



Selected Documents

and Speeches of the First

National Congress of the New

Communist Party of Aotearoa

November 21-22, 2019





Workers of the World, Unite!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Marxist-Leninist Party of a New Type!

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Opening Speech by the Chair of the Central Committee

Comrades, Friends, International Guests,

Nau mai, haere mai,

Thank you for being here for the start of our official founding, the First National Congress of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa. Twenty-five years after the dissolution of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the proper start of the low ebb of New Zealand socialism, the founding of the New Communist Party marks what will hopefully be the long term departure from the low ebb into a new era of socialism in Aotearoa New Zealand, mirroring the situation internationally.

The theme of this First National Congress is "the 21st Century: A New Era of Social Progress" reflecting the trend that we can see today on these multiple levels. 2019 was a significant year for the International Communist Movement. This year marked the 102nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 70th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. This marks a significant anniversary for New China as it reaches the age that the great Soviet Union managed to make before succumbing to imperialism. This anniversary comes at an important time for China as it consolidates its socialist system in the new era and reaches the first centenary goal of a moderately prosperous society.

The other socialist countries too have made new success in reforming and strengthening their socialist systems in the new era. The Lao PDR has strengthened its economic development, Cuba its socialist rule of law and socialist market economy, and Vietnam reaffirmed Marxism-Leninism as the guiding ideology of the party and country.

The Communist and Workers Parties in capitalist countries have also reaffirmed their position after several dark decades of revisionism, Eurocommunism and liquidationism. The strength of the Communist Party of Australia today after a tumultuous 20th Century is proof of this. Quite excitingly, at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties this year, held on the Centenary year of the Communist International, several leading Parties from around the world have reiterated their commitment to founding a new Communist International.

All these international examples in both socialist and the capitalist countries reaffirm that Marxism-Leninism did not die with the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries, but is alive as a fighting force in the new era.

It is this situation which the New Communist Party of Aotearoa finds itself on the occasion of its founding. We are not born from the void, but as a result of the workers' struggle both internationally and at home in New Zealand.

We would like to thank all 20th Century New Zealand Communists for all your contributions to the workers' and communist movement here in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whether you are in the Congress hall today, you have messaged us on social media, or we only know your name from the inside cover of second hand books, our struggle would not be able to exist if you had not laid the foundations. We especially thank those in the Workers' Institute for Scientific Socialist Education for recently awarding us the 2019 Fredrick George Evans Memorial Grant. This support means more to us than we can express, and we emphasise the continued struggle between the centuries. We pick up the red flag of socialism from you and try to wave it higher. The CPNZ gong on this presidium desk that rang to commence this opening ceremony highlights this continuation and we thank Comrade Robert for bringing it here today.

We can learn from both the successes and the ultimate failure of the 20th century New Zealand communist movement. It suffered from unfortunate splits that divided the movement and harmed its ability to form links with the masses. For this reason we take a position of Marxist-Leninist unity. Having a stance with either the Soviet Union or China may have been relevant in the 1960s, but now it is purely a theoretical debate. We welcome all Marxist-Leninists into the New Communist Party and seek to resolve all differences through internal, comradely debate. Small differences, particularly those centring on international issues, should not create splits, and we must always prioritise unity in the domestic situation.

I would like to thank the fraternal Parties and organisations that have wished the New Communist Party well for its founding and First National Congress: namely the Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Cuba, Young Communist League of Cuba, Cuban Institute for Friendship of Peoples, Communists of Catalonia, Communist Party of the Workers of Spain, Swiss Communist Party, the Portuguese Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Belgium. We appreciate the proletarian internationalist spirit in which you have all reached out to us and we look forward to our future bilateral relations as we continue to grow and strengthen our ties to the masses.

Comrades, this is really an afternoon of celebration. All Party members have put in a lot of work to see the New Communist Party of Aotearoa shift from a dream that existed only this March into a material political force. Our First National Congress has gone from being just a question mark on the calendar to an event which we are all at now. Whether you are in the Party, a friend from the broader workers' movement here in Aotearoa or an international guest, we welcome you to this First National Congress and celebration of our Party's founding. We are all looking forward to our future work both as a Party and with you.

Here's to socialism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the New Communist Party!

International Greetings to the Congress

Fraternal Address of the Communist Party of Australia

Comrades,

I bring you heartfelt greetings from the Communist Party of Australia to you at this Inaugural Congress of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa. You are a new party continuing an important struggle, raising a proletarian voice and setting an enormous challenge for yourself and the working people of your nation. The international Communist movement increases its wealth with the emergence of your party.

Our Central Committee is studying your documents with great interest and awaits the reports on the success of your congress. Historically our movements have shared common dreams and struggles sometimes with the outcome being different. As a Communist Trade Unionist, I have shared with comrades' experiences from our movements.

The devastating attack on the trade Union movement in Aotearoa in the 1980-90 period saw a collapse of the large parts of the union movement almost overnight. Privatisation and increased poverty of the mass of working people followed. In my Industry Public Transport, the same corporate capital firms arrived from Britain and the USA and in our case also France and Germany to loot and pillage. Wages in the bus industry have plummeted under this assault.

The liquidation of the Communist Party of New Zealand and the organisations that have followed has created the need for your party's creation. Common features have been the rise of different trends of opportunism in our movements has created our histories and the study of this struggle forms part of the foundation of your party.

The struggle against opportunism in the Communist movement and their liquidationism both of a right and left variety has been the constant feature of our struggle in Australia. The ultimate goal of those who liquidate the Communist Movement is to split the working class and to turn workers away from the socialist goal. Left and right liquidators share this common goal.

Unfortunately, the liquidators have had some success and our movement has been separated in some areas from influence in the class. The spread of Class Collaboration has weakened our working-class movement. We have prevented the liquidation of our party and are moving forward with renewal. Our party has learnt a lot in opposing the Opportunism and in surviving the attempts to destroy our movement. We are concentrating on the issues of the

environment, peace, and class-based unionism. The education of a new generation of Communists and moving forward in this new era.

Support for the existing socialist countries and the movements towards socialism in Latin America and anti-Imperialism form a basis of our views. We reject the characterisation of social imperialism being applied to China and other socialist countries. Our party has become more involved in the movement to reject the colonial invasion day as a day of national unity and support the activities against this social Chauvinism by the aboriginal people and the working people in general.

In Australia there is a massive disconnect from the political process. Rightist elements are trying to adapt this social sentiment to create racist and other cultural divides. Anti-Communism is being fanned along with draconian attacks on the Union Movement. The extreme right raises the slogan of ending the two-party system not as we do on the basis of extending democracy but as an end to bourgeois democracy and in support of further restrictions on democratic rights. We now seem to have the 2 and one half plus one system. Electoral parties of the extreme right exist to push the political system towards more extreme solutions.

In these circumstances building our party is of extreme importance. The founding of a new Party in Aotearoa fills us with optimism, and we look forward to standing shoulder to shoulder with you against our Imperialists and their lackeys.

Long Live the Friendship of our two peoples!

Long live the cooperation of our parties and Long live the New Communist party of Aotearoa!

David Matters

Assistant General-Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia

Communist Party of the Workers of Spain

On behalf of the Central Committee of the PCTE it is an honor to greet the founding of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa (NCPA) in New Zealand as well as the holding of its 1st National Congress which is held under the slogan "The 21st Century: A New Era in Social Progress". It is an especially relevant historical fact for all the communists in the world that after 25 years without a Communist Party in the country there is today one class-oriented revolutionary organization, a reference for the working class there.

We want to wish you the biggest successes for your 1st Congress and to communicate to you our will to set a framework for bilateral relations between the NCPA and the PCTE in the near

future. Proletarian internationalism is a distinguishing mark of the communists all over the world, and we must make a tool of it for the common struggles against the barbarism of the imperialist system.

Álvaro Luque,

Secretary of the International Department of the Central Committee of the PCTE.

Communists of Catalonia

Receive warm greetings from Communists of Catalonia. We receive with great joy that the Communist Party of New Zealand is born again, based in the principles of the Marxism-Leninism.

The inevitability of socialism and the fall of capitalism is more contemporary than ever, and a strong communist party in each country is a key element in order to achieve this.

And as internationalists we feel the necessity to strengthen the struggle all over the world, in Catalonia, in Spain, in New Zealand...

We hope to strengthen and increase our relationship, and we will wish to know the conclusions of your first congress.

International Department, Communists of Catalonia

Communist Party (Switzerland)

We have learned that you are in the midst of the work of your first National Congress: we send you our best wishes and congratulations for this event.

It is important for us to know that even in Aotearoa New Zealand the working class can again count on a Party that explicitly refers to scientific socialism and that fights against imperialism. We have received your Central Committee's Work Report and we will read it carefully.

We are a Party born in 1944 and we are mainly based in southern Switzerland where we speak Italian. We are active on the issues of anti-imperialism and international cooperation to foster a multipolar world against war and neo-colonialism. We work above all among students, organizing them for the right to study and the public and secular education. Our peculiarity is in fact that we are a Party made up mostly of young people and this also brings us near to your experience.

We hope to continue to have profitable and supportive exchanges between our two parties and we wish to the New Communist Party of Aotearoa a successful Congress.

Massimiliano Ay

General Secretary of the Communist Party (Switzerland)

Communist Party of China

The CPC attaches great importance to promoting exchanges with political parties in the world, including the New Communist Party of Aotearoa (NCPA). We look forward to keeping in contact with the NCPA and enhancing our friendship.

We wish the NCPA a great success.

International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Portuguese Communist Party

Having received your letter inviting the Portuguese Communist Party to participate in the First National Congress of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa, that will take place on 21 and 22 of November, and not being able to be present, we want to wish all the success to your National Congress in favour of the rights and interests of the workers and people of your country.

We also use this opportunity to express our deep interest in knowing the conclusions of this important moment in the life of your Party and also our interest to meet with you in a next opportunity.

Receive our fraternal greetings,

International Department, Portuguese Communist Party

Cuban Institute for Friendship of Peoples

On behalf of the Asia and Oceania Desk of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples, I would like to express our gratitude for the participation of James Morgan, as representative of the NCPA attending the Anti-Imperialist Meeting of Solidarity for Democracy and against Neoliberalism held from November 1 to 3, 2019, in Havana, Cuba.

The documents emanating from the debate and exchange between delegations from 86 countries demonstrate the bonds of friendship and respect that Cuba has forged and strengthened during more than 60 years of Revolution.

We greatly appreciate your solidarity in the face of the hostile and aggressive campaign of the U.S. government, the Cuban people continue to fight to preserve their sovereignty and independence. Thank you for joining us in this tireless battle!

We are sure that the Solidarity Movement with Cuba in New Zealand will intensify the denunciations against the criminal blockade imposed by the United States, and will continue to remember the legacy of solidarity of Commander in Chief Fidel Castro with his constant calls for unity to achieve social justice and world peace.

We would like to express our gratitude to you and your organization. We wish you a great success at the First National Congress of the New Communist Party.

Leima Martínez Freire

Director of Asia Pacific

Communist Party of Cuba

The International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba would like to convey fraternal greetings to the New Communist Party of Aotearoa on the occasion of the holding of its First National Congress, wishing you success in its political work.

In the present international situation, mankind is facing challenges as a result of the impact of neoliberalism. During the last decades there have been a dramatic increase of poverty, inequality and injustice, as well as an indiscriminate use of the natural resources and the deterioration of the environment, bringing about conflicts in all continents and threatening the very existence of the human species. The joint struggle of all progressive forces is more necessary than ever.

To strengthen the solidarity among the peoples and to fight for a new world order based on the respect of human rights, social justice and peace is the main objective of those who fight for a better world.

We would like to express our gratitude to your Party for your participation at the Antiimperialist Meeting of Solidarity for Democracy and against Neoliberalism held in Havana at the beginning of November, stating your solidarity towards Cuba in the face of the imperialist aggressiveness and the criminal U.S. blockade. This event was also a platform to defend the just causes of peoples like Venezuela, Syria, Palestine, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Puerto Rico, among others.

Thanks for your friendship and support. We will continue promoting a space for exchanges in search of unity and the strengthening of the relationship among our political forces, thus undertaking new actions that will further strengthen our links.

We reiterate our wishes of success to your Congress.

International Relations Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Work Report of the First Central Committee to the First National Congress of Aotearoa

Delivered by Secretary of the Central Committee J Morgan

Introduction

This is a very exciting and historic report to be delivering as it summarises the beginning of our Party's work since our launch on International Workers' Day this year. Our Party's work can largely be divided into two categories – behind the scenes work needed to be a functioning Party, and the beginning of normal Party work amongst the masses. To start with, naturally the first was dominant. Around July a juncture was reached where mass work began to dominate, while naturally administrative work still remains as we perfect and fully finish the founding of our Party.

The turning point came after the Central Committee developed the principle of 'one class, two unions' as practical application of Marxism-Leninism in the 21st Century. Recognising the need for a mass, class-oriented movement of the proletariat, something currently lacking in entirety in New Zealand, the New Communist Party strives to build and strengthen two types of unions: labour unions and a new type of union – the revolutionary community union.

Party Internal Functioning

Before we could start taking our Party to the masses, the nucleus of the Party had to first be built. The New Communist Party had a relatively unorthodox start compared to most other Communist and Workers' Parties. This is to be expected since we founded the Party a century after most established Parties.

Work to found the New Communist Party began in March of this year with the collaboration of various other groups, the Auckland Marxist Study Group, the Communist Refoundation group and a group with the same name that was essentially just a reading group and Facebook page. It is worth noting that these groups were already in contact with the leadership of the Communist Party of Australia and the Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and we would like to extend our thanks as the successor Party for the friendship and advice extended at this stage. A committee was formed, and the Party was ready to launch publicly by 1 May – International Workers' Day. Elections in July reaffirmed this foundational leadership and established the first Central Committee proper.

For several Central Committee members, this was the first time they had been involved in the leadership of a political organisation, and for all members it was the first time leading a Marxist-Leninist Party of the New Type. It was because of the firm Marxist-Leninist principles of all Party cadre involved and desire to develop both in theory and practice that allowed the Central Committee to quickly solidify into a genuine revolutionary body and lead the Party into successful starting months of mass work.

Section establishment has been more mixed than at the Central Committee level, which while unfortunate, suggests that the Central Committee is correctly composed of the best cadre. The Wellington Section (currently composed of two branches/PPOs) has definitely been the most successful, and where all mass work the Party has undergone so far is located. The Auckland Section (currently a sole foundational branch) has recently begun to organise itself in preparation for beginning mass work, which hopefully should occur after the First National Congress. The Dunedin Section has collapsed entirely, and Palmerston North has failed to grow so far despite being in touch with central Party organs.

What has caused such drastic difference in Section activity and success? At a basic level, it is due to the people in them. Wellington was almost exclusively where the Marxist-Leninist theoretical weight and practical experience with any kind of activism lay, and only so much could be done from afar to support the other Sections. Other mistakes were made, such as over-centralising central Party leadership in Wellington groups. Participation of other Sections in this Congress should hopefully alleviate most of this as all Party members in attendance will be as equally aware of and equipped for future Party work as possible.

Labour Unions

The initial challenge faced by the New Communist Party in relation to labour union work was simply our small presence within the union movement. This was largely because the small size of both our party and the labour unions. Just over half the Party belong to a trade union simply because a union does not presently exist for the rest of our members' professions.

Based on a Party-wide effort guided by Marxism-Leninism, we set on a course of strengthening unions where they do exist, and creating new, class-oriented unions where they do not. The scale on which this is done will naturally expand as the Party does.

The project with the most significance and potential for Party work is the support of a creation of a union for hospitality workers led by hospitality workers themselves. Following the Marxist-Leninist principle of "from the masses to the Party, from the Party to the masses" we realised that hospitality workers were in significant need of a class-oriented, dedicated union. New Communist Party members took the lead on this union, organising in their workplaces

and community networks to build the base membership required to establish the union. We now have this largely completed and are working on officially establishing the union in order to start its work. The Hospo Workers Union has two sites in mind for the start of its proud work to organise some of the most exploited workers in New Zealand into a collective agreement and further political power in and out of the workplace.

The New Communist Party is fully aware that a union that covers hospitality workers is already present. However, this union is so bureaucratised and out of touch with the masses, let alone one that crosses the picket lines of unions within the same CTU. The masses have recognised that this scab union does not represent them, which is why the demand from hospo workers for a new union arose. It is entirely possible that a similar process may be necessary in other areas where a conglomerated union has become a bureaucratic behemoth. Genuine independent and class-oriented unions in areas which the pre-existing union already covers can be an important tool in building a class-oriented, independent union movement.

This is not to suggest that we have an antagonistic relationship with the pre-existing union movement. We have had friendly meetings with several union leaders and are working with FIRST Union to unionise a supermarket in the Hutt where a member works. In the NZ Nurses Organisation as well, we have a Party committee that is beginning to push what is one of the more exclusively-economic unions towards political struggle. If it was not for the unionists that kept the workers' torch burning the last thirty-five years, the workers' movement in New Zealand would be in even more a dire situation.

At the moment the labour union strategy of the New Communist Party is largely a mix of various different, small-scale, interventions with the exception of the Hospo Workers Union. As we grow and forge more links with the masses, these will increase in number and in coordination.

Aotearoa Community Union

The Aotearoa Community Union, a new mass organisation of the working class founding by Communist Party members with the support of several trade unionists, is the second-half of our 'One Class, Two Unions' strategy and possibly the most innovative and exciting aspect of Party work in the founding period.

The ACU is inspired by tenants' unions that exist in the United States and the United Kingdom, such as ACORN UK, where a lot of the early organisational and practical guidance for the ACU came from. Tenants unionism has a significant difference here however, as to a large extent there are not the mega-landlords that exist in the USA or the UK, but a significant number of petty landlords. It is only through on-the-ground work that the big landlords have really been

made apparent. The significant impact of this difference is that techniques such as rent strikes are not as easily available to a tenants' union as in these other countries. The ACU will have to work to build ties with the masses and make itself a genuine mass organisation for these significant tactics against landlord capitalists to be worth the risk of any political action of this sort.

Just as a difference exists between revolutionary, class-oriented trade unions and reactionary scab unions, we can differentiate between reformist and revolutionary housing unionism. As this is not normally a key point of Marxist-Leninist practice, what revolutionary housing unionism looks like has largely been independently synthesised by New Communist Party cadre. The result has been the elevation of tenant unionism to community unionism.

This distinction has been made because we do not want the Aotearoa Community Union to have a narrow focus on tenancy issues just as some unions can get caught up in collective bargaining and forget the broader workers' struggle. The Community Union, as a mass organisation of working communities, should have the capacity to focus on broader issues such as public works, amenities and community life. In this way, the Community Union should have the ability to develop into essentially proto-Soviet power channelled into the form and name of a union. As it grows, Community Union branches will increasingly function as democratic and popular organs.

Of course, at the current stage the Aotearoa Community Union plays a humble role and is largely limited to a few Wellington suburbs. At the moment work has largely been initial door knocking, introducing ourselves to working communities and gaining a membership base outside of the initial activist base of New Communist Party and unionist core. This has been done quite successfully, and now the Aotearoa Community Union is beginning its first campaigns. We provide a free mould removal service to Wellington residents and are organising Wellington City Council Housing tenants to fight for better conditions against WCC neglect. As time goes on and the mass power which the Aotearoa Community Union directs increases, we expect that it will become an important and novel part of working-class power in New Zealand.

Internationalism

True to the adage of Marx, "workers of the world, unite!" internationalism and global solidarity is one of the most important, and actually most successful aspects of our Party work. Our internationalism even started before the Party proper was founded, with our visit to the Communist Party of Australia's Sydney Central Branch and our reception of the Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences delegation led by then-President Comrade

Deng Chundong last year under the auspices of the Auckland Marxist Group, which merged into the New Communist Party upon its founding. It was with this Chinese delegation that our friendship with the Embassy of Cuba, and former Ambassador Mario Alzugaray Rodríguez was forged.

This year, and the founding of the New Communist Party proper, have seen these three international relationships become even stronger as our main three international friendships. We have had frequent and high-level contact with the Communist Party of Australia. As Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee we visited Australia last month and spoke at their 99th anniversary celebrations, alongside a meeting with their Central Committee. The joint statement issued between our two Central Committees on October 30 is a written record of our strong trans-Tasman relationship. We welcome a delegation of the Communist Party of Australia led by their Assistant Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Matters, to this First National Congress.

We also had an official Party visit to Cuba earlier in the month, where we attended the "Anti-Imperialist Conference of Solidarity for Democracy and against Neoliberalism" on behalf of the Party. This was a significant conference with over one thousand delegates attending from eighty countries. Alongside the official proceedings, it was an opportunity for informal meetings and introduction of the Party to many different international Communist and Workers' Parties, which will be important for future international relations of the Party.

This meeting also saw the deepening of our official ties with the Communist Party of Cuba and the Young Communist League of Cuba. We had a meeting with the Deputy Head of the International Department of the Communist Party of Cuba, who expressed the Party's interest in our work, given our status as such a young Party in a small county. The Cuban Party will also sponsor our application into the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which will be of significant use to deepening our international fraternal ties. We also had a meeting with several members of the National Committee of the Young Communist League of Cuba, including the Head of their International Relations Department. As a young Party in both senses, the Party proper essentially fulfils the joint function of a YCL or Komsomol group, and therefore we place importance on exchanges with these groups as well as their Parties. Our relationship with Cuban Communists is in a strong position and will likely be a good complement to our Latin American solidarity work at home. Despite the setbacks faced by the International Communist Movement during the special period, the Cubans have never abandoned the principles of Marti and Lenin.

Our ties with the People's Republic of China have also been strengthened. We established fraternal relations with the Communist Party of China and have continued cooperation with

the Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. A NCPA delegation was invited to Beijing this month for the 10th World Socialism Forum which we sadly could not attend due to scheduling issues, and we welcome what is now the second Chinese delegation to this Congress. Our ties with Chinese communists are important as the Chinese People's Republic is the largest socialist country in the Asia-Pacific, and a major regional power generally. China is the locus of modern Marxist research, and therefore can be very supportive to the NCPA through theoretical/academic exchange, especially given the relatively green nature of many members of our Party.

The potential problem with Chinese ties comes with the fact that China engages in the capitalist world economy to a significant extent in New Zealand. All socialist countries do this in the modern era after the collapse of the CMEA and we do not have a problem with this in itself, but no socialist countries have ties to the New Zealand capitalist class to the extent of China. Significant differences in opinion have the potential to arise therefore between our two Parties based around China-New Zealand trade agreements and Chinese involvement in the New Zealand economy. We must not be forced to choose between proletarian internationalist ties between our two countries which go back to the times of James Bentham, Rewi Alley and Victor Wilcox, and our position as a party of working-class interests here in New Zealand. We encourage our Chinese counterparts to reprioritise proletarian internationalism and bring world socialism back into China's main foreign policy strategy. Of course, strong work by our Party as well as other Western Communist and Workers' Parties domestically is what will create the conditions for that to take place. We welcome all cooperation between our two Parties.

Initial contact has also been established with several European Communist and Workers' Parties, such as the Workers' Party of Belgium, Communist Party of the Workers of Spain, and Swiss Communist Party. These are excellent models of what a modern Communist Party can look like and are worth deepening cooperation and exchange with. It is worth noting however that a substantial relationship with these Parties faces the significant problem of distance. Practical ties are a lot more difficult than with Communist and Workers' Parties of the Asia-Pacific.

As the above paragraphs make largely evident, all relations so far except for the conference in Cuba have been bilateral. The reality is that the International Communist Movement's multilateral relations are very limited in the present day. The procedure for entry into the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties (IMCWP), the only international body, is very formalistic and long. The New Communist Party has the backing of the fraternal Communist Parties of Australia and Cuba for entry into the IMCWP, yet as this process must

be approved by an IMCWP (the steering group has no actual power) we will not get admitted into the IMCWP until October 2021 at the earliest!

The IMCWP has many other problems. One, while the Communist Party of China is officially a member, it did not participate in the 21st IMCWP this year, and neither did the IMCWP issue any form of solidarity statement with China in either the trade war or against the colour revolution in Hong Kong in the appeal. It is no secret that the Communist Party of China is openly opposed by some of the dominant Parties in the IMCWP, and we wonder if essentially a soft split is at play here.

There have been other occasions this year as well of joint statements of many prominent Communist Parties which went around official IMCWP Solidarity Network channels, perhaps to avoid these domineering parties. Many other organs of the International Communist Movement, such as theoretical journals, are controlled by groups of Parties, rather than full international democratic bodies. As many Parties ponder further integration of the International Communist Movement, and even the reformation of the Communist International, equality between Parties should be re-emphasised and further formalised.

We have also been active with international solidarity domestically, participating in several rallies in solidarity with the Chilean community dealing with the fascist legacy left by Pinochet, and the anti-popular nature of the current Pinera government. These are a nice way of showing support with important struggles that extend beyond class struggle in the New Zealand context and expand our support amongst New Zealand communities at the same time.

The Central Committee has mixed opinion of these sort of rallies, as while it is good to go along and show support to the relevant communities as they organise them, they do not materially affect imperialism and can weaken the Party by making it appear as just a random bunch of flag wavers. A DPRK solidarity protest, for example, would have good intentions but if done in a commandist way, would isolate the Party from the masses. It is only when the Party has links to the masses that we can genuinely challenge imperialist propaganda and build mass friendship with the socialist countries. Hence anti-imperialism and friendship work is conducted alongside other mass work with the main aim of creating ties to the masses and strengthening their own ideological stand and anti-imperialism.

Proletarian Environmentalism

From a holistic standpoint, building a proletarian environmental movement should be a priority for all Communists. This should be made clear by the recent tragic coup in Bolivia, seemingly done for US control over its lithium reserves, and the fact that the international propaganda done to legitimise the coup and pacify potential opposition to the coup was done

through the bourgeois environmental movement and its spokespeople such as Extinction Rebellion and Greta Thunberg. The lithium in Bolivia is required to fund the 'Green New Deal', public investment in green tech enterprises marketed by the capitalists as saving the environment.

The New Communist Party has done some work on this already. We attended the Climate "Strike" in September as a Party and did a good job advocating some demands of a proletarian environmentalist movement. Our pamphlet produced for this, 'Eco-socialism or Eco-imperialism?' serves as a good introduction into the difference between the bourgeois and proletarian environmental movements.

In spite of this, the New Communist Party is not really in a position to take the lead on the proletarian environmental movement's creation at the moment. We are already pushing our internal resources and manpower to the limit creating and helping lead two separate unions, and all members involved deserve credit for this. Another major commitment would be too much until our Party gains more members.

It is important that we do not forget about this however, as it is something that is desperately needed. Despite the fact that the Climate "Strike" in September was the biggest NZ protest in recent decades, the Government has still been able to avoid dealing with the climate crisis without *any* public backlash. The bourgeois environmental movement, for obvious reasons, has no interest in building a genuine mass movement to combat climate change. Only the Communist Party and class-oriented unions can take up this task.

Recommendations

The New Communist Party is setting off on a good path thanks to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles behind it and all its members. This First National Congress is being held at a very fortunate time for the Party, as it is really only in the last month that many of the finer details of Party theory and one class, two unions, such as the role of the Aotearoa Community Union, or the idea of the Hospo Workers Union entirely, have been expounded.

Therefore, the task of the Party as seen by this Central Committee as its term of office is expiring is to continue on the current path and fully realise what the Party has begun to implement. Building mass organisations of the working class, such as the Aotearoa Community Union and class-oriented labour unions are indispensable to Party work. As Lenin said, "trade unions are a school of communism". It is only through class-oriented mass work can genuine proletarian fighters, true Communists, arise from the masses and join Party ranks. Building mass organisations builds the Party.

At the same time, the Communists' friendship and solidarity with international fraternal Parties and the socialist countries should be expanded and as possible, passed to the masses.

Congratulations to all Party members on such a successful first year of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa!

Towards a Socialist Aotearoa

Programme of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa

Our Situation: Capitalism Fails the Working Class

Humankind is in transition between two social eras of history: capitalism and socialism. Capitalism has seen humanity divide into two classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a ruling class that controls the wealth and a class that must work if it wants to survive. In this system, we see intolerable injustices done unto these workers - exorbitant rents that reduce their already meagre wages further still, the theft of profits owed to the working class by capitalist business owners and their lackeys, the police force. It's in this divide that New Zealand finds itself today. It is here, with both feet planted firmly on the side of the working class, that the science of Marxism-Leninism proves the most valuable resource possible in the fight against the corruption and immorality of the capitalist system.

Capitalist relations began to take firm hold in New Zealand with the mass colonisation of New Zealand by the British Crown. Today it has reached the advanced stage of imperialism and monopoly capitalism, and continues to be chokehold Aotearoa's workers, whether Māori, Pākehā or other tauīwi. Most of our resources and industry are controlled by international monopoly corporations.

Important sections of the New Zealand bourgeoisie are closely tied to foreign capital and share the same class interests of subjugating the working class and extracting all they can out of the Global South, particularly in Polynesia. New Zealand capitalism has, since its earliest days, has been almost entirely reliant on foreign capital - initially that of the United Kingdom, and today the United States.

The Demise of Social Democracy

New Zealand in the 1980s was an early adopter of neoliberalism. Under the guidance of the Fourth Labour Government Roger Douglas as finance minister, all trade unionism was wiped out with 2017 union density figures down -51% compared to their highest in 1980. The neo-liberal economic reforms of the Fourth Labour Government were not unique in their content, many of which were consistent with earlier and concurrent policies in Britain under Margaret Thatcher and the United States under Ronald Reagan; and also with the Structural Adjustment Programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund on a number of countries. What made them unique was that they were voluntarily undertaken by the supposed party of social democracy rather than imposed by imperialism or a right-wing party; and the extent and

ideological nature of them. The effectiveness of its implementation is not to be underrated. New Zealand adopted neoliberal policies at an even faster rate than in Pinochet's fascist Chile, where the ruling party was backed by a recent military coup's power supporting them.

Under these capitalist reforms, New Zealand has seen social welfare plummet - the mass privatization of public assets and services has seen the very richest of our national and international bourgeoisie - landlords, CEO's, and financiers - grow their wealth to never-before-seen heights of extravagance. This of course came at the expense of the poorest in our society, with bus and train fares skyrocketing, public housing no longer available to those who need it, and rental standards largely left up to landlords to self-manage.

This mass-sell period produced a playground for the international bourgeoisie who moved in and bought up big sections of land and business in New Zealand. A brief period of prosperity following this heralded the end of Aotearoa's 'old left'. The consequences of our ruling parties' obsession with neoliberalism has been rising homelessness, poor employment conditions, the dismantling of our radical unions, and countless early deaths at the hands of poor home standards, underfunded healthcare and shaky job stability. Neoliberalism has murdered a generation of our country's people, and the only blame placed is upon the ones who died for 'not being competitive enough' or 'not being smart enough' to cope with the unfair suffering done to them.

Since the rise of neoliberalism, the majority of New Zealand industry has been shut down, meaning we do not actually produce many goods ourselves and despite our global economic position on paper, have quite low productive forces. Despite a small export of imperialist finance capital, New Zealand's economy largely exports raw materials and imports manufactured goods - typical of an economy subjugated by international finance capital.

This development has led to modern New Zealand becoming reliant on the US for military and economic needs and sacrificing its political and economic independence because of it. From the 5000 tonnes of yellowcake uranium passing through New Zealand ports each year to our participation in the 5 Eyes surveillance bloc and the NATO Global Partnership, our government is an active participant in US imperialism and the subjugation of the working class and oppressed nations all over the world.

New Zealand's capital is shown to be accepting of this junior role through its dismissal of and general opposition towards foreign socialist countries and movements of national liberation and self-determination. In modern times, New Zealand has gone to war in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq - murdering the proletariat in these countries for monetary incentive at

the orders of the UK and the US. Both the left and right wing of the bourgeois government are guilty of this, even the supposedly "radical" parties.

From the beginning of New Zealand's colonisation the interests of capitalists have clashed with those of the workers, and this has manifested in a long history of labour struggle, including that of our predecessor parties in the 20th century.

History of exploitation – working class & Māori

The growth of national identity following the end of World War One is largely what led to the beginning of political independence from Britain and has manifested today as a strongly anti-war and humanitarian general consciousness. This comes in stark contrast to the jingoism and interventionism of the owning class in our country, who seek to protect their profits at the price of all else. We see this today in places like Ihumātao, where Māori land is taken and used by monopoly corporations.

In the 19th century, Britain was rent with economic crisis. Colonisation served two useful purposes: claiming new raw materials and exporting surplus labour (workers without work). This was justified through race theory, which portrayed indigenous people as inferior.

However, direct Crown intervention in Aotearoa was expensive. Until the late 1830s, unofficial actors – missionaries, traders and explorers – moved ahead of the Crown. The Crown only became directly involved when they developed a scheme of selling land in the colonies to prospective settlers, thereby funding colonisation.

To establish capitalism, the Crown had to transform the relationship between people and the land. Whereas iwi and hapu lived off the land in a proto-feudal style of economic organisation, capitalism required that the majority be separated from the land, forced to live off meagre wages (a process that had first been carried out with the dispossession of European peasants, such as the Highland clearances.). That required systematically depriving iwi of their land.

Initially, a fraudulent Treaty was intended to establish the basis for Crown and settler ownership (with later struggles demanding that the Treaty be honoured). From 1840 to 1870, the Crown and settlers engaged in "rampant expropriation" of the land, as well as setting up a political infrastructure (with parliament established in 1854 on the British model). This colonisation drive led inevitably to the Land Wars, as iwi were not keen to part with their land.

Māori were initially excluded from production, driven onto 'unproductive' land. Wage labour was mainly provided by European settlers, until urbanisation in the 20th century led to more Māori joining the urban workforce – 8% of Māori lived in 'defined urban areas' in 1926, compared to 41.1% by 1996. By the late 20th century, urban and rural Māori would combine

forces in leading a new wave of resistance against the encroachment of neoliberalism and capitalism.

As a people most exploited by the capitalist and neoliberal system, the liberation of Māori must be a primary goal of any movement to bring equality to New Zealand. Socialism is the only thing that can truly free the Māori from the chains of colonial slavery. At Ihumātao for instance, Māori capitalist elders told the Māori leading the resistance to stop. These capitalists, Māori or not, serve only the interests of neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism - co-opting their titles and rank within society to further the influence of modern capitalism within groups whose interests are diametrically opposed to it.

Imperialism around the World

The victory of US/NATO imperialism against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the working class' gains after the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1989-1991 achieved the main goal of the global bourgeoisie since 1918. This, as JV Stalin predicted over a half-century earlier, ushered in an "era of the blackest reaction in all the capitalist and colonial countries".

Since the Gulf War began in 1990, the world has seen a near-unchallenged global domination by the US and its NATO alliance. At the moment the United States has troops on every single continent and over 800 international military bases. Between 2015 and 2017, US troops alone fought in 76 different countries. This figure even excludes the countries where imperialism is represented by local proxies - a number almost impossible to ever really pin down. This has been expanded during the Obama and Trump presidencies with the strengthening of Bush II's AFRICOM and the US presence on the African continent.

The current imperialist offensive takes a four-pronged form: military expansion and aggression; colour revolutions in capitalist countries; neoliberal extractivist reforms pushed down by the IMF and the World Bank; and attempted peaceful evolution and velvet revolutions in the socialist countries. All four of these must be considered as part of one cohesive strategy.

Military expansion and aggression remains a key part of imperialism's strategy. Several puppet states such as Kosovo in Serbia, Rojava in Syria, 'American' Samoa and the Republic of Korea are maintained exclusively through the US/NATO military presence.

Increasingly, however, the US and its imperialist allies are looking for other ways of ensuring their global control and profit extraction that are not as blatant as an invasion after the mass opposition to the invasion of Vietnam and the Gulf War.

Organisations such as the National Endowment for Democracy and other CIA slush funds allow for US imperialism to attempt to topple governments and states from the inside-out without having an open presence. This was first seen with the success of the 'peaceful evolution' to capitalism in the Soviet Union and European socialist countries, and has since been repeated in countries such as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where US-funded colour revolution organisations such as Otpor! managed to collapse the legitimate Milosevic government and bring a final end to Yugoslavia.

The 'structural adjustment' policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are another less-noticeable way in which imperialism takes control of Third World countries. These countries, in need of financial aid often because of US imperialism's blockades and sanctions, are forced to turn to the supranational organisations of US imperialism, which in turn for giving 'aid' require the country to implement neoliberal reforms and restructure their economy to favour the profits of the international monopoly.

What makes all of these so successful for the US/NATO imperialists is that they do not appear to be warfare. Seemingly progressive politicians can talk about cutting the military budget or closing military bases, yet the actual funding given to imperialism and overseas aggression can meanwhile be increasing through the budgets of intelligence, foreign 'aid', etc. It is important for modern-day anti-imperialists to be aware of all the different ways in which imperialism functions.

The Struggle of the Party and Masses

Struggle of the working masses post-1995

The onset of neoliberalism saw the mass struggle of the 20th century almost entirely crumble, thanks in part to the ineffectiveness and betrayal of the leadership of the working class: social democratic, communist, or otherwise. The class collaborationism of social democracy and the labour aristocracy, particularly within the unions, left the working masses powerless to fight back against the betrayal of the Fourth Labour Government and its Labour Relations Act 1987, and then the Employment Relations Act of 1991 which destroyed the union system formed by social democracy. In 1985, 43.5% of the labour force was in a union. By 1998, this had dropped to 17.7%.

In the twenty years since, the union movement has largely been unable to recover, despite achieving some respite, such as the restoration of legal recognition for unions in 2000. In 2018, only 13.29% of the labour force was in a union. The current active workers' movement is centered around a few unions: FIRST Union, Unite Union, the New Zealand Nurses Organisation and the two teachers' unions in particular have been prominent with strikes.

It must be noted however that these are all economic strikes, with political strikes largely unheard of in New Zealand. Even mass demonstrations that serve a rather bland purpose, such as the Australian Council of Trade Union's Change the Rules campaign, are not present in New Zealand. When the Council of Trade Unions finds a campaign that goes beyond the scope of workplace collective bargaining, it almost entirely takes the form of parliamentary advocacy.

Clearly, a genuine mass workers' movement is a long way from existing, and an important task of Communists and all class-oriented workers is to not only claw back from the current position but fight for new gains and a class-oriented, independent mass union movement.

Recent decades have also seen the continuation of various other popular struggles, such as Māori rights, which has seen flashpoints such as the protests over the Foreshore and Seabed Act of 2004 and over the attempted development at Ihumātao. The lack of significant success in this struggle can be attributed to several factors such as the organisational and analytical methods employed by these activists. Focusing almost entirely on race and not at all class and often viewing capitalism as a Pākehā creation, the movement has taken the form of both unorganised protest and bourgeois politics. The Māori Party created for this purpose does not serve as any form of a national liberation movement but a party of Māori capital.

The Party and a new mass workers' movement

The New Communist Party is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organisation, distinguished from Trotskyist, Maoist or anarchist groups. These are usually notable for their "protest-left" sloganeering, and adventurist tactics, typically manifested in appeals to government and continued.

The New Communist Party is rooted in the working class, as the leading potential force for revolution, while also being open to all who share its aims and ideas. The Party also seeks to organise itself in every major area of economic, social, cultural and political struggle.

The task of every Communist and class-oriented worker is twofold: to strengthen the workers' movement where it already exists, increasing union coverage and strengthening rank-and-file power towards political struggle; and expanding the workers' movement where it does not by creating new class-oriented unions.

This means that the New Communist Party of Aotearoa seeks to have a strong base in trade unions – the main bodies of the class-conscious workers – and draw its membership from this level. As part of this, we support the growth of trade unions and their expansion from economic struggle into political and revolutionary areas.

Revolutionary Community Unionism

The New Communist Party also recognises that the proletariat exists outside the workplace and that in order to be fully effective, we need to be backing the working class outside the workplace. The Party has elevated the theory of the standard form of this organising, tenant unionism, into a unionism of a new type – revolutionary community unionism.

The Community Union, as a mass organisation of working communities, should have the capacity to focus on broader issues such as public works, amenities and community life as the working masses see fit, not just tenancy agreements. In this way, the Community Union should have the ability to develop into essentially proto-Soviet power channelled into the form and name of a union. As it grows, Community Union branches will increasingly function as democratic and popular organs.

The Community Union also plays an important role in uniting various class strata under the leadership of the working class. The focus on the community in a broader scope than just tenants allows for home-owning petty bourgeoisie a route to follow the working class in a revolutionary struggle through their shared interest in a strong community with public services and amenities. Unemployed people and beneficiaries who would normally not be able to engage with a Communist Party and the workers' movement can also be brought in through their own concerns about rent, housing condition etc.

Structure of the Revolutionary Party

The party is organised under the principle of democratic centralism, explained by the following principles of organisation:

- a) Leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be elected and shall be responsible to the Party organisation or conference that elected them.
- b) After free and thorough discussion, decisions taken by the Party shall be implemented.
 - i. The individual is subordinate to the organisation.
 - ii. The minority is subordinate to the majority.
 - iii. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
 - iv. The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and to the National Congress.

c) Leading organs of the Party shall always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organisations and of the masses of Party members and they shall constantly study concrete experiences and render prompt assistance in solving problems.

d) Lower Party organisations shall give regular and special reports about their work to the organisations above them and of the masses of Party members and they shall request instructions promptly concerning problems which require the decision of a higher Party organisation.

e) All Party organisations shall follow the principle of collective leadership and all-important questions shall be decided collectively.

This structure, developed through the Bolshevik Party's struggle, ensures that the Party is democratic and able to decisively act and wage revolution.

The New Communist Party rejects revisionist theories of party building that liquidate its proletarian or revolutionary essence. Many formerly proud Parties around the world have turned to revisionism and have either been cost dearly or collapsed entirely.

Some notable revisionist trends in this area are playing down of revolutionary or communist aspects of the party's identity in an attempt to be more presentable; abandonment of democratic centralism; rejection of mass work purely in favour of Parliamentarianism; and rejection of revolution in favour of a permanent 'democratic republic'. All of these are a partial or full rejection of Marxism-Leninism and must be actively opposed in order for the New Communist Party to have continued success.

Revolution

Socialist revolution in New Zealand must be made according to conditions in New Zealand, and not an attempt in vain to import tactics from the Great October Socialist Revolution, Chinese Revolution, Sandinista People's Revolution, etc. It is impossible to predict now how the revolution will occur blow-by-blow.

However, there are some basic principles of revolution from Marxist-Leninist theory that are unchangeable. One is that socialist revolution must replace the old state apparatus with a new socialist one. The bourgeois parliament must be replaced by a workers' assembly, or Soviet power; the repressive bourgeois army and police force replaced with a Red army and workers' militia, etc.

It is important to clarify the specifics of the Leninist theory of "peaceful revolution". Because of the epoch-shifting struggle a socialist revolution entails, forces of capitalism and reaction will always seek to preserve or reinstate their dominance, politically and economically. The

revolution can proceed peacefully, and Communists should never launch armed struggle unnecessarily, but as the Russian Civil War and the contras in Nicaragua and Venezuela among other examples show, forces of reaction will always react violently to the shift in power relations of a socialist revolution. To prevent the gains of New Zealand workers' in a socialist revolution having a similar fate to the Popular Unity government in Chile, revolution must rely not just on elections but on workers' power.

There also cannot be an 'anti-monopoly' stage of revolution aimed at breaking up the monopoly bourgeoisie in preparation for socialist transition. In fact, the existence of monopoly capitalism provides the objective conditions for a full-scale transition to socialism

Socialism and Communism

Socialism is the first (or lower) stage of communism. The defining characteristic of the socialist stage is the dictatorship of the proletariat (DotP). The DotP, or socialist workers' republic, is the state organised by the workers for their own interests in contrast to the dictatorship of the bourgeois (led by the capitalist class). The DotP must be led by a vanguard party whose role is to secure the revolution and maintain its integrity. Thus, the DotP function is to oversee the withering away of the state and the transition to communism.

The character of the transition from socialism to communism, like the transition of capitalism to socialism, cannot be predicted. However, under the guidance of the socialist state, the cultural attitudes developed under capitalism that have negative effects (e.g. fetishising wealth) will be unlearned. Therefore, the role of the socialist state is not only to change the economic relations but also to guide its people culturally through socialism. It is only when these attitudes are eradicated, on a large scale, that the withering away of the socialist state can commence.

The economic structure of socialism is predicated on the workers owning the means of production. In contrast, New Zealand is a capitalist state, where the means of production are owned by the capitalist class (bourgeoisie). As a capitalist state, New Zealand has reached a mature phase of capitalism. This phase has created a massive gap in wealth distribution. The aim of a socialist economy is to redistribute this wealth, in order to raise the living standards of the proletariat, and to return the means of production to the working class whose labour it is indebted to. While no "developed" state has made the transition to socialism, meaning that the construction of advanced socialism will inherently take a very different form to historical and current examples, there are elements in theory and practice which can inform this transition when the appropriate material conditions present themselves. This is because of objective economic laws under both capitalism and communism.

The National Question under Socialism

As a settler-colony, an ethnic divide as well as a class divide has always been present in New Zealand society. Capitalism in New Zealand since its full-scale development began in the mid-to-late 19th century has extracted as much profit as it can from Māori, often stripping them of their resources entirely, while simultaneously exploiting the working class, Māori, Pākehā and tauwi. Modern capitalism in New Zealand has also seen the development of an imperialist Māori bourgeoisie waging class war against the multi-ethnic proletariat. This intersection of ethnicity and class is why Marxist-Leninists say that the colonial-national question is also a question of class struggle in the modern era.

Communists stand for unity of the working class, which by its very nature includes Māori, Pākehā and tauwi, against the entire capitalist system and the bourgeoisie of all ethnic groups. Economically, this means the step-by-step socialisation of all parts of the economy to an economy controlled by the entire people on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Residents of the Pacific Islands will be able to freely and fully live and work in Aotearoa New Zealand without fear of deportation or official discrimination.

Culturally, socialism's abolition of national oppression means that restrictions placed upon te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and the languages and cultures of other ethnic groups within New Zealand will be swept aside. The New Communist Party supports policies to promote te reo Māori, Māori cultural practices, and equivalent taonga from other Pacific and minority cultures.

This requires an entirely new, Communist attitude to and principles of race relations within New Zealand based on friendship of peoples rather than an attempt to make capitalist race relations better.

Women's Liberation under Socialism

The social oppression of women has long been demonstrated by anthropologists to coincide with the development of private property and class society. The gender difference between the two developed into a question of property and the deprivation of women of social and economic equality. The modern question of women's liberation was only introduced by capitalism however, as it destroyed the home-based economic system that had survived other modes of production and brought women into the modern workplace on a mass scale for the first time.

Issues such as the gender pay gap, parental leave, and misogyny in the workplace stem from the basic laws of economics of capitalism and the bourgeoisie's desire to decrease workers'

wages by any means necessary so that their own profits can be larger. For this reason, the capitalist ideological apparatuses, the newspapers, television, etc promote sexist and misogynist social attitudes that divide the working class.

This means that amongst the proletariat, there is no genuine basis for conflict between genders to exist. This conflict actually only aids the capitalists by dividing the working class and limiting its potential for organised power.

The task of Communists and women's liberation is one and the same: socialism. Workers of all genders must unite under the banners of socialism and the Party against the capitalist class (also of all genders) and establish socialism. This requires an active struggle against male chauvinism and the social poison of the bourgeoisie that turns proletarian men against women. Because of this, the condition of women under socialism does not magically improve overnight but changes the economic laws and social basis to allow for genuine equality between workers.

The New Communist Party therefore supports policies aimed at helping women to achieve real equality under socialism, such as a transparent wage system which prohibits any form of a wage gap in socialist industry and the vestiges of the private sector (while they exist), full reproductive rights for women, an economic and social welfare programme aimed at alleviating the socio-economic need for women to enter the sex industry, and measures aimed at equalising women in fields which are male-dominated under capitalism.

Gender and Sexual Liberation Under Socialism

New Zealand, as a settler-colony, inherited a majority of its perspectives from the United Kingdom. As a result, its attitudes to gender and sexual orientation, has developed from a Western perspective that is in turn informed by capitalistic relations. This view is at odds with the pre-colonisation Māori acceptance of the takatāpui community. This means that gender is understood as a binary and that sexualities other than heterosexuality are considered deviant.

As Communists, who are informed by a materialistic approach to these issues, we understand this to not be the case. Throughout history and cultures, genders and sexualities are have existed in a plethora of ways. The attitudes towards the diversification of gender and sexuality is resultant from capitalism's economic and family model. The LGBT community at large have been understood by the bourgeois to interfere in this model. This attitude has only changed within the capitalist class when it has been viewed as profitable to do so. Thus, from a marketing perspective, the social pressures from LGBT activism have forced corporations to re-orientate themselves and their image.

However, this is only a façade. The attitudes towards LGBT workers' in the workplace have still retained the homophobic and transphobic attitudes of old. LGBT workers face many problems such as threats of abuse from customers, fear of being fired for coming out as trans, inability for their actual name to be used at work etc. These chauvinistic attitudes also exist amongst the working class, imposed down by the bourgeois mass media and culture.

Similar to women's liberation, however, this attitude amongst the working class is a social poison passed down by the bourgeoisie, and after the liquidation of the bourgeoisie as a class, can begin to be phased out entirely. The position of socialist countries past and present, such as Cuba or the German Democratic Republic, on the forefront of the LGBT rights movement despite such a reactionary past, even at the beginning of the socialist era, highlights the great potential socialism has for LGBT rights.

The New Communist Party supports policies such as strict protections of LGBT people against homophobia and transphobia in the workplace, whether it comes from customers or fellow staff; fully publicly-funded LGBT healthcare system with a significantly expanded transgender health system; and protection against discrimination in housing.

Socialism and the Environment

Most of society has recognised that the climate crisis is one of the most pressing issues of our time. Yet as any worker knows, not all of society has the same interests. The capitalist class, driven by profit, wants to not only preserve their ability to make a profit but try and increase them at the same time. This means that any action the capitalists take on climate change is going to be one that further enriches them. That is their 'solution' to the climate crisis.

Bourgeois climate change action, so that they are allowed to keep making a profit, hides the real causes of the climate crisis – themselves. Right now, capitalists are destroying the Amazon Rainforest for farmland, destroying one of Earth's biggest tools in the fight to prevent unsustainable CO2 levels in the atmosphere.

Environmentalism is also incompatible with the capitalists' desire for imperialist war, war started only to ensure their dominance and capital access in countries all around the world. The destruction caused by US/NATO bombing in Yugoslavia, Syria, Iraq and so many other countries not only destroys so many people's lives but turns the natural environment into bomb craters. The US military occupation of Japan post-WW2 which continues to this day is decimating Okinawa's biodiversity.

The reckless oil exploration occurring on our own shores has led to the destruction of vast amounts of wildlife and scenery. Oil drilling inevitably leads to disasters such as the Rena,

which left a decades long legacy of toxins and leading to the death of over 2,000 sea birds and destroyed one of New Zealand's most unique landscapes.

Furthermore, the Pike River Mine disaster showed us that the fossil fuel industry doesn't only have no regard for the earth that provides it's mega profits, but that it's willing to show little to no regard for the workers who risk their lives daily for these same profits.

The capitalists have already tried several entirely toothless programmes, such as the Carbon Trading Scheme and the Zero Carbon Act. The left wing of the capitalists has turned to a new scheme, the 'Green New Deal'. Despite their spin, this would be just as harmful to the ordinary worker, and further strengthen the capitalist profit.

Under these schemes, public funds generated by taxing the workers' wage are funnelled into the capitalist economy in another bail out under the guise of 'green innovation'. When market collapse threatens their profits, they will take more money from the working class this way. Even if companies funded are state-owned, this has little benefit to the worker. Whether public or private, the worker has no say in how the company is run, and as John Key's asset sales show, can just be sold off at a later date despite public opinion.

Capitalists have also begun to target Global South nations and further neo-colonialism through these 'green' companies. Economic adjustment forced on these nations by the IMF, World Bank and UN can now be done through an environmental lens: gutting domestic industry deemed un-environmental to be replaced with Western companies deemed 'environmentally-friendly', i.e. allowing greater extraction of resources and profit back to the West.

The US military is the single largest polluter in the world. It pollutes more than 140 other countries – over 70% of the world. Capitalist solutions that hide the real cause of the crisis, capitalism's drive for profit and US imperialism, are powerless to affect real change.

It is clear that socialism, and socialism's abolition of profit and war is the only solution to the climate crisis. This involves abolishing profit and ensuring economic development is based on the interests of the working-class, including a livable planet.

This kind of genuine environmental transition requires a workers' government to implement, rather than waiting for scraps tossed down to us like the reformists. For this, the working-class to organise itself as a class for its own interests to solve the climate crisis, rather than submit to the capitalists' plans which, as already discussed, will not do anything to solve the problem.

Proletarian Internationalism

The attitude of the working class to the other peoples of the world and international relations is completely different from bourgeois foreign policy. Economic interests of the imperialist-capitalists mean that international relations are driven by a desire for a bigger market and increased profit. Rather than the profit motive, the working class and the Communist Party follow principles of proletarian internationalism and friendship both before and after the revolution.

This means mutually supporting the working class of other countries against capitalism, even the capitalists of your own country. The New Communist Party seeks fraternal relations with other Communist and Workers' Parties of the world on this basis, as we can learn from each other and work together in a shared struggle against capitalism.

An important part of this is friendship and internationalist solidarity with the socialist countries, their working classes and Communist Parties. As the leading sections of the world working class, the socialist countries, namely China, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and Korea, come under the most significant aggression from the leading sections of the world capitalist class: the US and NATO imperialist bloc. All of them are taking a unique path to developed socialism based on their material conditions and Party's political line and it is our role to respect that, support their socialist construction and defend them from US/NATO imperialist aggression.

Socialist-oriented countries such as Venezuela, Nicaragua and Nepal are also important subjects of solidarity as they face significant threats from the imperialist bloc while in a multi-class state of transition into full socialist construction. The overthrow of the former socialist-oriented governments in Grenada, Honduras, Ethiopia, Iraq, Burkina Faso, etc either by direct US assault or by imperialist political intervention led to a significant decline in living conditions, social welfare and economic prosperity as they plunged back into neo-colonialism. The New Communist Party of Aotearoa supports their movement towards socialism and fight against imperialism, while reserving special solidarity for the proletarian elements within this movement who strengthen the role of Marxism-Leninism in their specific scenario.

In international affairs we also support the national bourgeoisie in the role it takes as an anti-imperialist force. No country deserves to be a US/NATO neo-colony, and the ability of a proletarian Communist movement to develop in a neo-colony will always be significantly more difficult than in a country governed by the national bourgeoisie against imperialism.

As part of this, we reject New Zealand's membership as a NATO Global Partner, in Five Eyes and its security alliance with the United States, Australia, and other imperialist countries. A

country founded by imperialism, New Zealand's capitalist class has gone onto have a legacy of imperialist brutality in countries such as Turkey, Samoa, Vietnam, Korea, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Socialism in Aotearoa requires a policy of non-alignment and friendship focused on the development of world socialism and world peace, which must require opposition to the US/NATO alliance.

This absolute hostility to imperialism and commitment to supporting socialist countries and anti-imperialist struggles, proletarian internationalism, is fundamental to any Communist and a key policy of the New Communist Party

Build the Party, Take it to the Masses

Political Resolution of the First National Congress

The completion of the First National Congress is a significant achievement for the New Communist Party of Aotearoa as it heralds the essential completion of the foundational period of Party work and the start of the NCPA's mass work as an established Communist Party. It is therefore important for us to take the time at this Congress to decide on an outline of our future work going forwards.

We do not want to limit or constrain ourselves by listing specific plans in this resolution, as Party work that strengthens ties with the masses must come from the masses themselves, as we have already seen. Hence this should more be considered a plan or schematic within which Party work is conducted.

1. Labour Unions

Party work in the labour unions should be on two fronts: strengthening the existing union movement and pushing it towards political struggle; and expanding the union movement into new areas.

As the New Communist Party grows, we will get members working in different industries and therefore in different unions, combined with a density of Party members in workplaces and unions. This will strengthen the position of the Party committees and branches within the unions and therefore the ties the Party has with the masses.

Party members should seek to exercise leadership of the workplace out of the rank-and-file by being the person workmates can go to for advice and encouragement to fight for better working conditions as a collective. As part of this, Party members should look to be elected as workplace union delegates to not only increase their stature in the workplace but allow the mass work of the Party to go beyond the rank-and-file and spread throughout the union.

The New Communist Party should also be open to every new opportunity to form a union where one does not exist, or another union is solely necessary to revive the class struggle in that industry. An example of this would be if the union was a scab union or refused to engage in collective bargaining when members requested it.

The New Communist Party is already embarking on one of these, the Hospitality Workers' Union. This, and potential future unions like it, are an exciting opportunity to not only grow the workers' movement in general but strengthen and test the mettle of Party members through gaining skills in workplace and union leadership.

Throughout different workplace and union mass work, Party members should be aware of the leaders of the class who develop in the process of Party influence and push them towards joining the New Communist Party. It is these leaders of the working class which should be joining the Party.

2. Community Union

The Community Union is one of the most novel components of Party work, and the biggest theoretical innovation of the Party. What makes the Community Union most exciting is its potential to act as a proto-Soviet organ of mass workers' power, since as it gains more of a mass membership it will take on an increasingly popular and democratic power.

Within Wellington already the Community Union has a uniquely important role within our Party work due to the low barrier required to gain that 'first conversation'. As the Party sections in other areas continue to expand, the Community Union provides a unique opportunity to begin mass work where union density is not thick enough for it to be an initial base initial mass work.

Party members should ensure that the Community Union maintains a class-oriented viewpoint and does not either become class-void with its use of "community" or mutate tenant-landlord into a class relationship separate from the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Above all, Party members should work to strengthen Community Union work both in practice and theoretically as it develops. It has the potential to be an exciting key piece of Party work in the 21st Century and should be used to its full potential.

3. Newspaper

Now that the New Communist Party has initial ties with the masses, we should begin preparations for the establishment of a party newspaper. This must not be done too soon, as it would be a waste of resources and nobody would actually read it. Increasingly, however, it can be an important resource of not only explaining Communism and what the Party stands for to the masses, but increasing the unity and theoretical understanding of Party members,

Care should be taken to ensure that the Party paper is readable and interesting to the masses by covering topics outside of politics, perhaps by syndicating content from other socialist and sympathetic papers internationally.

4. Internationalism

The New Communist Party has already established a core of fraternal Parties and organisations, and should continue to expand these, including entry into the International Meeting of

Communist and Workers' Parties. Regardless of whether we agree or disagree with specific tactics of other Parties or regard them as right/left deviationist, international unity is important, and we should treat all overseas Parties as examples – either positive or negative.

The First National Congress also paid close attention to the recent calls for the foundation of a 21st Century Communist International. Emphasising the necessity for the New Communist Party to maintain its independence and internal democracy, we agree with the calls for a more unified international strategy and direct the Central Committee and all Party members concerned to pursue and stay engaged with projects of this sort in the international arena.

5. Conclusion

The New Communist Party has had an excellent start in its founding year, largely due to its continued adherence to Chen Yun's principle "we can only awaken the masses by improving their welfare". In all Party work, we should stay true to this principle of mass work, the practice of revolutionaries, and Marxism-Leninism. If this happens, we will continue to pursue a good revolutionary path in years to come.

Constitution of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa

Article One

Name and Basic Details

Section One. The name of this organisation shall be the New Communist Party of Aotearoa, abbreviated to NCPA.

Section Two. The Party flag and emblem shall be a crimson red flag emblazoned in the top left quadrant with a hammer and sickle, and NCPA below it.

Section Three. The Party anthem shall be the Internationale, performed either instrumental or with an English and Te Reo Māori verse.

Section Three. The Party pledge shall be as follows:

"I, _____, declare my full agreement with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, with the Programme and Constitution of the New Communist Party and with all decisions taken by higher Party organisations and the Party unit to which I am assigned."

I pledge to perform all my duties and responsibilities to the best of my ability, to raise my proletarian revolutionary consciousness, to serve the people constantly and to be close to them, to defend and fight for the interests of the working class, to keep high the integrity and prestige of the Party, to safeguard the security of the Party and all my comrades, to criticise my own mistakes and those of others with the fullest honesty so as to improve work and style of work in accordance with the proletarian class standpoint, viewpoint and method and so as to build up unity and strength, and to advance the interests of the Party and the working masses. I shall take every opportunity to propagate Marxism-Leninism and to implement the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party"

This pledge shall be taken whenever anyone enters the Party as a candidate member and on the successful completion of candidacy. The pledge can be taken in Māori or in any other language.

Section Four. The New Communist Party shall act in accordance with kaitiakitanga in relationship to the whenua and should seek to abolish the colonial national relations currently present in New Zealand and replace them with socialist relations of equality, cooperation and solidarity, or 'fraternity of peoples'.

Article Two

Membership

Section One. Any person normally resident in New Zealand who accepts Marxism-Leninism, the Programme and Constitution of the Party and agrees to work diligently in one of the Party organisations, carry out the decisions of the Party and pay the applicable entrance fee and regular membership dues may be accepted as a member of the Party.

Section Two. Party membership shall only be valid on an individual basis and in keeping with the standard method of acceptance, usually becoming a candidate member of the Party on the recommendation of two full Party members in good standing, and being accepted as a full member after a three-to-six month candidacy period involving attendance of mandatory fundamental education sessions. After these are completed, approval of the branch executive committee or higher is needed, before being ratified at a branch meeting. If the committee is not satisfied, or the procedure is not completed within six months, the candidacy period may be annulled.

Section Three. Every Party member who recommends a person to become a Party member shall provide a responsible and true statement to the Party concerning the ideology, political record, personal character and life history of the applicant concerned. They shall give their recomendee an adequate understanding of Marxism-Leninism, the Programme, Constitution, policies and decisions of the Party. The recomendee shall formally answer a set of standard questions set by the Party.

Before taking any decision accepting a candidate member, the branch executive committee or Party group concerned shall appoint a Party functionary to hold the broadest possible exchange of views with the person wishing to become a Party member, in order to get to know them further and verify all pertinent information.

Section Four. In special circumstances, higher Party committees or groups in mass organisations may directly accept a new member with the consent of the Executive Committee.

Section Five. All Party organisations concerned shall provide candidate members with basic Party education on Marxism-Leninism and the Party Programme and Constitution, require trial Party work and raise their political quality.

The branch meeting, the Party committee or Party group may prolong or shorten the period of candidacy based on the performance and conscientiousness of the candidate member.

The status of candidate member shall be withdrawn if it becomes clear that the candidate member does not meet the requirements of becoming a Party member.

Section Six. A member of a fraternal Party may be accepted as an exchange member or a regular Party member by a higher Party organ upon arrangement with the fraternal Central Committee or similar authority.

Article Three

Rights and Duties of Members

Section One. The duties of Party members shall be as follows:

- a) to play an active part in the development of the New Communist Party and the socialist revolution;
- b) to pay the applicable membership dues to help the development and growth of the New Communist Party;
- c) to read, contribute and assist in the distribution of the New Communist Party publications, statements etc;

- d) to study Marxism-Leninism both in Party education sessions and as an individual in order to become a better Communist;
- e) to criticise and repudiate revisionism, dogmatism and empiricism, Right and Left opportunism, sectarianism, liberalism, bureaucratism, ultra-democracy and all other erroneous trends of thinking and action within the Party;
- f) to abide by the Party Constitution and Programme;
- g) to place the interests of the Party, i.e., the interests of the masses of the workers, above personal interests, serve the masses of the workers without reserve, learn from them as well as explain to them policies and decisions of the Party and make prompt reports to the Party regarding the masses' needs and aspirations;
- h) to carry out thoroughly the Party line and all particular assignments given to them;
- i) to master their line of work and become models of discipline, hard work, modesty and simple living in Party organisations, mass organisations and among the people;
- j) to conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to present mistakes and weaknesses, to try earnestly to overcome and correct them and to improve political work;
- k) to belong to and work in a primary Party organisation and to attend meetings regularly;
- l) to attend Party study courses regularly and to read and disseminate Party publications regularly;
- m) to be loyal and honest to the Party and present all facts necessary for making correct decisions; and
- n) to be alert to anything inside or outside the Party which endangers the Party and to oppose everything harmful to the interests of the Party and the people.

Section Two. The rights of Party members shall be as follows:

- a) to participate freely in discussions during Party meetings concerning theoretical and practical problems regarding the Party line, policies and decisions;
- b) to vote and be elected within the Party;
- c) to submit proposals, statements or complaints to any party organisation or organ at any level;

- d) to criticise any Party organisation, organ or member in Party meetings;
- e) to examine the qualification of any candidate to any position or committee;
- f) to appeal any decision to a higher Party organ up to the Central Committee and National Congress; and
- g) to be present in any meeting called to evaluate their characteristics, work or any disciplinary action to be meted out on them, unless a higher Party committee decides that the security of the Party demands otherwise.

Section Three. Party members are prohibited from being drunk, high, or otherwise inebriated while conducting Party work. Drugs should not be carried on one's person while conducting Party work.

Section Four. No member of the New Communist Party of Aotearoa may hold membership of another domestic political party or similar organisation unless explicitly authorised by the Central Committee.

Section Five. Candidate-members shall have the same duties and rights as Party members, with the exception that they do not have the right to be elected nor the right to vote in decisions taken by the Party .

Section Six. Candidate-members or Party members shall be free to resign from the Party. Every resignation shall be fully explained within the Party committee concerned.

Section Seven. Every Party member regardless of merit and functions who fails to fulfil his duties or fails to respect the rights of his comrades shall be criticised and educated. Serious violations of rights and duties shall be met with proper disciplinary measures.

- a) Any disciplinary action on Party members shall be decided by the highest Party organisation or group in a mass organisation to which they belong, but if the punishment meted out is expulsion, the approval of the Central Committee shall be necessary.

- b) Any disciplinary action on a member of a Party committee that shall affect his status as member of the Party committee shall be decided by the conference that elected him into that office or by a higher Party committee. Cases in which the corresponding disciplinary action is lighter than removal from the committee may be decided by the committee to which he belongs or its executive committee when the plenary meeting of the committee cannot yet be convened.
- c) Any disciplinary action on a member or candidate-member of the Central Committee shall be decided by the Central Committee, or by the Political Bureau on the ground of emergency or if the Central Committee cannot yet be convened.

Section Eight. Disciplinary measures shall be meted out according to the gravity of the violation of Party discipline and shall take any of the following forms: warning, strong warning, removal from assignment, demotion, suspension or expulsion from the Party.

Section Nine. Every Party member shall adhere to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party's class analysis of current New Zealand society, the general line of socialist revolution, the leading role of the working class through the Party, democratic centralism, the principle of proletarian dictatorship and other basic principles of building socialism. Any Party member who does not or who ceases to adhere to any of the aforesaid shall be asked by a Region Committee or the Central Committee to intensify internal political study, and else failing, leave the Party.

Article Four

Principles and Structure of Party Organisation

Section One. The structure of the Party shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism; meaning to say, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralised leadership.

The basic conditions shall be as follows:

- a) Leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be elected and shall be responsible to the Party organisation or conference that elected them.

- b) After free and thorough discussion, decisions taken by the Party shall be implemented.
 - i. The individual is subordinate to the organisation.
 - ii. The minority is subordinate to the majority.
 - iii. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
 - iv. The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and to the National Congress.
- c) Leading organs of the Party shall always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organisations and of the masses of Party members and they shall constantly study concrete experiences and render prompt assistance in solving problems.
- d) Lower Party organisations shall give regular and special reports about their work to the organisations above them and of the masses of Party members and they shall request instructions promptly concerning problems which require the decision of a higher Party organisation.
- e) All Party organisations shall follow the principle of collective leadership and all-important questions shall be decided collectively.

Section Two. A Party organisation shall be established on the basis of territorial division or sphere of work.

- a) The Party organ which arranges Party work in a given territory shall be the highest organ in that territory.
- b) The Party organ which arranges Party work in a given sphere of work or in a mass organisation shall be the highest organ in that sphere of work or mass organisation.

Section Three. The structure of the Party organisations and their leading organs shall be as follows:

- a) For the whole of New Zealand, there shall be the entire national Party membership, the National Congress and the Central Committee.

- b) For the region, there shall be the regional Party organisation, the regional conference and the regional committee.
- c) For the city, district or its equivalent, there shall be the section Party organisation, the section conference and section committee.
- d) For factories, farms, neighbourhoods, streets, offices, schools, other places of work such as malls, markets, piers, and residential areas, there shall be the Party branch, the branch meetings and the branch executive committee.

Section Four. The supreme leadership of the entire Party shall be the National Congress; that of a region, city district and section shall be the corresponding conference; and that of a Party branch shall be the branch meeting.

Between branch meetings, Party conferences and national congresses, the Party committee shall be the leading organ of the Party organisation at each level.

Section Five. All leading organs shall be elected:

- a) The Central Committee shall be elected by the National Congress.
- b) Lower leading committees at every level shall be elected by the Party conference within the designated territorial jurisdiction.
- c) The branch executive committee shall be elected by the branch meetings.

The Central Committee shall set the standard requirements and procedures for elections. A higher Party organ may compose or recompose a lower organ on an interim basis, subject within a reasonable period of time to the principle of election by the corresponding Party organisation.

Section Seven. Leading organs may be reconstituted, dissolved or their members dismissed by the Party organisations which elected them or by the Party organs that appointed them even before the completion of their term of office. Due cause shall be declared.

Between Party conferences at any level, the higher Party committee may, if it deems necessary, remove members of lower Party organs.

Section Eight. The establishment of a new Party organisation or the dissolution of an existing one shall be decided by higher Party organisations or higher party organs.

Section Nine. Party committees from the section to the regional Party organisation shall set up departments, bureaus, commissions and other necessary organs in accordance with requirements.

Section Ten. Party organisations at any level may hold various types of meetings, seminars or conferences of cadres and active members to review or plan their work or to discuss important decisions of higher Party organs.

Section Eleven. Prior to the policy decision taken by a leading party organ, lower Party organisations may freely discuss the issue or issues and put forward proposals to the leading Party organ. After a decision has been taken, they must abide by it.

However, if they hold the opinion that the decision does not accord with conditions in a certain territory or sphere of work, reconsideration of the decision may be requested. If the higher Party organ stands by its decision after making the proper reconsideration, lower Party organisations shall be obliged to carry it out.

Section Twelve. The Central Committee, the Political Bureau, Executive Committee or Secretariat shall be the organ that makes decisions and issues statements on major new initiatives and on questions of policy that are national and international in character. Lower Party organisations and leading organs may discuss national and international issues and are expected to submit their opinions to central leading organs but they shall be entitled to take their own decisions and issue their own statements only on local matters within their territorial scope.

Section Thirteen. All Party publications must propagate the general line, policies and decisions of the Party.

All Party organisations must disseminate Central Committee publications. Local Party publications are required to get the approval of the leading Party organ immediately above them.

Article Five

Central Organisation

Section One. The National Congress shall be called and convened by the Central Committee every three years, unless it is deemed necessary to hold it later or earlier. If a majority of Party sections formally petitions that the congress be held, then the Central Committee shall accede to the request.

The announcement of the holding of the National Congress shall be made at least one month in advance. The number of delegates and the method of their election by the lower Party organisations or selection by lower Party organs shall be decided by the Central Committee.

Section Two. The power and functions of the National Congress shall be as follows:

- a) To discuss, ratify, review or amend the Program and Constitution;
- b) To decide upon the political line of the Party;
- c) To elect the members and candidate-members of the Central Committee and other central organs after determining the appropriate size of membership in each organ;
- d) To receive, discuss and endorse reports of the Central Committee and other central organs; and
- e) To create and dissolve central organs other than the existing organs, if necessary.

Section Three. Between national congresses, the Central Committee assume the powers delegated to it by the National Congress.

Section Four. The Central Committee at its Plenum shall elect, as deemed necessary, the Political Bureau, the Executive Committee, the General Secretariat, Chairperson, the First

Vice Chairperson and other Vice Chairpersons of the Central Committee, the General Secretary and other secretaries of the Central Committee.

- a. The Political Bureau, together with its Executive Committee, shall exercise the power and functions of the Central Committee between plenums.
- b. The Executive Committee shall act on political and administrative matters in accordance with established policies and standing decisions of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.
- c. The General Secretariat of the Central Committee shall take charge of the daily administration, routine activities of the Party under the leadership of the Political Bureau.

The number of members and candidate-members of the Political Bureau, the Executive Committee and the General Secretariat shall be determined by the Central Committee.

Section Five. The Central Committee in plenum or through the Political Bureau or Executive Committee, shall form and lead such special organs as the United Front Commission, the National Finance Commission, the higher Party school and central publications as well as the Secretariat with its organisation, education, and other departments.

Section Six. The Central Committee shall form interregional commissions as staff organs for supervising contiguous regions. These commissions shall derive their powers and functions from the Central Committee.

Section Seven. The Plenum of the Central Committee shall be convened by the Political Bureau or the Chairperson once every two months. However, the Political Bureau, Secretariat or a majority of the Central Committee may decide to hold it earlier or later. Members and candidate-members of the Central Committee shall attend the plenum with candidate-members having speaking rights but no voting rights.

Section Eight. The Chairperson of the Central Committee shall serve as the principal ideological and political leader of the Party and as such make the appropriate ideological and political pronouncements; preside over the National Congress and meetings of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee; direct the central organs under the

Central Committee, including the General Secretariat; and act as the chief representative of the Party in external relations, domestic and international while upholding the principle of collective leadership and collective decision-making.

Section Nine. The Chairperson of the Central Committee may delegate his authority and functions to the First Vice Chairperson and other officers of the Central Committee as required. In case of the incapacity or absence of the Chairperson of the Central Committee from New Zealand for one month or more, the First Vice Chairperson shall assume the position of Chairperson of the Executive Committee and shall exercise the power and duties of the Chairperson within New Zealand. In case of permanent incapacity of the Chairperson, the First Vice Chairperson shall assume all the functions of the chairperson.

Section Ten. All central staff organs and regional Party committees are under obligation to refer promptly to the Central Committee through its Executive Committee and Chairperson any new initiative of major significance or far reaching consequence and any matter which is potentially or actually controversial.

In case of any contradiction between a central staff organ and another or with any territorial leading organ, the two sides are under obligation to refer the controversial matter promptly to the Central Committee through its Executive Committee and Chairperson for immediate resolution.

Section Eleven. If sudden or unexpected growth of the Party renders the Central Committee, in its view, significantly disproportional or unrepresentative of the broader Party membership, it may invite Party section committees to nominate candidates to the existing Central Committee to be approved by a vote of a Central Committee plenum.

Section Twelve. Central Committee plenums have a quorum of half its full members provided that two-thirds of the Political Bureau and half the members of the Executive Committee are included.

Article Six

Territorial Organisations of the Party

Section One. Territorial Party conferences shall be held regularly, in the case of districts, once every three years; and in the case of sections, once a year. Conferences may be held anytime, however, upon the decision of a higher Party organ or upon the petition of a majority of lower Party organs.

Section Two. The powers and functions of district and section conferences shall be:

- a) to receive, discuss and endorse the reports made by the Party committees and other Party organs at the same level;
- b) to adopt resolutions on organisational and political questions;
- c) to elect the Party committee after determining the appropriate size of membership.

Section Three. At their respective plenums, territorial Party committees shall elect an executive committee and a secretariat as necessary. The Chairperson shall chair the plenums, the executive committee and the secretariat.

District committees shall hold a plenum once every six months and section committees, once every month.

Section Four. The region and section committees, shall carry out the decisions of the higher Party organisations, create provisional lower Party organs, direct their activities and allocate Party cadres.

Section Five. The region and section committees shall call work and study conferences every year or as needed to be attended by delegates elected by the Party branches and groups in mass organisations below. These conferences are empowered to make recommendations to leading Party organs regarding matters or issues of ideology, politics, organisation and others.

Section Six. Overseas Special Branches may be established by the Central Committee specifically to conduct the international relations and fulfil the international objectives of the Party. These branches answer directly to the Central Committee.

Article Seven

Primary Organisation of the Party

Section One. The branch as a primary Party organisation shall be established wherever at least three Party members can work together as a collective unit, according to place of residence, place of work and place of study. Party branches shall be established in workplaces, universities and residential neighbourhoods. If in such places, there are less than three members, these Party members shall attach themselves to the nearest basic Party organisation.

Section Two. The most fundamental task of the primary Party organisation shall be to develop the closest links between the Party and the masses of the people.

The general responsibilities of the branch shall be:

- a) to carry out propaganda, education and organisational work among the masses so as to implement the Party line and the policies and decisions of higher Party organs;
- b) to learn from the masses their aspirations and demands, make timely reports to the higher Party organs, give direction to and participate in the political, economic and cultural life of the workers;
- c) to mobilise and lead the masses through campaigns for the benefit of the people and on issues of local, national or international scope and significance
- d) to recruit new Party members, collect dues of Party members, examine reports from Party members and safeguard Party discipline and security among members;
- e) to organise the study of Party members and the dissemination of Party publications;
and
- f) to recommend Party members for cadre training at higher levels.

Section Three. Branch meetings shall be held at least once a month.

Branch meetings shall elect the branch executive committee and a secretariat (secretary and deputy secretaries) and the heads of branch groups. The tenure of office of all these shall be one year.

Branch meetings shall approve applications for Party membership, receive and discuss reports of the branch executive committee, branch groups, Party groups and branch committees and decide upon the work of the entire branch.

Section Four. Every Party member shall belong to a Party branch.

Section Five. A Party member transferring from one branch to another shall carry the prior authorisation of the section committee above the branches from and to which he is transferring as well as the Party committee covering both branches.

Article Eight

Party Groups in Mass Organisations

Section One. Party groups shall be created at every possible level in labour organisations and in mass organisations of youth, students, women, cultural workers, professionals, handicraftsmen and the like where there are at least three Party members. The responsibilities of these Party groups shall include the implementation of Party policies and decisions, strengthening unity with non-Party activists and developing close ties between the Party and the masses within the mass organisations.

Section Two. The membership of Party groups shall be fixed by the Party committee leading them. Party groups at every level in mass organisations shall have a secretary and deputy secretaries.

Section Three. The status and rights of Party groups in the National Congress and in Party conferences shall be determined by the Central Committee.

Article Nine

Party Finances and Resources

Section One. The Party adheres to the principle of self-reliance in addressing the material and financial requirements for Party operations.

Section Two. The Party shall be financed by membership fees and monthly dues, by productive undertakings of the Party, by special assessments, by a share in the income, properties and inheritance of members, and by unconditional contributions and by fundraising campaigns.

Section Three. Persons wishing to enter the Party shall be obliged to pay a membership fee equal to the amount of one month's dues.

Regular membership dues shall be determined by the Central Committee and shall be paid at least monthly.

Section Four. Special assessments shall be made on members upon the approval of the Party committee concerned.

Section Five. The Central Committee shall determine the ratio of funds from membership dues which remain with the branch or are transferred to a national level to be administered by the Central Committee.

Article Ten

Amendments and Extraordinary Developments

Section One. This Constitution shall be amended by two-thirds majority of those present in the National Congress at the time of voting.

Section Two. If any Party organisation cannot function in full accordance with this Constitution or extraordinary developments mean the Party must act in an area outside the provisions of the Constitution, a Central Committee plenum can issue Provisional Constitutional Resolutions to expand the purview of constitutional provisions until the next National Congress.

