour leaders to protest at minor inroads of American capitalism (as opposed to British) when they support to the full the drive-to-war policy of the U.S. Government.

The U.S. imperialists have ringed the world with air, navy and army bases.

They continually strive to influence the policy of all countries, especially those near to, and bordering on, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

They are stockpiling atom and hydrogen bombs, and continually turn their faces away from proposals to ban these weapons. They also refuse, in company with Japan, to sign the international convention that bans germ warfare. They have embarked on a colossal arms programme which dwarfs anything Hitler ever dreamed of.

Their policy is impoverishing America, and every other country which follows them, in the interests of the mad drive to war for maximum profit. They have made a farce of U.N.O., whose decisions have too often been those of the U.S. State Department. They have aimed to make U.N.O. an obedient instrument of their aggressive designs.

Two Camps—2. Camp of Peace

The other camp, the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, is led by the Soviet Union.

It embraces not only the governments and peoples of the socialist countries, but also the vast majority of the ordinary peoples of the capitalist countries, who are daily showing their determination not to be herded into a war that is against all their interests.

Of these two camps, that of peace is by far the stronger. Out of it has grown the organised World Peace Movement which has rallied hundreds of millions to the cause of peace, and helped them to make their voices heard.

The insistence of the peoples of the world on their demand for peace has already led to the truces in Korea and Indo-China. These truces have been severe diplomatic rebuffs for the American policy, and for all who follow it in other capitalist countries.

However, the organised peace movement of today is not, by its nature, able to end for ever the danger of wars. It can show, and has shown, its ability to stop particular wars that have started or look likely to start. But to end the threat of war once and for all, it is necessary *to* end capitalism, which, in its imperialist stage, inevitably drives to war. The modern peace movement does not have a socialist aim, but only the aim of maintaining the peace at any particular time.

The People's Alliance Must Fight for Peace and Independence

The strong stand for peace by the millions of ordinary people, aided by the conflicts of economic interests among the imperialists themselves, has achieved successes which show that it

is perfectly possible that all international problems can be settled by peaceful negotiation—if the peoples put sufficient pressure on the warlike governments.

These successes prove that the people can force their governments to carry out their foreign policies in the spirit of negotiation on which U.N.O. was founded. There must be the utmost people's struggles to this end.

Certainly the idea of settling international disputes by peaceful negotiation is growing in New Zealand, especially among the rank and file and supporters of the Labour Party—the majority of the working people of New Zealand.

A vital factor in preserving peace is the struggle for the maintenance of our independence.

New Zealand has emerged a legally sovereign nation. Nevertheless New Zealand governments in the past have always supported the policies of the British Government. There is one notable exception. That was when Mr Jordan supported Litvinov in the League of Nations, opposing the British Government's policy of assisting German and Italian aggression in Spain under the guise of "non-intervention".

The retreat from this independent policy helped to pave the way for World War II.

If the New Zealand Government continues its present policy of allying itself to U.S. imperialism and signing treaties that make half the world our enemies, then our national interests are being betrayed in the interests of a foreign power.

Under the conditions of the Japanese Peace Treaty, which New Zealand signed at San Francisco, the rearmament of Japan is taking place. This is a dire threat to us in the Pacific. Our participation in the ANZUS Pact and SEATO Treaty, where we are committed to taking part in America's war plans, sinks our national independence, and makes us a pawn in the war camp.

The preservation of peace faces the People's Alliance with the task of ensuring that New Zealand maintains her independence by withdrawing from the war camp.



People's Alliance Finds Its Tasks and Grows in Struggles against Effects of Imperialist War Policies

In New Zealand only a tiny few profit by war and by preparation for war.

The vast majority, those who make up the basis of the People's Alliance, together with those of the capitalist class whose business is being hurt by a war economy have a real need for different international policies.

Instead of the "cold war" policy, their real need is for a policy of peaceful co-existence and mutually advantageous trade with the countries of the socialist sector of the world.

However, though more and more are becoming aware of the real nature of the policies that the New Zealand Governments have been pursuing, the majority is still misled by the

propaganda for the necessity of these policies because of the so-called “Communist menace”.

Nevertheless, the people of New Zealand, if they are not aware of the causes of these policies, are certainly aware of their effects.

They see their living standards and the buying power of their incomes declining; they see the shortage of schools, hospitals and electricity; they see the closing of mines, railways and departments that aided the sport of the peoples; they see spiralling prices and record company profits; they see the potential horror of the H-bomb; they see the whittling away of trade union rights; and they see many other things. They do not recognise these things as the result of the war policies of the Government, but they hate these things they see none the less for that. **All over the country spontaneous protests develop against these things that the people see and do not like.**

In these protests are the embryo of the People's Alliance.

At first scattered and spasmodic, unaware of the issues involved, these struggles bring the people up against the real facts of modern political life.

It is the task of the Communist Party to help lend greater organisation to these struggles, and to lead them so that the people, by their own experience, learn the truth about the war policies of the imperialists.

It is the task of the Communist Party to explain this truth to the people, especially on the jobs, among the workers *in* the basic industries of this country.

As the people understand more of the real truth about the Government's policies, their organisation will grow at first on the basis of a struggle against the particular policies of a particular government.

These struggles will be the basis of the further growing consciousness of the industrial workers and other sections to a point where they understand that what is needed is not just a change of government, but a complete change of policies. Later still, as a result of the struggles for the policies they want, the growing People's Alliance will learn that, to get these policies carried out, it is necessary to sweep away the power of the capitalists, and to replace it with their own power—the power of the people.

Such is the general path of the development of the People's Alliance from its first spontaneous, unconscious protests against the effects of the *decay* of capitalism, to the conscious, organised setting up of its own power to carry out policies in its own interests.

To set out the exact path is beyond the power of forecast.

What sort of struggles the People's Alliance will find itself compelled to take part in, whether completely peaceful or involving the use of some force, does not rest with the decision of the People's Alliance. It rests with the capitalist class. The latter can be expected to resist most bitterly to the very end.

What forms their resistance will take will depend, to a certain extent, on what help they will think they can get from other capitalist countries. Certainly the struggles of the People's Alliance, in its growth and development, will not be smooth or easy.

But, whatever the details of the road to People's Power and Socialism, there is nothing more certain than that it will be successfully traversed. For the alternative for the people of New Zealand under modern capitalism, in the latter half of the twentieth century, is rapidly declining living standards and atomic war. These things the people of New Zealand will not tolerate.

JOIN UP HERE

Having read “New Zealand’s Road to Socialism” you will want to get in touch with the Communist Party and join in the struggle for a free and peaceful future.

For information on Communist Party activities, how to join the Party and other inquiries, contact the Party at any of these addresses:

AUCKLAND: Room 37, St Kevin’s Arcade, Karangahape Road. Phone 48-723.

WELLINGTON: 125 Cuba Street. Phone 53-528.

CHRISTCHURCH: P.O. Box 1000. Phone 88-015.

DUNEDIN: Mr E. W. Hunter, 38 Pine Hill Street, N.E.I.

GREYMOUTH: Mr R. Taylor, 32 Marlborough Street. Phone 1033X.

ALL OTHER DISTRICTS: **Organising Secretary**, P.O. Box 1785, Auckland. Phone 45-526.

A PEOPLE'S PROGRAMME

A People's Government, using its power arising from the strength of the popular alliance, would have to carry out the following tasks, without which real advance would not be possible:

Make New Zealand free and independent. End all foreign domination. Withdraw from the ANZUS and SEATO agreements.

Base all foreign policies on the obtaining of a pact of peace between the five great powers (Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France and China), and on the settling of all international disputes by peaceful negotiation. Give diplomatic recognition to the Chinese People's Republic, and work for its admission to U.N.O.

Work for the banning of atom and hydrogen bombs, of napalm bombs, of germ and chemical warfare, and of any other weapons of mass destruction that may be developed.

Make war propaganda a criminal offence.

Develop trade with all countries where this is of mutual advantage.

Withdraw all troops from Malaya, Korea and Cyprus, and take no further part in the suppression of the movements of the colonial peoples for national independence.

Break the power of the big capitalist monopolies by the socialist nationalisation of all large, basic industries, of the banks, of distributive concerns and of insurance companies.

Plan the economy on socialist lines, creating balance in our economy, and removing the cause of the slumps that are inevitable under capitalism.

Introduce payment to workers on the basis of work performed, with equal pay for women.

Introduce government control of all overseas trade.

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Develop the full potential of our power resources—hydroelectricity, coal and natural steam—with a view to the more even spread of our industry.

Investigate our resources of raw materials for the production of iron, steel, other metals and oil. Wherever possible, proceed to the rapid development of these industries.

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Wipe out the National Debt. Cancel the debt owing to overseas bond-holders and to all large New Zealand bond-holders, such as banks and insurance companies. Compensate small, private New Zealand bond-holders according to the decisions of democratic tribunals.

Base taxation principles on the needs of a People's Government serving the interests of the people of a socialist country. Obtain finance necessary for the development of the resources and productive capacity of our country, for maintaining and extending social services, and for defence while imperialism continues in any part of the world, by the direct taxing of socialised industry and state farms; and by direct taxation on the incomes of all who are not engaged in socialised industry, including private farmers.

Abolish all indirect taxation.



Peace is in your hands.

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Guarantee freedom of speech, of criticism, of assembly and of religion.

End the capitalist monopoly of the press by placing all printing plants in the hands of the democratic organisations of the workers, working farmers and their allies.

Give freedom of access to the radio to all democratic organisations.

Leave all places of worship in the hands of their congregations.

Make all halls the property of the democratic organisations.

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Secure the land for those who use it, by breaking the hold of the mortgagee, stock and station agents and banks. Abolish all existing farm mortgages and indebtedness. Take over all large capitalist holdings and farms held by absentee owners, and make most of this land available to those who want to take up farming. Use the rest to develop, in each farming district, model state farms and centres of agricultural research, for the benefit of neighbouring farmers.

End the domination of large, middleman firms in the distribution and sale of farm produce by giving all necessary assistance to the promotion of producer-consumer controlled marketing. Assist and develop all production, in the interests of higher productivity and a better life for the producers.

Make facilities available for efficient farming by the provision of cheap finance, by the setting up of local forms of co-operation, both in distribution and in machinery pools, and by the fullest application of the results of scientific research. Make provision for the improvement of dairy and other stock. Make provision for full supplies of fertilisers.

Make a scientific land usage survey in order to conserve and develop our land, and to check soil erosion and flooding. Plan the correct balance of forest, pasture and arable land, giving the maximum return in production, recreation and natural beauty.

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Encourage and assist financially the development of a New Zealand culture in tune with the new way of life, absorbing the best in the traditions of our own country and of the world.

Foster a way of life to develop a spirit of working and playing for the common good, so that the debased culture of capitalism in decline, with its ethical values based on the lowest features of human behaviour, will be gradually and positively replaced.

The Maori People

All these changes will be of great assistance in building a new life for all of our people.

But there still remain the particular problems of the Maori people. Their position in New Zealand requires the fullest democracy and the most complete equality. Their culture and their tribal links have been almost destroyed by the impact of capitalism, and their language is tending to die out. They are discriminated against for housing and for jobs, and would be the worst hit in another slump.

The Maori people need more than nominal equality. They need full social equality based on mutual respect, and on completely equal rights and facilities in education, housing (where special attention is needed), medical services and jobs. The use of their language must be encouraged, and all facilities made available for the redevelopment of, and fullest expression of, their own culture.

In certain areas of New Zealand, where the Maori people predominate, they must have the right of determining the course of their own economic and cultural development, and their relationship to the nation as a whole. They will be assisted to forge their own future by the provision of special financial aid for capital investment.

All outstanding land claims will be settled in the interest of the Maori people's future development.

Racial discrimination will be made a criminal offence, and Maoris and pakehas will be equal in their opportunity in all aspects of life in New Zealand.

Cook Islands and Samoa

New Zealand capitalism also controls island territories. For years it has exploited the peoples of the Cook Islands and Samoa.

These peoples will be given free opportunity to determine their own form of government, and to decide what relationship, if any, they want to maintain with New Zealand. If they wish it, they will be given the fullest financial and technical assistance to develop industries of their own choice.

Socialist Nationalisation

Socialist nationalisation is the firm foundation on which the People's Government will lay the basis of a socialist society.

In New Zealand it would immediately nationalise all large-scale industry, shipping, fertiliser works, freezing works, banks, insurance companies, finance houses, chain stores and distributive organisations.

Thus all vital links in the means of production and distribution will come under the social control of the people.

However, as the object of socialist nationalisation is to break the power of the capitalist class, and to transfer the means of production and distribution to the people, there will be no such thing as nationalisation of personal savings of the working people of town and country. Moreover, in some industries there may be small investors, behind whom the big sharks have so often hidden. These small investors will be protected and given compensation.

Socialist nationalisation will take from the capitalist class the ownership from which they derive their power. It will enable the People's Government to use the profits previously going to the capitalists to carry through a programme of social progress, based on the people's needs, and directly related to the level of production.

As the working people expand production, the increase will mean a higher standard of life.

Socialist Nationalisation Different From Capitalist Nationalisation

Socialist nationalisation is fundamentally different from the nationalisation that exists under a capitalist state, such as in our railways, post office, hydro-electricity and other spheres.

Capitalist nationalisation is conducted in the interests of the decisive section of the capitalist class—monopoly. Capitalist nationalisation saves taxation for the capitalist class, and provides service for capitalism **for** which it makes the bulk of the people pay. Capitalist nationalisation of some industries, while the key industries are still privately owned and are providing the main income of the wealthy, is designed to strengthen capitalism as a whole. Capitalist nationalisation

guarantees the continued paying of dividends by the state itself, to the previous private owners of such industries.

But socialist nationalisation means nationalisation in the interests of the great bulk of the people. It implies the elimination of ground rent, interest and profit, and its objective is the continuous growth of the income and wellbeing of the working people.

Socialist nationalisation is also different in organisation from capitalist nationalisation.

Capitalist nationalisation is bureaucratic in organisation. It is in the hands of, and run by, a handful of top officials who are not under the control of the people. Hence there is widespread criticism of state departments.

Socialist nationalisation ensures to the workers and their trade unions an effective voice in the control, direction and management, at all levels, of industry. The weapon of criticism of bureaucracy and other possible abuses, used by the workers in their press and on the jobs, has proved in practice to create an efficiency in management and administration of socialist industry that capitalism cannot match.

Socialist industry has transformed the backward Tsarist Russia into the mighty Soviet Union, the second greatest industrial country in the world, and fast becoming the first. Economic planning, under the Five Year Plans, has assured a rate of progress unknown at any time in the capitalist world, and socialist organisation stood the test of the all-out Hitlerite attack.

Other countries, which have today developed socialist industry, are also showing that they can most rapidly be transformed from backward countries into modern industrial states.

Rising Living Standards

The social use of the immense profits of the capitalist class will enable the People's Government, with the cooperation of the technicians and workers, to bring about a great increase in production. Industry and agriculture will be re-equipped in line with national planning to increase the productive resources of the country.

Thus it will be possible to increase the wages and improve the conditions of the workers, and at the same time to reduce prices and to extend social services.

Outside the key industries and distributive concerns, co-operatively-owned producers' and consumers' enterprises will be encouraged and assisted to develop. Workers and working farmers will benefit considerably from this.

Small shopkeepers and other small business men will also benefit from the smashing of the power of the monopolies. Rising turnover in the new conditions will lay the basis of prosperity for them too.

The barrier of private profit for the few will no longer stand in the way of the living standards of the people.

Housing

The People's Government will proceed to overcome the dire housing shortage which has existed in New Zealand for a long time, and continually grows worse at the present time.

Capitalist greed, which neglects the building of homes for the people because such building is not as highly profitable as luxury and commercial building, will be a thing of the past.

Homes for the people will become an essential priority, and planned slum clearance, on a nation-wide scale, will be put into operation. Having the land and materials under the control of the People's Government will ensure the end of the profiteering practices of the private building industry today.

The People's Government will build homes for the working people at low rentals, and will give financial assistance on very easy terms to those who want to build and own their own homes. It will provide homes at low rentals for those whose jobs take them to various parts of the country during their life's work, and will treat their rental payments during this time as payments that will provide them with their own home when they retire.

The New Generation

Our children and young people will be of prime concern to the People's Government.

Facilities for their all-round physical and mental development will be a priority. Their role as the inheritors of the future socialist and communist society will be realised as of great importance.



No longer will the young people be looked upon as future cannon fodder for monopoly capitalism (imperialism), which today is using every weapon in an endeavour to debase our young people and to bring up a generation of coarse, ignorant and brutal killers, as Hitler did. Not only must this endeavour of the imperialists be thwarted, but education under socialism must be directed to developing a cultured and technically competent people, capable of lifting society to new and higher levels.

A completely free education, up to and including university standard, will be introduced, with equal opportunities for all, dependent on their ability.

Well-equipped play centres and kindergartens will be provided within easy reach of all homes. There will be immediate attention to ending the present shameful overcrowding of primary, secondary and technical schools. School books and stationery will be free.

Teaching will become an honoured and well-paid profession. University students will be freed from financial worries by the provision of adequate bursaries and scholarships, so that our country's most talented young people can develop their abilities for the good of the country as a whole.

A Healthy and Well-Cared-For People

A People's Government will place the health of the people first, and consider it in relation to life as a whole. Its health policy will emphasise the preventing of illness.

The maintenance of a healthy people needs good housing, good food, congenial and safe working conditions, more parks and open spaces and opportunities for sport and recreation, and a health service that is constantly checking up.

Health services will be extended from birth to old age on the basis of medical services from clinics at workplaces, in city suburbs and in country districts.

A real effort will be made to eliminate all disease arising from industry by ending the conditions responsible.

Health centres, holiday resorts and camps will be developed in suitable places to ensure that people needing rest or change or holiday will get the treatment they need. Our natural resources, in such places as Rotorua and other resorts, will no longer be viewed as dollar earners, but will be used as national assets to assist in maintaining a healthy people.

Adequate hospitals and maternity homes will be provided.

An adequate standard of life will be made available to old age pensioners and other beneficiaries. All who are temporarily or permanently incapacitated from work will also be provided with a reasonable standard of life.

All these health and social services will be non-contributory, as far as the wages of the working people are concerned. They will be financed from taxation, particularly from the benefits of nationalised industry.

In industry they will be administered by the trade union concerned; elsewhere they will be administered by the state department.

A Programme of Action

Such is the programme that the Communist Party of New Zealand puts before the people of our country.

Contrary to capitalist propaganda, the Communist Party of New Zealand does NOT work for any foreign interests, nor is there anything secret or conspiratorial about its aims or methods, which are here set out for all to read.

The Communist Party of New Zealand carries on the glorious tradition of the New Zealand labour movement.

It is the heir of the men and women who, in the early days, fought for and won trade union recognition and the eight-hour day.

It carries on the best traditions of the working-class struggles of the eighties and nineties of last century, of the “Red” Federation of Labour, of Waihi where Frederick George Evans was murdered, of the unemployed struggles of the thirties—of the men and women who built the labour movement of this country with the objective of socialism shining in their eyes.

It proudly greets the New Zealand men and women who so magnificently fought the long and desperate struggles in our country in 1951. It holds aloft the banner of irreconcilable struggle against all capitalist exploiters.

The programme of the Communist Party of New Zealand will be achieved only when the working class of New Zealand, aided by its allies among the other sections of the community, support it and carry it into action.

The Communist Party of New Zealand knows that it can never carry out this programme just by its own efforts, or with just a minority of the people supporting it. The actions of the vast majority of the people are needed to overcome the resistance of capitalism.

Devoting all its energies to the winning of the working class, and of the majority of the people of New Zealand, for the achievement of this programme, the Communist Party of New Zealand calls for support for its activities.

It asks all who want peace and oppose war, all who recognise the need for a change of the social system and for the socialist reconstruction of society, all who want to play the fullest part in the realisation of a free, independent, prosperous and happy New Zealand, to join its ranks.

THE BATTLE IS ON! FORWARD TO PEOPLE’S POWER AND A SOCIALIST NEW ZEALAND!

