

# **For National Independence, Against U.S.-U.K. Imperialism**

An important resolution of our Party's 21st Conference dealt with the question of national independence. This question involves problems of great moment to our Party. Such problems include the character of our country, the tasks, the target and the driving forces of the revolution and how to unite the many against the few. Their solution helps to determine our standpoint in approaching every problem—Party-building, youth, women, trade union and the united front.

In the upbuilding of our Party, the development of a revolutionary theory reflecting the study of concrete conditions of New Zealand is an immediate and pressing problem. Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, however great the subjective wishes and practical activity engaged in.

## **The Character of Our Country**

New Zealand is a country with capitalist relations of production. It has an agrarian economy with a certain level of industrial development. The key sectors of the economy are dominated by overseas industrial and financial monopolies. These include shipping, finance, fuel oils, meat-processing and marketing, chemicals, rubber, motor-vehicles. New Zealand relies on overseas interests for the supply of machines, raw materials for local industry and many consumer goods.

Alongside the existence of overseas monopoly capital and in struggle with it, there exists local or national capital invested in manufacturing, primary industries, commerce and industry. Such capital does not occupy a decisive position and in a growing number of instances is being taken over by overseas monopoly. Consequently, the economy of New Zealand is of a dependent character.

With the growth of the capitalist economy and its historical development, nominal political independence has been won. A capitalist form of democracy exists. Associated with this parliamentary democracy, a constitutional monarchy has the right to intervene. While the key sectors of the economy are controlled from overseas, real political independence has not yet been gained.

Other aspects of the superstructure indicate the character of our country. In the field of law, the Privy Council of the United Kingdom occupies a significant position, as do the decisions of the United Kingdom law courts. In the field of religion there is a number of external centres of administration. In the field of art and literature overseas influence dominates. A characteristic of a dependent country, as Lenin observed, is the export of brain-power, and this is also an added indictment of monopoly-dominated New Zealand—that it cannot suitably employ some of its most-talented people.

Briefly, then, we can see that the character of our country is a dependent one. Another word for this is “semi-colonial.” When a country loses its political as well as its economic independence, it becomes a colony.

### The Principal Contradiction and the Principal Aspect of the Contradiction

The greatest living Marxist-Leninist observes that, once the principal contradiction is grasped, any problem can be readily solved. Even our small society is quite complicated and a number of contradictions exist. There is the contradiction between New Zealand and imperialism, between overseas monopoly and national capitalists, between large New Zealand capitalists and small ones, between capitalists and workers.

In analysing concrete things, we should remind ourselves that the internal contradiction plays the decisive role and that only one contradiction can play the leading role.

To-day, undoubtedly, the principal contradiction is between the New Zealand people and U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, United Kingdom imperialism. To be more correct, we proceed further to state that, EXTERNALLY, the principal contradiction is between the New Zealand people and U.S. imperialism, with United Kingdom imperialism in a secondary position.

Internally, this principal contradiction expresses itself in the struggle between the majority of the New Zealand people and that social class and strata who are in partnership—economically, politically and ideologically—with imperialism.

They comprise the direct representatives of overseas monopoly sent here as overlords, importers, junior partners in foreign-owned or dominated companies, in the fields of finance, industry, commerce and agriculture, wealthy farmers, top executives and most high-ranking civil servants. While they take into account the demands of the New Zealand people, their decisive role is to serve vigorously and with great cunning the demands and requirements of overseas monopoly. They have turned their backs on the New Zealand people, our traditions and aspirations. They are the chief obstacle, although they are relatively few in number, to social progress.

They comprise the social basis of the influence of imperialism, and to-day this means aggressive, decadent and dying U.S. imperialism in the first place and crisis-ridden, mortgaged United Kingdom imperialism.

The social basis of imperialism in New Zealand comprises the principal aspect of the contradiction on the one hand and the majority of the New Zealand (with the working class in the leading position) on the other as the non-principal aspect.

In outward appearance, the social basis of imperialism in New Zealand, although it is small in size, appears to be very strong. Its strategic weakness is that it serves U.S. and United Kingdom imperialism.

Space will not permit at this stage discussion of the practical significance of the foregoing or of other views that support other contradictions.

In concluding this section, it can be observed that the solving of the principal contradiction as outlined comprises an historical period, a step, or a stage, distinct from other stages, although inter-connected with them.

What are the Tasks Confronting the N.Z. Revolution?

Having in mind the character of our country, the tasks confronting New Zealanders involve being masters in our own house. Politically, New Zealanders want to make their own decisions free from interference from Washington or London. Economically, we want to control the key sectors of industry. Culturally, we want to encourage a national and working-class consciousness and hold back the flood of decadent art from the West. Therefore, this stage of the revolution is national in character, as it is aimed at removing the influence and control of outside, foreign monopoly.

The tasks also involve increasing the democratic rights of the people, proportional representation, control of the key economic sectors, withdrawal from aggressive treaties, and a start to ensuring equal rights for the Maori people. It follows that the revolution has both national and democratic tasks during this stage. With the completion of this stage, the tasks of the next stage are undertaken, namely, the socialist revolution. While both stages are connected, both are separate, involving different contradictions, different driving forces and different targets.

Who are the Targets of the Revolution?

In carrying out a national and democratic revolution to transform our country from a semi-colony into an independent one, both economically and politically, it requires us to isolate and defeat the classes and strata who are the social basis of imperialism and its willing instrument. Those who have strong links with overseas monopoly and whose economic future is connected with imperialism comprise a few people. They must not be confused with people whose outlook reflects or partially reflects imperialist outlook, but who do not have any or only small links with the overseas monopolies.

Internally, the target of the revolution are those who are the active agents of U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, United Kingdom imperialism.

Externally, the principal target is U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, United Kingdom imperialism, or, to be specific, the financial and industrial leaders who own and control decisive sectors of our economy.

Of the two targets, the principal one is the internal target. The greatest defeat that U.S. imperialism can suffer is for the people to isolate and defeat its stooges. Arising: from this, is the problem of uniting the many to defeat the few, of uniting the many to undertake a revolution of a national and democratic character as a step on the road to Socialism.

The problem of the target of the revolutionary struggle is also a very important one. If there is confusion, if the target is made too big, the vanguard will have great difficulties in rallying the people and making use of all the contradictions.

Some say that the principal contradiction in New Zealand is between capitalists and the working class. In this case, the target of the revolution would be very large.

There is also great practical significance in deciding correctly the targets of the revolutionary movement. It helps with all sorts of problems, including agitational slogans.

Who are the Driving Forces of the Revolution?

The question of the character, task, target and driving forces of the revolution in New Zealand are all interconnected. In discussing the driving forces, we have in mind the character of our economy, the principal contradiction and the secondary and minor contradictions. The agents of imperialism comprise classes and strata relatively few in number who will strenuously oppose a struggle for national independence.

Certain farmers, businessmen, builders, commercial interests, manufacturers—who have minor links with overseas monopoly or who are subject to various forms of pressure and discrimination in regard to loans, raw materials and markets—on the one hand will be interested in seeing the influence of overseas interests removed, and on the other will be concerned that things might go too far. A section may play some part, others will back and fill, and others again will oppose the struggle.

There is a small strata of the capitalist class that have developed into monopolies, some with links with overseas interests. Generally, they could not be regarded as an ally, although, at times, contradictions between them and overseas may sharpen.

Small businessmen, shopkeepers, contractors in town and country, small and medium farmers, civil servants and white-collar workers comprise a numerically large group, but together or taken separately are organisationally incapable of playing a leading role as an organised co-ordinated force. Some will remain under imperialist outlooks, some will turn to reactionary alternatives, but the majority may be won to support and participate in a struggle for national independence.

The labouring people, together with the rural workers and the bulk of the Maori people, comprise the majority of the New Zealand people and suffer most from exploitation. The strongest section is the industrial working class, organised at the place of production, a growing number of whom are directly employed by overseas monopoly.

They comprise the leading force, capable of conducting a sustained struggle to isolate and defeat the agents of imperialism here in New Zealand, providing the lessons of the past are learnt. These are, primarily, not going it alone, but uniting the many, especially the working farmers and the Maori people.

At the 21st Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand unity was most impressive. The requirements of Party-building demand that this unity must not remain static but develop still further. In this direction, the Conference resolved on the re-drafting of the Party Programme, so as to ensure that it fully conforms with the strategic and tactical line of Marxism-Leninism in this period.

Providing we correctly define the character of our economy and the principal contradiction, important progress will be made.