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G.D.D. 2

SUBJECT: NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY OF N.Z.

FILE No. 21/2/10 VOL.1

NAME: C.P.N.Z. NATIONAL POLICY ON ELECTIONS
(Parliamentary & Local Body)

VOL.

DATE OF BIRTH:

Subsequent Papers :
Vol.2.

OCCUPATION:

RELEVANT PAPERS

CLOSED.

TRANSIT DIRECTIONS

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
PS2	30.6.67						
R	30.6.67						
PS1	6.11.69						
R	6.11.69						
R	15.5.75						
PS1	14-8-81						
R	17-8-81						
VI	7.1.82						
R	12.1.82						
R2	18.8.92						
	7/8/23						

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10,000/3/63-67231 W

FILE OPENED:

FILE CLOSED: NOV. 1960

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

21/2/10

601

Extract from "P.S. JOURNAL"

" Newspaper.

Published at

, on [date] NOV. 1960

SUBJECT: CSI

ELECTION QUESTIONS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

EARLY last month the Association sent a questionnaire to the four political parties seeking their views on a number of matters of particular concern to public servants. The answers obtained are published below in the order in which they were received. In some cases the replies have been abridged or paraphrased where this was necessary to ensure direct relevance to the questions asked.

SALARIES MARGINS FOR SKILL

Margins for skill and responsibility have in the past been lost through the practice, in applying Court of Arbitration and other general increases to the Public Service, of granting only a flat amount to all salaries above the basic grade. Fairly substantial periodic adjustments have been necessary in an effort to remedy the position, but in the meantime the Public Service, and therefore the State, has suffered through the inadequacy of margins.

Questions:

Would your party agree that general increases should be graded in relation to wage or salary in order to preserve margins for skill and responsibility?

Answers:

National: Yes.

method is devised, and that if any change is proposed there should be full consultation with the Employee Organisations?

Answers:

National: Yes. The system of Rating Rate Surveys at appropriate intervals will be restored and where possible improved, as the method of ensuring that levels of pay and conditions in the Service are comparable with conditions in outside industry.

Communist: Our answer is "yes" to both questions.

Social Credit: We agree that the method of Rating Rate Surveys should be retained until a better method is devised and that there

should be consultation with employee organisations before any change is proposed.

Labour: We will endeavour to find a better method than that previously in practice but will discuss any proposed changes with Employee Organisations.

TRADE PRACTICES AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

In the opinion of the Association the need for control of trade practices has been clearly established during the short time this legislation has been in operation, and this is supported by overseas experience. It also seems clear that Consumer Service, as established by the Department of Industries and Commerce, is fulfilling a most necessary role in protecting and advising the consumer. Also, the consumer can easily be exploited if

National: Yes. Consumer Councils will be encouraged in their work of giving consumers useful factual information about products and prices, but will be divorced from Government direction and control.

Communist: We are in favour of considerably increased Government assistance and support. The Councils (National and District) would be greatly strengthened by wider democracy providing for election instead of appointment and an increase in power to initiate and lead action.

Social Credit: We will foster and encourage the operation of Consumer Councils as a means by which the consumer can exercise some control over price.

Labour: Yes, but with ultimate complete independence.

(c) That there should be effective control of prices?

Answers: National: Yes, where competition does not automatically control them.

Communist: Yes, but present price control is ineffective. Our policy is to peg prices in order that wage increases shall not be whittled away.

Social Credit: No direct reference but see answers to (a) and (b).

Labour: Yes, where practicable. 2. Does your Party believe that the range of commodities covered by price control should be extended or reduced?

Answers: National: Our objective would be to extend the range of competition

particularly those who own or are buying their own homes, still suffer considerable losses on transfer.

Questions:

Would your Party agree that all reasonable steps should be taken to minimise the losses suffered on transfer by those public servants who own or are buying their own homes?

Answers:

National: Yes. Other policy measures introduced or extended by the previous National Government will be developed and improved, including (a) provision of pool houses for civil servants on transfer; (b) special assistance when appropriate to civil servants on transfer who wish to purchase their own homes.

Communist: Public servants required to transfer should be indemnified against any loss arising from or incidental to such transfer.

Social Credit: In country towns and rural districts we will expedite the building of accommodation for public servants.

Labour: The subject requires careful examination which is not possible at the present time. Will arrange discussions later.

SUBSIDIES

The Public Service Association considers that the subsidies on bread, butter, milk and eggs are desirable insofar as they ensure that the prices of these essential commodities are kept at a reasonable level.

Questions:

Consider such a proposal. For the future, however, our objective will be greater economic stability, which if achieved will remove the cause of the trouble.

Communist: Yes.

Social Credit: Inflation will be removed and the cost of living reduced by the reduction of public debt and taxation, which is a large

part of prices, and by the payment of subsidies as above.

Labour: Subject has been considered but requires much more consultation and discussion before decision can be reached.

STAMP DUTY ON HOMES

The Public Service Commission, in its 1960 Annual Report, suggests that stamp duty should not be charged in respect of the first £4000 of the purchase price of homes to be occupied by the purchaser, and the Public Service Association supports this proposal.

Questions:

Does your Party agree with this proposal?

Answers:

National: We have taxation reductions very definitely in mind, but have not considered this proposal. We would be pleased to discuss it with your organisation.

Communist: We agree that the exemption should apply to homes purchased by wage earners. We suggest the exemption be limited to homes valued at, say, not more than £5000.

Social Credit: Every effort will be made to ensure that the appointee enjoys the confidence of both sides.

Labour: Yes.



21/2/10

Extract from " P.V. "

" Newspaper.

Printed at

, on [date] 30-11-60

600

SUBJECT: CS1

WHY LABOUR WAS BEATEN

Can't keep Tories out if policy is the same

Once Labour's policy for the administration of capitalism has become insignificantly different from that of the Tories, it is no longer capable of keeping the National Party out. That is the outstanding lesson of the 1960 elections.

On Friday, November 25, the papers announced that the Kaiser Aluminium Chemical Corporation of San Francisco was to move into the Lake Manapouri project. The next day, the electors decided that Mr. Holyoake should move into Parliament as Prime Minister.

Both moves are the direct result of the Labour Government's policies over the last three years—and neither of them will do anything to improve the economic conditions of the wage and salary workers, of the small businessmen or of the small farmers.

C.P. vote goes up

In four of the five electorates where Communist candidates stood in 1957, the Communist vote showed a striking percentage increase this year. Because candidates

Build the Party

The real destinies of this country have to be solved in the changing world where capitalism is on the down grade—and we are feeling it in the dangerous instability of the prices of our meat, butter, wool and cheese.

The Communist Party's 1960 election campaign made a good start in putting this proposition before thousands of new people.

The need now is to continue and still further increase the work that is summed up in the Party's slogan: "Out to the People, Build the Party."

1960, when Mr. Holyoake, then Minister of Agriculture, visited the Soviet Union where he was told a vast market for New Zealand's produce was ready and willing—as long as trade was mutually beneficial and not one-sided as at present.

Catch that plane Mr H!



MR. HOLYOAKE, Prime Minister-elect, has already expressed deep concern about New Zealand's present trading crisis but he also knows how to ease it—as long as he's prepared to ignore the dictates of America.

This photo, recalls the year 1955, when Mr. Holyoake, then Minister of Agriculture, visited the Soviet Union where he was told a vast market for New Zealand's produce was ready and willing—as long as trade was mutually beneficial and not one-sided as at present.

Build the Party

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Extract from " P.V. "

" Newspaper.

Printed at

, on [date] 30-11-60

SUBJECT: CS1

Socialism

Yet it is precisely the Communist Party that has just those things in its policy that once made the Labour Party easily distinguishable from the Nationalists—notably socialism.

It was the immediate programme of the Communist Party alone in the 1960 elections that bore the closest resemblance to the type of programme that swept the Labour Party into office in 1935 and 1938, the years in which it made its reputation as a workers' party, to which the workers are still loyal to-day.

The loyalty has outlived the policy. But the struggle to build up the party that really has a policy for labour is not an easy one with the Tories in complete control of all the important means of mass pro-

Outlook

With careful enough memories of what the Labour Government did to put the burden of that crisis on to the backs of the working people while profits were untouched, they fear the National Party will be twice as bad.

They fear also that the National Party will bring in a sudden end to compulsory unionism at a time when so many unions are still weak from years of taking no other activity than thus collecting and asking the Court for wages decisions.

were stood in more electorates than ever before, the total Communist vote rose to 2,331 over the 19 electorates contested.

In Posenby, Mr. G. Jackson, President of the Communist Party, had a 30 per cent. increase over 1957, polling 374 this time compared with 238 in 1957.

In Mornington, Mr. J. Marsden increased his vote by 91 per cent.—69 this year compared with 38 in 1957.

In Westland, Mr. R. H. Mitchell increased the Communist vote by 52 per cent.—189 this year compared with 124 for Mr. D. McEwen in 1957.

In Island Bay Mr. R. J. Smith increased the Communist vote by 9 per cent.—114 compared with the 105 for Mr. R. Nunes in 1957.

The exception to the rule was in Christchurch Central, where Mr. J. Locke dropped 28 votes from his 1957 poll of 153.

Votes for Communist candidates in the other 12 electorates were as follows:

Avon (Mr. F. McNulty), 126; Auckland Central (Mr. W. McEwen), 161; Grey Lynn (Mr. R. Hegman), 39; North Dunedin (Mr. E. W. Hunter), 83; Onehunga (Mr. D. McEwen), 98; Otago (Mr. S. E. Smith), 89; Otago Central (Mr. S. Heats), 108; Palmerston North (Mr. F. W. Manning), 74; Roskill (Mrs. E. Ayo), 62; Tairāhiti (Mr. R. Smith), 73; Waitakere (Mr. V. G. Wilcox), 190; Waitemata (Mr. H. McLeod), 131; Wellington Central (Mr. K. Stanton), 116.

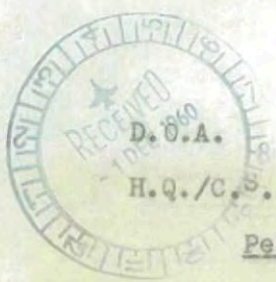
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21/2/10

Original on 27/2/5

599

AK/3/1



30th November, 1960

People's Voice Newspaper dated 30th November, 1960

1. Forwarded herewith are itmes of local interest appearing in the People's Voice Newspaper referred to above.
2. On page 4 appears the final list of the Election Appeal. Initials of subscribers, and collectors could apply as follows:

Individuals

O. McB. Oscar McBINE (i.r.) £10 0. 0

Auckland D.C.

Tamaki Branch

(per) T.S. August Frederick SMITH (i.r.)
(per) F.R. Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)

South Auckland Branch

D.T. Doris Anne THOMSON (i.r.) 2. 6

Henderson - Te Atatu Branch

Joy (three times) Joy FOULDS (i.r.) 7. 6
Jack (three times) John FOULDS (i.r.) 7. 6
B.D. William Russell DEVEREUX (i.r.) 10. 0
A.G. (twice) Alexander Herbert GRUNDY (i.r.) 5. 0
E.G. (twice) Elsa GRUNDY (i.r.) 5.0.
(per) R.C.H. Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.)
A. & B.K. Andrew KYDD (i.r.)
Bernice Vera Mary KYDD (i.r.)) £5. 0. 0

Drivers Branch

(per) B.A. Gordon Harold ANDERSEN (i.r.)
(per) L.S. Leonard Thomas SMITH (i.r.)

Roskill Branch

R.G. Ruth GABOLINSKY (i.r.) 2. 6
N.G. Norris Trevor Douglas GABOLINSKY(i.r.) 2.6.

Building Workers Branch

(per) J.D. James Frederick DELLER (i.r.)

Western Suburbs Branch

B.K. (knitting) Betty Vera KAPLAN (i.r.) £1. 0. 0.
(per) L.C. Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM (i.r.)
(per) T.M. Edwin Louis MATTLAND (i.r.) 10. 0.
D.F. Charles Richard FARNHAM (i.r.) 2. 6.

Metal Workers Branch

(per) A.D. Alexander DRENNAN (i.r.)
E.A. Eleanor Matilda AYO (i.r.) £5. 0. 0.
D.H. David Thomas HAMPTON (i.r.) 2. 6.

Mangakino Branch

(per) T.G. Thomas Neil GIBSON (i.r.)

Hamilton Branch

(per) F.M. Francis MIDDLETON (i.r.)

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- 2 -

3. The P.V. Maintenance Fund list No. 35 appears on page 8.
The initials given could apply as follows:

Building Workers Branch

D.L. Richard LEACH (i.r.) 2. 0.

Henderson-Te Atatu Branch

(per) V.B. Victor Felix BEGOVICH (i.r.)
(per) Joy & J.F. Joy and John FOULDS (i.r.)
(per) R.C.H. Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.)

City Branch

(per) D.M. Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
M.O. Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 2. 0.
(per) D.W. David Scott WALSH (i.r.)
(per) J.M. John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch

(per) D.S. Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.)
(per) F.R. Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)
(per) R.S. Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)

Mangakino Branch

J.E.L. John Edward LAWRENCE (i.r.) £1. 0. 0.


FIELD OFFICER

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

Extract from " EVENING POST "

" Newspaper.

Published at WN. , on [date] 28-11-60

597

SUBJECT: CS1

**36,000 More Votes
From
61,000 More Voters**

Saturday's poll was fewer than 36,000 votes up on 1957. Saturday's total votes cast being 1,069,316, compared with 1,033,739 votes three years previously, according to election-night figures. There were 60,875 more on the rolls this time.

National obtained 505,156 votes, or 47.24 per cent. of the poll; Labour 486,447 votes, or 43.62 per cent.; Social Credit 93,563 votes, or 8.75 per cent.; Communists, 2331 votes, and other candidates 1832 votes.

In 1957 Labour gained 48.5 per cent. of the votes, National 44 per cent. and Social Credit 7.25 per cent.

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21/2/10

Extract from "P.V."

"Newspaper."

Published at

, on [date]

23-11-60

SUBJECT: CS1

596

A controversial issue

Why Communists say vote for L.P. if no C.P. candidate

Why do the Communist Party and the People's Voice, after spending so much effort explaining why the two-party system must be broken, end up by advocating voting for Labour in those three-quarters of the electorates in which no Communist candidate is standing?

This is the question that is asked by a correspondent from the Otahuhu Railway Workshops.

"I think this is very wrong," he writes, "when the People's Voice goes to such lengths to show the people that the Labour Party is just another capitalist party that legislates in favour of the monopolies in the same manner as its bed-mate, the National Party."

"It perpetuates in people's minds the idea that, although Labour isn't all it should be, it will tend to study the people's interests more than the Nationalists would."

"Labour's actions, past and present, disprove that, as the People's Voice has so ably shown," he says.

His letter then goes on to remind the People's Voice that the railway workers at the Otahuhu Workshops had for the first time this year refused to set up the traditional

better still in 1963.

But right now, even if the whole class paper would invite people to 19 Communist candidates were vote for the open party of the elected, the government for these employers. Should the paper urge its readers to vote Social Credit? We either Labour or National Party. We believe not.

So, in the majority of the electorates, where there is no Communist candidate, those who would have liked to see one there are and want a better life for the unlovely. They have to make up people, their "solution" as a diversion from building up a real work- none of which inspires them.

They must either vote National, Labour, Social Credit—or stay home no one should enter into. Then we must either say: Vote them to vote National? The very

Of these two, we advocate vote

What are workers' luxuries?

Just one more we will deal with. Mr. Darlington says the Communist Party advocates removal of the 1958 beer and baccy taxes, but is in favour of increased sales tax on luxuries. "Supply proof that beer and tobacco are essential and not (as I treat them) luxuries," he demands.

If only those things needed to keep you alive and able to work are necessities, then it would certainly be a drab life. Once radios, refrigerators, washing machines, record-players and vacuum cleaners were luxuries enjoyed only by the rich. Struggles by the workers have brought them into their range of everyday life.

What the Communist Party is advocating is that the vicious 1958 taxes on the simple pleasures of the working people should be removed and the income for the Treasury should be sought more from the pockets of the well-to-do.

As for the other questions, Mr. Darlington will find out the answers to them if he reads the People's Voice regularly. They are the sort of things about which we are always telling, about which no other paper in New Zealand tells the truth.

We'd like to be able to do it all in one issue. But we have, after all, only eight pages.

Labour. But at the same time we advise all the working people to whom we give this advice: "But don't imagine they will be any better for the workers than the National Party would be."

Why do we advocate this? It is because the great majority of workers know just where they stand with the National Party. They have seen through it.

But they have not yet seen through the Labour Party. And they never will until they have experienced still further what the Labour Party is and does in practice.

1958 Budget

Questions from a reader of election leaflet

A Palmerston North elector, Mr. Anthony R. Darlington, has reacted to receiving the Communist Party's election manifesto in his letter-box by sending in a string of questions to be answered.

Actually he sent his letter to the leader of the Communist Party's election team, Mr. V. G. Wilcox. But the latter is away, and the letter has been handed to the People's Voice to answer. Mr. Darlington asks questions that would take pages and pages to answer in this paper.

He wants proof that the Russians are happier now than they were under the Tsar, proof that beer and tobacco are not luxuries for a New Zealander, proof (from the facts in the Soviet Union) that socialisation of production keeps prices down, and produces better goods and "details showing average income (from all classes of employment) and costs of day-to-day items, food, clothing, etc., of people living in the U.S.S.R. and other countries ruled by socialism."

The last request would involve enormous research work, which we are certainly not prepared to undertake for a single elector. We suggest Mr. Darlington should send these requests to the Soviet and Czech Legations in Wellington, though we can't guarantee that they have the time either.

They Say They're Happier

But be happy! The Russians under the Tsar were held down in poverty, illiteracy and hunger under one of the worst tyrannies known this century. They were unhappy enough about this to make a world-shaking revolution.

If they were even more unhappy now, have they lost the power of making another revolution? Moreover, there are plenty of people still alive who can remember the old regime. The editor of this paper has talked with them. They say they are happier.

In his youth he can remember meeting a White Russian general in Wellington. Before the revolution he had ridden in luxury on the backs of the Russian people. He was less happy now.

So the once-illiterate peasants and the once-ragged workers like it better. The old exploiters are less happy. It is the same with regard to China and all the other socialist countries. The majority are a thousand times happier.

What are Workers' "Luxuries"?

Just one more we will deal with. Mr. Darlington says the Communist Party advocates removal of the 1958 beer and baccy taxes, but is in favour of increased sales tax on luxuries. "Supply proof that beer and tobacco are essential and not (as I treat them) luxuries," he demands.

If only those things needed to keep you alive and able to work are necessities, then it would certainly be a dumb life. Once radios, refrigerators, washing machines, photography, record-players and vacuum cleaners were luxuries enjoyed only by the rich. Struggles by the workers have brought them into their range of everyday life.

What the Communist Party is advocating is that the vicious 1958 taxes on the simple pleasures of the working people should be removed and the income for the Treasury should be sought more from the pockets of the well-to-do.

As for the other questions, Mr. Darlington will find out the answers to them if he reads the People's Voice regularly. They are the sort of things about which we are always telling, about which no other paper in New Zealand tells the truth.

We'd like to be able to do it all in one issue. But we have, after all, only eight pages.

21/2/10

Extract from "P.V."

"Newspaper."

Published at

, on [date] 23-11-60

595

SUBJECT: CS1

WHY WE SHOULD VOTE COMMUNIST

21/2/10

Saturday is the day when thousands of New Zealanders can take a decisive step towards a living wage for a 40-hour week, pegged prices, better trade and peaceful relations with other lands. It is a day when a strong blow can be struck at monopoly, at the vast financial empires whose sole desire to make profits has meant repeated attacks on wages, prices, trade and peace.

When Mr. Nash said, three years ago, that monopolies fixed 70 per cent. of the prices, he was certainly not exaggerating. With its control over production, distribution and banking, monopoly can fix whatever prices it likes, without any regard at all for the old law of supply and demand that existed under free competition.

Likewise, monopoly profits are made possible by paying low wages, by reducing production costs and selling at higher prices. In this way the average wage-earner has been forced to hunt for overtime and bonuses and even second jobs in order to get what he should for 40 hours' work.

Foreign Policy

The international character of the monopoly empires, their stakes in practically every capitalist country, has led to their greater domination of governments. Any reluctant government is discreetly told to play ball or have its economy disrupted by the withdrawal of monopoly investments.

In this way the monopolies are determining the trade and foreign policies of most capitalist lands. New Zealand is instructed by the American and British monopolies markets not to develop two-way trade with

A guide for election workers

Here are the only election activities legally permitted for the remainder of this week:

- Street meetings and newspaper and film advertisements are permitted up to Friday night (November 25).
- Canvassing, posters and leafletting are permitted only until Wednesday night (November 23).
- Booth activity and how-to-vote cards are no longer permissible on election day but parties are still entitled to transport voters to the booths in vehicles decorated with party colours if felt desirable.

the flourishing socialist world in spite of the obvious advantages from these sure and expanding markets. And to fit in with the plans of

Are these happy women the slaves of Tibet

the press makes out?



These two Tibetan women are happy in the knowledge that their work making yak butter this year will not be enriching a wealthy feudal lord while they remain poverty-stricken. They are doubly happy with the results of the mutual aid teams in the farming areas, for they are reaping in better pastures, fatter livestock and far better living standards.

the people so the wealth can stay where it belongs, here with the New Zealand people, who rightfully own it because they create it.

That is why a great step can be taken forward for a living wage, pegged prices, peace and trade this Saturday — because the Communist Party is standing candidates in 19 electorates.

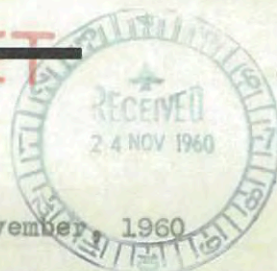
Every vote for these candidates is a mark of protest against the pro-monopoly policies of Labour and National, it is a declaration

of support for sounder policies, it is a further step towards building a mighty patriotic movement to drive monopolies from our shores and keep New Zealand safe and prosperous for the people of New Zealand.

The elections are not the only battle in this movement but they are a first-rate opportunity for mustering support for it and then declaring that support in the ballot.

By voting Communist, you will be fighting monopoly for the benefit of New Zealand now.

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21/2/10
Orig. on 27/2/72

D.O.A.

H.Q./C.S.

23rd November, 1960

AK/3/1

594

PEOPLE'S VOICE NEWSPAPER DATED 23.11.60.

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice Newspaper referred to above.
2. On page 4 appears list No. 12 of the Election Appeal. The initials of subscribers, and collectors, shown could apply as follows:-

Individuals

P.C. (Gisborne)	Roger Patrick (Pat) CAIRNS (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
(per) J.F. (Awanui)	John Christian FARNHAM (i.r.)	
L.C. (Opotiki)	Lindsay Raymond Harrison CLARK (i.r.)	12. 0.

Auckland D.I.C.

Henderson-Te Atatu Branch

A. & E. G.	Alexander Herbert GRUNDY (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
	Elsa GRUNDY (i.r.)	
Joy F.	Joy FOULDS (i.r.)	2. 6.
J.F.	John FOULDS (i.r.)	2. 6.
(per) R.C.H.	Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.)	

Western Suburbs

(per) T.M.	Edwin Louis MAITLAND (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.
J.S.M.	James Stanton MORGAN (i.r.)	£5. 0. 0.
(per) M.H.	John Robert Michael Maynell HUNT (i.r.)	
G.M.	Ernest George MAITLAND (i.r.)	10. 0.
D.F.	Charles Richard (Dick) FARNHAM (i.r.)	7. 6.
L.C.	Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM (i.r.)	3. 0. 0.
P.S.	Philip SUNDE (i.r.)	£3. 0. 0.
R. & P.S.	Rudolf George SUNDE (i.r.)	£6. 0. 0.
	Patricia SUNDE (i.r.)	
Hemp.	Frank William HEMPLEMAN (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.
F.H.	Frank Kingsley HODGSON (i.r.)	£3. 0. 0.
(per) B.K.	Bety Vera KAPLAN (i.r.)	
(per) H.R.	Henry Alfred READ (i.r.)	2. 6.

Waterfront Branch

(per) D.B.	Donald BLAIR (i.r.)	£2. 0. 0.
Len	William Lindsay (Len) CRUICKSHANKS (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.
(Per) A.O.	Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.
(per) R.K.	Roko Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.
S.R.	Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.)	4. 0.
M.C.	Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.)	14. 6.
(per) B.B.	William George (Bill) BRYANT (i.r.)	4. 0.
(per) T.Q.	Terence QUIRK (i.r.)	7. 6.

Railway Branch

I.T.	Ivan TOMASEVIC (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
(per) L.R.	Leonard Walter Scott REID (i.r.)	
(per) F.M.	Frank Evelyn MOREY (i.r.)	
(per) D.A.	Richard James (Dick) AYO (i.r.)	
(per) S.H.	Stanley Hooper HIEATT (i.r.)	
(per) R.G.	Raymond Bernard GOUGH (i.r.)	

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City Branch

(per) W. McA	Peter Wilfred George McARA (i.r.)	
(per) M.O.	Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)	£2.5. 0.
(per) J.M.	John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)	
Joe	James Alexander MUNRO (i.r.)	5. 0.
(per) D.M.	Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)	
(per) D.W.	David Scott WALSH (i.r.)	
(per) A.R.	Alexander George RAIT (i.r.)	
(per) J.J.W.	Jennifer Joan WALSH (i.r.)	
(per) J.W.	Joan Dorothy WALKER (i.r.)	

Metal Workers Branch

D.H.	David Thomas HAMPTON (i.r.)	£1. 7. 6.
(per) E.A.	Eleanor Matilda AYO (i.r.)	
J.C.	James CASEY (i.r.)	£3.12. 6.
(per) A.D.	Alexander DRENNAN (i.r.)	
J.H.	Kenneth James HOLLYMAN (i.r.)	£5. 3. 0.
(per) P.C.	Patricia CASEY (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.

Drivers Branch

(per) B.A.	Gordon Harold ANDERSEN (i.r.)	
(per) P.K.	Patrick Joseph KELLY (i.r.)	

Seamen's Branch

P.B.	Patrick Devine BOWER (i.r.)	£8. 0. 0.
B.S.	Aubrey Bruce SKILTON (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.

South Auckland Branch

F. & D.T.	Frederick George THOMSON (i.r.)	£1. 7. 6.
	Doris Anne THOMSON (i.r.)	
(per) B.S.	Lorrie Graham SMALL (i.r.)	

Building Workers

(per) G.J.	probably J.G. James GILLIES (i.r.)	£2.10. 0.
J.W.	James WILLIE (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
(per) D.W.	Richard Charles WOLF (i.r.)	
A.T.	Archie Roy TAYLOR (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
Sis. W.	Cecilia Orsala WOLF (i.r.)	£2. 0. 0.
(per) D.L.	Richard LEACH (i.r.)	5. 0.
W.F.	William Francis FAVIER (i.r.)	£5. 0. 0.

Tamaki Branch

per (R.S.)	Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)	£1. 2. 6.
(per) T.V.Y.W.	Torrens William Lewis WOOLLEY (i.r.)	
	Yvonne Lilian WOOLLEY (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
(per) D.S.	Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.)	10. 0.
J.M.	John GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)	6. 0.
(per) F.R.	Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)	
(per) T.S.	August Frederick SMITH (i.r.)	

Roskill Branch

A.M. (Onehunga)	Andrew MILLIKEN (i.r.)	3. 0.
J.K.	John Edward Thomas KEIGHLEY (i.r.)	4. 6.
J.D.	John DICKSON (i.r.)	10. 0.
L.P.	Leonard Charles PARKER (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
T.C.	Thomas Joseph COMERFORD (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
J.E.	John Findlay EWEN (i.r.)	£2. 0. 0.
N.G.	Norris Trevor Douglas GABOLINSKY (i.r.)	5. 0.
R.G.	Ruth GABOLINSKY (i.r.)	2. 6.

3. List No. 34 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund appears on page 8.

Individuals

H.L. (Levin)	Henri LEGER (i.r.)	£11. 0. 0.
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3/.....

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

592

Auckland D.C.
Tamaki Branch

(per) R.S. Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)
(per) F.R. Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)

Building Workers

(per) J.G. James GILLIES (i.r.)
(per) D.L. Richard LEACH (i.r.) 2. 0.

City Branch

(per) W. McA Peter Wilfred George McARA (i.r.)
(per) M.O. Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 2. 0.
J.M. John Augusts GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) 2. 0.

South Auckland

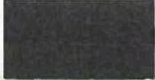
P. & D. McK. Margaret Thomas (Peg) McKENDRY (i.r.)
Dennis William McKENDRY (i.r.)

Waterfront Branch

(per) A.O. Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.) 2. 9.

Railways Branch

C.Q. Cyril Frederick Raymond QUINLAN (i.r.) 6. 0.
A.W. Allan George WATTAM (i.r.) 1. 6.


FIELD OFFICER

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. 27/2/10
of copies. 05
(T.S. only) 591

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/10/1A

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 18th November, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT:

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT CIRCULAR -
"A Letter from a Christian friend"

1. The above-mentioned circular was received from a reliable source. A copy is attached for H.Q. records.
2. Source [redacted] reported on the 31.10.60 that Charles Ronald HOWELL (i.r.) was preparing to write an article on religion for election candidates who are to speak to Church congregations. The circular is no doubt the article he wrote.
3. Source also forwarded National Secretariat Circular No.15, and Around the Branches in Auckland - November 1960. Both of these circulars, however, have been forwarded through another source.
4. Source: [redacted]

[redacted]
FIELD OFFICER

[redacted]
C.S.

[redacted]
Dwd [redacted]

copies on

21/2/2 - refer to this file for further action.

[redacted]
C. R. Howell

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

Wrong impression given about medical profession?

In our issue of October 5 we dealt on this page with the Communist Party's programme for health—particularly the need for restoring the position whereby Social Security makes a visit to the doctor free.

In that article we dealt with the fact that the leadership of the B.M.A. had originally vigorously opposed the free doctor scheme under Social Security when it was brought in at the beginning of the last war.

We indicated that this opposition was possibly even stronger to-day than it was over 20 years ago.

We said then that this could mean that the working people would have to wage a fight to restore a free medical service, instead of merely a state-subsidised one, by a struggle not only to overcome the lethargy of the government but also the opposition of the doctors.

Since then, it has been suggested to us that, in our presentation of the Communist Party's programme on this score, we

gave the impression that all doctors are money-grubbing rogues who look upon their profession as a royal road to riches along which they should charge all that the traffic will bear.

There is, of course, a small proportion of such doctors. But the great majority of the medical profession hold quite a different view.

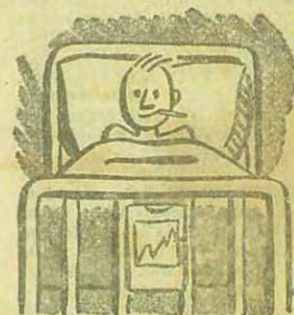
Some of them are now leading, many support and many more can be won to, the cause of the restoration of free visits for the patient to his doctor.

Unfortunately, their union, the British Medical Association (B.M.A.), is dominated by the conservatives. Hence it often opposes schemes which would be for the benefit of the people of this country.

For its part, the Communist Party programme made it quite clear that the Party is in favour

of increasing the 7/6 Social Security payment to doctors for such visits.

The Communist Party says it should to a figure commensurate with the increase in the cost of living in the 22 years since 7/6 was originally set at the figure.



Note: Probably submitted by either
Dr. F.C. Hollows or Dr. A. Taylor
both (i.e.) of Auckland.

R. File 2/2/10

21/2/10

Extract from "P.V."

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 16-11-60

589

SUBJECT: CS1

ONE PARTY IS DIFFERENT

21/2/10
Lively and significant

interest growing in

Communist policy

If Rip Van Winkle had gone to sleep in New Zealand at the beginning of December, 1938, and had awakened up at the beginning of November 1960, nothing would stagger him more than the present elections.

Then, fighting a bitter and sustained attack by all the capitalist newspapers of New Zealand, the Labour Party had a programme of reforms for the working people that swept it back to a second term with a record majority for all time after one of the most bitter election campaigns ever fought. To-day there is only the petty quarreling over which party can best administer exactly what we've got.

What a need for a real fighting programme for the working people—a programme of change and advance.

And there is such a programme being brought forward in the elections—the programme of the Communist Party to Fight Monopoly Now.

Wherever this programme is being taken to the people, no one

typical is the Auckland-Wellington electorate where in six days up till last Sunday 17 people visited 23 areas, held 12 meetings, sold 174 copies of the Party's election pamphlet and collected £1/18/- towards its election fund. That brought their sale of the pamphlet to 500.

Five men from this team also canvassed 41 hotels last Saturday afternoon. When they told the customers they had to do this because the Party's programme was not on the air they got a good reception, selling 86 copies of the pamphlet.

However much some of the big

electorate where in six days up till last Sunday 17 people visited 23 areas, held 12 meetings, sold 174 copies of the Party's election pamphlet and collected £1/18/- towards its election fund. That brought their sale of the pamphlet to 500.

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DIFFERENT

They alone are taking the Rip
an Winkle-ism out of New Zea-
and politics.

They and the older people, too, are not picking holes in the Communist Party's election programme. What they are really asking all the time is: "Are you really as bad as the paper paint you?" and "Does communism really provide happiness and freedom from war as well as freedom from want?"

Typical is the Auckland Central electorate where in six days up to last Sunday 17 people visited 23 houses, held 12 meetings, sold 173 copies of the Party's election pamphlet and collected £7,187 towards the election fund. That brought the total sale of the pamphlet to 500. Five men from this team also canvassed 14 hotels last Saturday afternoon. When they told the customers they had to do this because the Party's programme was not on the air they got a good reception. They 86 copies of the pamphlet.

21/2/10

21/2/10

Extract from " P.V. "

" Newspaper.

Published at _____, on [date] _____ 16-11-60

588

SUB CT: CS1

NEW ZEALAND can boast of better housing conditions than most other capitalist lands. But that must not be allowed to gloss over the blots in the general picture any more than it should be allowed to stand in the way of further progress. On this page, therefore, we examine the present situation and give in fuller detail the reasons for the Communist Party's housing programme. In past issues we have dealt with other features of the Communist Party's election programme, including trade, defence, wages, prices, youth, education and medicine.

More houses, cheaper rents and prices

In one Auckland suburban area it costs a minimum of £4/11/- a week for the "privilege" of a group (time-payment) house. If the pre-war policy of the Labour Government still operated, these wage-earners could occupy the houses for no more than £2 a week.

The Communist Party says this policy could and should still be operated. The only people who would suffer would be the land speculators, the building profiteers and the insurance monopolies.

A study of the trends shows that the emphasis now-a-days is primarily on helping the business world, supporting the capitalist system, rather than meeting the housing needs of the wage- and salary-earners.

Instead of being able to rent houses and flats at reasonable rates, the people on lower incomes are being inveigled into buying houses at high rates on the never-never system.

And, over the past 20 years, the cost of houses has risen twice as much as wages! In 1935, the Labour Government had a humanitarian attitude towards housing—high-quality, low-rental homes for the people on lower incomes. It saw this as a primary function of the state.

Helping Business

Facts

State

should

increase construction



life insurance on a policy held as security on the mortgage and fire insurance.

In short, it was costing them £5/11/- a week for this small group house—if time-payments on furnishings, etc., are excluded!

Their costs of moving into the house were well over £850—Deposit £250, linen £60, curtains £5, mats £4, lino. £14, Kitchen furniture £35, bedroom suite £100.

Communist

Party policy

INCREASE State Rental House and State Flat building programme, financed at a low rate of interest (1 to 1½ per cent.) through the Reserve Bank, as was done formerly. State to enter the field of direct construction, breaking monopoly control by taking over any land that stands why two neighbours have had nervous breakdowns and why men are trying to hold down two jobs with obvious disadvantage to their health.

Meanwhile, the insurance monopoly and the building contractor are continuing to make record profits.

PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 3
November 16, 1960

on NZ housing

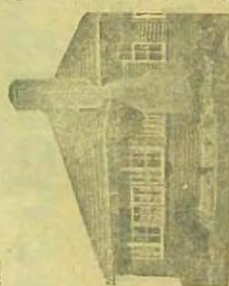
While the over-all housing situation in New Zealand appears to show some bright trends, a closer look at the statistics shows that thousands of wage- and salary-earners are still having acute housing problems.

The 1956 Census showed that only 17 out of every hundred wage-earners owned their own houses, 28 out of each hundred were paying them off on time payment, 11 on flat mortgages and 34 out of every hundred were renting dwellings.

Fourteen out of every hundred dwellings have no piped water, 12 no hot water, 6 had no bath or shower, 19 had no flush toilets, 45 no refrigerators and 43 no washing machines.

The National Housing Conference in 1953 said that an average of 20,000 houses a year (rising continually) would have to be built to cope with the increased population. If an average of 6,100 (1938 figure) houses are demolished each year, this means at least 25,000 houses must be built each year to cope with the population. But there were only 20,000 building permits issued last year and a big backlog resulting from past deficiencies.

State house and flat building has halved since 1949, while private building has doubled. There are almost 19,000 unsatisfied applications for State rental dwellings.



At the same time the private landlords found in the National Government a ready method of achieving an old ambition—to raise State rents as justification for their own.

The Government abolished the low rate of interest on loans from the Reserve Bank and boosted it to 4 per cent. They used this rise in costs as an argument to raise State rental rents.

When Labour returned in 1957

Accordingly, it embarked on an extensive State rental house-building programme by borrowing money from the Reserve Bank at 1 to 1 1/2 per cent.

But, as time went on, the quality and output of houses diminished and the ideas of "a house with a refrigerator and a washing machine for every wage-earner" disappeared.

With Labour's defeat in 1949, the National Government instituted the right to purchase State houses at the original cost price. While this suited quite a few people, it paved the way for a further decline in State rental house-building and the upsurge of the time-payment system.

And, while Labour has reduced the Reserve Bank interest rate again, it has not passed on the benefit to the rent-payers—it has raised State rents an average of 11/- per week.

It is charging £5/48/6 a week for miniature two-bedroom flats in Greys Avenue, Auckland, and equivalent rents elsewhere, in spite of the fact that it admits the building costs are no greater, and probably cheaper, than single housing units.

Position Could Be Reversed

As the figures elsewhere on this page demonstrate, these policies strike hard at the average wage- and salary-earner in the cities. They benefit the business world, particularly the monopolies.

By reversing this—by hitting at the monopolies and the wealthy speculators—the ordinary family man on wages or salary can have improved housing at lower costs.

This is the essence of the Communist Party's programme.

"Family Benefit for Children"

Yet the Judge of the Arbitration Court has ruled that he will not fix wages to cover any more than a man and his wife because the family benefit takes care of the children!

And, while Labour has reduced the Reserve Bank interest rate again, it has not passed on the benefit to the rent-payers—it has raised State rents an average of 11/- per week.

It is charging £5/48/6 a week for miniature two-bedroom flats in Greys Avenue, Auckland, and equivalent rents elsewhere, in spite of the fact that it admits the building costs are no greater, and probably cheaper, than single housing units.

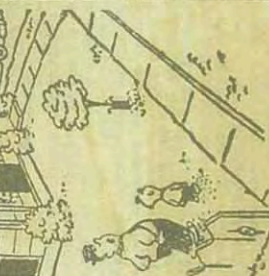
Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

ever the monopolies in this field.

Provision of finance at a low rate of interest to working people wishing to build their own homes.

Effective government over-all control of prices charged by private builders where government loans are used.

Control of any luxury building that adversely affects housing development or essential industrial construction.



"This will all be yours some day, son—provided, of course, you keep up the payments."
Evening Express (Auckland)

House on never-never brought big problem

Unable to rent a house or a flat, suitable for raising a family, for less than £6 a week, a young Auckland working couple were forced to turn to the group-house scheme.

Almost their entire savings of £350 went on a deposit for a small two-bedroom house in Te Atatu suburb (Auckland)—but they were happy to feel that they "had a place of their own."

They were reasonably unperturbed at the thought of having to pay £2/48/- a week to the State Advances (for the house) over the next 30 years, £1 a week to the National Mutual Life Insurance Company (for the section) for the next 45 years.

The total of £3/18/- a week seemed small enough to erase the unpleasant fact that they would be paying over £200 interest on the £640 section (£4,000 per acre return to the insurance monopoly in the area).

Unexpected Costs

But once they had shifted in, they found that bus fares came to £1 each a week and then only for a ten-trip card. Then they realised that rates, including water rates, amounted to at least 7/6 a week, and had every prospect of rising (which they did very soon).

On top of this they had to pay life insurance on a policy held as security on the mortgage and fire insurance.

In short, it was costing them £6/14/- a week for this small group house—if time-payments on furnishings, etc., are excluded!

Their costs of moving into the house were well over £850—Deposit £350, linen £60, curtains £8, mats £4, lin. £14, kitchen furniture £35, bedroom suite £100.



Refrigerator £100, sitting-room furniture £100, and washing machine £60.

They had to pay £4 to have the section rotary-hoed because the top-soil had been removed (they could have bought it back at a price!), and a hard, undiggable clay surface was all that was left.

But this couple's troubles had only just started—they started to have a baby.

The wife had to stop working and preparations had to be made for the baby's clothes and furnishings.

When the opportunity came to capitalise their family benefit to pay off the section, they took it eagerly. But then the husband's overtime was cut and his wages are now barely adequate to cover expenditure for basic items and commitments, especially without the family benefit.

This couple say they can understand why two neighbours have had nervous breakdowns and why men are trying to hold down two jobs with obvious disadvantage to their health.

Meanwhile, the insurance monopoly and the building contractor are continuing to make record profits.

PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 3
November 16, 1960

21/2/10

Extract from "P.V. "

" Newspaper.

Published at

, on [date] 16-11-60

587

SUBJECT: CS1

Ban on freedom of speech is challenged by Communists

(Worker Correspondent)

AUCKLAND: A ban on free speech was challenged by the Communist Party here last Friday night in the busiest shopping section of the Birkenhead Borough.

The Birkenhead Borough Council, mitting an offence under any Act one of the local bodies in the but challenging the right of a Waltemata Electorate, recently ruled that open-air political meetings could not be held in their area during the general election campaign.

The Labour organisation rejected opportunities to unite with the Communists to approach the council to reconsider this undemocratic act, but, as freedom of speech is a key point of Communist policy, they decided to fight for it.

Mr. McLeod, the Communist candidate, using a microphone, spoke to a large audience of about 50 people, who heard him point out that by speaking he was not com-

"The British people," he said, "from generation to generation have fought to have freedom of speech. We in our nation have both shared and maintained these rights. Withdrawal of freedom from one group threatens all other sections, as the history of Germany has shown."

He pointed out that the Party policy was one of mass movement around peace, a policy that called for freedom from monopoly and big business control of our nation's

economy and life.

Thirty minutes after he had commenced, a police constable requested that Mr. McLeod cease talking so as to have a discussion about the legality of the occasion. Whilst this interview was undertaken the chairman carried on with the meeting.

Mr. McLeod subsequently devoted the remainder of his address to listing some of the activities of certain huge monopolies whose interests extended into the innermost corners of our national life and whose influence could be felt when Communists were banned from the radio, denied space in the press and even when gags were attempted on street corners.

The candidate concluded by thanking the large and interjection-free audience and the constable for the courteous manner in which he carried out his inquiries

~~SECRET~~

21/8/10

586

AK/3/1



D.O.A.

H.Q./C.S.

16th November, 1960

PEOPLE'S VOICE NEWSPAPER DATED 16.11.60.

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice newspaper referred to above.
2. On page 4 appears list No. 11 of the £2,000 appeal. No Auckland list is printed. The known initials in the "Individual" could apply as follows:

B.W.H. (Rotorua)	Bernard William HORNFECK (i.r.)	£3. 0. 0 .
A.D. (Waipukurau)	A. DONOVAN (i.r.)	£1.10. 0 .

Mangakino Branch

J.E.L.	John Edward LAWRENCE (i.r.)	£5. 0. 0 .
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3. In "Letters to the Editor" on page 5, the writer of the article "Labour's Policies" is no doubt Frank Rex BARRY (i.r.)
4. The P.V. Maintenance Fund appears on page 8. Initials of subscribers and collectors could apply as follows:

Roskill Branch

J.Y.	Wyvern George YALDEN (i.r.)	2. 0.
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Henderson-Te Atatu

(per) R.C.H.	Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.)	
--------------	--------------------------	--

Tamaki Branch

(per) R.S.	Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)	
------------	---------------------------	--

Building Workers

(per) D.L.	Richard LEACH (i.r.)	2. 0.
(per) H.G.	James GILLIES (i.r.)	
J.D.	James Frederick DELLER (i.r.)	4. 6.

City Branch

(per) M.O.	Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)	2. 0.
J.M.	John Augusta GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)	2. 6.
(per) D.M.	Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)	

Waterfront Branch

(per) A.O.	Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)	
------------	--------------------------------	--

 FIELD OFFICER
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

585

Pd/O. [REDACTED]

21/5/7

C.S.1.

16.11.1960

ANNEXURE 104/2(a) [REDACTED] of 2.10.1960.

WELLINGTON DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY.

1. PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION FUND: The Secretary of the Wellington District Communist Party has received a letter from the National Secretariat of the Party, dated 16th September, 1960, informing that when monies which have been received for the election fund are forwarded to National Headquarters, there should be accompanying lists of names and/or initials of donors so that these can be published in the "People's Voice". The Wellington Secretary was reminded in the letter that subscribers to the fund were not given a receipt for their contributions - which is usually collected on cards, and that if they saw their names published in the "P.V." as paying amounts to the fund they would know that their money had reached Party Headquarters. The letter stated that this is important from the angle of Party credit in the eyes of the people.

[REDACTED]
(Pd/O).

2/2/10

COPY

~~SECRET~~Original on 27/5/12
584

CHRISTCHURCH

CH/10/13-59

HQ

14.11.60

"PEOPLE'S VOICE" - IDENTIFICATIONS

1. Below is a further list of possible identifications of initials appearing in the "People's Voice" donation lists. This list covers the period 27.7.60 to 2.11.60 inclusive.

Not Election Fund or P.W. Maintenance Fund contributions

27.7.60Greymouth District

W.W.

Possibly

William WHITFIELD, i.r.

3.8.60Dunedin District

Bill McC

Not identified

Greymouth District

Change

Not identified

10.8.60Canterbury District

McN

Possibly

Maurice McNARN, i.r.

Bart

"

Victor Harold Stephen BARTON, i.r.

Maureen

"

Maureen ALEXANDER, i.r.

S.O.L.

Not identified

Ian

Not identified

17.8.60Nelson District

C.L.N.

Not identified

Dunedin District

Taramid

Not identified

31.8.60 - Nil7.9.60Nelson District

T.C.

Possibly

Walter Thomas CONIBEAR, i.r.

Canterbury District

S.K.

Possibly

William Samuel KINGSTON

S.C.

"

Sylvia Catherine CALDWELL

H.D.

Not identified

L.N.

"

Lindsay James NUTTALL

Dunedin District

Mary D.

William John COLLINS, i.r.

D. MAC

Andrew Daniel McDOUGALL

Nil

Not identified

Total

Not identified

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

COPY

2.

583

21.2.60

Graymouth District

G.B.	Possibly	George BURICH, i.r.
Mrs. T.	"	Mrs Doris THOMPSON, i.r.
R.R. (senr)	"	Robert Clifford RAWCLIFFE, i.r.
Bottlwa	"	Not identified
Mac	"	Alexander McARTHUR, i.r.
D.M.	"	Dick MOTH, i.r.
L.McL.	"	Not identified
L.B.	"	Leonard Maxwell BROWN, i.r.
R.W. (jun)	"	James Richard WALSH, i.r.
W.H.	"	Wilson MEIKLE, i.r.
O.S.	"	Oscar STEWART, i.r.
R.W.	Possibly	Not identified (Jin) ALLISON, i.r.

5.10.60

Dunedin District

G.K.	"	Not identified
Spartacus	"	Not identified
J.P.	Possibly	Mrs J.P. POWELL (Isabel Francis POWELL, i.r.)
J.J.H.	"	John Joseph HANNAN, i.r.
Mrs. S.	"	Mrs Elizabeth Mary SHANNON, i.r.
F.D.	"	Not identified
P.F.	"	Not identified
Mrs. W.	"	Not identified

Graymouth District

J.T.	"	Not identified.
------	---	-----------------

12.10.60

Canterbury District

A.D.	Possibly	Catherine Ann DUFFIELD, i.r.
H.McK	"	Norman Ray McKAY, i.r.
R.S.	"	Ronald Jack SCARLETT, i.r.
Joe	"	Joseph David WRIGHT, i.r. or Joseph Thomas McMAHON, i.r.
Alec	"	Not identified
G.B.	"	Gwendoline Madge BLAXALL, i.r.
A.McK	"	Adam Murray McKENZIE, i.r.
D. Jones	"	Daniel JONES, i.r.

19.10.60

Canterbury District

W.J.C.	Possibly	William John COLLINS, i.r.
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Graymouth District

D. MAC	"	Andrew Daniel McDUGALL
Bill	"	Not identified
Fred	"	Not identified

And destroyed 5.11.90

~~SECRET~~

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COPY

SECRET

3.

~~SECRET~~Original 2/2/70
5/4

CHRISTCHURCH

GU/10/13-89

26.10.60

14.11.60

Canterbury District

IDENTIFICATIONS

T.C. Possibly Trevor Gordon CROSS, i.r.
 Ralph Below is a further list of Ralph Comyn BLACKLOCK, i.r.

Graymouth District

Mrs T. MacA Not identified and not included

Buller District

A.S. Possibly Alice STANLEY, i.r.

2.11.60

Possibly

William WHITFIELD, i.r.

Nelson District

J.W. Not identified

Invercargill District

J.A. Possibly William James (Jim) ALLISON, i.r.

Graymouth District

G.H. " George Havill HONEY, i.r.

10 T.J.H. (Westland)

Not identified

Canterbury District

A.B. Possibly Archibald Brewster GRANT, i.r.

J.N. " James Edward TUTTALL, i.r.

Greg " Gregory Joseph KANE, i.r.

Ron " Ronald Jack SCARLETT

B.M. " William Cox MURRAY, i.r.

H.R. " Hilary RICHMOND, i.r.

Gin Not identified

Dick Not identified

Graymouth District

Anon 2nd Not identified

J.Me Not identified

J.MeV. Possibly James MeVIE, i.r.

Buller District

J.MeA Not identified.

District Officer, CHRISTCHURCH, Possibly Field Officer
 Walker Thomas GILBERT, i.r.

The Director, WELLINGTON, Possibly William Samuel KINGSTON

Forwarded, in triplicate. Sylvia Catherine CALDWELL

Not identified

Lindsay James WATSON

Not identified

District Officer

~~SECRET~~

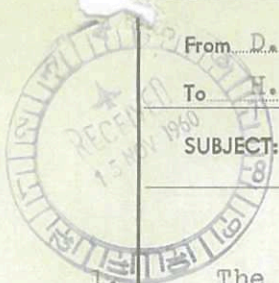
Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

CLASSIFICATION:

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INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

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of
(T.S. only)

21/2/10
copies *CS*
582



From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/10/1

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 14th November, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT: National Branch Study Course

1. The attached circular issued by the National Education Sub-Committee C.P.N.Z. was received from a reliable source. A copy is forwarded for Headquarters records.

2. Source: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Go
[redacted] *wd*

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tsi

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[redacted] *7 NOV*

File on 21/2/10.
2. copy of report to 21/2/9 ✓

[redacted]

[redacted]

10/11/60.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

Dear Comrades,

In view of the correctness of suggestions received, we have advanced the studies on the Elections.

In view of the importance of Study No. 4 on Building the Party and the Election Campaign, we suggest that two studies be devoted to the subject.

National Education Sub-Committee

.....

STUDY (3) STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY; THE BRANCH AS THE BASIC ORGANISATION; THE BRANCH EXEC. AS THE LEADING BODY OF THE BRANCH

Objective: To raise our understanding of the Party, particularly the Branch as the bridge between the Party and the people; the decisive organisation of the Party is carrying out in practice the Party programme.

Reading: "Foundation of Leninism". Stalin Section "The Party".

Constitutional of CPNZ - "Rights and duties of Party members",

Page 10 - "District Organisation"

Page 21 - "Branch Organisation"

Page 22 - "On The Party". Lin Shao Chi. Section "The Basic organisation of the Party".

Discussion: Discuss the Objective.

Notes for Tutor - For Study (3). Points to be brought out around the discussion of the objective

1. Bring out the correctness of the slogan "No Strong Branches - No Strong Party".
2. The role of the Branch as the basic organisation of the Party.
3. The leading role of the Branch Executive and the necessity for planning every Branch activity. (All planning must lead to some activity).
4. The development of the collective spirit of the Branch. Executive responsibility for Party building and care of comrades.
5. The necessity of constantly reaching wider circles of people: activising them for victory around their common demands, which is practice illustrates the role of the Party.

In all discussions bring out the collective responsibility for planning and check up, and individual responsibility for initiative in work. In practice, develop the concept of - every Communist a leader in his or her particular sphere.

In the work of the Branch, bring out the principles in Study (2) on Mass Line, which apply to every Party organisation.

Copy destroyed as false 18891

STUDY (4)THE PARTY, SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE ELECTIONS.

Objective: To bring out the role of the Party, and social democracy (Labour Party) in today's era of transition from the power of the monopolists to the power of the working class. (Capitalism to socialism).

Reading: N.Z. LABOUR REVIEW, April 1958. (Material will be The Labour Govt. its character provided in cyclo- and programme. V.G. Wilcox' styled form) Report to the National Cmte. Meeting.

N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW: May 1960. V.G. Wilcox' Report to National Conference, 1960. Pages 9 - 16.

N.Z. LABOUR REVIEW, Jan-Feb. 1958. The 12 Parties' Declaration. Page 8 to end. (Cyclostyled material to be provided)

N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW, August 1960. "We Re-affirm the Moscow Declaration", Page 6 & 7.

Discussion: Discuss the objective.

NOTES TO TUTOR -- FOR STUDY (4)

Bring out the following issues in the discussion.

1. The necessity of developing a world outlook. Every change in the world today has an effect in our country.
2. Refer to other studies on the role of the Party. Who else can lead the forces for change in the direction of the new society (socialism).
3. The correctness of our theory and outlook in the light of practice. From Marx to 1960. See the rapidity of change today. See "People's Voice" No. 33, Page 7, on Africa and the speed of the colonial revolution.
4. Discuss elections and political activity. The struggle for communist leadership on jobs must extend to Communists in Parliament. (See "P.V.", issue No. 32, Page 3.)
5. In the struggle for socialism, bring out importance of monopoly. (The most sharply developed and matured contradiction between social production and private gain). Compare the attitude of the Labour Party with Communist Party programme.
6. The role of Communists in Parliament and the need of them today.

.....

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INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/2/10
CS
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copies.

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/10/1A

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 14th November, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT:

National Secretariat Circular No. 12

1. The abovementioned circular which had not previously been obtained, was received from a reliable source. A copy is attached for Headquarter's records.

2.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

C.S.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

14/11

CS

[REDACTED]

17/11/60

on 21/2/10
2. copy of report to

[REDACTED]

21/2/5.

[REDACTED]

18/1/60.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

TO ALL DISTRICTS, BRANCHES UNDER DIRECT CONTROL OF NAT. CMTE.
NATIONAL CMTE. AND NAT. CONTROL COMM. MEMBERS.

Dear Comrades,

NEW PAMPHLET.

"FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW - VOTE COMMUNIST" by Cde. V.O. Wilson is now coming off the press. Copies will be despatched within the next week. The price is 6d.

Plans should be made immediately for a big drive enlisting every Party member and friends to ensure

- * as complete a coverage by canvass (weekends and evenings) of each electorate in which we are standing, as possible;
- * a big sale on the jobs and in industry.

Invoices will be sent out and payments should be made as quickly as possible to the National Office, P.O. Box 1785.

Any repeat orders will need to be in not later than 12th October as further supplies will involve a reprinting.

District and Branch Executives will need to give the matter of sale, payment and re-ordering, close and urgent attention.

REFERENCES TO CANDIDATES IN BRANCH PUBLICATIONS.

We notice that numbers of bulletins are introducing candidates merely by initials and surname. This is a wrong method for such presentation. Please see that in future presentations, the candidate's name is preceded by MR or MRS.

POSTAL DELIVERIES OF MAIN ELECTION LEAFLET.

Please give urgent attention to the question of those electorates for which your District is prepared to undertake household delivery of the main election leaflet. The latter will be available approx. 3 to 4 weeks prior to Election day.

We offer the following suggestions which you may take into account in considering the matter:

<u>Auckland District:</u>	3 electorates -	Central, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn.
<u>Wellington</u>	1 "	Central.
<u>CHRISTCHURCH.</u>	1 "	Central.

When considering this question, please bear in mind that the paramount task of branches is the maximum personal contact and discussion with people. It would be incorrect to utilise party forces in letterboxing to such an extent that this person-to-person contact is seriously limited.

Please advise the National Office of your decision not later than 1st October.

SPEAKERS' NOTES.

The first section dealing with "Trade, Foreign Policy and Defence" has been prepared and will be forwarded within about 2 weeks. Other sections will follow during the following four weeks.

They are to be made available to candidates and comrades taking an active part in the propaganda work.

Great care should be taken of them for their value is not limited to the Election campaign. The wealth of data made available should be a source of enriching branch study and relating it to New Zealand life.

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18892

FURTHER POLICY POINTS.

- * Proportional Representation.
- * Automatic Tax Refunds on PAYE.

These will go into the main Programme.

- * Payment of Age Benefits by Cheque posted to Beneficiaries. will not be specifically dealt with in National propaganda but is a policy point which should be brought out by all speakers.

STICKER.

A design for a small sticker incorporating "Fight Monopoly Now - Vote Communist" is being prepared for use nationally.

GUIDE TO BRANCH AND BRANCH EXECUTIVES. This document, aimed at clarifying a number of points in organisation of Election work, will be issued shortly.

NATIONAL BULLETIN. Exchange of experiences between different Party sections is necessary if we are all to learn from one another. Please forward reports of achievements to the National Centre promptly so that these can be made available to all quickly.

LEAFLET INTRODUCING CANDIDATE. The full biography of each candidate is required immediately so that production of the personal leaflet can be co-ordinated. Please let us have the material by return mail.

Comradely greetings,

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,

P.O. Box 1785,
Auckland.

CLASSIFICATION:

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INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/2/10. ~~CS~~
Copy No. ~~CS~~
of ~~CS~~ copies.
(T.S. only) 576

From D.O.A.

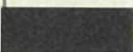
Our File: AK/PF/43

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 14th November, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT: "FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW" = V. G. WILCOX (i.r.)

1. Attached hereto is a copy of the pamphlet referred to above, written by Victor George WILCOX (i.r.)
2. The pamphlet which was made available by [REDACTED] is forwarded for record purposes.



C.S.

Fwd.



14/11



1. File report on 21/2/10.
2. Copy to [REDACTED]
3. Pamphlet retained in C.S. library.



17/11/60.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To H.Q. (CS)

Date: 10th November, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S VOICE" NEWSPAPER DATED 9TH NOVEMBER 1960.

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the "People's Voice" newspaper referred to above.

On page 4 appears List No.10 of the Election Fund appeal. The initials shown as being subscribers and collectors could apply as follows:

Individuals and Groups:

C.T. & H.L.F. : Catherine FITZGERALD (i.r.) PF
 : Thomas George FITZGERALD (i.r.) PF £10
 : Hilda Louisa FITZGERALD (i.r.) PF
 (per) L.G. : Leslie Allan GIBSON (i.r.) PF £4 19.1.59
 R.L. (Opotiki) : Robert Freeman LOGAN (i.r.) PF £2

Auckland D.C.Waterfront Branch:

(per) T.Q. : Terrence QUIRK (i.r.) 5/-
 (per) A.O. : Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.) 10/-
 (per) R.K. : Roko Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.) £1.5.0.
 B.B. (twice) : William George (Bill) BRYANT (i.r.) 4/-
 M.C. (twice) : Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.) 7/6
 L.C. : William Lindsay CRUICKSHANK (i.r.) £1
 S.R. : Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.) PF 4/-

South Auckland Branch:

(per) B.S. : Lorrie Graham (Bob) SMALL (i.r.) PF
 Mrs. O'N. : Valerie Lillian O'NEILL (i.r.) 5/-
 PF husband Sutherland Jones

Railways Branch:

F.M. : Frank Evelyn MOREY (i.r.) PF
 G.P. : George Edward PORTER (i.r.) PF
 L.R. : Leonard Walter Scott REID (i.r.) PF
 H.R. : Henry Francis ROBSON (i.r.) PF
 J. Arm. : Nathaniel John ARMSTRONG (i.r.)
 B.H. : Robert John (Bob) HUMPHRIES (i.r.)
 C.D. : Craig DUFFY (i.r.) PF
 S.L. : Stanley Murray George LETICA (i.r.) PF
 S.H. : Stanley Hooper HIEATT (i.r.) PF
 R.J.A. : Richard James AYO (i.r.) PF
 C.S. : Colin John Diack SMITH (i.r.) PF

Western Suburbs Branch:

D.S. : Dominick Nedjilko SUNDE (i.r.) £2.10.0.
 L.C. (twice) : Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM (i.r.) £2
 H. & E.F. : Henry & Esther FREEMAN (i.r.) 2 P.F.s £5 separate
 T.M. (twice) : Edwin Louis MATTLAND (i.r.) £1
 D.F. (twice) : Charles Richard FARNHAM (i.r.) 11/-
 G. McN. : George Edward McWHIRTER (i.r.) £5
 Sid A. : Sidney George ADAMS (i.r.) 10/-
 Hemp. : Frank William HEMPLEMAN (i.r.) £1
 (per) M.H. : John Robert Michael Maynell HUNT (i.r.)

1. Extract names underlined to P.F.s.
 2. Endorse card marked noting Gibson as a collector
 3. File assigned on 21/2/10
 4. Copy to 27/2/10

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574

- 2 -

Henderson-Te Atatu Branch: John HUMPHRIES (i.r.) ^{1.5.0} 1/6

(per) S. & M.H. : Selwyn Tancred & Mavis HADFIELD (i.r.)
 (per) Joy & J.F. : Joy & John FOULDS (i.r.) ^{2.5.0} 5/-
 (per) R.C.H. : Rex Chell-HOLLISS (i.r.)

City Branch:

Mrs. W. : Diana Miriam WILSIE (i.r.) £5
 Mr. W. : Maurice James WILSIE (i.r.) £1
 D.R. : Donald ROSS (i.r.) 10/-
 (per) J.W. : Joan Dorothy WALKER (i.r.)
 (per) D.M. : Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) 2/3
 (per) D.P. : Richard Campbell PULLEY (i.r.)
 (per) J.M. : John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 (per) M.O. : Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 15/-
 (per) J.J.W. : Jennifer Joan WALSH (i.r.)
 (per) D.W. : David Scott WALSH (i.r.) ^(P.F.) 2/-
 (per) M.O. : Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 2/-

Tamaki Branch:

Phyllis Winifred MOIRA (i.r.)
 David Scott WALSH (i.r.)
 (per) T.S. : August Frederick SMITH (i.r.)
 (per) Y.W. : Yvonne Lillian WOOLLEY (i.r.)
 (per) D.S. (twice) : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) 15/-
 J.M. : John GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) 4/-
 (per) R.S. (twice) : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) £1
 Ben B. : Ben BRAY (i.r.) ^(P.F.) £1
 (per) F.R. : Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.) 10/6
 (per) F.R. : Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)

North Shore Branch:

(per) P.A. : Percival George ALLISON (i.r.) £3
 (per) N.G. : Cyril John GOULD (i.r.) ^(P.F.) £1
 (per) T.O. : Trevor Wilfred OLIVER (i.r.)
 L.W. on page 8 : Leonard Norman Emil WOLF (i.r.) £1
 (per) T.T. : Thomas TIMMS (i.r.) ^(P.F.) 15/-
 I.T. : Iris Dorothy Evelyn TIMMS (i.r.) 2/6
 I.R. 27/2/2 12.7.60

Hamilton Branch:

SON (i.r.)
 (per) F.M. : Frank MIDDLETON (i.r.) ^(P.F.)

Huntly Branch:

(per) H.W.C. : Harold William CROOK (i.r.) ^(P.F.) 5/-

3. On page 5, the following are writers of "Letters to the Editor" Frederick Coles JORDAN (i.r.) 'Radio Freedom' and Leo WOODS (i.r.) 'Letter to Mr NASH'.
 4. The P.V. Maintenance fund list No.32 appears on page 8. Initials shown could apply as follows:-

Individuals:

M.J. (Tolaga Bay) : Margaret JONES (i.r.) ^(P.F.) 17/6
 (per) D.R. (City) : Donald ROSS (i.r.) 7/6

Auckland D.C.Building Workers Branch:

(per) D.L. : Richard LEACH (i.r.) ^(P.F.) 2/-

Railways Branch:

A.W. : Allan George WATTAM (i.r.) 1/6
 C.Q. : Cyril Frederick Raymond QUINLAN (i.r.) 4/-
 G.P. : George Edward PORTER (i.r.) 1/6
 F.M. : Frank Evelyn MOREY (i.r.) ^(P.F.) 1/-

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3/...

SECRET

- 3 -

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of
(T.S. only)

573

575

B.H. : Robert John HUMPHRIES (i.r.) 1/6

South Auckland Branch: 10th November, 1960

(per) B.S. : Lorrie Graham SMALLE (i.r.)

Western Suburbs Branch:

(per) M.H. : Mavis HADFIELD (i.r.)

Henderson-Te Atatu Branch: of the Election Fund appeal. The
R.C.H. follows: : Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.) 2/-

City Branch:

(per) D.M. : Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 (per) J.M. : John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) 2/-
 (per) M.O. : Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 2/-
 (per) P.McA. : Phyllis Winifred McARA (i.r.)
 (per) D.W. : David Scott WALSH (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch:

(per) T.S. : August Frederick SMITH (i.r.)
 (per) D.S. : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.)
 J.M. : John GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 (per) R.S. : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)
 (per) F.R. : Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)

North Shore Branch: William Lindsay CRUTCHSHANK (i.r.)

P.A. : Percival George ALLISON (i.r.) 2/-

5. Also on page 8 under the heading of 'Great Reception' appears an article on the reception by the New Zealand Peace Council to Paul ROBESON and his wife. Mentioned in the article are:

Dove Meyer ROBINSON (i.r.)

Charles Walker CHANDLER (i.r.)

Willis Thomas Goodwin AIREY (i.r.)

G.F. : George Edward PORTER (i.r.)
 L.S. : Leonard Walter Scott REID (i.r.)
 H.A. : Henry Francis ROBSON (i.r.)
 J. Arm. : Nathaniel John ARMSTRONG (i.r.)
 B.H. : Robert John HUMPHRIES (i.r.)
 G.B. : Craig DUNPHY (i.r.)
 S.L. : Stanley Murray (i.r.)
 S.H. : Stanley Hooper (i.r.)
 H.J.A. : Richard James (i.r.)
 G.S. : Colin John DICKSON (i.r.)

FIELD OFFICER.

City Branch:

D.S. : Dominick Nedilko SUNDE (i.r.) £2.10.0.
 L.S. : Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM (i.r.) £2
 H.A. : Henry & Esther FARMAN (i.r.) £5
 J. Arm. : Edwin Louis HAILEMAN (i.r.) £1
 B.H. : Charles Richard FARMAN (i.r.) 1/-
 G.B. : George Edward MCWHIRTER (i.r.) £5
 S.L. : Stanley Murray (i.r.) 10/-
 S.H. : Stanley Hooper (i.r.) £1
 H.J.A. : Richard James (i.r.)
 G.S. : Colin John DICKSON (i.r.)

1. Extract names indicated for P.F.
 2. Extract card marked as being given
 3. Extract card marked as being given
 4. Extract card marked as being given

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21/2/10

Extract from " P.V. "

" Newspaper.

Published at _____, on [date] 9-11-60

SUBJECT: CS1

567

EVERY reader of the People's Voice has now had the opportunity to read about every aspect of the Communist Party's policy in this paper and about the other three parties in the daily papers and over the air. In this week's special article on the questions facing the electors in the 1960 General Elections, we want to deal especially with the subject...

Now we've heard them all, how should we vote?

"Here's a pound for the Election Fund. You people are doing great work. But it's only fair to tell you we're not going to vote Communist. Your day will come. But just now we've still got to vote Labour." This is the gist of what one member of the Communist Party was told by a middle-aged couple whom he had known well for some time and to whom he regularly delivered the People's Voice.

Well, now that the election campaigns of all parties have entered their last couple of weeks of fevered activity, let's frankly discuss the question of where to put that cross on November 26.

Let us have a look at some of the reasons that make people who agree that socialism is necessary and desirable, who agree that the Communist Party's policy is the only one that is really in the interests of the working people—that we can't vote for you yet.

Here are some of the reasons given and our explanation of why we don't think they are valid:

Not Right Time Yet?

- "Any vote that is not for Labour must be a vote for National in the present set-up. So, in the over-riding need to keep the Nationalists out, we'll have to vote Labour."

building the Communist Party now —not some time in the future after the axe has fallen.

What About the Split Vote?

- "You'll split the vote and let National in."

This is a variation on the first argument. But, above all, it is bound up with the British system of the alternating two parties, both of which administer the capitalist system.

That two-party in-and-out system is one of the main bulwarks for keeping an anti-capitalist party out. Unless it is broken, then capitalism will stay.

It is, in fact, a mark of the decay of the Labour Party that it has never legislated either preferential voting or proportional voting, either of which would have killed the split-vote argument stone dead long ago.

But, even if we can't convince you theoretically on the need to make a break NOW from the two-party system, the fact is that the 19 Communist candidates are standing in electorates where, with one possible exception, they can get a very large vote indeed without "putting National in."

And again we must say: Either this argument does not work.

Throwing a Vote Away?

- "I'd like to vote for your party but you haven't got a hope of getting in. You're too small. I'd only be throwing my vote away."

Once there was only one Christian. Once there were only two Communists.

It is true that the Communist Party is still small in New Zealand, even though the movement in the whole of the world is the biggest ever known and is still growing rapidly.

But the early Labour Party was small. In some electorates candidates got under 50 votes in its early days.

However, this argument rebounds. If smallness does not attract new people to support and vote for a party, then those who want to see it grow must encourage others to take the plunge.

A much-increased vote for the Communist Party in this election will not only force the other parties to take note that policies for the people are needed. It will hearten more people to come towards the

Communist Party with a feeling that it can be a real political force.

And, if you know that millions of pounds of monopoly capital are pouring into this country with special assistance from the 1980 Budget; if you know that the purpose of this investment is to suck the life-blood of the New Zealand economy at the expense of the working people; if you know that the present policies towards other countries are disastrous to our living standards and may even become fatal to our lives; if you know that on these key questions both the parties that are "big" enough to be "successful" have just the same policy—

Then you are throwing your vote away in support of that two-party policy if you DON'T vote Communist.

21/2/10

Extract from "P.V."

"Newspaper."

566

Published at _____, on [date] 9-11-60

SUBJECT: CS1

Where there are no Communists

Where there are no Communist candidates standing, workers should vote Labour, says the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. V. G. Wilcox.

"The Labour Party has a capitalist policy but it is still based on the workers. By a big Communist vote and by organised pressure from the working-class movement, it can be influenced to stop some of the worst features of present society. It can be forced to do that even if it cannot be made to change society. Only the Communist Party can do that," said Mr. Wilcox.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.
of
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565

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 8th November, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE TO [REDACTED] DATED 7th November, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. Source reported that H.F. WOOD (i.r.) had donated £1 to the Election Fund, and was prepared to give more.
2. John James MITCHELL (i.r.) has made his truck available to the Party for delivering pamphlets. J.A. GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) and George DUNCAN will assist with distribution.
COMMENT. George DUNCAN is no doubt identical with G.W. DUNCAN (i.r.) who is a member of the Waterside Workers Union with J.J. MITCHELL.

3. E.M. AYO (i.r.) addressed a church meeting at St. Johns Church, Auckland on Sunday 6th November, 1960.

McARA informed source that the National and Labour Parties had refused to participate in these church meetings, and he thought the churches would discontinue holding them.

4. Source reported that McARA had received a letter from a man in Masterton who was described as a consistent supporter. He is not listed as a member-at-large at the National Office and McARA thought it unlikely that he would be so listed at the District Office, although he intended to check this with H.J. McLEOD. The man is said to be well known in Auckland.

5. The Women's Social Committee at Greymouth has sent a donation of £30 to the National Office C.P.N.Z.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

Para's 1 & 5.

16/11/60

To check.

16/11.

1. File on 21/2/10
2. Copy to 21/3/7
3. Extract to P.4. marked.

21/4/24.

40/15/3.

21/9/26.

21/2/18.

21/8/3.

14/11/60.

EXTRA COPIES
TAKEN

~~SECRET~~

564

D.O.A.

AK/4/15

H.Q. (D)

7th November, 1960

ANNEXURE 'D' TO [REDACTED] DATED 3rd November, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. P.W.G. McARA (i.r.) informed source that Buller had overfulfilled their Election Fund Target. He said Buller is not a Branch although it is shown as one. The National Secretariat would probably send them a letter and mention them in the P.V. but they did not want to make too much of them.
2. The C.P.N.Z. is arranging to pay wages at the rate of £13.15. 0 a week to Party members who are employed full time on Election Campaign duties and have to take time off from their own employment.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. 21/2/10
of 651
(T.S. only) 563

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 4th November, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S VOICE" Special issue containing the
Communist Party Policy

detached.
The attached is a copy of the special Householder leaflet being issued by the C.P.N.Z. to publicise the Party's election policy.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER

[REDACTED]
C.S.

Send

[REDACTED] 1/1

[REDACTED] This is already on file 2/2/10.

✓ 2. File report on 2/2/10

✓ 3. copy to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 1/1/60.



~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

21/2/10.

562

Nominations Closed For The General Election

NOMINATIONS for the General Election on November 26 which closed today show that there will be at least three candidates for all of the 76 European and four Maori seats.

Of the 80 seats, at least one, Hutt, defended by the Prime Minister (Mr. Nash) has five candidates. In another 25 electorates there are four candidates. Labour, National, and Social Credit each have 80 candidates. The Communist Party has at least 18 and there are at least eight Independents.

Nominated candidates include 14 women, including the three sitting Labour members. Women are also standing for the National, Social Credit, and Communist Parties.

In two electorates, Karori and North Dunedin, there are two women candidates.

Key: C., Communist; L., Labour; N., National; S.C., Social Credit; I., Independent; I.M.M., Independent Masonic Movement; U.N.Z., United N.Z. Political League; K., Kaubauganui.

HOBSON

V. F. Cracknell (S.C.).
L. F. Sloane (N.).
G. T. Webber (L.).

MARSDEN

D. N. McKee (N.).
R. A. McQuillan (S.C.).
J. S. Reid (L.).

WAITAKERE

H. G. R. Mason (L.).
K. E. D. Robertson (S.C.).
J. H. Wilkinson (N.).
V. G. Wilcox (C.).

ROSKILL

Mrs. E. Ayo (C.).
J. Faulkner (L.).
F. Langstone (S.C.).
G. G. P. Taylor (N.).

TAMAKI

E. E. McGowan (S.C.).
F. D. Muldoon (N.).
Mrs. R. Smith (C.).
R. J. Tizard (L.).

PONSONBY

G. Jackson (C.).
R. Macdonald (L.).
N. F. McLauchlan (N.).
W. A. Ross (S.C.).

RODNEY

P. A. Amos (L.).
G. D. Hunter (S.C.).
W. J. Scott (N.).

NORTH SHORE

D. J. Eyre (N.).
Miss B. V. Holloway (L.).
A. H. Richards (S.C.).
P. L. Smith (L.).

AUCKLAND CENTRAL

N. V. Douglas (L.).
L. B. Liddle (S.C.).
P. W. G. McAra (G.).
R. J. Presland (N.).

EDEN

A. G. Grove (S.C.).
E. G. Penney (L.).
J. Rate (N.).

REMUEKA

R. M. Algie (N.).
B. S. Gustafson (L.).
Mrs. M. Morley (S.C.).

MT. ALBERT

Mrs. C. M. Anderson (N.).
W. W. Freer (L.).
N. A. Montieith (S.C.).
L. Fletcher (U.N.Z.).

WAIKEMATA

J. R. Firth (N.).
B. A. Jordan (S.C.).
N. J. King (L.).
H. McLeod (C.).

MANUKAU

L. A. Gotz (N.).
T. W. G. Higham (S.C.).
C. D. Stamp (L.).

GREY LYNN

F. Hackett (L.).
F. T. Morley (S.C.).
R. Wolf (C.).
B. T. Zouch (N.).

ONEHUNGA

J. C. Leitch (S.C.).
D. McEwan (C.).
P. B. Phillips (N.).
H. Watt (L.).

OTAHUHU

J. M. Deas (L.).
A. R. Donovan (S.C.).
S. Hieatt (C.).
T. J. L. Tucker (N.).

FRANKLIN

A. E. Allen (N.).
H. T. Preston (L.).
T. A. Wheeler (S.C.).

TAURANGA

D. C. Goodfellow (L.).
G. A. Walsh (N.).
R. G. Young (S.C.).

BAY OF PLENTY

P. B. Allen (N.).
Mrs. A. L. Knox (S.C.).
T. G. Santon (L.).

ROTORUA

R. Board (L.).
H. R. Lapwood (N.).
C. R. Tunncliffe (S.C.).

WAIPIA

T. W. O. Bennett (S.C.).
H. Johnstone (N.).
R. D. Reese (L.).

GISBORNE

A. F. Box (S.C.).
R. A. Keeling (L.).
Mrs. E. I. Tombleson (N.).

NAPIER

J. G. Edwards (L.).
A. E. Frampton (S.C.).
W. J. Gunn (N.).

HASTINGS

E. J. Keating (L.).
D. Macintyre (N.).
G. Thew (S.C.).

WAIKATO

T. W. H. Mason (S.C.).
D. Barclay McLaren (L.).
D. C. Seath (N.).

RAGLAN

A. C. Baxter (L.).
D. J. Carter (N.).
W. E. Christie (L.).
Mrs. S. M. Thompson (S.C.).

WAIKATO

A. J. Ingram (L.).
R. F. Pemberton (S.C.).
G. F. Sim (N.).

PIAKO

M. E. Barrowclough (S.C.).
W. S. Goosman (N.).
H. J. Uttinger (L.).

HAMILTON

CUT IT FINE

AUCKLAND, Today (PA).

—One of the four election candidates for Waitemata cut it fine in lodging his nomination today. With a minute to go to the closing time at noon, he dashed into the returning officer's headquarters to officially lodge his candidature. The returning officer (Mr. J. O. Cooke) would not reveal the man's name. "It would be unfair of me, when he might not like it known," he said.

ISLAND BAY

J. A. Cameron (S.C.).
F. F. Currie (N.).
A. H. Nordmeyer (L.).
R. J. Smith (C.).

MIRAMAR

W. A. Fox (L.).
R. W. Johnson (S.C.).
B. L. Lyons (N.).

WESTLAND

P. Blanchfield (L.).
I. M. Traver (S.C.).
D. A. Hogg (N.).
R. H. Mitchell (C.).

BULLER

S. Bergh (L.).
F. W. King (N.).
P. H. Matthews (S.C.).
C. F. Skinner (L.).

NELSON

A. H. Mahan (S.C.).
W. Martin (N.).
S. A. Whitehead (L.).

MARLBOROUGH

R. W. Hope (L.).
G. R. Kerr (S.C.).
T. P. Shand (N.).

HURUNUI

A. A. Adcock (L.).
M. J. Clark (S.C.).
W. H. Gillespie (N.).

FENDALTON

H. R. Lake (N.).
J. J. Forster (S.C.).
W. E. Rowling (L.).

ST. ALBANS

G. R. Lynne (S.C.).
N. G. Pickering (L.).
H. J. Walker (N.).

HAWKE'S BAY

A. Bullock (S.C.).
R. E. Cheer (L.).
C. G. E. Harker (N.).
J. G. Woolf (L.).

CHRISTCHURCH CENTRAL

T. D. Flint (N.).
W. Green (S.C.).
J. G. Locke (C.).
R. M. Macfarlane (L.).

AVON

G. M. Edmonds (S.C.).
F. E. McNulty (C.).
J. Mathison (L.).
H. L. Pickering (N.).

SYDENHAM

M. B. Howard (L.).
J. E. Pounford (S.C.).
D. F. Quigley (N.).

RICCARTON

M. A. Connolly (L.).
C. E. Cullen (S.C.).
Mrs. D. V. Scahill (N.).

Only one Opposition

—says 2/2/10

Communist leader

(Worker Correspondent)

AUCLAND: "What a shameful position the Labour Party has got itself into when the National Party has to produce a pamphlet arguing that there are differences between the two parties—would this have been necessary in the early days of the Labour Party?" asked Mr. V. G. Wilcox at a meeting in the Auckland Town Hall on Sunday evening.

The leader of the Communist Party Election Team was speaking to 150 people at the second local meeting—the meeting that preceded the entry of the other parties into the election campaign.

Mr. Wilcox showed how the Communist Party was the only party with a programme to meet changing circumstances in a changing world; how the others were devoted to preserving the same old capitalist system with its increasing problems; how this led to all other parties serving monopoly businesses, particularly overseas monopolies.

No Freedom

Because the Communist Party was the only party exposing the real trends, the only socialist party, it was denied radio time and press space. The public was not allowed to judge for themselves.

The editor of the Christchurch Star had admitted that under no circumstances would his paper make any mention of Communist policy or even the Communist candidates. Other papers had done the same, but neither radio nor press bans could stop the march of progress, said Mr. Wilcox.

The workers of New Zealand had built the Labour Party to represent their interests, but now-a-days the Labour Party leaders represented the interests of the capitalist class.

Only Opposition

That is why the Communist Party was standing candidates in 19 electorates—so the working people could have representatives whose programme was really in their interest because it was a programme of fighting monopoly now and thereby improving the welfare of the people on lower incomes.

The Communist Party is the only opposition party to-day, said Mr. Wilcox, the only party that opposes capitalism, the only party that works towards the day when the country's resources can be utilised and developed for the benefit of the majority instead of a minority's private profit, he said.

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10 560

(Original on 27/2/2)

D.O.A.

AK/3/1

H.Q./C.S.

2nd November, 1960

PEOPLE'S VOICE NEWSPAPER DATED 2.11.60.



Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice newspaper referred to above.

On page 4 appears list No. 8 of the Election Fund Appeal. The initials of subscribers and collectors could apply as follows:-

Individuals

N. & M.J.	Richard LEACH (i.r.)	3. 0.
	Neville JONES (i.r.)	£22. 2. 0.
	Margaret JONES (i.r.)	
Rita G. (Rotorua)	Rita Margaret GLENNISTER (i.r.)	£2. 0. 0.
O.L.P.	Otto Leonard PETTERSON (i.r.)	£1.10. 0.
	(formerly referred to i.r. as PEDERSON)	

Auckland D.C.
Roskill Branch.

R.G.	Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)	
	Ruth GABOLINSKY (i.r.)	2. 6.

City Branch

per D.R.	Donald ROSS (i.r.)	
Mr. H.	Daniel HASMAN (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
M.O.	Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)	15. 0.
L.D.R.	Louis David Honeyman ROBERTSON (i.r.)	10. 0.
T.J.	Tom JELICICH (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.
per J.M.	John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)	
per J.J.W.	Jennifer Joan WALSH (i.r.)	

Building Workers

B.D.	Robert Marshall DONALDSON (i.r.)	£1. 01 0.
per D.W.	Richard Charles WOLF (i.r.)	
Sis. W.	Cecilia Orsala WOLF (i.r.)	£1. 0. 0.

Waterfront Branch

per A.O?	Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)	10. 0.
per R.K.	Roko Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.)	10. 0.
B.B.	William (Bill) George BRYANT (i.r.)	2. 6.
M.C.	Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.)	2. 6.
S.R.	Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.)	2. 0.
per T.Q.	Terence QUIRK (i.r.)	5. 0.
per D.B.	Donald BLAIR (i.r.)	10. 0.
Len	William Lindsay (Len) CRUICKSHANK (i.r.)	10. 0.

Henderson-Te Atatu

per V.G.	Victor George WILCOX (i.r.)	
S.J.S. (Z)	Srecko Jack ZIDICH (i.r.)	5. 0.
D.R.	Donald RUFFELS (i.r.)	1. 6.
per Joy & J.F.	Joy FOULDS (i.r.)	2. 6.
	John FOULDS (i.r.)	2. 6.
per R.C.H.	Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.)	

3. List No. 31 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund appears on page 81. The initials of the subscribers could apply as follows:-

2/.....

~~SECRET~~

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SECRET

401-560
559

Individual

J.V.S. (Levin) Julian Vivian SIDDALL (i.r.) 15. 0.
O.L.P. (Southland) Otto Leonard PETTERSON (i.r.) £1. 5. 0.

Auckland D.C.
City Branch

per D.R. Donald ROSS (i.r.)
R.T. R. TUCKEY (i.r.)
per M.O. Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)
J.O. Judy OSTLER (i.r.)
J.M. John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
per D.W. David Scott WALSH (i.r.)

Building Workers

per D.L. Richard LEACH (i.r.)
D. McE Donald McEWEN (i.r.)
per A.T. Archie Ray TAYLOR (i.r.)
per J.G. JAMES GILLIES (i.r.)

Te Atatu Branch

per R.C.H. Rex Chell HOLLIS (i.r.)

Waterfront Branch

per H.O. Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)
R.S. Ruth GABOLINSKY (i.r.)

SALE Branch

per D.R. Donald ROSS (i.r.)
R. H. Daniel HARRIS (i.r.)
R.S. Alison Mary (i.r.)
L.S.H. Louis David (i.r.)
Tom JELICICH (i.r.)
John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
Jennifer Joan WALSH (i.r.)

where

Robert Marshall DONALDSON (i.r.)
Richard Charles WOLF (i.r.)
Cecilia Orsola WOLF (i.r.)

Waterfront Branch

per A.O. Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)
per R.E. Hoke Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.)
D.R. William (Bill) George BRYANT (i.r.)
R.S. Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.)
S.H. Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.)
per T.H. Terence QUIRK (i.r.)
per S.H. Donald BLAIR (i.r.)
L.S. William Lindsay (Len) CHURCHMAN (i.r.)

Woodward's Atatu

per S.H. Victor George WILSON (i.r.)
S.H. Specks Jack KIDICK (i.r.)
R.S. Donald HUFFELS (i.r.)
per J.P. & J.E. JOY FOULDS (i.r.)
per S.H. JOY FOULDS (i.r.)
per S.H. Rex Chell HOLLIS (i.r.)

2. List No. 33 of the S.V. Maintenance Fund appears on page 81
The initials of the subscribers could apply as follows:-

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.
of
(T.S. only)

21/2/10 -
CSI
copies.
R2 2/11

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/10/1 558

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 2nd November, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT:

NATIONAL ELECTION COMMITTEE C.P.N.Z - CIRCULAR

1. The abovementioned circular issued by the National Election Committee C.P.N.Z. was received from a reliable source.

2. Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER

C.S.

Ad

2/11

File on 21/2/10.

2. copy of report to

2/11/60.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

TO: ALL DISTRICT COMMITTEES, BRANCHES AND COMRADES.

557

Dear Comrades,

re Speakers Notes:-

It is the intention of the National Election Committee to send out only one more cyclostyled set of Speakers Notes. These notes comprise a speech by Nash himself on Monopoly and some current profit figures of the biggest companies.

These are being prepared now. To assist you we set out below the date of particular Peoples Voices that carry adequate material on various subjects and you will also have the Policy Leaflet and Fight Monopoly Now. All this material combined is considered adequate.

- *1 Taxation is covered fully - P.V. of Sept. 21st.
- *2 More on Monopoly - P.V. of Sept. 7th.
- *3 Wages and Prices - P.V. of Sept. 14th
- *4 Youth - October 19th
- *5 Medical Benefits and Health Scheme - Oct. 5th
- *6 Social Credit - Oct. 12th.
- *7 Education is coming out in the P.V. soon.

You are already in possession of the encyclostyled material on foreign relations.

Comradely greetings,

NATIONAL ELECTION COMMITTEE.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.

of

copies.

(T.S. only)

555

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 31st October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE TO [REDACTED] DATED 28th October, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

P.W.G. McARA discussed with source a questionnaire he had received from the Returned Services Association. Source thought this dealt with the election policy of the C.P.N.Z. McARA told source that some of the questions would be hard to answer, but it was an opportunity to present some good propaganda.

[REDACTED]

C.S.1

[REDACTED]

File on 21/2/10.
2. copy to 26/8/27

[REDACTED]

4/11/60.

[REDACTED]

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

COPY

Copy No. 21/2/10
of 554 copies.
(T.S. only)

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 28th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE 'C' [REDACTED] DATED 25th October, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. Source reported that approximately sixteen thousand copies of the C.P.N.Z. Election pamphlet "Fight Monopoly Now" have been printed at a cost of £91. 5. 0
2. Mangakino Branch C.P.N.Z. have written to the National Office stating that they consider £25 is a large amount for members there to raise, but they would do their best to obtain the amount.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

C.S.1
[REDACTED]

1. File on 21/2/10. ✓
2. Copy to 21/4/22. ✓

[REDACTED] 4/11/60.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

TOTAL OF 19 CANDIDATES Communists Present Their Election Policy

THE Communist Party launched its Wellington election campaign before 40 people in the Maritime Hall, Cuba Street, last night.

After Mr. R. J. Smith, candidate for Island Bay, had dealt with the party's history in New Zealand, the general secretary (Mr. V. Wilcox), who is contesting Waitakere, spent about an hour covering various aspects of the party's election policy.

There were no interruptions—except the pounding of dancing school pupils on the floor above—and the audience put £11 5/- into the plate to boost party funds.

A resolution protesting at the radio ban on Communist candidates and asking the Government to allocate such time in proportion to the number of candidates of each of the contesting parties, was passed unanimously.

Mr. Wilcox said the Communist Party was putting up 19 candidates this election—the most ever.

The Communist Party claimed there was no solution to the problems of 1960 and years ahead in the policies of any of the three parties—Labour, National, and Social Credit, Mr. Wilcox said.

He spent some time attacking what he termed "the newspaper blackout" on Communist candidates.

New markets

Detailing party policy, Mr. Wilcox said the Communists would:—
Seek new markets for New Zealand's exports on the basis of mutually advantageous and reciprocal trade with the countries of Socialism and the new independent countries of Asia and Africa.

Break completely with the disastrous foreign policy of "follow the U.S.A. right or wrong."

Mr. Wilcox added:—
"We would demand withdrawal from the Seato Pact on the grounds that its membership is against the national interests, the United Nations Charter, and the furtherance of Pacific and world peace; and from the Anzus Pact for the same basic reasons."

"We would insist that our Government should lead in the United Nations and elsewhere in the campaign for banning atom bombs and for world disarmament."

"We would demand withdrawal of New Zealand's forces from Malaya, and refuse to engage on behalf of any imperialism in any similar aggressive action elsewhere."

"We would base foreign policy on peaceful co-existence and friendship, and base New Zealand's defence policy on recognition that friendship and mutual trade with our neighbours and the world is our soundest defence. On this principle we would reduce defence expenditure to £5,000,000 annually from the present £30,000,000-odd and use part of the funds saved in pursuing Government studies to effect a wage order with a minimum wage of £16 for a 40-hour week; restoration of full margins for skill in industry in interests of all workers; equal pay for women," Mr. Wilcox said.

"We would repeal all anti-trade union laws contained in the I.C. and A. Act and the Police Offences Act."

A strict and effective pegging of prices, profits and rents would

be instituted immediately. Also the introduction of effective control of capital issues in national interests, and development of joint Government-consumer organisation on a wide basis, including the trade unions, to develop methods of control of prices, profits, etc., in the workers' interests.

The Communists would raise pensions and other social security benefits to £5/10/- a week. Universal superannuation benefit would start at 60.

To aid in financing these and other improvements to be effected after a survey of the whole scheme, the present universal superannuation benefit would be limited to those with incomes of less than £300. Proportionate deductions to be made above that level.

The Communists would place the burden of taxation on the wealthy and would achieve this by increasing the maximum rate payable on high personal and company taxation. Personal exemption would disappear at £2000 a year. There would be a sharp increase in taxation of personal incomes over £2000 and a similar sharp increase in taxation of company incomes over £10,000.

The Communists would sharply increase sales tax on luxury items. The party would raise the personal income tax exemption level to £13 a week (£676 a year) and increase the allowance for a wife to £4 a week (£208 a year) and for each child to £2 a week (£104 a year). It would abolish taxation on extra wage payments received for dangerous, unhygienic or specially arduous work, and abolish the social security tax. It would also abolish the sales tax on all but luxury lines and cancel the beer, tobacco and petrol taxes imposed by the Labour Government.

Cheap homes

Mr. Wilcox said the Communists would build cheap homes for the people and increase State house and State flat building programmes financed at low rate of interest (1 per cent. to 1 1/2 per cent.) through the Reserve Bank, as done formerly.

The party would give essential aid to all small farmers. This could be carried out by loans at a low rate of interest for development and housing; guaranteed price for butterfat to be on a sliding scale ensuring adequate income for small producers.

~~SECRET~~

552

D.O.A.

AK/4/15

H.Q. (D)

27th October, 1960

ANNEXURE 'B'

[REDACTED] DATED 25th October, 1960

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE C.P.N.Z. TO NATIONAL
AND DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

Source supplied the attached copy of a letter which has been despatched from the Political Committee of the C.P.N.Z. to National and District Committee members, explaining the reasons for the visit of WILCOX and JACKSON to Moscow. Source reported that the letter is to be given minimum circulation and National and District Committee members have been instructed to convey the information to their branches.

The Political Committee is anxious to avoid any publicity regarding this visit to Moscow and has been at some pains to conceal from rank and file members the real purpose of the meeting, which is, in fact, being held in an attempt to resolve the differences that exist between the C.P.S.U. and the C.C.P.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~COPY

551

Comrades,

You have seen at some time an article to the effect that there is going to be a meeting of the World Communist Party in Moscow after the November 7th celebrations. This speculation is correct although minor remarks on this meeting have yet to be discussed. However, this meeting is on a World scale and our Party are sending two delegates.

After a discussion the Political Committee have decided to send our General Secretary, Comrade Wilcox and Comrade Jackson. That we should have to do this is unfortunate but hence the shortness and early date of Comrade Wilcox's national election tour and the early start in campaigning electorates which are Waitakere and Ponsonby where our two comrades are standing. Plans for an effective campaign, in spite of their absence have been made. In any case, to be sure that both comrades Wilcox and Jackson will return to New Zealand for the concluding week of the election campaign, plans have been made.

This World meeting has come earlier than expected but it is essential that our leaders attend. We can only call on members to have an even more vigorous campaign while our comrades are away.

Sincerely yours,

Political Committee.

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. *21/2/10*
of *copies*
(T.S. only) *CSI*
550

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To H.Q. (CS)

Date: 27th October, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S VOICE" NEWSPAPER DATED 19TH OCTOBER 1960.

1. AK/3/1 dated 19th October, 1960 refers.
2. An error has occurred in the identification of P.B. Seamen's Branch. The report shows P.B. as being Patrick Devine BOW, whereas the correct name should read Patrick Devine BOWER (i.r.).

PF

P.F. Palack (Paddy) Bowe

FIELD OFFICER.

C.S.I.

Fwd.

27/10

Action.

R. Fels.

11/11/60.



CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

P

CLASSIFICATION:

SECRET
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUMCopy No.
of
(T.S. only)CSI.
copies.

549

From: D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To: H.Q./C.S.

Date: 26th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT:

"PEOPLE'S VOICE NEWSPAPER - dated 26.10.60."

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice newspaper referred to above.
2. On page 1 reference is made to an address to Auckland Cargo Workers by Victor George WILCOX (i.r.) Also mentioned in the article as being present at the meeting:-

Richard Charles WOLF (i.r.)
 Peter Wilfred George McARA (i.r.)
 Hugh John McLEOD (i.r.)
 George Edward JACKSON (i.r.)

Reference is also made to the Waterfront Branch of the C.P. holding a series of lunch hour meetings, the first being addressed by Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.)

3. Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) and C. V. LETT (n.i.r.) are the writers of the article "Maori and Pakeha" and "Reckless Brinkmanship" appearing in "Letters to the Editor".

4. On page 8 appears list No. 8 of the Election Fund Appeal and list No. 30 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund. The initials shown as subscribers and collectors could apply as follows:-

ELECTION FUND. Auckland D.C.Roskill Branch.

J.E.	John Findlay EWEN (i.r.)	15/-
R.G.	Ruth GABOLINSKY (i.r.)	7/6
N.G.	Norris Trevor Douglas GABOLINSKY (i.r.)	10/-
J.K.	John Edward Thomas KEIGHLEY (i.r.)	3/6
A.M. (Onehunga)	Andrew MILLIKEN (i.r.)	2/-

Tamaki Branch

per D.S.
 per T.W.

Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) 5/-
 Torrens William Lewis WOOLLEY (i.r.)

South Auckland

F. & D.T.

Frederick George THOMSON (i.r.)
 Doris Anne THOMSON (i.r.) £2.5. 0.
 Margaret Thomas (Peg) MCKENDRY (i.r.) £5. 00.
 Dennis William MCKENDRY (i.r.)

City Branch

M.O. (twice)
 per J.W.
 per D.M.
 per F.G.
 per J.M.
 per J.J.W.

Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 15/-
 Joan Dorothy WALKER (i.r.)
 Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 Flora Wallace GOULD (i.r.)
 John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 Jennifer Joan WALSH (i.r.)

Henderson - Te Atatu

per B.D.
 per R.CH.
 per Joy & Jack F. (twice)

William Russell DEVEREUX (i.r.) 10/-
 Rex Chell HOLLIS (i.r.)
 Joy FOULDS (i.r.) 5/-
 John FOULDS (i.r.) 5/-
 (not identified) (i.r.) 7/6
 (possibly) Wayne Errol VALENTINE (n.i.r.) 1/6
 Victor George WILCOX (i.r.)

B. BONK (i.r.)
 V.E.V.
 per V.G.

CLASSIFICATION:

SECRET

2/...

3 PROSPECT RD
 GLEN EDEEN, AUCK. PF
 BOOTHMAKER.
 Card destroyed
 23/4/65

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

Copy No. 1
of 1
(S. only)

548

- 2 -

Building Workers

B.D.

Robert Marshall DONALDSON (i.r.)

£3. 0. 0.

SUBJECT

per J.G. James GILLIES (i.r.)

Richard Charles WOLF (i.r.)

per D.W.

Cecilia Orsala WOLF (i.r.)

Cis. W.

Richard LEACH (i.r.)

per D.L.

James Stanton MORGAN (i.r.)

Western Suburbs

per J.M.

Edwin Louis MAITLAD (i.r.)

T.M. (twice)

Henry Alfred READ (i.r.)

Henry & Flo

Florence Beatrice READ (i.r.)

L.C. (twice)

Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM (i.r.)

D.S.

Dominick Nedjilko SUNDE (i.r.)

per B.K.

Betty Vera KAPLAN (i.r.)

Huntly Branch

per H.W.C.

Harold William CROOK (i.r.)

MAINTENANCE FUND.

Auckland D.C.

City Branch

per M.O. (twice)

Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)

J.O. (twice)

Judy OSTLER (i.r.)

per D.M.

Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)

per J.M.

John Augusta GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)

Railways Branch

C.Q.

Cyril Frederick QUINLAN (i.r.)

A.W.

Allan George WATTAM (i.r.)

Building Workers

per J.D.

James Frederick DELLER (i.r.)

er J.G.

James GILLIES (i.r.)

per D.L.

Richard LEACH (i.r.)

D. McE

Donald McEWEEN (i.r.)

Cis. W.

Cecilia Orsala WOLF (i.r.)

Henderson-Te Atatu

per R.C.H.

Rex Chell HOLLIS (i.r.)

South Auckland

P. McK

Margaret Thomas (Peg) McKENDRY (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch

PER R.S.

Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)

per D.S.

Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.)

Roskill Branch.

J.Y.

Wyvern George YALDEN (i.r.)

C.S.

Food

Please extract those names underlined to P.F.s
② Card name with details given
③ File original on 21/2/10
④ Copy to 27/2/12

26/10

~~SECRET~~

3/1/00

~~SECRET~~

G.D.D.—11

547

EXTRACT/COPY

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/10/11 Date: 21.10.60
For File No. 21/2/10
Original on 21/4/20.
Received on 21.10.60 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 4.11.60

SUBJECT: WESTERN SUBURBS BRANCH C.P.N.Z. AUCKLAND.

1. A reliable source has reported in writing that a meeting of the Western Suburbs Branch C.P.N.Z. was held at the home of Herman NUNES-VAZ at 7.30 p.m. on 19th October, 1960.

2. Those present were: -

Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM
Charles Richard FARNHAM
Kathleen Muriel LUCKENS
Peter Wilfred George MCARA
Edwin Louis MAITLAND
William Frederick MOLLER
Eveline NUNES-VAZ
Herman NUNES-VAZ
John William ROSS

- all of whom are (i.r.)

6. L.V. CLAPHAM advised that Branch finance had slipped badly and that more was needed - while the £100. Branch target for the elections was assured, it had now been found that the £2,000 estimated was far short of what was required for the election and it would be nearer £3,000 that would be needed.

9. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (Fa/O)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/10/60 22/10/60
Copy No. 651.
of 546
(T.S. only)

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 19th October, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT:

PEOPLE'S VOICE NEWSPAPER DATED 19.10.60.

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice newspaper referred to above.

2. On page four appears list No. 7 of the P.V. £2,000 Election Fund. The initials of subscribers and collectors could apply as follows:-

Individuals:

(Stalinist)

Stanley Napier MILLER (i.r.) P F

£25. 0. 0.

A. & B.K. (Henderson)

Andrew KYDD (i.r.) N/R

Bernice Vera KYDD (i.r.)

£5. 0. 0.

Auckland D.C.Building Workers

per J.S. P F Sawers

William John SAWYERS (i.r.) £5. 0. 0.

Railways Branch

I.T.

Ivan TOMASEVIC (i.r.) P F

(Not identified)

5/-

N. COLE

4/-

Mangakino Branch

W.A.M.

William Archibald MUIR (i.r.) P F 11/6.

Waterfront Branch

per T.Q.

Terence QUIRK (i.r.) P F 5/-

per R.K.

Roko Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.) P F 10/-

B.B.

William (Bill) George BRYANT (i.r.)

2/-

M.C.

Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.) P F 3/-

S.R.

Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.) P F 2/-

per D.B.

Donald BLAIR (i.r.) P F 10/-

per A.O.

Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.) P F 10/-

Metal Workers Branch

per P.C.

Patricia CASEY (i.r.) P F

City Branch

per D.W.

David Scott WALSH (i.r.) P F

per W. McA

Peter Wilfred George McARAP (i.r.)

£1. 7. 0.

J.W.

Joan Dorothy WALKER (i.r.) P F 10. 0.

M.O.

Alison Mary OSTLER P F 15/-

Tamaki Branch

per R.S.

Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) P F 10/-

per D.S.

Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) P F 5/-

J.M.

John GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) P F 2/-

per T. & Y.W.

Torrens William Louis WOOLLEY (i.r.) P F 1. 0. 0.

Yvonne Lilian WOOLLEY (i.r.) P F

Seamens Branch

J.C.

James CASEY (i.r.) P F

P.B. BOWER Patrick

Patrick Devine BOWER (i.r.) P F £2. 0. 0.

3. On page 8 appears list No. 29 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund. The initials of subscribers could apply as follows:

Individual:

I.A. (Stratford)

Ivan ANTUNOVICH (i.r.) P F

5. 0.

Auckland D.C.

Henri LEGER (i.r.) P F

£1.0.0.

Railways Branch

per S.H.

Stanley Hooper HIEATT (i.r.)

per R.G.

Raymond Bernard GOUGH (i.r.)

B.H.

Robert John HUMPHRIES (i.r.)

1/6

L.R.

Leonard Walter Scott REID (i.r.) 9/6

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

545

City Branch

per D.W.
per M.O.
J.O.
per J.M.

PF David Scott WALSH (i.r.)
Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 2/-
Judy OSTLER (i.r.) 6d.
John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch

per D.S.
J.M.
per R.S.

PF Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.)
John GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)

Building Workers

per J.G.
J.D.
per D.L.
per A.T.

James GILLIES (i.r.) PF
James Frederick DELLER PF (i.r.)
Richard LEACH (i.r.) PF
Archie Ray TAYLOR (i.r.) PF


FIELD OFFICER.


C.S.

Hand.

 9/10

Register

R2

Please extract names underlined to P.F.s.
(P.B. to Patrick (P.B.) Bone PF) (Para 2 Ref to 21/2/10)
Card names marked — (Para 3 Ref to 27/2/10)
File original on 21/2/10
Copy to 21/2/10

 P.O.) 26/10/60

6/6
 based card for N. COLE & extract
to 21/4/10 (Railway Branch)

 6/1/21

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. 21/2/10
of copies CS
(T.S. only) 544

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/10/1A

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 19th October, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT: C.P.N.Z. NATIONAL SECRETARIAT CIRCULAR NO. 14.

1. Attached hereto is a copy of the circular referred to above, dated 14/10/60, the original of which was made available by a reliable source.

2. This circular contains

- (a) Outline of the 3rd stage of the Election Campaign.
- (b) Special effort by Party Members in industry and the Trade Unions.
- (c) On Presentation of Party Policy.
- (d) Rectifying a shortcoming.
- (e) The final stage of the Election Campaign.

Also attached are copies of the leaflets being issued by the Party.

SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER

G.S.

Two

CS
Exhaust action please.

19/10

File on 21/2/10.

2. Cross reference slip to 21/2/15.

3. Copy of report to [REDACTED]

10/60.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

14/10/60.

TO ALL DISTRICT COMMITTEES & BRANCH EXECUTIVES: BRANCHES UNDER
DIRECT CONTROL OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE: NATIONAL CMTE. & N.C.C.
MEMBERS.

Dear Comrades,

ON THE ELECTIONS.

This circular contains

1. Outline of the Third Stage of the Election Campaign.
2. Special effort by Party members in industry and the Trade Unions.
3. On Presentation of Party policy.
4. Rectifying a Shortcoming.
5. The Final Stage of the Election Campaign.

.....

1. THIRD STAGE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. A new phase of the campaign opens with the National Speaking Tour by our General Secretary, Cde. V.G.W ilcox commencing on 24th OCTOBER.

The Aim: To win the biggest possible vote for Communist Candidates.

The Key: "Out To the People - Build the Party".
The maximum mobilisation of all Party members and friends and supporters in intense public activity, to carry the programme and propaganda of the Party into every corner of the electorate. Every effort by people, no matter how small, is of vital import-
-ance.

Essential Tasks:

- * Make sure Nominations are correctly made, in good time.
- * Widen and strengthen the Party Election organisation through close personal attention to new contacts and friends already won or who will be met in the period ahead. Bring friends and Party members together on a social basis by a Branch Social or party as soon as possible.
- * Step up Finance Raising, particularly increasing the weekly guarantors; overfulfil the £2,000 Appeal.
- * All-out Canvassing with (1) FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW; (2) Candidate's Leaflet.
- * District Mobilisation and Leadership of all Party forces in distribution of house-to-house delivery of the National leaflets in the electorates excluded from postal delivery.
- * Make sure every supporter is on the Roll.
- * Step up House Meetings, afternoon meetings with housewives, seek opportunities to have discussions with the local organisations, church, welfare, parent-teachers, students, or resident organisations.
- * Flying Squads to cover every bus stop and other strategic points with posters, painted slogans, chalking, etc.
- * Organise Transport on Election Day for sick or elderly supporters and mothers; i.e. use our transport for those who need it. Every single vote counts.
- * Train all possible comrades and close supporters as chairmen

Don't expect the candidate to carry the campaign. It is the Branch's campaign, not the candidate's. The Branch is the leading force in the electorate. The Branch allocates the candidate's available time to the activities where it can best be utilised. But it needs to plan many more activities which must be carried through by Branch leaders and members themselves. This must be the objective everywhere.

This position is already faced up to by certain Branches because the candidate is a national leader and may consequently have to be away from the electorate for some weeks at a time. The growing understanding of this leading role of the Branch in the application and testing of decided policy has led to a leap in the creative work of a number of Branches. It is one of the gains flowing from the de-centralisation of the present election campaign. The new responsibilities facing the Branch called for the development of the Branch as a self-acting unit and began to free the creative initiative of the members. It creates the conditions and the cadre force necessary to the further forward movement of the Party. The District Committees and all Branch Executives need to give close consideration to this matter.

- Recruit continuously - Explain the Party to our new friends, lend them the Constitution, etc., and ask them to join the Communist Party. That is, strive to consolidate gains in the course of the Campaign.
.....
- 2. FOR COMRADES IN INDUSTRY.
 - Carry the Programme and propaganda to every worker at the factory or job, and into the trade unions, winning new active supporters and organisers of votes for the Party's candidates.
 - Make the Maximum Sale of FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW, getting where possible fellow-workers to take some for friends.
 - Increase the job donors to the Election Fund, particularly on a weekly basis.
 - Organise job and factory meetings, if possible in lunch-rooms, otherwise at the factory gate. (Co-operate closely with the electorate Branch on this).
 - Arrange for a candidate to have informal discussions with even 3 or 4 workmates in the lunch-hour, or in the evening at their homes, on the pamphlet or other questions.
 - Enlist workmates in the election activity in their area.
 - Post up the National Poster.
 - Go out to increase job 'P.V.' sales.
 - Consider special Bulletins dealing with questions of prime concern to the workers in your industry.
 - Show in discussions how economic demands, although a blow at monopoly, are limited unless accompanied by political struggle against monopoly power - that peace is union business and the struggle for peace and disarmament is essentially political struggle against monopoly - imperialism. Whatever the starting point, wages, prices, taxes, etc., strive to show the relation, i.e. the link, with the struggle against monopoly and the role of the capitalist state (including the Government) and the Budget as instruments of monopoly, and consequently, why a Labour Government can't serve the interests of the working people. That Socialism is the only way out for the working class.
 - Study the National Conference Report and "The F.O.L. Conference in Retrospect" (Sept. Comm Review).
 - Show that the only Party forthrightly backing the F.O.L.

demands for

- A Living wage for the 40hour week
- Price pegging
- Tax cuts on workers' incomes
- Peace

is the Communist Party of New Zealand.

.....

3. ON PRESENTATION OF PARTY POLICY. District and Branch leaderships need to give constant attention to ensuring that in all oral or written propaganda, points dealt with are always linked up with the struggle against monopoly and for peace and socialism and why it is necessary for the working people to vote Communist.

.....

4. RECTIFYING A SHORTCOMING. The new forms of organisation have brought to light certain shortcomings in organisational work. The decentralisation of the campaign which has resulted in an upsurge of initiative of Branches required more detailed information from the Centre concerning the expenditures which the Finance Appeal aimed to cover. In failing to provide this, we are responsible for some confusion that has arisen in one District and some Branches.

The Target figure of £2,000 set was considered the appropriate amount to set in all the prevailing circumstances. This sum provided for

printing and postal delivery of 160,000	
National leaflets.	approx.
	£1100 to £1200
maximum expenditure on behalf of each	
candidate - £40	total
	£ 760
	<u>£1960.</u>

These two items alone practically absorb the Target amount.

It was necessary to ensure that expenditure was kept as much within the total as possible. Other expenses involved in National tours and a limited amount of assistance to 2 or 3 comrades who may have to take time off, meant that it would be necessary to overfulfil the Target if we were to break even. It now appears that this overfulfilment will need to be not less than 20% to 25%.

The £40 allowance for each candidate is expected to be allocated as in past years - i.e.

Deposit on Nomination	£10.
Candidate's personal leaflet	
(approx 4,000)	£15
	<u>£25</u>

The balance of £15 had to provide for advertising (which in Districts needs to be pooled and planned in consultation with the District organisation), transport and incidental expenses.

There has in some areas been a great awakening to the favourable conditions facing the Party and the opportunities which the Campaign offers of going out to many new people. There has been a keen desire to make the most of this. Some Branches were anxious to considerably expand the printed propaganda. When comrades have seen how tightly Branch expenditure of the £40 is restricted, they have recognised that further printed propaganda is out of the question. But this has not prevented them from finding other means of expanding propaganda work, without in any way seeking to use funds forthcoming for the Election Appeal.

Page 4.

Cyclostyled brochures of half-foolscap size using offcuts from printers, some expansion of Branch Bulletins and in silk-screening, have been organised and paid for out of Branch funds.

The National Centre expresses its appreciation of the initiative and enthusiasm which Branches have displayed in their determination to overcome difficulties, make the most of limited resources, and while maintaining normal Branch finance, expand local propaganda. In some cases it has been assisted by new contacts who bring new talents and new initiative to the Branch, by the new recruits which some Branches are systematically gaining.

We at the National Centre have learned a great deal already in the course of the campaign, and in particular the value of promptly recognising and correcting mistakes. We trust that this circular which aims at clarifying the situation over Election finance will enable all Branches to develop the maximum activity and use to the best advantage the resources to hand, or the untapped reserves that await discovery.

.....

5. THE FINAL STAGE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN A Circular dealing with the consolidation of friends and contacts, and suggestions as to how they may be won to assist the fulfilment of the tasks such as the Fair or Jumble Sale, and the "P.V.XMAS APPEAL" will be forwarded about the middle of November.

But the important thing NOW is the maximum practical activity along the lines set out in the preceding sections.

Boldly out to the people with the programme and propaganda of the Party.

Out for every possible vote for the Communist Party Candidates.

Comradely greetings,

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. Box 1785,
Auckland.

FOR:

a living wage - new trade

lower taxes - world peace

price pegging

**FIGHT
MONOPOLY
NOW**

McARA

for

CENTRAL

VOTE COMMUNIST

FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW !

Fight the Power of Monopoly and Big Business over Your Cost of Living.

Break completely with National and Labour policy of "Follow the U.S.A., right or wrong."

FOR THIS AND FOR PEACE SAKE!

VOTE COMMUNIST

Hear

Mr V. WILCOX

National Secretary, C.P.N.Z.,

Communist Candidate for

WAITAKERE and Communist Election Team Leader



SPEAKS IN THE

TOWN HALL, CONCERT CHAMBER

on

Sunday, 30th Oct. - 8.15 p m

Meet Communist Candidates —

MR. G. JACKSON - - - PONSONBY
MR. W. McARA - - - CENTRAL
MR. H. McLEOD - - - WAITEMATA
MR. D. WOLF - - - GREY LYNN

MRS. RITA SMITH - - - TAMAKI
MRS. ELLA AYO - - - ROSKILL
MR. D. McEWEN - - - ONEHUNGA
MR. S. HIEATT - - - OTAHUHU

— A TEAM WITH A POLICY OF TRUTH AND ACTION

Don't Miss This Meeting
Everyone Welcome!

Questions Answered
Doors Open 7.30 p.m.

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. 21/2/10
of CS.
(T.S. only) copies 538

From D.O.A.

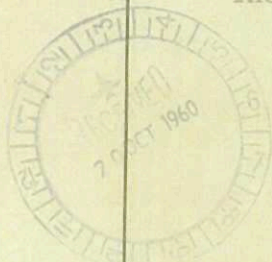
Our No: AK/PF/43

To H.Q./C.S.

Date: 19th October, 1960. Your File:

SUBJECT: Victor George WILCOX's Appeal for Finance

1. Attached hereto is a copy of the letter put out by the National Secretariat C.P.N.Z., over V. G. WILCOX's signature, appealing for finance.
2. References to this letter have appeared in reports of [REDACTED]
3. The original was made available by [REDACTED]



[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER

[REDACTED] C.S.
[REDACTED] Fwd.
[REDACTED] 9/10

[REDACTED] CS
[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] File 21/2/10
[REDACTED] copy of report to
[REDACTED] V.G. Wilcox
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

P.O. Box 1785,
Auckland.
14th October, 1960.

TO ALL PARTY COMRADES.

ALL OUT FOR FINANCE NOW!

Dear Comrades,

Early reports are in on the activity carried out in preliminary preparation for our intensified election campaign which starts at the end of October. All indicate a new high level of activity and a widening of our contact. Cottage and film evenings in many areas have been the means of adding new people to our list of helpers in the campaign. This is a significant result and shows that our general political estimate is correct and that advance can be made if the wide approach to new people is made. Public meetings already held have been remarkably successful in view of their early date relative to the elections.

There is no doubt that from the coming election activity the Party is going to emerge with a much wider influence and contact, with increased demand for our propaganda and with many new members won. But to do this effectively, we need now guaranteed success in our Election Finance Appeal.

The Appeal started off with a bang but we must face facts. It has not carried on that way. It is lagging today. Increased activity on other phases of the campaign faces us in the immediate future. At that stage the danger arises that finance will be forgotten.

Yet it is fact that unless our £2,000 Appeal is overfulfilled by at least 20% we will not pay our way with the present plans to which we are already committed.

Therefore the lag in the Finance Appeal is serious.

The Political Committee has asked me to write this letter to you pointing out that we must succeed with this Appeal. The Election activity is going to help immensely in our Party Building Campaign. **BUT IT CAN'T BE DONE WITHOUT THE MONEY.**

Please don't take this Appeal as easy. It is a difficult but vital task. In its own way, more hard to succeed in than the past libel Appeal where we had the emotional reaction to help us to a speedy success.

Get out and collect now. Tell our friends why they must give generously. If you do we shall be over the top in the next two or three weeks. It can be done. With a collective all-out effort by all of us it will be done.

Fraternally Yours,

V. Ly Wilcox General Secretary.

*copy destroyed
8/12/81*

21/2/10 536

Report re Original on 31/5/5
19/10/60.SPEAKERS'
NOTES.TRADE, FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENCE.SPEAKERS'
NOTES.

1. New Zealand's economy depends on the sale of meat, butter wool and cheese. This is becoming more so rather than less so. Hence our economy is one-sided and, consequently very vulnerable to price changes in agricultural export prices which can shift very suddenly.
2. Our non-farming industries depend for machinery and raw materials on imports paid for by the sale of exports. If the sale price of exports goes down, then we can import less. If this importable amount drops too low, our local industries would close and there would be unemployment.
3. Hence we have to find a way to do two things for the NZ economy:
(a) Find a way to get more imports for our exports
(b) Find a way to get capital to start industries with our own resources, making our economy more all-sided and not dependent on the whims of the prices of agricultural products on the shifting market.
4. But NZ's dependent economy has developed historically, not accidentally. It is dependent because the great British (and later other) monopolies have had sufficient power over New Zealand to mount our economy that way. Hence they would bitterly resist any change that threatened the set up that is most favourable to them.
5. The people from whom we can get more imports for our exports and who can assist us to develop new industries in NZ are the socialist countries. But our relationship in trade with them is determined by foreign policy.
6. The question of foreign policy today is determined by whether you support the shrinking world of big capital, of imperialism, and commit your country's resources and manpower to military preparations for war to preserve the old system; or whether you oppose war and allow nations the right to determine their own future even down to chucking out the power of the monopolies for ever.
7. Both Labour and National follow the same line, the line of imperialism led by the USA. This line does not allow us to be friendly to the socialist countries nor the to encourage ex-colonies fighting for independence. Hence it prevents present and future trade with these countries, as well as being the direct cause of the arms race and the ~~very~~ tense situation in the Cold War where we might all be blasted into maternity as a puff of ashes at any time some crazed anti-communist does something foolish.
8. Hence the policy we follow threatens our lives and our living standards. To protect both we must have different foreign policy, breaching from that we have now, which serves only the interests of big money.

.....

The foreign policy which New Zealand is tied to at present is not only a dangerous one. We have to prove that the danger is not justified-- that there is not the least threat of "Communist aggression" to "take away our liberties".

Over the last 40 years Communism has grown into a mighty force. It is no longer just a theory, it is applied in countries containing over one third of the world's population --1000 million people. There are 35 million people in the 80-odd Communist Parties in the world-- one in 80 of the world's population is a CP member.

This growth is not because the Communists have some magic formula for manipulating people like putty in their hands. They have reached this position because millions of people have experienced that capitalism brought them nothing but poverty and the most colossal world wars. The Communist have been able to point out why this has been so and how it can be ended. To one third of the people of the world they have proved that their theories work.

Nor have the defenders of capitalism, the big advanced nations which used their power to enslave the most backward parts of the world, been able to retain their grip on their colonies. Countries with over half the world's population in them have broken from colonialism since World War II.

This leaves only countries with one sixth of the world's population in them in the control of modern capitalism, monopoly capitalism, imperialism.

This development was as inevitable as death and rent day. It is no more possible to stop it than it was for King Canute to stop the tide coming in.

For the reason for it is not Communist "cunning" but electricity. Steam built modern industrial capitalism and made it possible for the first time to produce enough for everyone in the world. But this possible tide of plenty, enhanced by the growth of electric power and now nearly on our doorstep, thermo-nuclear power, has brought the situation where man can make more of the things he needs than the capitalist way of producing allows him to have and use. Communism takes this possible plenty out of the hand of the capitalists, puts it in the hands of the people so that it can be realised. The sheer good sense of doing this is what has created the great popularity and growth of Communism in the world.

But the masters of the old world have great riches and power at their disposal still. They use every trick of propaganda to make the people afraid of Communism. The disproof of their lies is the enormous successes of the socialist world which has now reached the stage of surpassing even the most advanced things the capitalist world could do.

If we take up the foreign policy position of the masters of the small but still powerful capitalist world, then we still won't stop Communism, but we will certainly hurt ourselves. For instance, Britain lives by the export of machine goods. America will not allow her to export them to China. China has made her own and is now capable of exporting them to India, Indonesia, Burma etc. Did Britain gain a thing?

.....

QUOTES.

That the people who lead the government here know quite well what the position is is shown by statements they have made from time to time. But, like Holyoake who went to the Soviet Union in 1955 to discuss trade and achieved none, the Labour Government also seems to have profited little from Nash's visit to that country in 1960.

(a) Vulnerable economy

"It must be an occasion for serious thought on the part of those who administer the affairs of this country that in spite of increasing industrialisation and diversification of our export industries, New Zealand's dependence on her three main exports has in fact grown rather than declined over the last 25 to 30 years," Mr Nash told the 1960 Labour Party Conference. Meat, wool and dairy produce have increased from 82 per cent of our total exports to 87 per cent, he said.

"This should lead us to mark the need for constant careful vigilance over import spending and for the obligation on the part of any government to take every opportunity to diversify our markets and to widen the range of products that we sell, overseas."

Mr Nash later told the Pénrose Industrial Progress Association (June 20) that more consumer goods must be processed here to strengthen our industrial development and expanding economy. "We must do this rather than export our raw materials. Because dairy, meat and wool products form about 87 per cent of our exports today our economy is very vulnerable."

(By "vigilance over export spending," the Labour Govt has proved that it means cutting the purchasing power of wages by heavier direct taxes and by drastic indirect taxes.

The problem is not solved because it is an economic fact that dependence on primary produce results in a widening gap (known as the "scissors") between export prices and import prices - the owner of a machine can hold out for higher prices longer than the owner of a quantity of perishable butter.

A century of experience in this field does not seem to have convinced the orthodox economists and politicians who continue to pin their faith to present practices and markets in spite of their unreliability.)

(b) Western trade unreliable

"On few occasions during the 1950s have we been free from concern about balancing our external transactions," said Mr Nordmeyer, Minister of Finance in his Economic Survey for 1960.

(This is a logical sequel as long as the bulk of trade is conducted with western lands whose capitalist economies with their booms and slumps mean fluctuating prices for exports.

While there is growing realisation of these facts there is a great reluctance to abandon the old policies.

On June 30, Mr. R.A. Candy, Chairman of the Dairy Products Marketing Commission said the areas of greatest potential development as markets for dairy produce appeared to be in the East where living standards were improving steadily and people were developing new eating habits but he showed a lack of appreciation of the facts by listing such eastern lands as capitalist Japan and the virtual US colony of the Philippines and crisis wracked North America.

It had been clear for a long time that new markets would not be found in Europe, he said. Dumping had precipitated the disastrous price fall of 1958 and was again casting its shadow over the British market this year.

Mr Nordmeyer in his Economic Survey 1960 gave a good insight into the hit-or-miss factors involved in our present trading.

Examining the figures for the past ten years he pointed out how wool prices had collapsed in 1951 and had only been restored by an increased demand during the Korean war. He mentioned the 1958 "recession" as another example of how export prices slumped.

He pointed out how the butter price rose from 290/- per cwt, London, in May 1959, to a peak of 410/- in October due to a scarcity of supplies. How the high price didn't last because of "consumer resistance" and increased supplies from Britain's farms and elsewhere. The price of NZ butter dropped to 290s again. Total sales during 1959 amounted to 160,000 tons compared with 195,000 the previous year when the major factor was a drought in Europe.

In its report to the Industrial Conference, the Department of Industries and Commerce said "In less prosperous periods food prices fall and the demand for wool slackens rapidly in the industrial countries which are the main users of wool. Thus the 1957-58 depression in the United States and other industrial countries resulted in the average price for NZ wool falling from 54.76d per lb in 1956-7 to 41.16d in 1957-58 and to 36.07d in 1958-9 with a fall in the value of wool exports of £26 million from 1957 to 1958.

"Another anxiety is that the recent growth of regional economic groups, such as the European Economic Community, may further restrict access for third countries' exports to these valuable secondary markets," said the Dept.

(c) Eleven years trade (fm)

Year	Receipts	Payments	Result
1949-50	188.9	182.6	+ 6.3
1950-51	243.3	204.2	+39.1
1951-52	265.4	316.6	-51.3
1952-53	258.1	223.4	+34.7
1953-54	281.3	256.1	+25.2
1954-55	273.7	316.1	-42.3
1955-56	319.6	324.8	- 5.2
1956-57	330.9	324.0	+ 6.9
1957-58	311.9	371.6	-59.7
1958-59	359.3	318.3	+41.0
1959-60	359.7	341.0	+18.6

Over the whole eleven years there was a balance of only + £13.3.

This table included not only exports and import prices but other receipts and payments (such as debt interest etc) In actual fact, during the past ten years, New Zealand has had a total deficit of £78 million in overseas exchange transactions which has had to be financed by a net inflow in the form of loans of official capital amounting £44 million and of private capital totalling £28 million in the form of private investment.

Last year's export earnings, which exceeded import payments by £73 million and was the highest favourable trade balance ever recorded, was offset by a deficit of £41 million on other current transactions. Besides, as the table shows, one good year does not mean stability in future years.

The rise in last year's export income was due to £30 million from an increase of 24 per cent in the average level of wool prices, favourable in prices for butter which added a further £15 million but meat receipts fell by £10 million due to a weakening in demand for lamb in Britain and for beef in the United States.

(d) Common Market danger to NZ

Serious blows to the economies of New Zealand and England are likely as the result of the six-nation European Common Market, said the U.K. High Commissioner, Sir George Mallaby to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce in April 1959. He pointed out that about 14 per cent of Britain's trade was with the six members.

"The effect on NZ would be similar. In 1956 your exports to the six countries amounted to more than £43 million-- nearly 16 per cent of your total exports. You can no longer be certain that these markets will be open to you," he said.

This fear of protectionist policies has been expressed by many authorities. Chairman of the Dominion Dairy Conference, Mr. A.M. Linton, said (July 31) said there was great danger because the Six countries in the European Economic Community envisaged the use of practically every weapon of protection - tariffs quotas, prohibitions, levies, export subsidies, target and intervention prices and limitation of production.

This he said could force the Danes out of the German butter market and cheese market and they would then have to ship far greater quantities to Britain. Prices would come down and New Zealand would suffer.

This problem has been seen by the Government which is trying to counter it by coming to an agreement with West Germany. But the stupidity of the whole present outlook is clearly shown in the 1960 Report of the Department of External Affairs. It regards the "economic integration in Europe as in general terms a desirable object since it should enhance the political stability and economic strength of that part of the world" This is obviously because it becomes a "power against Communism." Sir George Mallaby actually gloated over this aspect.

But even the Departmental Report points out the fact that the division of West Europe into two trade blocs "is likely to result in internal friction both economically and politically" and to hit New Zealand's trade. The 1960 Budget stresses both points.

The immediate threat of the two economic blocs is leading people like Mr. Linton to call for cuts in local production costs - he attacked the 40 hour week, the 24 per cent cost of living allowance, and "over-employment and competition for labour by protected industries which passed on their costs"

(e)

Trade and living standards.

"On few occasions during the 1950s have we been free from concern about balancing our external transactions," said the Minister of Finance Mr Nordmeyer in his 1960 Economic Survey.

"About 40 per cent of all the goods available for use in New Zealand come from overseas and export receipts comprise about one quarter of our gross national product," he said.

"Because of this large volume of external trade the rate of New Zealand's economic growth and our standard of living are influenced by the terms on which the goods we export can be exchanged for those we obtain overseas," Mr Nordmeyer continued.

"The difficulties of the early phase of the 1957-58 recession were aggravated by the extent to which current levels of spending exceeded the resources available and by the depletion of our overseas reserves. The additional taxation imposed in 1958 was designed to remedy this situation." he said thereby showing how the workers' living standards were lowered in a bid to tide over a capitalist crisis.

A Government really concerned for the welfare of the working people would have looked for other methods of easing the crisis.

Because such crises as slumps do not occur in planned socialist economies; it would be safe to say that had the bulk of our trade been with the socialist world in 1957-58 our export prices would not have slumped to the extent where our import payments exceeded them by £59.7 million (see table of eleven years' trade).

(f) Shipping monopolies accentuate the problem

That these problems of trade are accentuated by the practices of shipping monopolies is borne out by a section of the Department of Industries and Commerce report to the Industrial Conference.

The report says that it has been difficult to develop trade in new areas up to recently because "shipping follows trade." It then says that recent efforts to diversify trade have coincided with an increased supply of ships with provision for refrigerated cargoes. "Competition in the Pacific which arose through the producer boards having no shipping contracts with the ship owners resulted in improved services in this area and showed that competition is an effective method of improving shipping services. However, this opening of competition has not affected freight rates because all regular services adhere to conference rates."

The direct financial effect of the shipping companies on our trade can be seen in the exorbitant freight rates, which have just risen 6% for exports, 7% for imports.

As far as can be gathered freights on meat, dairy produce and fruit totals about £20 million a year, apart from an estimated £10 million for wool exports.

None of this, of course, takes into account the extra prices we are paying on imports because of freight rates. This is considered to be the same amount as for exports, making total of £60-£70 million.

Charges for carrying farm produce to Britain more than doubled between 1939 and 1955, rose again by .5 per cent in 1955 and $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $13\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in 1957.

Within 16 days of the 1957 increases for meat dairy produce and fruit, it was costing 15 per cent more to land British goods here, and $13\frac{1}{4}$ more to send wool to Britain.

(g) Monopoly Pressure

The following quotation from Time, July 18, 1960, shows the pressure and power of monopolies on trade:

"War against Red oil will be waged by Western oil companies to prevent Russian crude from ~~pen~~ entering their markets. Three companies (Shell, Standard, Vacuum, Caltex) told India they will not refine Russian crude oil sold to Indian government, Standard Oil (N.J.) warned owners and tanker brokers, in effect, it will not do business now or in future with anybody who charters or sells tankers to the Soviet Union or its satellites."

(h) Trade surveys

Credit must go to the Department of Industries and Commerce for conducting trade surveys over a wide range of countries recently (Caribbean, Africa, Middle East, HongKong, Philippines, Indonesia, Formosa, China, Italy, India, Ceylon, Fiji and Australia. In most cases the department's officials were accompanied by local businessmen.

Trade surveys contd.

27 Trade Commissioners are maintained in 12 overseas trade posts - London, Washington, Montreal, Sydney, New York, Trinidad, Tokyo, Singapore, New Delhi, Melbourne, San Francisco and Kuala Lumpur. There are none in socialist lands, nor has trade there been pursued with any zeal.

Among trade agreements at present under consideration is one with the Soviet Union, following discussions between Mr Nash and Soviet officials in Moscow.

Following Mr Nash's visit to the Soviet Union between April 18-24, 1960, the following joint communique was issued with these words about trade:

"On the question of trade between the USSR and NZ it was noted that negotiations had been undertaken from time to time with the object of facilitating the extension of trade between the two countries. It was agreed that trade negotiations might be resumed in the near future with a view to reaching an agreement whereby each country would accord to the other the most favoured nation treatment in trade matters. In particular, New Zealand will be given, during the operation of such an agreement, opportunities no less favourable than other countries for the delivery of goods meeting the import requirements of the Soviet Union."

This table demonstrates (by using 1957, when fuller details were available, as an example) how New Zealand is using one-sided trade with the socialist lands to help balance its overall payments.

Country	Exports	Imports	Balance
Bulgaria	£13,531	Nil	+£13,531
China	£595,356	£340,764	+£254,592
Czech.	£972,666	£437,286	+£535,380
GDR	Nil	£99,063	-£99,063
Hungary	£11,354	Nil	+£11,354
Poland	£2,988,984	£6528	+£2,982,456
USSR	£2,680,694	£41,555	+£2,639,139

The total imbalance in NZ's favour for this one year was £6,337,389. A similar imbalance occurred before and after 1957. The exception of the GDR was due to imports of rayon piece goods (£21,000), chloride of potash (£12,000) and other unspecified goods.

The socialist lands can only afford to indulge in such one sided trade to the extent that they can make any surpluses with other countries and thus pay in cash for our goods. But as the whole trend of socialist trade is to make mutually beneficial agreements such surpluses are likely to become exceptions.

This could well be the reason for the serious drop in Soviet purchases from New Zealand.

In 1957 these were £2.7m or almost one per cent of our total trade but in 1959 it dropped to £192,000 or one 2000th of our trade total.

Poland, which took £3 million dropped to £1.3m last year, Czechoslovakia increased from £973,000 in 1957 to £1.4m last year, Bulgaria from £14,000 to £140,000 and China from £595,000 to £2.5 million.

These increases could well go the way of the others if the same short-sighted one-sided policy is continued.

(j) Socialist markets expanding

The USSR's Seven Year Plan means expanding trade possibilities because it means an expanding consumer market.

For every £10 they spend today, in 1965 they will be spending £16 on better goods at lower prices - a 60% boom in shopping for 200 million people.

On February 18, 1960, Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade N. Patolichev said that the Seven Plan opened wide prospects for the further development of Soviet economic contacts with foreign countries. In the seven year period the Soviet Union can at least double its foreign trade, he said.

Similar expansion is occurring in every socialist land. But while the Communist Party of NZ cannot promise specific trade it can at least point out that the socialist lands have expressed a firm willingness to trade with everyone.

Mr I.I. Fedorov, a Director of The Soviet Export Commission spent seven weeks in New Zealand and Australia earlier this year trying in vain to sell oil cheaper than both countries are now buying it.

A "high oil official" quoted in the Herald on July 21 said "The establishment of an oil refinery here in which all traders will participate would ensure that Russian petrol could not be permitted to undersell the locally refined product." In the absence of cheaper petrol the Russian product would find itself in keen competition in a market which is already well supplied."

This is a polite way of saying that, as in Cuba, the refinery would refuse to refine cheaper oil that was not imported by the combine.

(k) Recognising China.

Early in 1959, Mr Nordmeyer spoke to members of the Labour Party in Auckland and told them that China would definitely be recognised during Labour's term of office. He told the Otahuhu Railway Workshops the same thing.

One Australian businessman who sees the weakness of the American-sponsored embargo is Mr W.A. Gunn, chairman of the Australian Wool Bureau, who is leading a fact-finding mission to China. Asked how he thought America would like a fact-finding mission to promote wool sales in China, he snapped back: "Look, it's about time we stopped chucking verbal bricks and mortar at these people and got stuck in there selling our wool." (Auckland Star 24/6/60)

(l) All round development of NZ

There is no doubt that sound trading would enable New Zealand to develop in all-round manner and avoid remaining with a vulnerable economy (refer Vulnerable Economy).

Proof of this coming from trade with the socialist world can be seen in the following examples - all negotiated on either a long-term low interest (2¹/₂ per cent) loan repayable in the countries export products (or paid immediately or over a period in products without any lengthy loan):

Examples of Soviet aid

<u>Country</u>	<u>Approx value in sterling</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
India	£90 million	To build iron and steel works, heavy engineering mine equipment factories and a big power station.
Egypt	£100 million	To build and enlarge metal, engineering, oil foodstuff and other factories; mining surveys train staff; build Aswan High dam.
Afghanistan	£44 million	To build factories and hydra-electric static roads and irrigation.

Examples of Soviet Aid Cond.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Approx value in sterling</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
Indonesia	£38 million	To build factories; to develop agriculture; to provide ships and motor vehicles.
Ceylon	£11 million	To survey and design irrigation and hydro works; for equipment and technical help in building an iron and steel mill and other factories
Argentina	£36 million	For oil industry equipment.
Irak	£50 million	Help engineering, chemical, food and light industry factories for irrigation and transport construction.
Ethiopia	£36 million	For agricultural and industrial development

(m) Foreign policy impeding trade

"It is also generally recognised that measures which would achieve a particular objective of economic policy may militate against the attainment of other objectives which may be considered of equal or of greater importance," said the Minister of Finance, Mr Nordmeyer, in the 1960 Economic Survey.

Thus it is New Zealand foreign policy which tends to hinder the full development of flourishing trade policy.

(n) Cost of arms.

It is estimated that the annual world cost of arms is £50 thousand million. New Zealand's arms bill over the last 20 years (including the war) has been £1025 million.

In 1938-39 it was only £2.1 million but it has now increased fifteen times to £30.3 million for 1960-61. The Minister of Defence predicts it will soon be £42 Million.

During the same period, total Government expenditure has only increased eight and half times. In 1938-39 Defence was 5 per cent of Government expenditure, today it is 8.7 per cent. (last year 6.8 per cent)

In 1938-39 Defence cost

In 1938-39 it was 2 per cent of all wage and salary income. Today it is 5 per cent.

In 1938-39 Defence cost £1/6/- per head; today it costs £12/10/- per year for every man woman and child. £62/10/- per family.

In 1960-61, £1½ million more will be spent on arms than on all health services and hospital buildings. (£28.9 million)

Three-quarters of the amount of the Education vote will go on arms in spite of the fact that the primary school roll has increased 19 per cent, the post-primary roll 43 per cent and the university roll 22 per cent over the past three years. During this period the Education vote has increased 22 per cent but Defence, which has no relation to population has been close behind at 16 per cent. Health expense, which has got a real relation with population increased by only 17 per cent.

Mr Connolly when abolishing CMT said it had cost the country £62 million during its nine years'.

- (o) In-1960-61,--£1
War debts mounting

New Zealand war debt from World War I took 41 years (1959) to liquidate. War debts have been one of the major factors in boosting the Public Debt to £844,516,336 in spite of annual repayments of about £13 million. It took 35 years to pay off £114 million of the debt. In the course of last year the debt rose by £28 million. It can safely be said that if the annual defence expense of about £30 million could go into purposes for which the £28 million was borrowed, the Public Debt would not rise any higher and annual repayments would tend to diminish it for a change.

TO ALL BRANCH EXECUTIVES AND DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEMBERS
 The following letter has been received from Cmde. Vic
 Wilcox and should be considered by Branches in conjunction
 with the report of the D.C. meeting of 16/10/60

ALL OUT FOR FINANCE NOW

Dear Comrades,

Early reports are in on the activity carried out in the preliminary preparations for our intensified election campaign which starts at the end of October. All indicate a new high level of activity and a widening of our contact. Cottage and film evenings in many areas have been the means of adding new people to our lists of helpers in the campaign. This is a significant result and shows that our general political estimate is correct and that advance can be made if the wide approach to new people is made. Public meetings already held have been remarkably successful in view of their early date relative to the elections.

There is no doubt that from the coming election activity the Party is going to emerge with a much wider influence and contact, with increased demand for our propaganda and with many new members won. But to do this effectively we need now guaranteed success in our Election Finance Appeal.

The appeal started off with a bang but we must face facts. It has not carried on that way. It is lagging to-day. Increased activity on other phases of the campaign face us in the immediate future. At that stage the danger arises that finance will be forgotten.

Yet it is a fact that unless our £2,000 appeal is overfulfilled by at least 20% we will not pay our way with our present plans to which we are already committed.

Therefore a lag in the Finance Appeal is serious.

The Political Committee has asked me to write this letter to you pointing out that we must succeed with this Appeal. The election activity is going to help immensely in our Party Building Campaign. BUT IT CANT BE DONE WITHOUT THE MONEY.

Please don't take this appeal as easy. It is a difficult but vital task. In its own way, more difficult to succeed in than the past libel appeal where we had the emotional reaction to help us to a speedy success.

Get out and collect now. Tell our friends why they must give generously. If we do we shall be over the top in the next two or three weeks. It can be done. With a collective all-out effort by all of us it will be done.

Fraternally Yours

V.G. Wilcox.

(General Secretary)

CLASSIFICATION:

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.
of
(T.S. only)copies *CSI*

530

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To H.Q. (CS)

Date: 13th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S VOICE" NEWSPAPER DATED 12TH OCTOBER 1960.

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice newspaper referred to above.

2. On page 4 appears list No.6 of the Election Appeal. The initials of subscribers and collectors shown could apply as follows:-

Individuals:

P.F. Mrs. Mabel L. : Mabel LEE @ Mabel Louise SING (i.r.) 15/-
P.F. J.D.C. : Joseph Dominic COYLE (i.r.) 7/6

Auckland D.C.Waterfront Branch:

P.F. (per) A.O. : Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.) 10/-
P.F. (per) D.B. : Donald BLAIR (i.r.) 10/-
P.F. (per) R.K. (twice) : Roko Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.) £1
P.F. (per) T.Q. (twice) : Terence QUIRK (i.r.) £1.10.0
P.F. (per) B.B. (twice) : William (Bill) George BRYANT (i.r.) £1.7.0
P.F. S.R. : Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.) 2/-
P.F. M.C. : Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.) 2/6

South Auckland Branch:

P.F. (per) B.S. : Lorrie Graham (Bob) SMALL (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch:

P.F. (per) T & Y.W. : Torrens William Lewis WOOLLEY (i.r.) £1
P.F. : Yvonne Lilian WOOLLEY (i.r.)
P.F. (per) D.S. : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) 5/-
P.F. (per) R.S. : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) 5/-
P.F. (per) T.S. : August Frederick SMITH (i.r.)
P.F. Ben B. : Ben BRAY (i.r.) £1

Building Workers' Branch:

P.F. (per) D. McE. : Donald McEWEN (i.r.)
P.F. (per) J.G. : James GILLIES (i.r.)
P.F. J.D. : James Frederick DELLER (i.r.) 4/6

Henderson-Te Atatu Branch:

P.F. (per) B.D. : William Russell DEVEREUX (i.r.)
P.F. (per) J & Joy F. : John FOULDS (i.r.) 2/6
P.F. : Joy FOULDS (i.r.) 2/6
P.F. (per) V.W. : Victor George WILCOX (i.r.)
P.F. R. MURPHY : Not identified. 10/-
P.F. S.J.S. (Z) : Srecko Jack ZIDICH (i.r.) 2/6
P.F. (per) R.C.H. : Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.)
P.F. B. BONK (twice) : Not identified. 5/-

Roskill Branch:

P.F. (per) B.W. : (Ben) Henry Frank WOOD (i.r.) £1.15.0
P.F. B.J. : William JERMYN (i.r.) £5
P.F. J.Y. : Wyvern George YALDEN (i.r.) 5/-
P.F. M.W. : Mervyn Haley WILLIAMS (i.r.) £5

2/...

CLASSIFICATION:

SECRET

3. On page 5 the article in "Letters to the Editor",
PF "Pensions and Unions" is by Sidney George ADAMS (i.r.)
4. Also on page 5 in the column "C.P. Election Campaign"
appears Victor George WILCOX's national tour dates.
- SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
5. On page 8 appears an article on the "Auckland Star's"
P.F. refusal to publish a letter by Willis Thomas Goodwin
AIREY (i.r.). This was previously reported by source [REDACTED]
6. List No. 28 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund appears on page 8.
The initials of subscribers and collectors could apply as
follows:-
Auckland D.C.
Roskill Branch:

PR J.Y. Mabel L. : Wyvern George YALDEN (i.r.) 2/- 15/-
PF A.M. : Andrew MILLIKEN (i.r.) 1/6 7/3

Building Workers' Branch:

PR (per) D.L. : Richard LEACH (i.r.) 2/- 10/-
(per) J.G. : James GILLIES (i.r.) 10/-
D. McE. : Donald McEWEN (i.r.) 2/- 10/-
PF (per) W.F. : William Francis FAVIER (i.r.) 2/- 10/-

Tamaki Branch:

(per) D.S. : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) 2/-
(per) R.S. : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) 2/6
PF (per) F.R. : Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.)
PF (per) S.S. : Lorrie Graham (Bob) SMALL (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch:

PR [REDACTED] : [REDACTED] (i.r.) 2/-
PF [REDACTED] : [REDACTED] (i.r.) 2/-
[REDACTED] : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) 5/-
[REDACTED] : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) 5/-
[REDACTED] : August Frederick SMITH (i.r.) 2/-
[REDACTED] : Ben BRAY (i.r.) 2/-

Field Branch:

PR [REDACTED] : Donald McEWEN (i.r.) 4/6
PF [REDACTED] : James GILLIES (i.r.)
[REDACTED] : James Frederick DILLER (i.r.) 4/6

Waiwairangi Branch:

PR [REDACTED] : William Russell DUNN (i.r.) 2/6
PF [REDACTED] : Joan FOLDS (i.r.) 2/6
[REDACTED] : Joy FOLDS (i.r.) 10/-
[REDACTED] : Victor George WILCOX (i.r.) 2/6
[REDACTED] : Not identified.
[REDACTED] : Brecko Jack BIRCH (i.r.) 2/6
PF [REDACTED] : Rex Chell BOLLISS (i.r.) 5/-
[REDACTED] : Not identified.

Waiwairangi Branch:

PR [REDACTED] : (per) Harry Frank [REDACTED] (i.r.) 25
PF [REDACTED] : [REDACTED] (i.r.) 25
[REDACTED] : Wyvern George YALDEN (i.r.) 5/-
[REDACTED] : Mervyn Bailey [REDACTED] (i.r.) 25

Extract from "P.V.

" Newspaper. 528

Published at

, on [date]

21/2/10
12-10-60

SUBJECT: CS

21/2/10 C.P. election campaign Moving into top gear

Communist election campaigning is well under way—house and factory meetings, film evenings, women's talks (see "Letters") and canvasses are being held all over the country.

On Monday, October 24, the leader of the Communist election team, Mr. V. G. Wilcox, will start a national tour with a public meeting in Greymouth. The next day (October 25) he will speak in Christchurch, the next (October 26) in Dunedin and the next (October 27) in Wellington.

Then, on Sunday, October 30, he will speak at a second public meeting in the Auckland Town Hall.

Meanwhile the Party Branches are not standing idle.

In Auckland over the week-end, the candidate for Ponsonby, Mr. G. Jackson, spoke briefly about German militarisation and peace, with a film to illustrate, at a house evening attended by 50 people. Over £7 was raised.

In the Waiakere electorate, two branches—Western Suburbs and Henderson - Te Atatu—have appointed a liaison officer to co-

ordinate their work.

So far they have held two film evenings, three house evenings, several People's Voice and leaflet canvasses and geared their normal bulletins to the election programme.

Plans have already been laid for further film evenings, house evenings, three meetings in factories and participation in the Methodist election forum.

The candidate, Mr. V. G. Wilcox, has also sampled public opinion at three street meetings.

On all occasions, the two Waiakere branches have found a growing interest in the Party and proof of the changing world situation.

The Auckland City Branch had a successful film and social evening attended by 50 people. Candidate for Auckland Central, Mr. W. Mc Ara, spoke and answered questions. Donations exceeded £8 and literature sales realised 35/-.

Already the support from non-Party people has shown how the Party will emerge stronger from the election campaign.

PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 5
October 12, 1960

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10.

527

C.S.1."PEOPLE'S VOICE" dated 28th September, 1960 - IDENTIFICATIONS.INFORMATION:

1. I list below, together with probable identifications, the initials of donors to the Election Fund Appeal appearing in the "People's Voice" newspaper referred to above.

<u>Initials:</u>	<u>Amount:</u>	<u>Branch:</u>	<u>Probable Identification:</u>
T.A.	£2.	Palmerston North	Thelma Roberta ALLISON (i.r.)
J.H. & E.H.	£2.	"	Jean Hamilton HARVEY and Felix McCulloch HARVEY (both (i.r.))
J.C.	£5.	Greymouth	Joseph Benedict COTTER (i.r.)

NOTE: It is probable that "E.H." is a misprint for "F.H."

12th October, 1960.

(RO).

17/10/60.

R2/

1. Please exhibit to P.F.s ✓
2. Please bring up P.F./COTTER, J.B. then complete to C.S.I.
3. File on 21/2/10

R.O. 18/10/60

File

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

526

H.Q. (CS.1)

21/2/10

D.O.A.; D.O.C.

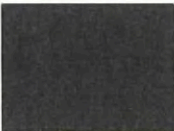
12.10.1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. Source reports that the National Secretariat of the C.P.N.Z., by letter dated 27th September, 1960, instructed C.P. Districts that it was proposed to open the Communist Party's public election campaigns with a national tour by the General Secretary Victor George WILCOX for whom the following itinerary has been arranged: -

<u>GREYMOUTH</u>	Monday, 24th October	Flight 993 (141 from Auckland);
<u>CHRISTCHURCH</u>	Tuesday, 25th October	Railcar from Grey;
<u>DUNEDIN</u>	Wednesday, 26th October	Flight 327 from Christchurch;
<u>WELLINGTON</u>	Thursday, 27th October	Flight 220 from Dunedin. Returns Friday, 28th October, Flight 140;
<u>AUCKLAND</u>	Sunday, 30th October.	
<u>PALMERSTON NORTH</u>	will be done at a later date.	

2. The instruction sets out that the dates stated should be accepted and that Districts should start work immediately to ensure a large public attendance.


 (Fd/O)

for C.S.1.

DESPATCHED

13 OCT 1960

Encl.

EXAMINED

19/10/60

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/2/10.
Copy No.
of (T.S. only) copies.
525

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 7th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE 'C' [REDACTED] DATED 5th October, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Source reported that a new committee entitled the Central Election Co-ordinating Committee has been set up in Auckland to handle the election campaign. R.B. GOUGH (i.r.) is reported to be organiser of the committee and the members include H.J. McLEOD (i.r.) L.R. SMITH (i.r.) and G.H. ANDERSEN (i.r.)

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

✓ 21/2/10.

✓ Copy to 21/3/7.

✓ Extract to P.F's marked.

EXTRACT COPIES
TAKEN
[REDACTED]
13/10/60

CLASSIFICATION:

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/1

To H.Q. (CS)

Date: 7th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S VOICE" NEWSPAPER DATED 5TH OCTOBER 1960.

- Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the People's Voice newspaper referred to above.
- On page 4 appears List No.5. of the £2000 Election Fund. The initials of subscribers and collectors could apply as follows:

Individuals:

R.J.D. (Mauke) : Robert Julian DASHWOOD (i.r.) PF £1

Auckland D.C.Buildings Workers' Branch:

(per) D.McE. : Donald McEWEN (i.r.) PF £10

(per) D.L. (6 times) : Richard LEACH (i.r.) PF £5.7.6.

(per) W.F. : William Francis FAVIER (i.r.) PF £1

(per) V.F. : Violet Mabel FAVIER (i.r.) PF

B.S. : Robert Cameron SMITH (i.r.) PF £5

Tamaki Branch:

(per) T.S. : August Frederick SMITH (i.r.) PF £5.12.6.

T & Y.W. : Torrens William Lewis WOOLLEY (i.r.) PF £1.15.0.

(per) R.S. : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.) PF £2

Ben B. : Ben BRAY (i.r.) PF £1

(per) D.S. : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.) PF £2.2.6.

J.M. : John GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) PF 1.6.

M.McL. : Margaret Joan MacLAURIN (i.r.) PF

(per) F.R. : Frederick John ROBERTS (i.r.) PF

Western Suburbs Branch:

AITCHEN : Not identified £5

B.K. (twice) : Betty Vera KAPLAN (i.r.) PF £1.10.0.

T.M. (6 times) : Edwin Louis MATTLAND (i.r.) PF £3

L.C. (7 times) : Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM (i.r.) PF £8

Sid A. (twice) : Sidney George ADAMS (i.r.) PF £1

(per) H.N. (twice) : Herman NUNES-VAZ (i.r.) PF

D.F. (twice) : Charles Richard FARNHAM (i.r.) PF 10/-

(per) K.M.L. (twice) : Kathleen Muriel LUCKENS (i.r.) PF £1

F.R. : Florence Beatrice READ (i.r.) PF 10/-

B.M. (twice) : Beatrice MATTLAND (i.r.) PF £5.5.0.

A.K. : Arthur KAPLAN (i.r.) PF £5

Phil S. : Phillip SUNDE (i.r.) PF £3

M.S. : Millie STILL (i.r.) PF 2/6

City Branch:

D. & J.M. (twice) : Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) PF £4

(per) M.O. (6 times) : John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) PF £3

T.G. : Flora Wallace GOULD (i.r.) PF £5

W & P.McA. : Peter Wilfred George McARA (i.r.) PF £5

(per) J.J.W. (e times) : Jennifer Joan WALSH (i.r.) PF

(per) D.M. (twice) : Dianna GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.) PF 5/-

T. ANG. : Thomas ANGLIM (i.r.) PF £1

N.Be. : Nicholas BELICH (i.r.) PF £4

J.W. : Joan Dorothy WALKER (i.r.) PF 10/-

J.O. : Judy OSTLER (i.r.) PF 10/-

(per) D.W. : David Scott WALSH (i.r.) PF

Please file original on 20/2/10
 Copy to 27/2/10
 Extract to P.F.'s under
 in Para 2 with ref to 20/2/10
 Card Jack Jones

 R.D.
 15/10/60

 Please file
 to 20/2/10

 R.
 File 20/2/10

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

523

South Auckland Branch:

Mrs. O'N : Valerie Lillian O'NEILL (i.r.) 10/-
 L & J.S. : Lorrie Graham SMALL (i.r.) PF £5
 G. O'N : Gilbert James O'NEILL (i.r.) PF 5/-
 (per) R.B. (twice) : Frank Rex BARRY (i.r.) PF £2
 B.B. : Barbara Ruby BARRY (i.r.)
 J.J. : Jack JAMES (i.r.) John James IR £1

Card destroyed 16/2/1979

North Shore Branch:

(per) T.T. : Thomas TIMMS (i.r.) PF
 T.J. : Thomas Edward JUMP (i.r.) PF 2/-
 (per) N.G. : Cyril John GULD (i.r.) PF £5.5.0.
 H.J. : Henry JAMES (i.r.) PF £3
 J.D. : Raymond John DOWLE (i.r.) PF £1.5.0.
 P.A. : Percival George ALLISON (i.r.) PF £5

Waterfront Branch:

R.K. (7 times) : Roko Joseph KUMERICK (i.r.) PF £3
 M.C. (twice) : Marcus Arnold COVERDALE (i.r.) PF 3/-
 L.C. (3 times) : William Lindsay CRICKSHANKS (i.r.) PF £1.10.0.
 S.R. (6 times) : Scott Pearce RITCHIE (i.r.) PF 12/-
 T.Q. (4 times) : Terence David QUIRK (i.r.) PF £1.5.0.
 A.O. (4 times) : Harold Alexander OSTLER (i.r.) PF £2
 D.B. (4 times) : Donald BLAIR (i.r.) PF £1.10.0.

Henderson-Te Atatu Branch:

S.J.Z. (twice) : Srecko Jack ZIDICH (i.r.) PF £2.10.0.
 (per) J.F. (6 times) : Joy FOULDS (i.r.) PF £1
 (per) Jock F. (6 times) : John FOULDS (i.r.) PF 17.6
 (per) B.D. (4 times) : William Russell DEVEREUX (i.r.) PF £1
 (per) R.C.H. : Rex Chell HOLLISS (i.r.) PF
 (per) V.W. (twice) : Victor George WILCOX (i.r.) PF £2
 Mrs. K.W. (Snr) : Katie WILCOX (i.r.) Kate Adelaide £5
 D.R. : Donald RUFFELS (i.r.) Alfred 4/6

Drivers' Branch:

(per) P.K. : Patrick Joseph KELLY (i.r.) PF
 (per) B.A. : Gordon Harold ANDERSEN (i.r.) PF
 (per) L.S. : Leonard Thomas SMITH (i.r.) PF

3.

On page 8 appears List No.27 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund.

Individuals:

A.B.T. (Te Kuiti) : Allan Boyne TAYLOR (i.r.) PF 7/6
 L.A.G. (Aramoho) : Leslie Allan GIBSON (i.r.) 5/-

Auckland D.C.Railways Branch:

(per) S.H. : Stanley Hooper HEATT (i.r.) PF

Building Workers' Branch:

(per) J.D. : James Frederick DELLER (i.r.) PF
 (per) D.L. : Richard LEACH (i.r.) PF 2/-
 (per) J.G. : James GILLIES (i.r.) PF

City Branch:

(per) M.O. : Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.) 2/-
 J.O. : Judy OSTLER (i.r.) PF 6d.
 D.W. : David WALSH (i.r.)

Tamaki Branch:

(per) R.S. : Lillian Rita SMITH (i.r.)
 (per) T.W. : Torrens William Lewis WOOLLEY (i.r.) PF
 (per) D.S. : Desmond Ernest STOUT (i.r.)

Roskill Branch:

A.M. (Onehunga) : Andrew MILLIKEN (i.r.) PF 3/-

~~SECRET~~

FIELD OFFICER.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.
of
(T.S. only) copies.

522

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 7th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE 'B' [REDACTED] DATED 4th October, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. Source reported that Victor George WILCOX (i.r.) held an election meeting at the home of S.G. ADAMS (i.r.) on Saturday night, 1st October, 1960, approximately 21 people attended.
2. An electioneering canvass was carried out in Auckland on Sunday, 2nd October, 1960. Five people participated including Anne WILCOX (i.r.). Thirty one pamphlets were sold and 24. collected.
3. Source reported that a Methodist Church in Auckland is arranging after Church meetings at which election candidates will be asked to speak. Eleanor Matilda AYO (i.r.) has received an invitation to speak, source thought this had been arranged by C.R. HOWELL (i.r.). It is thought that Methodist churches in other districts may do the same thing and the C.P. is eager to take advantage of this development.
4. Source reported that L.R. SMITH (i.r.), H.J. McLEOD and John FOULDS (i.r.) of the Auckland District executive will be responsible for the electioneering canvass on the Auckland waterfront.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

- ✓ File on 21/2/10
- ✓ Extract to P.F's marked
- ✓ Copy to 21/3/7

13.10.60

MINUTE SHEET

21/2/10

File Ref. ~~27/10~~

Section: CS

Folio: _____

Date: 6.10.60.

To:

~~R. 2.~~

521

would you please
card R. HUNT IrG.

— Subject contributed £1
to C.P. Election Fund.
See P.V. dated 28.9.60



5.10.



Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

CLASSIFICATION:

21/2/10. —

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.
of _____ copies.
(T.S. only) 520

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 5th October, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE 'A' [REDACTED] DATED 3rd October, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Source reported that Greymouth Branch had requested that a special election pamphlet be printed for distribution on the West Coast. The Branch received a letter from the National Secretariat stating that the cost of printing the pamphlet would be £37.10. 0 and if they wanted it, the Branch would have to increase its election fund quota from £120. to £160 to cover the cost of printing.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

File on 21/2/10 ✓
21/7/7 ✓
21/8/3 ✓

[REDACTED]
11.10.60

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

PEOPLE'S VOICE

Special issue containing the Communist Party policy

21/2/10 CS

POSTAGE PAID

The Householder

Housewife says—

IT'S HARD TO BUDGET ON PRESENT WEEKLY WAGES

"It's hard to manage on our £17/5/- a week. That's made up of £15 my husband brings home (four hours' overtime) and £2/5/- family benefit. And so I have to take a part-time job," said a young suburban housewife, Mrs. J.F. She was commenting on the Communist Party's programme point of a living wage for a 40-hour week, with a minimum wage of £16 a week.

Price Race

Prices have risen so fast over the last ten years that a pound note to-day will only buy three-fifths of what it would then.

Even over the last five years we have seen women's shoes leap from about £2/10/- a pair to £3/10/-. Men's half-cuts have jumped from 2/3 to 3/6 and shoes for the tiny tots have risen from one astounding price to another. Rump steak, only 2/11 lb. five years ago, has almost doubled to-day.

In 1949, the National Party became the government by promising to make the pound go further. But prices almost doubled until 1957, when Labour got in by promising that food prices would definitely not rise again.

But they have, as everyone knows.

The reason why neither Labour nor National can stop prices rising is contained in a statement Mr. Nash made in 1957. He said that monopolies were responsible for fixing 70 per cent. of the prices in New Zealand.

Neither National nor Labour have done anything effective to attack the problem at the source.

(See Communist policy on Page 2.)

Mrs. J.F. said she had asked a neighbour, Mrs. N., what she thought and found that she reckoned £10 was nearer the mark.

Sure enough, when the two of them sat down to itemise their weekly budgets, they found they were both short of the mark.

In working out their budgets, the two women were careful to make a weekly average of expenditures on such irregular items as visits to the doctor, chemist's and shoe repairs.

"If only there was a living wage for 40 hours!" they both said.

● The Federation of Labour is at present investigating what is a living wage for a 40-hour week after the Government had refused their request to do this.

That doesn't help us very much!



"You shouldn't complain about little things - do you know we're making Atom Bombs cheaper now!"

Judge says Budget pushed prices up

In making the General Wage Order last year, Mr. Justice Tyndall (of the Arbitration Court) pointed out that the 1956 general order was responsible for less than a fifth of the 9 per cent. increase in prices.

The biggest cause, he pointed out, was the 4 per cent. increase in prices caused by the 1955 Budget.

The Communist Party takes the view of the housewife who, it would be a great improvement, it is a figure that no one can say is unreasonable.

Here are the two housewives' budgets:

	Mrs. N.	Mrs. J.F.
Grocer	4 5 0	3 5 0
Bread	5 0 0	5 0 0
Christmas Clubs	5 0 0	5 0 0
Fruit and Veges. 1 11 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Butcher	2 0 0	1 10 0
Fish	3 8 0	3 8 0
Milk	15 8 0	10 6 0
Pet's Food	6 0 0	—
Delicatessen	11 0 0	4 8 0
Chemist	8 0 0	7 0 0
House Payments 2 15 0	2 12 0	2 12 0
Section Payments	1 5 0	1 5 0
Doctor	2 0 0	2 0 0
Insurance	15 0 0	7 6 0
Rates	10 0 0	10 0 0
Time-Payments 1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Papers, etc.	5 8 0	5 8 0
Clothing	2 0 0	1 0 0
Linen	2 6 0	1 6 0
Fares or Car	1 10 0	1 10 0
Power	12 6 0	12 6 0
'Phone	10 0 0	10 0 0
Rural Mail Fee	6 0 0	6 0 0
Radio	9 0 0	9 0 0
Shoes & Repairs	11 0 0	10 0 0
Tobacco and/or Beer	1 0 0	1 0 0
Firing	1 0 0	1 0 0
School Bus	2 6 0	—
Totals: £22 9 8	£18 18 1	



TO-MORROW'S MOTHERS ... will we leave them a better world?

The price of getting married

There's one young couple in Auckland whose plight must be shared by thousands of others through New Zealand.

They were barely saving all her wages (£1 a week) and trying to live on his £11 a week.

It was tough going in a flat that cost them £3 a week. But they were fully confident that within two years they would have saved most of the £1,000 that would get them into a modest group house and pay for equally modest furnishings, etc.

But trouble struck. First of all he took sick for two months. Then what should have been a joyous event became a calamity—his wife became pregnant.

Gone were all hopes of saving the £1,000. Instead, they have been forced to look for a better flat where children are not only allowed but have a chance of growing up healthy and happy.

They are still looking and wondering how they can pay the exorbitant rents being asked.

Thousands of other young couples delay getting married because of costs. Others try not to have children.

This is why the Communist Party's programme insists on an increase in state house and flat building at cheaper rentals; on greater and cheaper assistance to those who want to own their homes without heavy mortgages round their necks for 30 years; and on effective control of building costs and luxury building that drains labour and material from essential housing projects.

If women used their power . . .

It's a simple fact but it has tremendous implications—more women (691,670) are entitled to vote in New Zealand than men (682,715).

It is women who have the main burden of keeping house on inadequate pay packets. When women work they get lower rates of pay. It is women who are hardest hit by the overcrowding of public hospitals and the loss of private hospitals and by all the problems of child welfare.

It is the women who worry most about whether their children will grow up in a world of war and poisonous radiation from nuclear weapon tests.

All these problems and many more—in fact, everything connected with the way we live here in this country and in this world—are the problems of politics.

That's why women should take an interest in the politics that the different political parties advocate.

Women have a tremendous voting power and, through the use of numbers between elections, that gives them a great opportunity to impress on the politicians their policies for the welfare of their children, their husbands and themselves.

In this special issue of the People's Voice, then, women will find that the programme of the Communist Party advocates policies that work towards this end.

They will see how essential it is to read it for themselves instead of relying on second-hand, distorted versions in the press and on the radio.

It is even more important to do something about it. To use that tremendous power.

Hunt high and low

... but you won't find any party but the Communist Party, or any paper but the People's Voice, wholeheartedly supporting these three demands from the last Federation of Labour Conference:

- A demand for total disarmament and a ban on nuclear weapons.
- A demand that the Labour Government do something about legislating a living wage for a 40-hour week.
- A demand for the recognition of China.

How the armament profiteers juggle and wriggle to avoid disarmament.

But if the people insist they can get it!

Radio activity threat to mother and child

Deadly strontium 90, which induces bone cancer and leukemia, and which can result in mothers giving birth to malformed children or monstrosities, has increased in the top six inches of New Zealand soils more than 161 times as the result of hydrogen bomb tests since 1953.

This alarming build-up is in con- cision in the maximum fall-out area taining. According to a spokesman for the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the body burden—the maximum permissible dose of radiation believed possible to bone without forming cancers—is only one-thousandth of a millicurie.

But samples of New Zealand-tested soils contained 9,700 times this amount per square mile.

New Zealand scientists describe

The Communist Party, on the other hand, says that New Zealand has the same vote with its 2 million people as nations with 200 million people in the United Nations.

We should use it to give a much stronger lead for the banning of nuclear weapons and, indeed, of all arms.

An essential first step would be to break away from the "follow America, right or wrong," policy started by National and continued by Labour.



WHO RUNS N.Z.?

The Communist Party says that the Big Business monopolies run New Zealand—because they own and control the key sections of our economy—such as the banks, the meat freezing industry, shipping, fertiliser, oil and petrol, stock and station agents.

There is no government that can ignore those key sections and thus, while monopolies run them, there is no capitalist government that can ignore the demands of the monopolies.

Imagine what would happen if the oil monopolies refused to send oil to New Zealand! Every car, truck, bus, train and factory using oil or petrol would stop. The country would be thrown into chaos.

They haven't done this here, but the very same monopolies have done it in Cuba.

Here they have fixed one artificially high price for all brands of petrol. They have forced the Government and service stations to ignore Russian offers of much cheaper oil and petrol. They have threatened to boycott any shipping company that carries this rival oil.

They have told the New Zealand Government and people where they are going to build their refinery, regardless of any protests. They have boasted that this will make their control of the local market even more secure. They have forced the Government to give them sole oil-prospecting rights to avoid any state-owned or even private rivalry.

For bare-faced control over prices and policies, this takes some beating. But the shipping monopolies can do it. Their influence is not only powerful enough to prevent the watersiders and seamen getting effective wage

raises. It is powerful enough to say overnight that they are increasing export freight rates by 5 per cent. and import rates by 7 per cent.

In a flash, New Zealanders will get less for their export products and pay more for their imported necessities—over-all, it means prices will rise at least 13 per cent. because the four billionaire shipping companies want still more profits.

One of these four shipping monopolies, the Blue Star Line, is owned by Vestey's, a giant British concern with freezing works and butcher shops throughout New Zealand. With another British monopoly, Borthwick's, and an American one, Swifts, they dominate the meat industry here, dictating what farmers will receive, what consumers will pay and what workers' wages will be.

These are some of the major overseas monopolies who, together with the financial monopolies, the great banks and insurance companies, control the key sections of the economy and thus exercise vast political control.

This is the reason why the Communist Party says that our economic security, our prosperity and our very independence depends on the struggle against monopoly.



Mr. Nash on monopoly power

It's not only the Communists who talk about monopoly power. While Leader of the Opposition, in July, 1957, Mr. Nash said in Parliament:

"The problems of monopolies and restrictive trade practices are alive all over the world. There are organisations that are taxing the people all the time by means of prices. Those organisations are as clever and able and have almost as much power as any government."

"The Minister and National Government are very keen on free enterprise. But the fact remains that 70 per cent. or more of prices in New Zealand are determined without competition."

"In general, the companies selling a certain commodity get together and, as an industry, they monopolise. They are exercising a monopoly as one body."

Communists disagree on only one point—the monopolies have much more power than any government. They can, and do, dictate to both National and Labour Governments.

Who causes these things?

People Heavily Taxed

Wage and salary earners paid 20.6 per cent. of all direct taxes in 1959, while companies paid 29.4 per cent.

The situation had reversed by 1959, when workers paid 30.2 per cent. of the tax bill and companies only 23.9 per cent.

Workers pay almost three times as much of their wages in direct taxes to-day as they did 20 years ago, while companies pay only one-third more than they did then.

Ever-rising Prices

"It was therefore desirable that investment be maintained at or slightly below the rate of the last seven or eight years and the only alternative was to take measures impinging directly on consumption (i.e., out living standards—Editor). The higher indirect taxes caused increases in the prices of the goods affected."

—Mr. Nordmeyer in 1959, describing how companies were helped tide over the crisis at the expense of wage-earners.

Fall in Buying Power

A pound note to-day will buy only 12/23 worth of the goods it would buy in 1949 in New Zealand. This figure comes from a world survey by the First National City Bank of New York.

The annual drop in buying power of New Zealand money is greater than that in 19 other capitalist lands.

High Housing Rents

When housing problems became acute at the end of the war, private landlords saw their opportunity. Cheap state-house rentals and the Fair Rents Act, which held down private rentals, were helping working people.

To-day a state flat goes as high as £5/18/-, and private landlords are in clover.

Low Pension Benefits

Ten years ago, when old-age pensions were 31 per cent. of the average wage, it was acknowledged that this was an impossible amount to live on. To-day, when the average wage is itself inadequate, the pension is even more so, being only 29 per cent. of the average wage.

• Curb monopoly

BREAK MONOPOLY'S grip on our domestic economy by nationalising such key sectors as the freezing companies, fertiliser companies, coastal shipping companies, paper pulp and related companies, stock and station agents, the insurance companies and trading banks (irrespective of whether capital held in New Zealand or overseas). On the basis of the experience of licensing trusts, nationalise the whole liquor trade.

Keep monopoly capital out by developing new basic state-owned industries in iron and steel, chemicals and aluminium.

Build government oil refinery. Oil deposits in New Zealand to be developed by the government only. Polity in this field to be worked in co-operation with establishment of coal utilisation plants in national interests.

Start the establishment of a government-owned overseas shipping service.

Nationalise new industries to be

THE ANSWERS WE SUGGEST

• Shift tax burden

INCREASE MAXIMUM TAX RATE payable on high personal incomes (over £2,000) and on company income (over £10,000). Personal exemption to disappear at £2,000 per annum.

Generally cancel and tighten up on all the concessions granted to big business, such as special depreciation, the lower average maximum rate of tax on dividends, etc.

The above will make it possible to raise the personal income tax exemption level to £13 a week (£676 per annum) and increase the allowance for a wife to £4 a week (£208 per annum) and for each child to £2 a week (£104 per annum).

Abolish taxation on extra payments received for dangerous, unhygienic or specially arduous work.

ungraduated tax on all income). Incorporate the present social security tax in the income tax on companies and re-adjust the income tax rates on individuals on the basis of the principles outlined above.

Abolish sales tax on all but luxury lines. Cancel the beer, tobacco and petrol taxes imposed by the Labour Government in 1955.

Automatic refund of workers' taxes overpaid under PAYE.

• Price-pegging

STRICT AND EFFECTIVE PEGGING of prices, profits and rents to be instituted immediately. Introduction of effective capital issues control in national interests.

Development of joint government-consumer organisation on wide basis, including the trade unions.

• Raise pensions

RAISE PENSIONS to £5/10/- per week. Universal superannuation benefit to start at age of 60.

To aid in financing above and other improvements to be effected after survey of whole scheme, universal superannuation benefit to be limited to those with incomes of less than £300. Proportionate deductions to be made above that level.

• Cheap homes

INCREASE STATE HOUSE and state flat building programme, financed at low rate of interest (1 to 14 per cent.) through Reserve Bank, as done formerly.

Provision of finance at low rate of interest to working people wishing to build own homes. Effective government over-all control of costs charged by private builders where government loans used.

Control of any luxury building that

FAMILY MAN SHOULD BE FREE FROM...

We get so used to taxes that it seems impossible that wage and lower salary earners could be free from them. Yet there was a time when this was the case. Indeed, it is only over the last 20 years that those on lower incomes have become taxpayers.

Here is the history of how it came about.

After the First World War, the personal exemption was £300 per year. Very few working people made £6 a week in those days, and the 'privilege' of paying taxes was left to the well-to-do.

In 1920 came the Great Depression. To keep its income up, the first thing the Tory government then in power did was to drop the exemption from £300 to £250.

Can Be Done

When the depression got no better, the coalition government later dropped the exemption to £210.

For all the good things the first Labour Government did between 1924 and 1929, it did not restore the £300 income tax exemption.

Moreover, it was subject to pressure by Big Business against its original scheme of paying for Social Security by a levy of 1/- in the £1 on company income.

The Labour Government first of all brought in a Social Security Tax of 8d in the £1. Later this rose to 1/- in the £1, then to 1/6.

At the beginning of World War the Labour Government further dropped the exemption to £200 and fixed the wages tax another 1/- on Social Security Tax, making 2/6 the £1 that the workers never saw of their wages.

It may be said that also during World War II, the workers agreed to work long hours of overtime

which they had previously resisted. They did this as their contribution to the war effort. Naturally, it increased the amount of income tax they paid.

Thus it was the Labour Government that got the workers used to paying income tax as well as to working overtime as a normal thing to make a living wage.

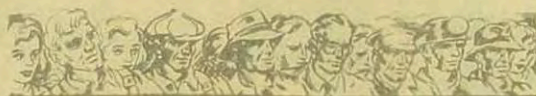
After the war, the first extra wartime tax that was taken off was the Excess Profits Tax on companies. Later the National Security Tax was removed. Otherwise, the war-time taxes stayed.

They have never been removed from beer and tobacco, as a matter of fact.

Yet to-day New Zealand is infinitely richer than it was 40 years ago when the workers paid no taxes and there are many more much richer top incomes that could bear to-day's tax burden.

The Communist Party's tax policy shows how this could be done.

T A X £



How taxes have risen

- Under SID HOLLAND, Income Tax and Social Security Tax increased by £27/11/- per head in 8 years.
- Under WALTER NASH, Income Tax and Social Security Tax increased by £13/1/- per head in 3 years.

Moreover, each has increased the share of that taxation that is paid by those with lower incomes. And the present Labour Government, which lumped the burden of the 1958 balance of payments crisis on to the wage- and salary-earners, gave the benefits of the 1960 partial recovery almost entirely to Big Business.

DIRECT TAXES ON INCOME

Government	Year	Amount	Per Head of Population
First Labour Government	1938-39	£14,000,000	£8/17/-
	1945-46	£22,000,000	£14/17/-
	1948-49	£28,000,000	£18/10/-
Tory Government	1955-56	£35,000,000	£20/11/-
Second Labour Government	1958-59	£40,000,000	£23/2/-

TOTAL TAXATION

Government	Year	Amount	Per Head of Population
First Labour Government	1938-39	£38,000,000	£23/9/-
	1945-46	£45,000,000	£27/4/-
	1948-49	£50,000,000	£29/15/-
Tory Government	1955-56	£55,000,000	£31/13/-
Second Labour Government	1958-59	£60,000,000	£32/10/-

SHARE OF TOTAL TAX BILL

	1938-39	1958-59
Wage and Salary-earners	20.6%	30.2%
Companies	19.4%	23.9%

Both put it on the worker

The facts of taxation over the last 40 years show that while Labour and National may have their little differences on minor matters, they are in full agreement on the question that capitalism is a good thing and needs to be helped.

So problems are solved by both in a way that does not hurt the interests or hit the profits of Big Business.

WHO GETS CAUGHT



In times of economic strain, up goes taxation, including the family man's beer, tobacco and petrol—price increases that he can't pass on, like the big firms.

That happened in 1958—the so-called crisis year. And, if things got worse than in 1958, then the burden on the workers would be greater.

The world is changing rapidly...

What spectacular changes lie behind the simple statement that this is the century of the common man!

When the century opened the world had been divided up among the big imperialist powers. But in the midst of their warring over re-dividing immense empires, one-sixth of the world's workers and small farmers decided to establish a system where the common good replaced the mad quest for private profit.

Thus, in 1917, the first socialist land, the Soviet Union, was born.

Within 43 years, millions of others have been inspired by the tremendous developments possible under a planned economy.

With the last 15 years over 1,000 million people have become part of the socialist world. Another 800 million have freed themselves from the bondage of colonialism, while another 500 million are still struggling towards independence.

Only 400 million people are left in the imperialist fold, with another 60 million tied to it by foreign policies such as have been foisted on us here in New Zealand.

... we must change with it

New Zealand built its comparatively high standard of living as a junior partner to Britain in a rich empire.

To-day we can maintain and improve our living standards by realising it is impossible to set the clock back.

Instead of "following America, right and wrong," we must:

ESTABLISH NEW MARKETS for New Zealand's exports on the basis of mutually advantageous and reciprocal trade with the countries of socialism and the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa.

ACTION ON THIS is essential immediately: (1) To expand our area of markets to meet rising output, (2) to guard against probable restriction of present markets due to activities of the European Common Market grouping, and (3) to achieve this with-

out problems arising around exchange funds and reserves.

BREAK COMPLETELY with disastrous foreign policy of "following the U.S.A., right or wrong." Base foreign policy on peaceful co-existence and friendship.

BASE NEW ZEALAND'S defence policy on recognition that friendship and mutual trade with our neighbours and the world is our soundest defence.

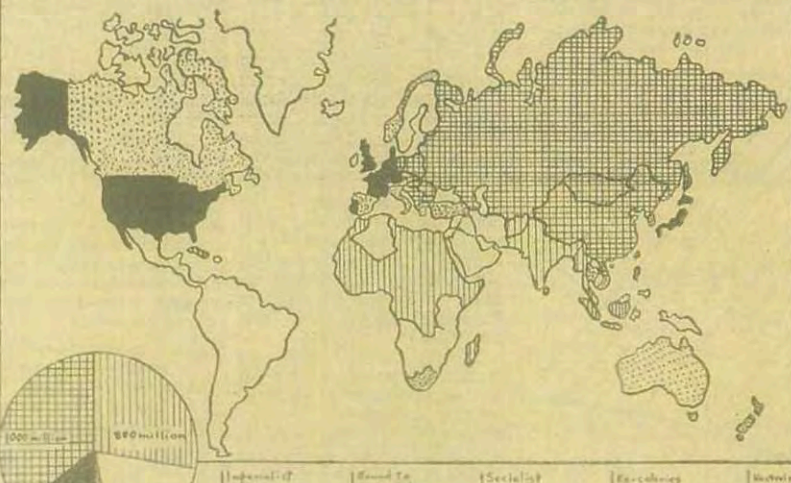
WITHDRAW from the SEATO Pact, as membership is against the national interest, contrary to the United Nations Charter and detrimental to Pacific and world peace. Withdraw from the ANZUS Pact for the same basic reasons.

NEW ZEALAND to lead in the United Nations and elsewhere in campaign for banning of atom bombs and for world disarmament.

WITHDRAW NEW ZEALAND forces from Malaya, refuse to engage on behalf of any imperialism in any similar aggressive action elsewhere.

REDUCE DEFENCE expenditure to £5 million annually from present £30 million. Use part of the funds saved in pursuing policies of establishing friendly relations and trade with our Asian neighbours and with the socialist nations.

RECOGNISE the Chinese People's Republic now.



They ARE fighting monopoly — NOW

These Communist Candidates are Working People with a Policy for Working People



Canister
Worker
Mrs. E. AYO
Roskill



Railway
Worker
Mr. S.
HIEATT
Otahuhu

Leader of the Team



MR. V. WILCOX
(General Secretary of the
Communist Party)
Waitakere



Orchardist
Mr. G.
JACKSON
Ponsonby



Plasterer
Mr. R.
WOLF
Grey Lynn

Party
Organiser
Mr. W.
McARA
Auckland
Central



Freezing
Worker
Mr. F. E.
McNULTY
Avon



Coal-miner
Mr. R. H. MITCHELL
Westland



Party
Secretary
Mr. H.
McLEOD
Waitemata



Waterside
Worker
Mr. S. E.
SMITH
Onslow



Boilermaker
Mr. J.
MARSTON
Morningside



Civil
Servant
Mr. R. J.
SMITH
Island Bay



Housewife
Mrs. R.
SMITH
Tamaki



Freezing
Worker
Mr. J. G.
LOCKE
Christchurch
Central



Fencer
Mr. F. W.
MANNING
Palmerston
North

Waterside
Worker
Mr. K.
STANTON
Wellington
Central



Carpenter
Mr. D.
McEWEN
Onehunga



Carpenter
Mr. R. HEGMAN
Hutt



Tramway
Worker
Mr. E. W.
HUNTER
Dunedin
North



READ THESE PAMPHLETS FOR YOURSELF —

- "Fight Monopoly Now" 6d
- "N.Z.'s Road to Socialism" 1/-
- "Why N.Z. Needs Socialism" 6d

—and for weekly pleasure and information ... the

PEOPLE'S VOICE — 6d weekly
Order from P.O. Box 2197, Auckland.

The history of human progress

It was the great Industrial Revolution at the end of the 18th century that made the 19th century the era of capitalism. To-day we have the wonderful ability to provide plenty for all in the world—if the great capitalist monopolies did not stand in the way.

For millions of years Man has battled against Nature and against himself to wrest a living from the world in which he lives.

And the tools he used decided the way he lived.

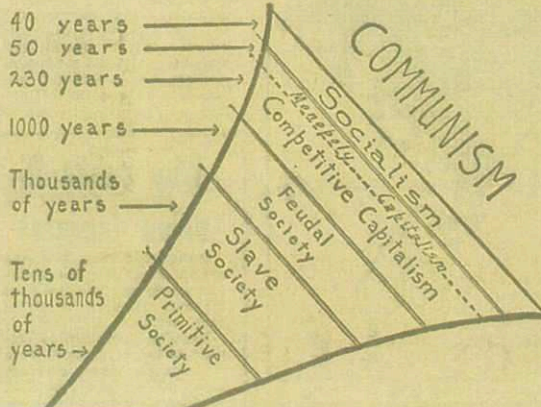
As his productive ability has improved from the Stone Age to the Atomic Age, he has passed through Primitive Society, Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism—and now one-third of mankind has passed to Socialism.

Faster, Inevitable

The more Man learns, the faster he learns. The changes come quicker and quicker—and all of them are inevitable.

Socialism, the first stage of Communism, is not some sinister plot against liberty. It is Man liberating himself from the inequalities of earlier unproductive societies.

It is the era of the Working People. No master has ever been able to do without them. But now, in the second half of the 20th



★ If You Wish to Join the COMMUNIST PARTY contact the most convenient of the following addresses:

AUCKLAND: Room 36, St. Kevin's Arcade, Karangahape Road. Phone 22-553.

WELLINGTON: Unity Centre, 125 Cuba Street. Phone 53-528.

CHRISTCHURCH: Secretary, J. Locke, Phone 52-652.

DUNEDIN: Secretary, E. W. Hunter, Phone 38-281.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 1765, Auckland.

Why YOU should vote Communist

- BOTH Labour and National agree to handing over New Zealand's resources to be exploited by overseas monopolies for the benefit of a few, not of our people.
- Both Labour and National "follow, right and wrong," the foreign policy of the U.S. billionaire trusts.

These are the really big issues that determine whether the people of New Zealand shall live and prosper—or not.

Nor, on these issues, the fundamental ones, does Social Credit suggest anything different.

Yet Mr. Nordmeyer says: "On few occasions during the 1950's have we been free from concern about balancing our external transactions." (Economic Survey for 1960.)

And Mr. Nash says: "Because dairy, meat and wool products form about 87 per cent. of our exports to-day, our economy is very vulnerable." (Speech to Penrose Industrial Association, June 20, 1960.)

If you vote Labour or National, you are voting for the continuation of a "vulnerable economy."

And, when the vulnerability is felt in practice, as it was in 1958—you will pay the extra taxes to "solve" the

people, would face an even bigger burden.

If you want to avoid that, the key problem for New Zealand is to find new trading partners from whom we can get more industrial products for our farm products and from whom we can get capital aid for new industries.

And this CAN be done if we make the break now for economic independence—first curb and later abolish the great monopolies that dominate New Zealand.

It is policy that counts:

- If you want to vote for the continued dominance of monopoly, for the threat of economic crisis and war—vote for the old parties.
- But if you want peace, a prosperous, independent New Zealand, there is only one way to vote—

VOTE COMMUNIST.

~~SECRET~~
EXTRACT/COPY

G.D.D.—11

518

From (source): D.O.A.

Reference: AK/4/15

Date: 29.9.60

For File No. 21/2/10

Original on 31/1/3

Received on

Extracted/Copied by

On 6.10.60

Subject: ANNEXURE "A" [REDACTED] DATED 27th September 1960.

Victor George WILCOX: George Edward JACKSON -

VISIT TO MOSCOW.

P.W.G. McARA (i.r.) informed source that both WILCOX and JACKSON are concerned about the reaction of the rest of the Party to their projected trip to Moscow at a time when they should be campaigning for the elections. They also have the problem of arranging finance for the trip which source estimates at approximately £417. It is not certain who will pay this.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

H.O. COMMENT:

The purpose of their visit to Moscow is not known. They will arrive in time for the 7th November celebrations, but it is most unlikely that this alone would be sufficiently important to take two Party candidates out of the country so close to the elections, particularly in the face of almost certain opposition from rank and file Party members.

It will be recalled that in October, 1959 the National Secretariat received a number of complaints from Party members throughout New Zealand regarding the numbers of National Secretariat members travelling overseas. At that time the Political Committee agreed that official delegations to conferences etc. should be restricted to members of the Central Committee, but participation in celebrations or functions such as the 7th November celebrations could be extended to other approved Party members.

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

517

D.O.A.

AK/3/1

H.Q. (CS)

29th September, 1960

"PEOPLE'S VOICE" NEWSPAPER DATED 28TH SEPTEMBER 1960.

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the "People's Voice" newspaper referred to above.
2. On page 1 is reference to:
 - (a) Departure of Freda May COOK (i.r.) for Hanoi.
 - (b) Departure of Mervyn Haley WILLIAMS (i.r.) and his wife for China.
3. On page 4 appears list No.4. of the Election Fund Appeal:

Individuals:

H.L.F. (Kerikeri) :	Hilda Louisa FITZGERALD (i.r.)	£2.10.0.
L.J.B. (Aramoho) :	Leslie John BERGERSEN (i.r.)	4.0.
4. On page 8 appears list No.26 of the P.V. Maintenance Fund. Initials of subscribers and collectors shown could apply as follows:

Individuals:

(per) T.H. (Atiamuri) :	Thomas Neil GIBSON (i.r.)	
H.L.C. (Ohura) :	Herbert Lindsay CRAVEN (i.r.)	8/-
H.L.F. (Kerikeri) :	Hilda Louisa FITZGERALD (i.r.)	£2.10.0.
C.F. (Kerikeri) :	Catherine FITZGERALD (i.r.)	£1.10.0.

Auckland D.C.

South Auckland:

B. & R.B.	: Barbara Ruby BARRY (i.r.)	
	: Frank Rex BARRY (i.r.)	4/-

City Branch:

(per) M.O.	: Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)	2/-
J.O.	: Judy OSTLER (i.r.)	6d.
(per) D.M.	: Dianna GRANT-MACKIS (i.r.)	
(per) P.McA.	: Phyllis Winifred McARA	

Building Workers:

(per) W.F.	: William Francis PAVIER (i.r.)	
(per) D.L.	: Richard LEACH (i.r.)	2/7
(per) J.D.	: James Frederick DELLER (i.r.)	
D. McE.	: Donald McEWEN (i.r.)	2/-


 FIELD OFFICER.


 Orig on 27/2/2
~~SECRET~~

Our File: AK/10/1A

Date: 28th September, 1960 Your File:

SUBJECT: NATIONAL SECRETARIAT CIRCULAR NO.13.

1. The attached is a copy of the document referred to above and dated the 21st September, 1960.
2. The original was made available by a reliable source.
3. This Circular deals with the formation of Branch Election Committees and the role of the Party Branch in the forthcoming election. It also refers to an electioneering pamphlet "Fight Monopoly Now" written by V.G. WILCOX (i.r.).
4. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

FIELD OFFICER.

Doze. This helps to clear up some points
that have been in dispute regarding
party election committees.

Ekman astron as nymis

File on 21/2/10 - Copy 1 to 21/2/15.
Extract to P.F.'s marked.
• 21/2/5 - 21/7/3
• 21/4/20
• 21/6/20
• 21/7/2

11/10/60

TO ALL DISTRICT COMMITTEES, BRANCH EXECUTIVES, NATIONAL CMTE.
AND NAT. CONTROL COMM. MEMBERS.

Dear Comrades, ON THE PARTY BRANCH AND THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.

This document is for urgent study by District Committees and Branch Executives.

It deals with a number of points on which there is a lack of clarity. Experience shows that the initial Circulars on the Elections did not take into account the concrete situation which confronts a number of Branches. Consequently, there has been some confusion on the tasks of the Branch in relation to the Elections.

We suggest that the document be circulated to all District Committee and Branch Executive members as quickly as possible and that the whole question be discussed at a joint meeting of District Committee and Branch Executive members.

Comradely greetings,

National Secretariat.

.....
ON THE PARTY BRANCH AND THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Comrades, There are great possibilities of building the Party today.

A South Island Branch, depleted to three active members 12 to 18 months ago, is today six times that size. 21/9/60

An Auckland Branch, which was to have been wound up, broke through after the National Conference. From four rather discouraged members it has grown within four months to a vigorous Branch of 22. "P.V." sales rose from 15 to 75; money started to flow in. The Branch trebled its quota and fulfilled its "P.V." Appeal target three and a half times over, and is within a few pounds of its £100 Election Fund target. 21/9/60

Another Branch, in the doldrums for years, moved into action, and overfulfilled its election quota in a couple of weeks. It raised its quota by 50% and has already overfulfilled that.

A North Island Branch, reluctant at first to put up a candidate, had £80 in donations handed in without asking a single person. The Branch has already reached the £100 mark, more than 3 times the original quota set. And it has only just started! 21/9/60

These few examples show that there are great reserves of support for our Party waiting for Party members throughout N.Z. to go out and win them.

But there is a great deal of conservatism holding the Party back. This prevails most frequently among the older comrades and in the Branch Executives. Nearly all our comrades say "Yes, conditions are more favourable." But in many, their practice (or lack of it) does not reflect real conviction that this is a living truth. It is necessary for Branch Executives to constantly wage a campaign to deepen the understanding and conviction of all their members that this is so.

There is too often a failure to get into action to go out to the people, to discuss the Party and its policies, to ask for their support and draw them towards the Party. Where this

prevails the Branch stagnates.

But where Branch Executives plan action that brings Party members into personal contact with new people, then there is life and growth.

The National Centre calls on each Party member to exercise his or her personal initiative in going out to new people and demonstrating in practice that the break-through can be made.

One little success by one or two comrades is often all that is needed to awaken the whole Branch to similar action.

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY BRANCH IN THE ELECTIONS.

The General Elections is a period when public interest in political parties and their policies reaches a peak, a period in which our Branches must strive to greatly intensify particular aspects of the work in the application of the general line "Out to the People, Build the Party."

This general line is the guiding thread of every practical activity of the Branch. The work of the Branch is decisive in its successful achievement.

The votes recorded for Communist candidates are a testing of the work of the National Committee, District Committees and Branches in carrying out this line.

Reports already received show that, where Branches have seized this principle, there has already been a leap in all kinds of practical activity. Old and new contacts are being brought together in house meetings; systematic canvassing has been instituted, new recruits, guarantors, and "P.V." sales are being consistently won.

THE ROLE OF THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE.

The quantity and quality of the work of the Branch membership, however, depends upon the quality of the work of the Branch Executive. Upon it rests the initial responsibility

- ** of preparing the detailed plans for the Branch to carry the Party policy deep into the homes and factories in the electorates;
- ** For studying each of the Party members, knowing the extent of their contact and level of development;
- ** For allocating of individual responsibility (in consultation with the member) for the carrying out of particular tasks;
- ** For explaining the objectives of the plans to Party members;
- ** For drawing each Party member into the maximum activity possible in carrying out the plans;
- ** For personally helping Party members to acquire the confidence and ability to carry out their work.

Branch Executive leadership is the key to arming each Party member with consciousness of the objectives of the Branch and is vital to the release of the creative initiative of each Party member. Just as the National Centre looks first at its own work to find the reasons for general lack of development in the Party as a whole, so, too, must the District Committee and Branch Executives look for the causes of failures in Branch work

in the shortcomings of District Committee and Branch Executive work, in particular the lack of detailed planning and check-up and personal help and leadership.

BUILDING ELECTION COMMITTEES.

The formation of election committees is the end result of good work in going out to people with the policy of the Party. Non-party people can be won to take part on broad election committees only when they are convinced.

The whole Branch and all its membership constitutes the core around which Communist Party election committees must be built.

It is wrong to see the formation of an election committee as something separate and isolated from the Party Branch.

Our objective of election committees on which non-party people outnumber Party members can't be conjured up. It can only be developed on the basis of the direct personal contact of the Party members with the people.

Everywhere there are people who will help with particular aspects of the election work. Many of them are not yet prepared to agree to attach themselves formally to an election committee.

The following experience raises important problems which quite likely confront other Branches.

An Auckland Branch selected 18 of its very best non-party contacts. They were allocated among the most active Party members to approach about coming on an election committee. Practically every one was prepared to work with and help the Party in the elections. But only 3 would agree to become members of an election committee. There was some concern felt by the Branch members that their concept of a formal election committee was not achieved. And yet they had the basis of very real and worthwhile election organisation.

This Branch realised that the concept of the building of a formal election committee by merely asking contacts to come on such a body was not realisable in its situation. It now recognises it has the nucleus of a splendid and active election organisation. It sees that many of the non-party helpers reluctant to - as it were - sign themselves formally on an election committee are nevertheless willing to meet groups in a particular area or come to a special meeting where the plans for the election are to be discussed. Consequently the Branch is now moving to

1. drawing those Party and non-party people working in a particular area together to discuss how the election work can best be carried out, and
2. organising a limited number of Branch meetings (possibly 3 in the period) into broad meetings to discuss the most effective ways of taking the policies and ideas of the Party into every part of the electorate. Branch routine will be carried out before the meeting and the meeting itself devoted entirely to discussing the elections. Each Party member will strive to bring along his or her present and new non-party contacts. The aim will be to draw out their opinions, ideas, and criticisms of the election plans and presentation of propaganda, and so raise the practical activities to a higher level.

Thus is it possible to achieve an election committee in practice if not in name.

Comrades can see that these proposals constitute an important starting point. At the same time they create the

conditions for overcoming objections of certain friends to formally committing themselves. But it also creates conditions for the continual growth and development of the election organisation and the drawing of the maximum number of non-party people into collective discussion and closer to the Party Branch itself.

Here, too, the approach to people starts, not with a request for joining an election committee but as an appeal for help in a concrete task such as leafleting, arranging a house meeting, etc. It is an approach which wins each non-party supporter into participation in election activity of the kind and at the level he is willing to undertake.

Properly applied, it can result in the continuous growth of election organisations at widely differing levels and of differing forms, extending from street, area or job election groups, to the central electorate organisation.

Social functions that bring these groups and individual helpers together prior to the election campaign proper, can help to demonstrate the strength of the growing forces round the Party, rouse enthusiasm, make them feel themselves a part of the bigger movement, draw them closer to the Party, increase their activity and perhaps lead them to associate themselves directly with the central electorate committee.

Similar functions in each electorate are a necessary and vital part of consolidating the party contacts closer around the Party and developing further the line of "Out to the People - Build the Party."

There are problems where one branch has to divide its forces between two electorates as in the case of Wellington City or in the case of Onehunga where no basic organisation exists. Both cases call for some modification of the details outlined but the essential content can still guide the work.

The Party fractions working in such electorates have also the objective of laying the foundations for new Party organisations in the areas. Consequently the fraction, under the guidance of the Branch Executive would need to take the responsibility for developing the 2 or 3 broad meetings of friends and supporters and the social activities which are suggested as the responsibility of the whole Branch.

We may summarise the objectives of the electorate election work of Branches or Party fractions as follows:

1. To draw into the election work at whatever levels possible the maximum number of non-Party people.
2. To draw as many as possible of such non-party people into organised collective discussion on the election plans and work and so heighten their enthusiasm, conviction and activity in carrying Party policy deeper into the homes and work-places in the electorate.
3. To consolidate this Party contact and build the Party.
(Building the Party means not only more recruits but also raising the organisational and political work, establishing new "P.V." sales, new guarantors and sources of Party finance, consolidating Branch Executive leadership and raising new leaders.)

THE ELECTION ORGANISERS.

The above approach helps to clarify the role of the Branch Election Organiser. He or she carries forward the detailed planning and organisational tasks laid down by the Branch, systematically checks up on the carrying out of the work. He carries out these responsibilities in conjunction with and under the guidance of the Branch Executive.

FLEXIBILITY TOWARDS PEOPLE. The winning of non-party people to actively support and vote for Communist candidates depends on our ability to show them how it is the only way in which they can push forward their own particular demands. Many who are not interested in or even are opposed to the Party are deeply concerned about peace and the banning of nuclear tests and weapons. That is, they support the central core of Communist Party policy. Our task is to convince such people that the only way they can strike a blow for their own ardent desire for peace is to vote for the Communist candidate. And we must seek their co-operation in drawing others to this point, demonstrating the vital impact of a big vote for Communist candidates on the struggle of the people for peace. The article of Cde. V.G. Wilcox "Toward the Elections" - September Communist Review, 1960, should be studied and re-studied by every Party member. P.F.

Similarly with other people who have particular demands arising from their social or economic situation.

No Party except the Communist Party is advancing a forthright programme of action by the people on the key issues of vital concern to the working people. If we are not rigid in our approach we can win the support of hundreds who, although appearing to differ ideologically from the Party, earnestly want to advance a particular demand or demands which only the Communist Party programme puts forward.

THE WORK OF ELECTION COMMITTEES. The basic task of the Election Committee is --

- * to carry the policy of the Party deep into the homes and factories of the electorate;
- * to expand the personal contact of the Party with hundreds of new people;
- * to win financial support and votes for the Party's candidates.

ESSENTIAL STEPS.

- * Pinpoint the areas in which contact is already established.
- * Block out the areas on street maps for leafleting.
- * Select the important working class areas and number them according to priority for concentration of personal contact.
- * Allocate these areas to comrades and arm them with a list of contacts already known.
- * Prepare Notebooks for Streets showing street name, House No., and columns for name of person and remarks indicating reception, whether willing to help or donate and whether requiring assistance to vote. Check always on possibility for house meetings.

(Note: These Notebooks are vitally necessary, not only to ensure effective organisation of election work but also to enable the Branch to follow up contacts during and after the election campaign. They must be carefully handled and checked up weekly with the election organiser. At the end of the campaign, all books must be handed in.)

IMMEDIATE CANVASSING.

- ** Plan to draw in every possible person into systematic canvassing of the priority areas with "FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW -

IMMEDIATE CANVASSING (continued)

- ** Take along the "P.V." and the Electoral Roll and enrolment cards. Particularly make sure every supporter is on the roll.
- ** Note while canvassing suitable places for painting slogans, chalking and posters.

If we have fully grasped the character of our work in the elections we will follow up sales made each week and seek and note opinions.

We will be in a position to invite buyers to help us actively or financially or both. We should ask each buyer to permit us to bring along the candidate to discuss the pamphlet with them and any friends. We want to meet their friends.-- Can they tell us of others who would like to get the pamphlet.

HOUSE MEETINGS.

Every Branch member has the responsibility to seek out new and old contacts and ask them if he can bring the candidate around to their home some afternoon or evening to discuss matters with the contact and any friends or neighbours he or she likes to invite. Party members should realise that this is clearly decided policy - exercise their initiative by acting on it at once, and definitely arrange such meetings. All that is necessary is then to advise the Branch Secretary or Election Organiser who must arrange for the candidate or, in his or her absence, a District Committee member or leading member of the Branch to attend such a meeting with the Party member who arranged it. Don't think it must be one with a dozen or so. Candidates will be glad of meetings to discuss the policy of the Party with one or two people.

Nor should we think of meetings to which only sympathisers are invited. We must be able to talk and win people with other views. Find the common points of agreement on policy. Seek to win unity and support for action on these. Listen to and note people's opinions. Respect the right of people to disagree with us on other questions. Their support for the Party on limited points creates favourable conditions for further discussion on other points in the future. Care should be taken by the Branch Executive to list the names of all those who support us in any way and make sure they are invited to Party functions.

REPORTING EXPERIENCES.

Every Branch member should report his or her experience to the Branch. Both good and bad experiences, suggestions, opinions and criticisms of policy and presentation, should be carefully noted, also successes and how they were achieved. These should be passed on promptly to the District and the National office so that the whole Party can learn.

Splendid Example: Copies of an Auckland District Bulletin, exchanging the experiences of the Branches is being sent under separate cover. Apart from the help which Branch members will get from the actual experiences recorded, the Bulletin is a splendid example which would well be followed by other Districts. We would like copies of any similar Bulletins.

BULLETINS.

These have a vital role to play. The numbers should be stepped up and issued as frequently as possible during the campaign. The Bulletin provides the best means of linking up the local problems with the exposure of the capitalist parties and their neglect of the people's needs, the subordination of the People's interest in the interest of the monopolies and their war policies, etc.

509

THE £2,000 ELECTION APPEAL.

This is the vital ammunition without which the campaign will bog down. Auckland District has made a splendid start and was able to show £804 in cash and promises on Sept. 11th when it publicly launched the Appeal. It has only to get another £256 to reach its target. They are confident of overfulfilment.

21/3/7.

But the money is not flowing into the National Centre rapidly enough. All Districts and Branches should forward the amounts as soon as they are received. Make sure each payment is accompanied by a clearly printed and accurate list of initials of donors and the amounts donated, for acknowledgement in the "P.V."

Experience of Branches which have got on the job shows there are hundreds of people willing to help; all that is lacking is the asking.

One comrade has adopted the idea of giving her guarantors a cardboard cigarette box to put the weekly amount guaranteed in. This means that where contact is missed, it is not a question of their digging double out of the purse because the money is put in the Election fund box each pay day.

Also check on the development of the guarantor fund for the elections by the Branch Executive is vital. This not only guarantees the fulfilment of targets but also should ensure hundreds of new guarantors for ordinary Party finance after the election campaign is over.

Thus we have a very concrete expression of the relationship of the Election Campaign to the general line of "Out to the People - Build the Party". It should stimulate us all to put every effort into securing the maximum results in the present favourable conditions of the Election Campaign.

.....

to convince all their members that this is so.

There is too often a failure to get into action to go out to the people, to discuss the Party and its policies, to ask for their support and draw them towards the Party. Where this

1960 Election Fund

Porirua Branch: E.W. 2/6; D.M. 2/6; M.H. 2/6; C.M. 10/-;
J.W. 10/-; P.W. 10/-; J. Woods 10/-; T.H. 2/6; N.N. 2/-;
P.S. 2/6; J.S. 2/-; E.W. 2/6; S.W. 2/6; M.M. 5/-;
Crayfish £1-0-0; Jake 5/-; J.H. £5-0-0; P.S. 2/6; N.N. 2/-;
M.H. 2/6; T.H. 2/6; Wlgon.Seamen £5-4-0; Paddy 4/-; Mac.2/6;
N.N. 2/-; Stanet 10/-; Flo £1-0-0; Branch £1-10-0; T.H. 2/6;
Mac. 2/6; P. Benson social £9-1-0; Paddy 4/-; Irish 4/-;
J.S. 1/-; Tommy 10/-; T.H. 2/6; M.H. 2/6; A.S.R.S. 3/-;
M.M. £3-0-0; B.F. £5-0-0; Elsdon 10/-; M.H. 8/-; T.H. £2-0-0;
N.A. £1-0-0; D.F. 2/-; Wgton seamen £5-5-0; D.A. 13/-;

City Branch: Per R.B., L.R. £10-0-0; Anon £35-0-0; C.W. £5-0-0;
E.J.D. 15/-; Dev. £2-17-6; P.P. £1-2-6; M.P. £1-7-6;
B.A. £2-0-0; R.Te W. £10-0-0; C.E. £5-0-0; N.G. 4/-; H.L. £1-10-0;
R.S. £6-6-6; C.R. £1-5-0; T.M. £3-10-0; Per B.M.; Dennis S. 4/5;
Baldy 4/-; Big Paddy 4/0; J.W. 10/-;

Office: Sam 10/-; Public meeting £16-18-4; Mum £2-0-0.

I think we will file this on ~~245~~17. A report covering same is on R. E. Sigman's P. 4. The list has been checked by [redacted] and possible identifications made.

For the usual check please 9 extract instructions

Wieder

Registered [redacted]
 R2 → 1. Please ^{extra} ~~extra~~ names underlined to P.F. [redacted]
 2. Card J. Woods [redacted] Poiana. Endorse Card P. Williams
 3. Bring up to me Peter [redacted] (R.O.)

Byers file is attached. Benson's
is already with you.

21/10/60

Q. File

~~SECRET~~

21/5/7.

21/2/10

507

CONTRIBUTORS TO C.P.N.Z. ELECTION FUND 1960: PORIRUA BRANCH

<u>Pseudonym:</u>	<u>Amount:</u>	<u>Possible Identifications:</u>
E.W.	2/6	Elva Margaret WEDLOCK (i.r.)
D.M.	2/6	Douglas Huia MORTON (i.r.)
M.H.	2/6	Mary Ann HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
C.M.	10/-	
J.W.	10/-	James Martin WINDSOR (i.r.)
<i>Endorse card -</i> P.W.	10/-	<i>Paul Williams</i> ✓
* J. Woods	10/-	
T.H.	2/6	Thomas Sidney HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
N.N.	2/-	Edward (Ned) NICHOLL (i.r.)
P.S.	2/6	Phyllis SMITH (i.r.)
J.S.	2/-	Dorothea Judith (Judy) STANTON (i.r.) ✓
E.W.	2/6	Elva Margaret WEDLOCK (i.r.)
S.W.	2/6	
<i>see below *</i> M.M.	5/-	Marion Bessie MANSON (i.r.) ✓
Crayfish	£1.	
Jake	5/-	
J.H.	£5.0.0	<i>James Hill</i> ✓
P.S.	2/6	Phyllis SMITH (i.r.)
N.N.	2/-	Edward (Ned) NICHOLL (i.r.)
M.H.	2/6	Mary Ann HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
T.H.	2/6	Thomas Sidney HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
Wellington Seamen	£5.4.0	
Paddy	4/-	
Mac	2/6	
N.N.	2/-	Edward (Ned) NICHOLL (i.r.)
Stanet	10/-	
Flo	£1.	
Branch	30/-	Porirua Branch
T.H.	2/6	Thomas Sidney HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
Mac	2/6	
P. Benson Social	£9.1.0.	Peter BENSON (i.r.)
Paddy	4/-	
Irish	4/-	
J.S.	1/-	Dorothea Judith STANTON (i.r.)
Tommy	10/-	
T.H.	2/6	Thomas Sidney HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
M.H.	2/6	Mary Ann HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
A.S.R.S.	3/-	
* M.M.	£3.	Marion Bessie MANSON (i.r.) ✓
B.F.	£5.	
Elsdon	10/-	
M.H.	8/-	Mary Ann HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
T.H.	£2.	Thomas Sidney HEPTINSTALL (i.r.)
N.A.	£1.	
Wellington Seamen	£5.5.0.	
D.A.	13/-	"Dave" ALLEN (i.r.) ✓

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

2.

21/2/10

506

CITY BRANCH

<u>Pseudonym:</u>	<u>Amount:</u>	<u>Possible Identifications:</u>
Per R.B. - L.R.	£10.	Rona BAILEY (i.r.) from L.R.
Anonymous	£35.	
C.W.	£5.	
E.J.D.	15/-	Edward James DYER (i.r.)
Dev	£2.17.6	Selwyn McDonald DEVEREUX (i.r.)
P.P.	£1.2.6	Paul Fontanne Kingi POTIKI (i.r.)
M.P.	£1.7.6	Mollie Doreen JEMISON (POTIKI) (i.r.)
B.A.	£2.	Brian Hamilton ASTON (i.r.)
R.Tew.	£10.	Reone TEWAO (i.r.)
C.E.	£5.	Catherine Vera EICHELBAUM (i.r.)
N.G.	4/-	Edward (Ned) GEAR (i.r.) Nancy Whelan GODDARD
H.L.	£1.10.0	Henry Brackenbury LATTEK (i.r.)
R.S.	£6.6.0	Ronald Joseph SMITH (i.r.)
C.R.	£1.5.0	Colin Henry ROLLINSON (i.r.)
T.M.	£3.10.0	Margaret Neilson (Tilly) MARSH (i.r.)
Dennis S. per B.M.	4/5	per William Gerald MARSH (i.r.)
Baldy	4/-	
Big Paddy	4/-	
J.W.	10/-	John WOLSTENHOLME (i.r.).

12th October, 1960.

 (Fd/O)
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10
505

D.O.A.

AK/4/15

H.Q. (D)

23.9.60

ANNEXURE 'A' [REDACTED] DATED 20th September, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN - AUCKLAND DISTRICT

Source reported that there is likely to be a joint meeting of the District Political Committee and the Branch Executives to discuss the constitution of the Election Committees. The main problem to be discussed is the part non-Party members should play on the committee.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

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~~SECRET~~

4

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" Newspaper.
Published at _____, on [date] 21-9-60
SUBJECT: CS1

Don't keep them in the dark!

HUNDREDS of willing people have contributed just over £400 to this Fund so far. But how many of them have had any acknowledgment that their donations have been received?

Let them know they have...

Until their initials or non-de-plumes appear in these columns, they are in the dark and their money, for all they know, could have been spirited away. That's why it is important for districts, branches, groups and individual collectors to send in lists of donors as promptly as they send the much-needed money. The lists appearing in the People's Voice are the only receipt these donors have. It is only courtesy that they should have it promptly.

So please see that these lists are promptly and regularly dispatched with the donations to P.O. Box 1785, Auckland, in good time for publication in the People's Voice—that means they should be in the Auckland Post Office Box by Thursday each week.

Helped the Communist Party's £2000 ELECTION FUND

Have your donations and lists of names at
P.O. Box 1785, Auckland,
by Thursday morning each week!



	Target		Achieved	
	£	s d	£	s d
Auckland	1,060	0 0	111	0 0
Wellington	550	0 0	161	3 3
Canterbury	160	0 0	74	4 7
Dunedin	50	0 0	—	—
Greymouth	120	0 0	36	2 0
Mangakino	25	0 0	—	—
Hamilton	5	0 0	1	0 0
Huntly	10	0 0	—	—
Napier	10	0 0	—	—
New Plymouth	5	0 0	2	0 0
BULLER BRANCH—£1				
GREYMOUTH BRANCH—£1				
Total: £35/2/-				

1057

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 21-9-60

SUBJECT: CS1

**Don't keep them in the
they
have...**

The lists appearing in the

It is only courtesy that they should have it promptly.

So please see that these lists are promptly and regularly dispatched with the donations to P.O. Box 1785, Auckland, in good time for publication in the People's

Voice—that means they should be in the Auckland Post Office Box by Thursday each week.

Helped the Communist Party's £2000 ELECTION FUND

Have your donations and lists of names at
P.O. Box 1785, Auckland,
by Thursday morning each week!



LIST No. 3

	Target		Achieved	
	£	s d	£	s d
Auckland	1,060	0 0	111	0 0
Wellington	550	0 0	161	3 3
Canterbury	160	0 0	74	4 4
Dunedin	50	0 0	36	2 0
Greymouth	120	0 0	1	0 0
Mangakino	25	0 0	1	0 0
Hamilton	5	0 0	2	0 0
Huntly	10	0 0	1	0 0
Napier	10	0 0	20	4 0
New Plymouth	5	0 0		
Buller	5	0 0		
Individuals & Groups				

TOTAL: £2,000 0 0

£406 13 10

INDIVIDUALS & GROUPS—

A.B.S. 45/-; E.A. & J.F., £2
5/-; Tom S. (Wellington), £4
(Total: £4)
CANTERBURY D.C. — £74
A/7.
BULLER BRANCH—£4
GREYMOUTH BRANCH—£4
£4/7/6; J.C., £5; per R.M., G.B.,
£2, J.B., £1; Mrs. T., £1; J.C.,
£1; R.R., £1; Botliwa,
4/-; Mac., 2/-; D.M., £1; T.P.,
£5; D.R., £2/4/-; L.M., £4
5/-; A.C., 5/-; J.S., 5/-; A.C.,
4/6; L.B., 6/-; L.B., 4/6; H.W.,
Juni., 5/-; W.M., 4/-; O.S., 2/6;
R.W., 10/-; J.S., 40/-
(Total: £35 2/-)

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10
21/5/7
P.F. McARA P.W.G.

503

C.S.1.

ANNEXURE NOS.207 and 213 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] OF 31.7.60

1. Source reports that Peter Wilfred George McARA (i.r.) a member of the C.P.N.Z. Secretariat, made a tour of the country between the 8th and 29th August 1960 and visited C.P. Headquarters in Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Greymouth. Before McARA left Auckland the National Secretariat informed the Wellington District of the C.P. by letter dated 27.7.60 of McARA's itinerary and said that the tour concerned the Parliamentary Election Campaign.
2. The C.P.N.Z. informed Wellington that it would like McARA to have the opportunity of discussions with District and Branch Executives on the matter of plans for and approach to the Election Campaign. The National Secretariat suggested that local meeting dates be re-arranged so as to ensure the widest coverage of Party organisations by McARA.
3. The National Secretariat stated that Party friends, who are likely to help in the election campaign could be invited to Branch meetings and that a meeting should be arranged in Palmerston North during McARA's visit.

21 September, 1960

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (Fd/O)

[REDACTED]

File 21/2/10.
✓ 2. Copy to McARA ✓

✓ 21/5/7 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 22/9/60.



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

21/2/10.

502

C.S.1.

C.P.N.Z. PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION POLICY.

1. Source purchased the attached pamphlet from the Headquarters of the Wellington District Communist Party when he paid one of his usual visits to the rooms on Thursday, 15th September, 1960.
2. The pamphlet, "Fight Monopoly Now", is by Victor George WILCOX (i.r.), the General Secretary of the C.P.N.Z. It outlines the Communist Party election policy. It contains the usual electioneering facts and figures converted to suit the Party's purpose and definitely asserts the Party's political diversity to the N.Z. Labour Party, but contains the proviso that "in those electorates where there is no Communist candidate we say vote Labour."

SOURCE: [REDACTED]

20th September, 1960.

(Fd/O).

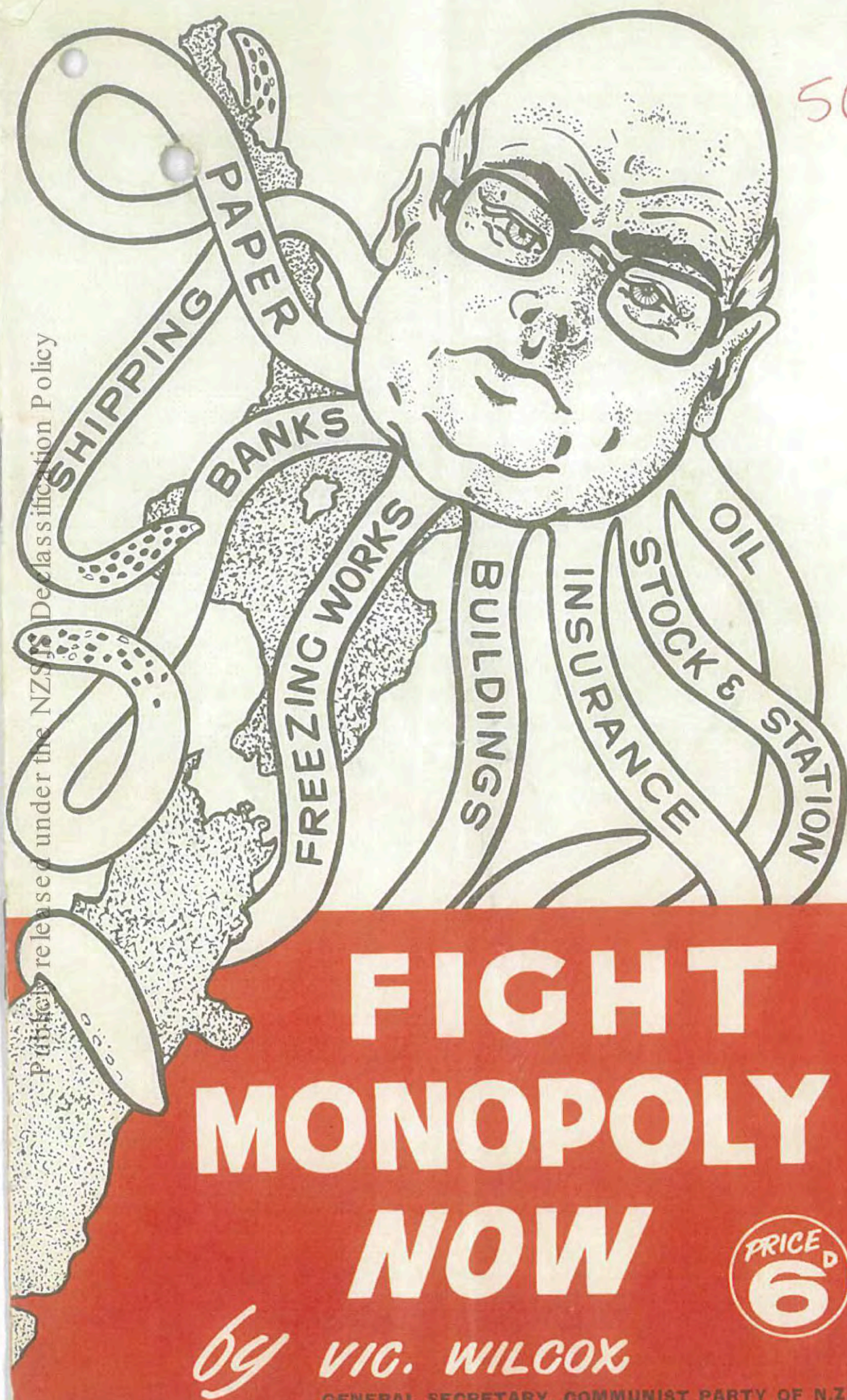
St. / To me. Dec 21/2/10

*1. File on 21/2/10.
2. Copy to [REDACTED] ✓*

20/9/60.

~~SECRET~~

501



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FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW

by *VIC. WILCOX*

PRICE ^D
6

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF N.Z.



New Zealand: Land of plenty, free from war?

THIS is a small pamphlet which does not pretend to give all the answers. It just endeavours to put forward the viewpoint and programme of the Communist Party in the 1960 General Elections.

Its basic idea is that if the overwhelming number of New Zealanders (those who do not anxiously watch the share-list every day, who have no substantial holdings in Fletchers, in Bowater's or some such industrial monopoly grouping) were to get together and work **now** for peace, for higher living standards and an improving social and cultural life—then we could get these things in the years ahead.

On the other hand, if we don't—then the outlook for our country is black.

The pamphlet tries to show that we can start **now** towards achieving a prosperous, independent New Zealand, secure from the economic crises, war scares and uncertainties of life as we now know it.

It shows how we can make a start towards this right now in the forthcoming elections and the period following them.

We start by saying outright that we won't get any of these things by hanging on to the old political parties or groupings and their ideas.

1960 IS THE TIME TO MAKE A BREAK. It is the time to begin building for a better future than any government led by the nose by big business (overseas and local) is likely or able to give the mass of the people.

To-day it is quite common to hear people say about politics and elections: "What does it matter, they are all the same when there is trouble, the worker gets it in the neck."

This quite common view is correct about both National and Labour to-day. In office they have both proved it. They have little differences here or there on minor matters, but they reach full agreement on the question that capitalism is a good thing. So problems are solved by both in a way that does not hurt the interests or hit the profits of Big Business.

- Both parties agree that our national resources should be developed industrially by overseas monopoly for the benefit of a few, not of the people of New Zealand.
- Both agree with following the policy of the U.S. billionaire trusts, of the U.S. State Department.

These are the two really big issues before New Zealand. So, you see, when it comes to other things, there is room for disagreement only on the minor issues.

From this stems all the sham and wordy fights, the "glamourised" all-night sittings in Parliament. It all ends with the workers, the small professional and business men and the small farmers paying the bulk of any increased taxation or other increased burden necessary in times of economic strain in our economy. Up goes taxation on beer, on the family man's benzine (he can't pass it on to the consumer like the big firms) and on tobacco. Direct taxation increases fell most heavily on the worker in 1958. Big Business profits still soared (see the daily press).

That happened in 1958—the so-called crisis year. It happened with a Labour Government then. But it would have happened just the same under a National Government. It is still happening under Labour with a few modifications. It is plain that, if economic conditions developed in the same way again, as in 1958, then it would all be done again.

And if they got worse than in 1958, then the burden on the workers would be greater. They admit that when they say they "solved" the 1958 crisis.

The fact is that this would always happen in times of economic strain if you stick to the old ideas and the old political parties.

Many who to-day say, "What does it matter, they are all just about the same," have quite understandably got fed up. They are letting things go. However, this is wrong. As this pamphlet hopes to prove, something can be done.

The aim of the Communist Party, strengthened by your help, is to revitalise and unite the whole progressive working class and labour movement around a policy for peace, to fight big business, to place the burden of capitalist crisis (while we still have capitalism in our land) on the shoulders of those best able to bear it—Big Business, not the workers and lower income sections.



The other parties. Whom do they really represent?

TO make a start in the right direction, realising that the Communist Party must clearly call for support for this viewpoint in all possible ways, the Party is standing in 19 electorates. In these electorates you will have the choice of four candidates at least—National, Labour, Social Credit and Communist.

The National Party stands for big business no matter how much they prate about the small man and the farmer. Facts prove this. Monopoly profits grow under National. They did in the period 1949 to 1957. Many of their leaders are directors in our biggest profit-making concerns. Under National the workers' proportion of the national income drops. **IT IS NOT YOUR PARTY.**

The Labour Party claims to represent the workers. Under Labour in recent years Big Business has flourished and overseas monopoly interests have flooded our country to exploit our national resources for their own profit. Taxation to meet any crisis has fallen most heavily on the lower-income section. The Labour Party has no forward policy, no solution to the war plans of the capitalists except to agree, leading to subservience to U.S. policy when the chips are down.

(The writer once thought the Labour Party was a workers' party because the working people built it and comprise the bulk of its membership. You may still think so. But it is **policy that counts** and Labour no longer has a workers' policy. If it had, the "crisis" of 1958 would have been "solved" in a way that did not make the working people pay. **LOOK AT IT THIS WAY AND IT IS NO LONGER YOUR PARTY.**)

The Social Credit Party says all would be well if we put the monetary system right. Correct use of currency and credit would eliminate present inequalities and there would be no need to change the social system of capitalism, it says. Apparently, Big Business would not then want maximum profits at the expense of the majority and prices would not rise. Those who have such a big influence on present international relations

and whose industry and profits depend on the manufacture of atomic weapons and their explosion, thus endangering world peace and contaminating the atmosphere, would meekly fade away.

Many progressive people see something wrong to-day and Social Credit as an easy solution. **This party, however, does not tackle fundamentals, the crippling effects of monopoly, private ownership and profits, and is no way out. IT IS NOT YOUR PARTY.**

The Communist Party says that there is no solution to the problems of 1960 and the years ahead in the policies of any of the above parties. That is why we are standing candidates. Our policy must be heard, more support must be won. Why? Because we are the only party to-day putting forward a socialist solution.

Nearly half the people of the world have taken this socialist road. In socialist countries we see an ever more rapid advance in the people's living standards, in cultural and moral levels. The writer was astounded at the advance in the Soviet Union when he was there in 1958 and in People's China when he visited Peking last year. Starting from such a very low level and in the face of a hostile, developed, capitalist world, what progress has taken place! But, under what Mr. Nash claimed recently as "our" system (capitalism), no advance is seen. Cultural standards are falling and there is a general ethical and moral decline (commented on repeatedly by various social and political leaders in the daily press).

What is this socialism? It means organising society so that the whole resources of a nation are used in peace for the benefit of all—not the profit of a few. Capitalism, on the other hand, has proved, since it emerged from the old feudal society and then inevitably developed into a monopoly form, that individual profit drive leads to an ever-present danger of war. The drive for economic spheres for exploitation by Big Business leads to political action against other nations, to military blocs, to no agreement on banning atom bombs and disarmament, and, ultimately, it leads to the mess we and the capitalist world are in to-day.

This is why the Communist candidates say that we must start to build a mighty movement that will achieve socialism in New Zealand in the not-too-distant future. **But they say more than that.** They say that something can be done **now**, something that will

improve our conditions and help maintain world peace. These immediate things we think you will find essential even if you do not yet agree that socialism is the necessary solution.

The key of this immediate programme is to fight monopoly now and to see that some of the "cream" it is getting now is taken away and that it is stopped from getting the extra "cream" that our present industrialisation plans will give it. To see that this "cream" goes instead (by legislation and other action) to the workers and other lower-income groups through extra wages, price-pegging, taxation relief, increased social security benefits, by higher educational grants and a dozen other things. **THIS IS WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS YOUR PARTY.**

IT CAN BE DONE NOW. THE ONLY ONES TO BE HURT WILL BE THOSE WHO EXPLOIT OUR PEOPLE AND OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR THEIR PRIVATE GAIN.

***For the news the
dailies don't print...***

People's Voice

(Weekly)

and

Communist Review

(Monthly)

combined subscription

36s. year - post free

Manager, Box 2197, Auckland



A Programme for the People must break monopoly's grip

TO solve the immediate "crisis" problems that face New Zealand and to make it possible to improve our living standards, the Communist Party says:

- **SEEK NEW MARKETS FOR NEW ZEALAND'S EXPORTS** on the basis of mutually advantageous and reciprocal trade with the countries of socialism and the new independent countries of Asia and Africa.

No one, Mr. Nash or Mr Holyoake or any other political leader, will say we do not need new markets. They have looked for them—but their political bias has made them look only to the capitalist world.

On the issue of "advantageous and reciprocal trade with the socialist countries," they use a telescope to their blind eye, with the result (unlike Lord Nelson) that nothing is accomplished. Of course, they don't mind selling our wool to socialist countries, but to buy back—no! Yet in the long run you can't have one-way trade—you can't just sell.

New Zealand has exchange problems. Sterling is still short. A fall in our overseas prices for butter or wool or meat creates immediate trouble and the possibility of added import restrictions. But we are not the only ones with exchange problems. On July 9 this year Mr. Khrushchov said:

"While abroad, I have repeatedly said that the Soviet Union trades according to the principle of exchange of goods. We are compelled to do this because we do not have dollar, sterling or other foreign currency reserves. But we have huge values, created by the labour of our workers and collective farmers, the work of all the Soviet people. This is the main asset."

This applies to all socialist countries. They do want some of our produce. They have, in raw and manufactured materials, much of what we want. Trade to mutual advantage can be established. Here there is no exchange problem. Here is a possible and reliable market.

That our problem is acute is obvious. It was put thus by Mr. Nash at the 1960 Labour Party Conference:

"It must be an occasion for serious thought on the part of those who administer the affairs of this country that, in spite of increasing industrialisation and diversification of our export industries, New Zealand's dependence on her three

main exports has, in fact, grown rather than declined over the last 25 to 30 years. This should lead us to mark the need for constant, careful vigilance over import spending and for the obligation on the part of any government to take every opportunity to diversify our markets and to widen the range of products that we sell overseas."

Talk! Talk! Talk!

When going overseas recently, a trip which included a visit to Moscow, Mr. Nash said of that section of his tour. "We might discuss trade." Results count, Mr. Nash. Where is this mutual trade? Perhaps the "boys" who call the tune in the Pentagon, U.S.A., had something to say about it.

IN NEW ZEALAND'S INTERESTS WE WOULD ESTABLISH THIS VITAL NEW TRADE FIELD.

Just how urgent this move is can be seen from the new threat to our established markets by the creation of the Six-Nation Common Market in Europe. Sir George Mallaby, U.S. High Commissioner, told the Auckland Chamber of Commerce in April, 1959, that about 14% of Britain's trade was with the six members. Serious for Britain, he pointed out.

"The effect on New Zealand would be similar. In 1956 your exports to the six countries amounted to more than £43 million—nearly 16% of your total exports. **YOU CAN NO LONGER BE SURE THESE MARKETS WILL BE OPEN TO YOU,**" he said.

The position to-day is that protection in the Common Market area could still force us out.

- **WE WOULD BREAK COMPLETELY WITH THE DISASTROUS FOREIGN POLICY OF "FOLLOW THE U.S.A., RIGHT OR WRONG."**

We would demand withdrawal from the SEATO Pact on the grounds that its membership is against the national interests, the United Nations Charter and the furtherance of Pacific and world peace; and from the ANZUS Pact for the same basic reasons.

We would insist that our government should lead in the United Nations and elsewhere in the campaign for banning atom bombs and for world disarmament.

We would demand withdrawal of New Zealand's forces from Malaya, refuse to engage on behalf of any imperialism in any similar aggressive action elsewhere.

We would base foreign policy on peaceful co-existence and friendship and base New Zealand's defence policy on recognition that friendship and mutual trade with our neighbours and the world is our soundest defence. On this principle we would reduce defence expenditure to £5 million annually from the present £30-odd million and use part of the funds saved in pursuing a policy of establish-

These Communist Candidates are Working People with a Policy for Working People

Leader of the Team:



Canister
Worker
Mrs. E. AYO
Roskill



Railway
Worker
Mr. S.
HIEATT
Otahuhu



MR. V. WILCOX
(General Secretary of the
Communist Party)
Waitakere



Orchardist
Mr. G.
JACKSON
Ponsonby



Plasterer
Mr. R.
WOLF
Grey Lynn

Party
Organiser
Mr. W.
McARA
Auckland
Central



Freezing
Worker
Mr. F. E.
McNULTY
Avon



Party
Secretary
Mr. H.
McLEOD
Waitemata



Waterside
Worker
Mr. S. E.
SMITH
Onslow



Engineer
Mr. J.
MARSTON
Mornington



Civil
Servant
Mr. R. J.
SMITH
Island Bay



Coal-miner
Mr. R. H. MITCHELL
Westland



Housewife
Mrs. R.
SMITH
Tamaki



Freezing
Worker
Mr. J. G.
LOCKE
Christchurch
Central



Fencer
Mr. F. W.
MANNING
Palmerston
North

Waterside
Worker
Mr. K.
STANTON
Wellington
Central



Carpenter
Mr. D.
McEWAN
Onehunga



Carpenter
Mr. R. HEGMAN
Hutt



Tramway
Worker
Mr. E. W.
HUNTER
Dunedin
North



ing friendly relations and trade with our Asian neighbours and with the socialist nations.

We would recognise the Chinese People's Republic straight away.

To achieve a position for peace in the Pacific area and to open the road to new trade fields, everything indicates that we must get out of SEATO. Article II of SEATO pledges New Zealand and the other members "to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack." IN OTHER WORDS, TO JOIN IN AN ARMS RACE.

Here are a few figures on the cost of arms in the past and to-day:

It is estimated that the annual world cost of arms is £50,000 million. New Zealand's arms bill over the last 20 years has been over £1,025 million.

In 1938-39 it was only £2.1 million. It has now increased (in peace) 15 times to reach £30.3 million for 1960-61. (Over-all, the actual figure, if everything is included, is nearer £39 million.) The Minister of Defence predicts it will be £42 million shortly.

During this period total government expenditure has only increased eight and a-half times. In 1938-39, defence was 5% of government expenditure; to-day it is 8.7%. In 1938-39 defence cost £1/6/- per head; to-day it costs £12/10/- per head per year for every man, woman and child—£62/10/- per family of man, wife and three children.

In 1960-61 £1.5 million more will be spent on arms than on all health services and hospitals. Arms expenditure will equal three-quarters of the total of the education vote.

In abolishing compulsory military training, Mr. Connolly, the Minister of Defence, said it had cost the country £62 million during its nine years. It was money down the drain.

The Communist Party says that our best defence is friendship and trade with our neighbours. People's China is presented as the bogey to-day. It is spoken of as the "enemy."

The New Zealand Herald of July 20, 1960, shows the similarity of both the Government's and the National Party's attitude to People's China:

"Even over Communist China the clash between the two parties is less than might appear from recent comments. Mr. Nash says that Peking ought to be recognised, but he does nothing about it because he thinks the time inopportune. Mr. Holyoake says Peking ought not to be recognised,

but he would reconsider his position if the regime gave proof of peaceful intentions."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY SAYS: IN THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS, NOW IS THE TIME TO RECOGNISE THE GOVERNMENT OF PEOPLE'S CHINA. Armament manufacture is very profitable for a large section of Big Business. But not for you and me. Let us trade with People's China and cut down the money spent uselessly on arms.

● FIGHT THE POWER OF MONOPOLY OVER OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY. Our policy is to:

Nationalise such key industries as the freezing companies, fertiliser companies, the coastal shipping companies, the stock and station agencies, the insurance companies, paper pulp industry and related sections, irrespective of whether capital held in New Zealand or overseas. Break the power of the banks by nationalising the trading banks. On the basis of experiences of licensing trusts, nationalise the liquor industry.

Develop new basic state industry in the following spheres and keep monopoly out: Iron and steel, chemical, aluminium.

Build government oil refinery. Oil deposits in New Zealand to be developed only by government. Policy in this field to be to work in co-operation with establishment of government-owned coal utilisation plants in national interests.

Start the establishment of government-owned overseas shipping service.

Nationalisation to be financed from countries that will take New Zealand products as payments in negotiated long-term deliveries and by long-term credits from such sources at low-interest rates.

Nationalised industries to have full trade union representation on controlling bodies. This principle to extend to existing nationalised industry and services.

Government action to prevent mergers, overseas "take-overs" of existing industry, distributive business organisations, etc., where such moves are contrary to public interest.

Every day sees new moves by overseas finance capital groups to take over or develop new industry on a monopoly basis. The situation was serious years ago, as Mr. Nash realised in 1957. It gets more serious every day.

In 1957, in the Address-in-Reply debate, Mr. Nash stated (Hansard, page 151):

"The problems of monopolies and restrictive trade practices are alive all over the world.

"There are organisations that are taxing the people all the time by means of prices. Those organisations are as clever and able and have almost as much power as any government.

"I repeat, they are taxing the people by maintaining fixed prices.

"The Minister and Government (National Government then—V.W.) are very keen on free enterprise competition. But the fact remains that 70% or more of prices in New Zealand are determined without competition.

"In general the companies selling a certain commodity get together and, as an industry, they monopolise. They are exercising a monopoly as one body."

But, in 1960, both the Labour Party leaders and the National Party leaders welcome overseas monopoly investment to develop new basic industry. They have done nothing to restrict the activities (and do not suggest doing so) of those concerns that Mr. Nash was so vigorously condemning in 1957.

ONLY THE COMMUNIST PARTY SAYS RESTRICT PRESENT MONOPOLY, STOP ITS FURTHER DEVELOPMENT BY MAKING INDUSTRY FOR THE PEOPLE, NOT FOR THE PRIVATE PROFIT OF THE FEW. START NATIONALISED INDUSTRY.

● A LIVING WAGE FOR A FORTY-HOUR WEEK.

Here our policy is that the government should effect a wage order with a minimum wage of £16 for a forty-hour week; restoration of full margins for skill in industry in interests of all workers; equal pay for women.

Repeal of all anti-trade union laws contained in the I.C. and A. Act and the Police Offences Act.

The idea of the Labour Government in 1938 was that the pay for a forty-hour week should be a living wage. It was not meant that it would be necessary to supplement this by overtime and the wife's wages in order to live. BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO-DAY. YOU KNOW THAT.

● STRICT AND EFFECTIVE PEGGING OF PRICES, PROFITS AND RENTS TO BE INSTITUTED IMMEDIATELY.

Introduction of effective control of capital issues in national interests.

Development of joint government-consumer organisation on a wide basis, including the trade unions, to develop methods of control of prices, profits, etc., in the workers' interests.

To-day any small increase in workers' wages is followed immediately by price increases and increased profits for Big Business. Stop it the Communist Party way. Put value back in our pay packet.

● RAISE PENSIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS TO £5/10/- PER WEEK. Universal Superannuation benefit to start at age of 60.

To aid in financing these and other improvements to be effected after survey of whole scheme, the present Universal Superannuation benefit would be limited to those with incomes of less than £300. Proportionate deductions to be made above that level.

In this point of the Communist Party programme, the basic idea is, as on all other points, to put the interest of the workers and those on the lower incomes first. Let others look after themselves. They are in a better position to do so.

To allow Social Security beneficiaries to receive inadequate pensions as they do to-day, but at the same time, through Universal Superannuation, to allow those who do not need this extra income to receive it, is morally wrong.

Social Security under capitalism should be the ambulance beneath the cliff to aid the casualties of our present profit system. To treat all as equal is but to give privileges to the privileged.

STOP THIS. GIVE ADEQUATE PENSIONS TO THOSE WHO NEED THEM.

● PLACE THE BURDEN OF TAXATION ON THE WEALTHY.

Achieve this by increasing the maximum rate payable on high personal and company taxation. Personal exemption to disappear at £2,000 per annum. Sharp increase in taxation of personal incomes over £2,000. Similar sharp increase in taxation of company incomes over £10,000.

Generally cancel or tighten up on all the concessions granted to Big Business, such as special depreciation, the lower average maximum rate of tax on dividends, etc.

Sharply increase sales tax on luxury items.

Raise the personal income tax exemption level to £13 a week (£676 per annum) and increase the allowance for a wife to £4 a week (£208 per annum) and for each child to £2 a week (£104 per annum). Abolish taxation on extra wage payments received for dangerous, unhygienic or specially arduous work.

Abolish the Social Security tax (which is a flat-rate, ungraduated tax on all income). Incorporate the present Social Security tax in the income tax on companies and wealthy individuals on the basis of the principles outlined above.

Abolish the Sales Tax on all but luxury lines. Cancel

the beer, tobacco and petrol taxes imposed by the Labour Government.

To-day the tax burden on the workers and their incomes is a crippling thing. It is getting worse and every year sees this section of the people pay more. Here is an idea of the trend:

THE TAX BURDEN

DIRECT TAXES ON INCOME

Government	Year	Amount	Per Head of Population
First Labour Government	1938-39	£14,000,000	£8/17/-
	1945-46	£72,000,000	£41/17/-
	1948-49	£78,000,000	£42/10/-
Tory Government	1955-56	£151,000,000	£70/1/-
Second Labour Government	1958-59	£190,000,000	£83/2/-

TOTAL TAXATION

Government	Year	Amount	Per Head of Population
First Labour Government	1938-39	£38,000,000	£23/9/-
	1945-46	£115,000,000	£67/3/-
	1948-49	£130,000,000	£70/15/-
Tory Government	1955-56	£245,000,000	£113/18/-
Second Labour Government	1958-59	£286,200,000	£125/10/-

INCOME TAX ASSESSED

	1948-49	1955-56
Wage and Salary-earners	£7.6 million	£17.9 million
Other Individuals (includes many low incomes)	£12.2	£30.1
Companies	£24.5	£37.4
Total	£44.3	£88.4

(Because of complications arising from change-over to PAYE, later figures cannot be obtained. But you know it is not getting any better for you.)

● TO MEET IMMEDIATE NEEDS IN OUR HEALTH SERVICES we propose:

The provision of an adequate number of full-time hospital staff and facilities to meet all the needs of the people.

The withdrawal of subsidies from private hospitals and use of this money to improve public hospital services.

Removal of right of doctors (general practitioners) to charge extra for their services on top of the Social Security subsidy. Increase in payment from state to doctors to cover this, taking into account the rise in the cost of living since the original subsidy was set.

● BUILD CHEAP HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

Increased state-house and state-flat building programme, financed at low rate of interest (1% to 1½% through Reserve Bank, as done formerly).

Provision of finance at low rate of interest to working people wishing to build own homes. Effective government over-all control of costs charged by private builders where government loans used.

Control of any luxury building that adversely affects housing development or essential industrial construction.

● GIVE ESSENTIAL AID TO ALL SMALL FARMERS.

This can be carried out by loans at a low rate of interest for development and housing. Guaranteed price for butter-fat to be on a sliding scale ensuring adequate income for small producer. Development of similar guaranteed price schemes for other sections of farmers where possible in co-operation with farmers' organisations.

Government aid where necessary to strengthen rural producers' and consumers' co-operatives. Aid co-operative development in buying and machine utilisation agencies.

Increased grant to Department of Agriculture to strengthen technical and scientific assistance to working farmers.

Scale down mortgage commitments where effect is crippling production and producing a low living standard.

This is the basic programme of the Communist Party in the 1960 General Elections. Other points will be advanced later, including our views on Education, on Youth and on the special needs of our Maori people.

THIS programme is not the end. It is just the beginning. It is what the Communist Party thinks we should do under capitalism. It is based on the principle of curbing the monopolies, of getting the best for the working people now.

If you agree, then you can't show it by voting for National, Labour or Social Credit. They have not got this programme. You can only show your support by voting Communist.

In 1960 things are too serious for you to adopt the attitude of saying, "I agree. But I must play safe and vote for someone else."

Only a big Communist vote in this election will show that the people are getting ready to fight for peace, for

If you sum it all up you can't afford not to vote Communist to-day. **YOU OWE IT TO YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY.**

From New Zealand's position at present, the advance to socialism must be made—a system capable of using, to the full, modern industrialisation and advancing scientific knowledge for the benefit of the human race. It is also the sure guarantee of peace.

Your vote now will make others decide to oppose the inane policies of National, Labour and Social Credit, all of whom stand for a dying social system—dying just as surely as feudalism died and was replaced by the advance to capitalism many years ago.

SO, IN THE 19 ELECTORATES WHERE THERE ARE COMMUNIST CANDIDATES, YOUR VOTE MUST GO TO THEM. IN OTHER ELECTORATES WE SAY: VOTE LABOUR.

This is not a contradiction of what we have said earlier. The Labour Party has a capitalist policy. But it is still based on the workers. By a big Communist vote, and by organised pressure from the working-class movement, it can be influenced to stop some of the worst features of present society. It can be forced to do that if it cannot be made to change society. Only the Communists will do that.

That is why in those electorates we say vote Labour—not because it is a solution.

But, until you make the Communist movement strong enough to take the offensive on all sectors of the national front, this fact must be realised.

SOCIALISM

- It has been tried in one-third of the world and it succeeds.
- Even big business is frightened by socialist success in industry, agriculture and science.
- The youth of the world are looking to the glorious adventure of building a peaceful, better world.
- It is advancing everywhere.

1960 IS THE TIME TO MAKE A FORWARD STEP IN OUR OWN COUNTRY FOR THE SOCIALIST FUTURE.

To Fight Monopoly NOW

Vote Working Class —

— Vote COMMUNIST

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

YES

You can help

Fight Monopoly
NOW



LAST week we said: "Remember! A prompt flow of money is needed immediately..." This was because expenditure is beginning now, and, by the time you read this the opening shots of the campaign in Auckland will have taken place.

Well, we are not yet getting up-to-the-minute promptness yet. Districts and branches should try to see to this and send in their collections to reach the P.O. Box Number given below by Thursday each week.

We know it is a difficult task, but ask everyone to try to make a really good effort in this direction, as a good start can set the campaign really off on the right foot.

This is the biggest campaign since last year's libel fund appeal, and, like it, this one also needs a big and immediate effort.

Help the Communist Party's £2000 ELECTION FUND

(The Tories will have at least £500,000 for publicity alone)

Send your Donations to
P.O. Box 1785, Auckland.



LIST No. 2

	Target	Achieved
	£ s d	£ s d
Auckland	1,060 0 0	111 0 0
Wellington	550 0 0	161 3 3
Canterbury	160 0 0	
Dunedin	10 0 0	2 0 0
New Plymouth	5 0 0	
Buller	5 0 0	16 4 0
Individuals & Groups		
TOTAL:	£2,000 0 0	£292 7 3

INDIVIDUALS & GROUPS.
—J.A.L., 4/-; Oliver Twist, 10/-; T.M., 40/-; W.L., £45. (Total: £16/4/-)
HAMILTON.—Per A. & F., £1.
WELLINGTON.—£103/3/-.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 14-9-60

SUBJECT: CS1

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/4/15

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 14th September, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE 'B' [REDACTED] DATED 12th September, 1960

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

The C.P.N.Z. is at present issuing its main electioneering pamphlet referred to in earlier reports. The pamphlet will sell at 6d. a copy to Party members, and 4d. from Bookshops.

Distribution figures so far ascertained are as follows:-

Auckland	2,000
Wellington	1,000
Dunedin	200
Canterbury	550
Greymouth	250
Palmerston North	150
New Plymouth	25
Huntly	30
Hamilton	25
Rotorua	25
3 Bookshops @ 60 each.	180

Figures for Mangakino and Buller are not yet available.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

Q. 1. File on 21/2/10 [REDACTED]

26/9/60.

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

YES *You can help*



YES, four areas beat the gun and enabled the Communist Party to get £172 in hand just as the £2,000 Election Fund Appeal opened. And the satisfaction of this accomplishment is not spoilt by the fact that already more than £200 of election work is under way, because everyone is confident that the weekly donations will come in promptly enough and large enough to meet the bills as they arrive.

That confidence is based on past experience. That experience has proved that when people see the need they respond. That they see the need because the Communist Party is the only party in New Zealand that is willing and able to represent the people in the fight against monopoly, the only party with a sound peace policy, a sound trade policy and the only party working for a socialist New Zealand.

Remember! A prompt flow of money is needed immediately to meet expenses as they arise.

Help the Communist Party's £2000 ELECTION FUND

(The Tories will have at least £500,000 for publicity alone)

Send your Donations to
P.O. Box 1785, Auckland.



LIST No. 1		Target		Achieved	
		£	s d	£	s d
Auckland	..	1,060	0 0	111	0 0
Wellington	..	550	0 0	58	0 0
Canterbury	..	160	0 0	(per Anon., P.N.)	
Dunedin	..	50	0 0	1	0 0
Greymouth	..	120	0 0	(per R.R., enr.)	
Mangakino	..	25	0 0	—	—
Hamilton	..	5	0 0	—	—
Huntly	..	10	0 0	—	—
Napier	..	10	0 0	—	—
New Plymouth	..	5	0 0	2	0 0
Buller	..	5	0 0	—	—
Individuals & Groups	..	—	—	—	—
TOTAL:		£2,000	0 0	£172	0 0

1157

Excerpt from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

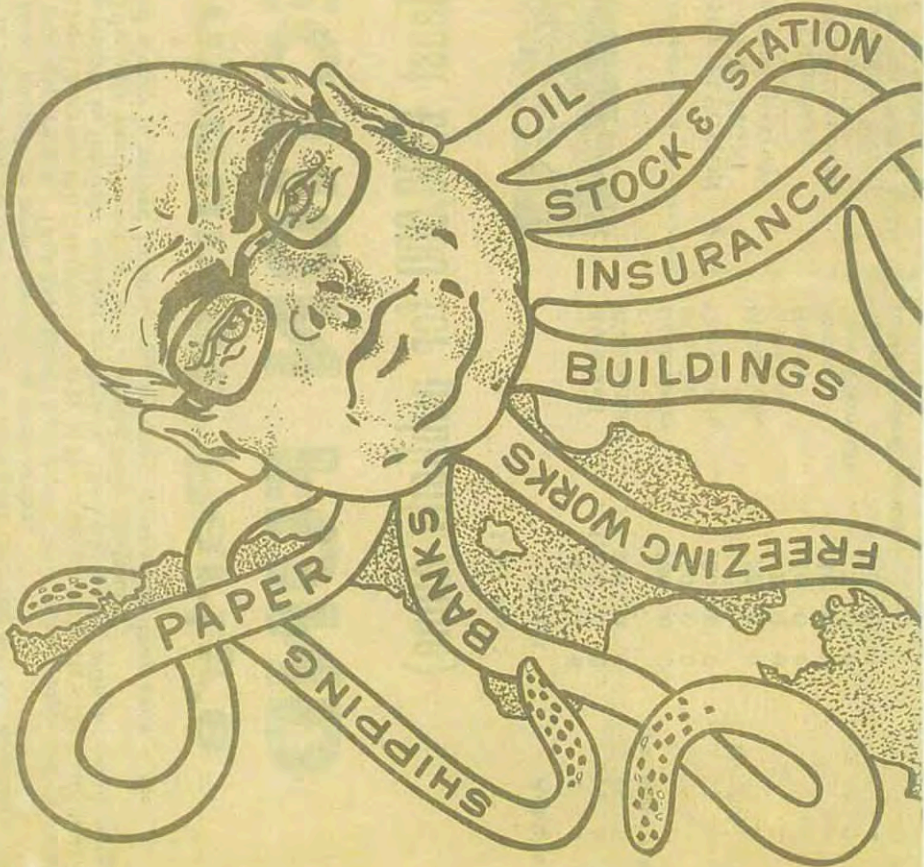
"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 7-9-60

SUBJECT: CS1

THIS is the second of a series of special programmes, first printed in the People's Voice of August 10. Last week we showed how New Zealand's economy is at present utterly dependent on the sale of meat, butter, wool and cheese and where our country should look for good new markets as the capitalist market declines. This week we deal with what should be done about the great monopolies which dominate key sectors of our economy and will bitterly resist any change.

Here's why the 'FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW' slogan is



"The Minister and the Government are very keen on free enterprise competition, but the fact remains that 70 per cent. or more of prices in New Zealand are determined without competition. . . . There is no need to have an agreement. The parties just sit down and have dinner together and someone says that he is not selling below a certain price. I have seen that sort of thing all over the place."

These words come from a telling speech with which Mr. Nash, then Leader of the Opposition, attacked the financial policy of the National Government in July, 1957.

His words were completely true. And, after just on three years of another Labour Government, they are STILL true!

More power

Only one part of his speech could be queried. "These organisations are as clever and able and have almost as much power as any government," Mr. Nash said, speaking of the great monopolies.

The fact is that these monopolies have MORE power than governments—because, in fact, they dictate the policies that the governments shall follow. That is why monopoly flourished under National and has flourished again under Labour.

That is why, after three years, the Labour Government has not carried out Mr. Nash's conclusion to his 1957 speech

Call a halt

He said then: "On the evidence, we do need some regulation, and I think that that regulation and price fixing must be done by a completely independent authority, acting exclusively in the public interest."

But what have they done?

In fact, what this Labour Government has done (and the National Party would have done exactly the same) is to INCREASE the power of the monopolies in New Zealand and to develop policies that will increase it still

Communist

Party policy

BREAK MONOPOLY'S grip on our domestic economy by nationalising such key sectors as the freezing companies, fertiliser companies, coastal shipping companies, paper pulp and related companies, stock and station agents, the insurance companies and trading banks (irrespective of whether capital held in New Zealand or overseas). On the basis of the experience of licensing trusts, nationalise the whole liquor trade.

Keep monopoly capital

Excerpt from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" Newspaper.

Published at _____, on [date] 7-9-60

SUBJECT: CS1

PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 3
September 7, 1960

out by developing new basic state-owned industries in iron and steel, chemicals and aluminium.

Build government oil refinery. Oil deposits in New Zealand only to be developed by the government.

Policy in this field to be to work in co-operation with establishment of coal utilisation plants in national interests.

Start the establishment of a government-owned overseas shipping service.

Nationalised new industries to be financed from countries that will take New Zealand products as payments in negotiated long-term deliveries and by low-interest credits from such countries.

Nationalised industries to have full trade union representation on controlling bodies. This principle to apply also to existing nationalised industry and services.

Government action to prevent mergers, overseas "take-overs," etc., of existing industry, distributive business organisations, etc., where such moves are contrary to public interest.

The things

★ 1960 ELECTION ★

OPENING MEETING

Canterbury District Committee



Our Donations to
1785, Auckland.

1000 ELECTION FUND

Tories will have at least £500,000 for publicity alone)

LIST No. 1

Target

Achieved

(per Anon., P.N.)

(per R.R., snr.)

	£	s	d	£	s	d
Auckland	1,060	0	0	111	0	0
Wellington	550	0	0	58	0	0
Canterbury	160	0	0	—	—	—
Dunedin	50	0	0	1	0	0
Greytown	120	0	0	—	—	—
Mangakino	25	0	0	—	—	—
Hamilton	5	0	0	—	—	—
Huntly	10	0	0	—	—	—
Napier	10	0	0	—	—	—
New Plymouth	5	0	0	2	0	0

further unless the people call a halt.

release under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

file
28m

Excerpt from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 31-8-60

SUBJECT: CS1

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

THE Communist Party's 1960 election issues of the paper we shall be carrying articles which will explain at greater length just why each of the policy points is framed as it is. In this first article of the series we deal with the fundamental problems of our country which at the moment still lives by the sale overseas of our four main farm products—meat, wool, butter and cheese.

IT'S NEW MARKETS OR BUST FOR N.Z.

"Times change," runs an old saying, "and we change with them." But the sorry fact is that in New Zealand we don't. Under our present trade policies, we are trying to maintain our prosperity on an estimation of the world market that is years out of date. And it's not working out.

"On few occasions during the 1950's have we been free from concern about balancing our external transactions," the Minister of Finance, Mr. Nordmeyer, reported in the Economic Survey for 1960.

In fact, over those ten years which, in the main, were known as great boom years, New Zealand had a total deficit of £78 million in all overseas exchange transactions. And this was covered only by borrowing £4½ million and by the inflow of £28 million of private capital for investment.

"Because dairy, meat and wool products form about 87 per cent. of our exports to-day, our economy is very vulnerable," the Prime Minister, Mr. Nash, told the Penrose Industrial Progress Association on June 20.

Final Decline

And previously he had told the 1960 Labour Party Conference that "it must be a matter for serious thought on the part of those who junior partners in the world's greatest robberies ever committed in the world."

To-day, even if we would like to maintain our prosperity by the continuation of that robbery, the black men, the brown men and the yellow men won't allow it. Half the world's population, they are taking their independence daily in more and more ex-colonial countries.

If we are friendly towards the and assist sincerely in their advance from backwardness, the standard of living will rise and the



2006

Excerpt from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 31-8-60

SUBJECT: CSI

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"Because dairy, meat and wool products form about 87 per cent of our exports to-day, our economy is very vulnerable," the Prime Minister, Mr. Nash, told the Peatrose Industrial Progress Association on June 30.

Final Decline

And previously he had told the 1960 Labour Party Conference that it must be a matter for serious thought on the part of those who administer the affairs of this country that the proportion had grown from 82 per cent to 87 per cent over the last 25 to 30 years.

But what are the new factors that are intensifying New Zealand's troubles with a "vulnerable economy"?

They are that the world of capitalism, in which the economy of New Zealand operates, is in a state of rapid and final decline—is, in fact, disintegrating.

We built our standard of living as the sheep and dairy farm of Great Britain—the centre of a great colonial empire from which millions were drawn in super profits from seven brown, yellow and black men for every white man in the empire.

Foolish Omission

To be brutal, we waxed fat on our junior partners in one of the greatest robberies ever committed in the world.

To-day, even if we would like to maintain our prosperity by the continuation of that robbery, the black men, the brown men and the yellow men won't allow it. Half the world's population, they are taking their independence daily in more and more ex-colonial countries.

If we are friendly towards them and assist sincerely in their advance from backwardness, the standard of living will rise and the



at least 500,000

MSD 16

21/2/10

495

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE "

" Newspaper.

Published at _____, on [date] 24-8-60

SUBJECT: CS1

FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW!The AUCKLAND DISTRICT COMMITTEE of the
COMMUNIST PARTY Opens Its**1960 ELECTION CAMPAIGN**

21/2/10

Dm Robinson

— in the —

CONCERT CHAMBER of the TOWN HALL

— On —

Sunday, September 11, at 8.15 p.m.

(DOORS OPEN AT 7.30 P.M.)

Our Speaker: **MR. V. G. WILCOX**, General Secretary of
the Communist Party, Leader of the Communist
Party Election Team and Candidate for the Waitakere
Electorate.His Subject: "The Need to Fight Monopoly Now — The
Communist Party's Policy."Also on the platform, to be introduced to the public, will
be Auckland's eight other candidates.

—34—

R2

✓ file on 21/2/10

✓ opens on 21/3/10 and see Robinson

R2

Bm

WILL COMMUNISTS SPLIT THE VOTE?

• That's the danger, says supporter

An old friend of the Communist Party, a veteran of the working-class movement for socialism and long-time reader of the People's Voice, has rejected an invitation to take part in work to support the Communist candidate in his electorate.

Below we quote from his letter and we also deal with the reasons he brings forward for saying that all the socialists should support the return of the Labour Government once again.

Here are the main points of his letter to the local branch of the Communist Party which issued the invitation to him (the whole letter is too long to include in full):

The letter

"The Communist Party has definitely decided on contesting a number of electorates. This means one working-class party against the other."

"Labour at present holds a majority of two seats, with bare

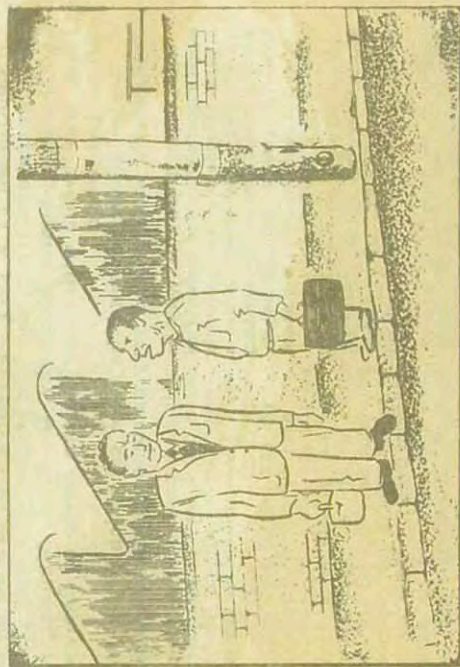
margins throughout many electorates where a few votes can make all the difference. Both parties are almost on the balance, 50-50."

"Let them fight it out. Then, if the Labour Party goes down, the blame and responsibility cannot be cast on the Communist Party."

Otherwise, "for many years to come, the workers will mean from the Cape to the Bluff and blame the Communist Party for the split vote" and thus for "placing the National Party in power during an unknown period of the future."

"You remark there is no difference between the parties. One glance over the black history of the National and Tory Party (e.g., Wahi strike 1912, 1913 strike, the recent 1951 strike) shows they did not spare the guns nor batons, plus their repressive laws, which are now being repealed under stress and tears from the Opposition."

"Practically the whole of the Labour members of the past have agreed and suggested that their mission would be worthless without their aim and object being an ultimate Communist victory. So also there must be many within the present Labour Party and movement of similar opinion."



"I SAY TO THE BOSS, do you read the People's Voice, and he says yes, it's not a bad little paper, and if you only added 60 pages of ads, 10 pages of crime and murder, five pages of juicy divorce cases, a dozen high society scandals, half-a-dozen inside stories about Tony and the butler, a couple of dozen photos of Brigitte Bardot, a few sneers at the Russians, a dozen attacks on the workers, 40 or 50 comic strips, and an astrology column—well, it'd be as good as the dailies."

• Real danger quite different, we say

(By the Editor)

I'd like to ask the writer of the letter one question: Suppose the Communist Party took his advice and did not stand 19 candidates. Suppose the National Party won the election. Could the Communist Party then stand 19 or more candidates at the 1963 elections without being accused then, too, of helping the National Government to stay in?

The fact is that the two-party system, where the two alternate as Government and Opposition in a series of ministerial leap-frogs, has got to be broken when the one-time more progressive of the two has reached the end of its advance, and has no more to offer the working people.

And, as far as the National-Labour monopoly back to-day

Every one of the reforms won by the workers under Labour has been undermined. Where is the 40-hour week? Where are the free doctors? How long does it take to get into the free hospital for anything but emergency treatment?

Because capitalism is heading to its final decline—except further into taxation.

August 24, 1960

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 24-8-60

SUBJECT: CS1

494

WILL COMMUNISM

• That's the danger, said

An old friend of the Communist Party has written a long-time record for socialism and long-time record for taking part in work to support it. Below we quote from his record for saying that all the

went once again. Here are the main points of his letter to the local branch of the Communist Party which issued the invitation to him (the whole letter is too long to include in full):

The letter

The Communist Party has definitely decided on contesting a seat in the next election. Per M.O. 2/10.6d. City Branch: 7/6.

on Parliament is concerned, the Communist Party says it is now.

Once there were two major parties called Conservative and Liberal. The workers supported Liberal—because they found them more liberal.

But Liberal, like Conservative, was administering capitalism, a system that operates solely for the purpose of bringing the maximum profit to a small class of capitalists.

So, within the framework of maintaining good profits for the few, the Liberal Party could offer only a limited programme of liberal concessions for the workers.

When they had come to the end of that programme, the workers had no choice but to wipe the Liberal Party.

Later, in New Zealand, the well-to-do could not keep up the pretence that there was any difference between their twin parties, United and Reform. The depression soon found them in tight coalition against the workers.

So, since then, we have had two major parties—National, the open heirs and successors of the Conservatives, and Labour, the parliamentary party set up by the trade unions for the purpose of better legislation for the workers.

Labour won the 1935 election as a result of the slump. It had a progressive programme of immediate reforms of capitalism. The people were demanding such reforms and no party could have won the 1935 elections without such a programme.

The first Labour Government took over the administration of capitalism pushing out of a dreadful slump into a boom. In those economic conditions it was possible for capitalism to give away such concessions while still, as the late M. J. Savage said in Sydney just before the 1938 elections, seeing that the "employers had never been so well off."

All the reforms of capitalism that were in Labour's original programme have long been carried out. The National Party called some of them "applied lunacy" and generally kicked up a verbal fuss, but even they would not dare turn them back to-day.

crisis. Labour still has to administer capitalism and has no further taking the working people for the future with higher living standards except a party which stands for socialism, the system of that third of the world which is flourishing to-day.

And it's not only an urgent matter of protecting living standards. It's an even more urgent matter of protecting life itself.

At bottom, therefore, the Communist Party can't split the vote between working-class parties. Because there is only ONE working-class party to-day in New Zealand—the only party that still stands for Labour's one-time policy of socialism, the Communist Party.

But just let me finish with this: If the Labour Party were dead, anxious to get back and act as the party of the New Zealand working people, it would not only have a programme to curb the monopolies. It would also bring in a voting system either of the preferential type or of the proportional representation type. Either or both of

these would prevent the National Party getting in on a minority vote.

Who else has such a go-ahead programme?

The Labour Party is the government and it could do it. Why doesn't it?

No. The Communist Party would be selling the workers down the drain if it did not come right out and tell them that reforming capitalism has come to the end of the road and only a socialist solution will take them forward to-day.

When people realise that, then they will realise that they can't afford NOT to vote Communist.

YOUR OPINIONS are important to the People's Voice because they are important to the working class.

PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 3
August 24, 1960

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10 493

D.O.A.

AK/PF/151

H.Q.

11th August, 1960

Peter Wilfred George McARA.



1. Our AK/PF/151 of the 2nd August, 1960 refers.

McARA has changed his previous itinerary and the amended one is as follows:

Departed Auckland 8.8.60. for Wellington.

Leave Wellington 15.8.60. for Christchurch - N.A.C. Flight 141.

Leave Christchurch 18.8.60. for Dunedin - N.A.C. Flight 103.

Leave Dunedin 20.8.60. for Christchurch - N.A.C. Flight Special 352.

3. McARA then follows his previous itinerary for the visit to the West Coast.


FIELD OFFICER.

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P/F M-C A A A

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21/2/10

492

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 10-8-60

SUBJECT: CS1

COMMUNIST PARTY CANDIDATES

These are the Communist Party candidates who will contest one-quarter of the non-Maori seats in the 1960 General Elections.

They stand for the only policy that is opposed to the line of the National Party and the Big Business interests of the monopolies. They are specially suited to stand on the platform of a working people's policy—for they are working people themselves. Of the 19 Communist candidates, three are full-time Party officials with a weekly wage less than that of the average wage-earner, 12 are industrial workers, one is a civil servant, one is a one-man orchardist and the last is a hard-working fencing contractor.

They all know that the New Zealand of to-day has been built up out of the bush, that once covered most of it, by the hard graft of the working people of town and country. They will put forward a policy of how New Zealand can be made infinitely more prosperous and joyful for the working people—without benefit of (or to) local or overseas money-bags.

Leader of the Team:
MR. V. WILCOX
(General Secretary of the
Communist Party)
Waitakere

Working people with a policy for working people.



Railway Worker
Mr. S. HIEATT
Otahuhu



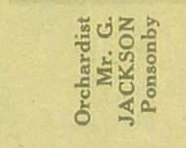
Canister Worker
Mrs. E. AYO
Roskill



Plasterer
Mr. R. WOLF
Grey Lynn



Party Secretary
Mr. H. McLEOD
Waitemata



Orchardist
Mr. G. JACKSON
Ponsonby



Carpenter
Mr. D. McEWAN
Onehunga



Party Organiser
Mr. W. McARA



Housewife
Mrs. R.



Housewife
Mrs. R.

10-8-60

CS1

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

Leicht

aspects of production for the benefit—like the railways.

private appropriation can only be solved when the working class establishes social ownership to

the employer takes solely at the expense of his workers.

ment.

Surplus Value

DEVELOPMENT OF THE

ITEM 509)

August 10, 1960 PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 3

21/2/10

Extract from " PEOPLE'S VOICE "

" Newspaper. 491

Published at _____, on [date] 10-8-60

SUBJECT: 081

PEOPLE'S VOICE

Box 2197, Auckland. Phone 44-411.

Subscription: 25/- a year, posted.

Vol. XVII — No. 30

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1960

Price 6d

★ Peg prices ★ Living 40 hr wage ★ Shift tax load

THE COMMUNIST ELECTION POLICY — Fight



NOW

Here are the basic points of the programme which the Communist Party is bringing forward in the 1960 General Elections:—

● Now market

the basis of the experience of the devalued method of

How to improve
Maori education

— page 7



This is the Communist Party election programme.

Its basic approach is that the other parties contesting the election can have no solution to the problems of 1960 and the years ahead—because all are capitalist parties bent on preserving capitalism in New Zealand, and to-day that means helping monopoly expand at the expense of the great majority of our people.

That is why the Communist Party is standing in 19 electorates. It is urgent that the whole movement of social and political leaders in the daily press. Socialism means organising social

Published at

, on [date]

10-8-60

SUBJECT: 681

a nation are used in piec for the benefit of all—not the profit of the few. The policy must be heard and this is because it is the only party putting forward the socialist solution.

To-day nearly half of the people of the world have taken the socialist road. The socialist countries are achieving a rapid advance of people's living standards, of cultural and moral levels—all done in the face of a hostile, well-developed capitalist world.

Under what our Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Nash, recently claimed as "our" system—capitalism—no advance is seen. Cultural standards are falling and there is a general ethical and moral decline, commented on repeatedly by various capitalist world.

In fact, it leads to the mess the capitalist world (including New Zealand) is in to-day. The Communist Party in this election campaign says it is urgent to build a mighty movement that will achieve socialism in New Zealand in the not-too-distant future. But it says more than that. It says something can, and must, be done right now, something that will improve our conditions and help preserve world peace.

These immediate things we think all progressive people will agree with as essential—whether or not they agree as yet that socialism is the necessary solution. The key to this immediate programme is to fight monopoly now. To see that some of the "cream" they are getting now is taken away and that they are stopped from getting the extra "cream" that present industrialisation plans will give them. To see that this "cream" goes instead, by legislation and other methods, to the workers and other lower-paid groups. To convert it into extra wages, by price-pegging, by taxation relief, by increased social security benefits, by higher educational grants and a dozen other things.

It CAN be done now. It MUST be done now. The only ones to be hurt will be those who exploit our people and our national resources for their private gain.

Control of any luxury building that adversely affects housing development or essential industrial construction.

Aid small farmers

GIVE ESSENTIAL AID to all small farmers by loans at a low rate of interest for development and housing.

Guaranteed price for butter-fat to be on a sliding scale, ensuring adequate income for small producer. Development of similar guaranteed price schemes for other sections of farmers where possible in co-operation with farmers' organisations.

Government aid where necessary to strengthen rural producers and consumers co-operatives. Aid to co-operative development in buying and machine utilisation agencies.

Increased grant to Department of Agriculture to strengthen technical and scientific assistance to working farmers.

Scale down mortgage commitments where effect is crippling production and producing a low living standard.

(This is the basic programme of the Communist Party. Detailed policy on such questions as education, youth needs, Maori needs, etc., will be developed and printed later in the People's Voice.)

INCREASE STATE HOUSE and state flat building programme, financed at low rate of interest (1 to 4 per cent.) through Reserve Bank, as done formerly.

Provision of limited at low rate of interest to working people wishing to build own homes. Effecting the government over-all control of costs charged by private

INCREASE MAXIMUM TAX RATE payable on high personal incomes (over £2,000) and on company income (over £10,000). Personal exemption to disappear at £2,000 per annum.

Generally cancel and tighten up on all the concessions granted to big business, such as special depreciation, the lower average maximum rate of tax on dividends, etc.

The above will make it possible to raise the personal income tax exemption level to £13 a week (£676 per annum) and increase the allowance for a wife to £4 a week (£208 per annum) and for each child to £2 a week (£104 per annum).

Abolish taxation on extra payments received for dangerous, unhygienic or specially arduous work.

Abolish the social security tax (which at present is a flat-rate, ungraded tax on all income), incorporate the present social security tax in the income tax on companies and re-adjust the income tax rates on individuals on the basis of the principles outlined above.

Abolish sales tax on all but luxury lines. Cancel the beer, tobacco and petrol taxes imposed by the Labour Government in 1958.

THE PROVISION of an adequate number of full-time hospital staff and facilities to meet all the needs of the people.

The withdrawal of subsidies from private hospitals and use of this money to improve and increase public hospital services.

Removal of right of doctors (general practitioners) to charge fees for their services on top of social security subsidy. Increase in payment from state to doctors to cover this, taking into account rise in cost of living since original subsidy set.

Health services

Cheap homes

RAISE PENSIONS to £5/10/- per week. Universal superannuation benefit to start at age of 60.

To aid in financing above and other improvements to be effected after survey of whole scheme, universal superannuation benefit to be limited to those with incomes of less than £300. Proportionate deductions to be made above that level.

STRICT AND EFFECTIVE PEGGING of prices, profits and rents to be instituted immediately. Introduction of effective capital issues control in national interests.

Development of joint government-consumer organisation on wide basis, including the trade unions.

Companies and trading banks. On

such key sectors as the freezing companies, fertiliser companies, coastal shipping companies, paper pulp and related companies (prospective of whether capital held in New Zealand or overseas), stock and

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CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

 Copy No.
of
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 21/2/10
CSI.
copies.
490
From D.O.A.Our File: AK/10/1ATo H.Q. (CS.1)Date: 10th August, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: C.P.N.Z. NATIONAL ELECTION COMMITTEE.

1. Attached hereto is a leaflet put out by the National Election Committee of the C.P.N.Z.
2. Under the heading of "What is the Main Danger" the leaflet gives instructions that Non-Party people are to be brought into the various Branch Election Committees.
3. *pk* Reference is also made to the election organising tour to be carried out by Peter Wilfred George McARA (i.r.).
4. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

 [REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER.

C.S. 1.

Disc.

10/8

File on 21/2/10.
Copy of report only to
[REDACTED]

21/2/7

3. Extract passage marked to
McAra. P.W. [REDACTED]

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

Policy be asked if they are willing to help the Party in its campaign for a New Zealand without the monopolies.

2. Inextricably tied up with this is immediate preparation for a really successful opening of the £2000 Election Fund Appeal on September 1.

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Issued by the National Election Committee, Communist Party of New Zealand.
July 1960

WHAT IS MAIN DANGER?

THE MAIN DANGER in the 1960 General Election Campaign is that, despite talk of working in a new way with much broader election committees, composed of new people as well as Party members -- we will just carry out the campaign in the OLD way !

HENCE IT IS NOT right that any branch should be setting up an Election Committee now. What it should be doing is holding "cottage meetings", film evenings, semi - socials etc. to win new people into taking an active part on Election Committees to be set up soon.

THERE ARE INDICATIONS already that some branches look upon the idea of non-Party people in the Election Campaign as "hewers of wood and drawers of water". They are mentally allotting them minor, hack jobs -- such as delivering leaflets etc.

BUT WE WANT these new people right on the committee, taking an active part in ORGANISING the campaigns. In other words, we want Election Committees of supporters led by the Party, NOT Election Committees formed of Party members handing out a few drudge jobs to a few supporters.

NATURALLY WE LOOK to People's Voice readers to get moving towards these Election Committees, but, if our TALK about new conditions bringing new people forward means anything, then we should be on the look out for people for whom events are raising questions that make them more responsive to Communist ideas. In fact, the campaigning itself should bring forward new people; draw in people on the basis of just their particular interest; and may well lead to a number of groups because of the difficulty of centralising according to any preconceived plan we might make up in our minds.

(OVER THE PAGE we have set out what are the priorities at the present time in preparing for the Election Campaign, and what are the aids that will be coming forward right away from the Party's National Election Committee.)

THE PARTY'S IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME WILL BE THE BASIS OF THE ELECTION PROGRAMME, WHICH WE HOPE TO PRINT IN THE PEOPLE'S VOICE OF AUGUST 10.



~~SECRET~~

487

D.O.A.

AK/10/3

H.Q. (D)

3rd August, 1960

CITY BRANCH (C.P.N.Z.) MEETING.

1. A reliable source reported in writing that a meeting of the City Branch (C.P.N.Z.) in Auckland, was held at Room 36, St. Kevin's Arcade at 7.30 p.m. on the 2nd August, 1960.
2. Those present were:-

Catherine DELLER (i.r.)
 Flora Wallace GOULD (i.r.)
 Diana GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE (i.r.)
 Alison Mary OSTLER (i.r.)
 Donald ROSS (i.r.)
 Jennifer WALSH (i.r.)
 Diana Miriam WILSIE (i.r.)

3. The Report of the Executive on the Election Campaign was read by J.A. GRANT-MACKIE and the following points raised in connection with this Campaign.
 1. The Party policy must be taken out to the people and Party contacts.
 2. The Branch must continue to function as usual during the Campaign.
 3. P.W.G. McARA's house is to be used as the H.Q. for the City Branch Election Campaign.
 4. On the 11th September, 1960 the Concert Chamber of the Town Hall is booked for a public meeting to open the Election Campaign for the C.P.N.Z.
 5. Portable "stumps" are to be made so that speakers can travel around the suburbs and use these "stumps" at suitable places.
 6. Island people in Auckland are to be approached with the idea of persuading them to vote for the Party.
 7. Party contacts to be asked to distribute copies of "The Link".
 8. The women's Group is to assist in leafletting and letter-box rounds with propaganda.
 9. Members are asked to "get out to the people by all methods possible."
 10. An Aggregate Meeting is to be held at the Yugoslav Hall, on the 8th August, 1960 at 7.45 p.m. - all contacts are to be asked to attend.
4. During the "General Business" session it was announced that there would be no films at the Sunday Social on the 7th August, 1960 because Ian Rex MITCHELL's mother had died and he would be away until after the funeral. P.W.G. McARA is to speak at the Social, on "The Budget".
5. The duplicating and writing of the Branch bulletin is in future to be done by the Women's Group. It was reported that the City Branch typewriter was at the Peace Council Office at the moment.

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6. A.M. OSTLER complained bitterly about the lack of support she had received from Jennifer WALSH, who is a member of the Social Committee and is supposed to assist in arranging the monthly Sunday social.
7. It was stated that the "People's Voice" canvass held on the 31st July, 1960, was to assist Richard Campbell (Dick) PULLEY, "a non-Party type" to build up his "People's Voice" round - 14 papers were sold.
8. The meeting ended at 10.45 p.m.
9. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

FIELD OFFICER.

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21/2/10.

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~~SECRET~~NOTE FOR FILEPeter Wilfred George McARA.

1. It has been reported by a reliable source that the following is the itinerary to be followed by subject during his forthcoming tour of the country: -
- Monday, 8.8.60 : Leave Auckland for Wellington by N.A.C. Flight 103;
- Monday, 15.8.60 : Leave Wellington for Dunedin by N.A.C. Flight 233;
- Thursday, 18.8.60: Leave Dunedin for Christchurch by N.A.C. Flight 106;
- Monday, 22.8.60 : Leave Christchurch for Greymouth by Railcar (10 a.m.);
- Friday, 26.8.60 : Leave Greymouth for Wellington by N.A.C. (Flight not yet confirmed); No 996)
- Monday, 29.8.60 : Leave Wellington for Auckland by N.A.C. (Flight not yet confirmed). /

2. SOURCE: [REDACTED]2nd August, 1960.

[REDACTED] (Fd/O).

R/
File on 21/2/10. [REDACTED]~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10.

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D.O.A.

H.Q. (D)



2nd August, 1960

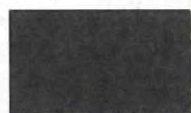
AK/PF/151

Peter William George McARA (I.R.)

1. A reliable source has reported that the above-named is to leave Auckland for Wellington by air on August 8th, Flight 103 which leaves Whenuapai at 9.5.a.m.
2. The remainder of McARA's itinerary is that he leaves
Wellington for Dunedin 15th August, 1960. Flight 233.
Dunedin for Christchurch 18th August, 1960. Flight 106.
Greymouth for Wellington 26th August, 1960. Taxi & Flight 996.

There is no booking from Wellington to Auckland. These flight bookings have been verified.

3. SOURCE: [REDACTED]



FIELD OFFICER.



Orig. on P/1.

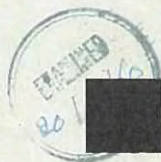
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31/2/10.
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FILE ON: _____

Original on: 21/5/7Date: 8/9/60ANNEXURE 120 [REDACTED] OF 31/7/60WELLINGTON DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY

1. Source reports that the Wellington District Communist Party received an undated letter during June, 1960, from the National Secretariat of the Party on the question of a party candidate for the Hutt electorate.
2. The letter criticised the Wellington District Committee's decision not to stand a candidate in the Hutt electorate and the Committee's reason for not standing a candidate, "that the candidate was dropped because it was felt that the Party could not develop the campaign necessary". The National Secretariat letter said that the reason for dropping the candidate would be correct if the massive campaigns of the past were the objective which is not the case on this occasion.
3. The letter stated that some of the other areas with less resources than Wellington will be putting out leaflets, holding street meetings and cottage meetings, the latter particularly to gain helpers in the campaign and to raise the political consciousness of friends and supporters. This develops the "Build the Party" campaign and with the other two aspects of the work mentioned, helps the Party to gain the maximum number of votes possible. The bigger the vote the more impressive to opponents and supporters alike.
4. The National Secretariat letter states that the Hutt was originally selected because it was a highly developed industrial area and had a functioning Party Branch. Because the Comrade selected to contest the seat is unable to stand for various reasons, the seat is dropped. The Secretariat said that it could not understand this reasoning. Other candidates were available. The Secretariat said, "We do not know of any member of the Party whose political stature is so great that his inability to contest a particular seat should necessitate the seat being dropped. This has particular point when that seat had been selected because of its prime political importance. We realise that, in the last analysis, the Wellington District Committee has to make the final decision. We hope that the members of the District Committee will give the points we have made the fullest consideration and, in the light of this, reconsider it's decision to reduce the number of seats to be contested".

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Field Officer.
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

21/2/10
21/5/7

C.S.1.

ANNEXURES 110, 111 and 119. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] OF 31.7.60 X

N.Z.C.P.

1. Source reports that the National Secretariat of the C.P. wrote to the Wellington District in a letter dated 17.6.60 on the question of the number of candidates it was proposed to stand in the Wellington District. The letter was critical of the decision not to stand a candidate for the Hutt Electorate.
2. The Secretary of the Wellington District of the C.P. (R.G. HEGMAN) prepared a letter on the subject which he sent to all District Committee members.
3. A copy of the C.P.N.Z. letter and HEGMAN's notes are attached.

COMMENT: This matter has been fully reported on in earlier reports which are on record. (File 21/5/7)

19. September 1960

Fd/O

1. File on 21/2/10
2. Copy to [REDACTED] 21/5/7
22/9/60

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10. 481

C.S.1.ANNEXURE 117 to [REDACTED] dated
31st July, 1960.C.P.N.Z. - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION APPEAL.

1. Source reports that the N.Z. Communist Party's National Secretariat Circular No. 10, dated 13th July, 1960, has been circulated and addressed to all Districts, Branches under control of National Committee, National Committee and National Control Commission members.
2. The circular deals with the Communist Party's General Election appeal for 1960, setting the target at £2,000 and allocating District targets as follows: -

Auckland	£1,060
Wellington	550
Canterbury	160
Dunedin	50
Greymouth	120
Mangakino	25
Hamilton	5
Huntly	10
Napier	10
New Plymouth	5
Buller	5

TOTAL.. £2,000.

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3. The Finance appeal for the £2,000 would be publicly launched on 1st September, 1960. Collection cards and pledge cards would be posted to Districts.
4. Funds collected through the appeal are directed to be forwarded to the National Office, P.O. Box 1785, Auckland, but in Districts where candidates are standing, the first £20. per candidate may be retained for election expenses. The balance of £40. allowed per candidate would be forwarded to candidates later in the campaign from the National Election fund.
5. The circular sets out that the £2,000 will not quite cover the budgeted expenditure and it would, therefore, be necessary to ensure full organisation of the Party for a substantial overfulfilment ahead of time.
6. The circular directs that the appeal should be presented to friends and supporters as one which is additional to, and not in substitution for, the normal financial requirements to keep the Party going.
7. The circular recommends good executive work and checking as the key to the all-out successful overfulfilment of the £2,000 appeal.

8th September, 1960.

[REDACTED] (Fd/O).

21/5/7

21/2/15

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EXTRACT/COPY

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/10/11 Date: 25.7.60
 For File No. 21/2/10
 Original on 21/4/20
 Received on 26.7.60 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 3.8.60

SUBJECT: WESTERN SUBURBS BRANCH C.P.N.Z. AUCKLAND.

1. A reliable source recently reported in writing that a meeting of the Western Suburbs Branch, C.P.N.Z. was held at the home of Herman NUNES-VAZ at 7 p.m. on 20th July, 1960.

2. Those present were: -

Leonard Vernon CLAPHAM	Eveline NUNES-VAZ
Michael HUNT	Herman NUNES-VAZ
Arthur KAPLAN & wife, Betty Vera	John William ROSS
Kathleen Muriel LUCKENS	Dominik Nedjelko SUNDE
Edward Louis MAITLAND	Phillip SUNDE

3. Visitors from the Henderson-Te Atatu Branch present were: -

William Russell DEVEREUX	Elizabeth HOLLISS
John FOULDS	Anne WILCOX
Joy FOULDS	Victor George WILCOX

It was stated that most of the meetings of Henderson/Te Atatu Branch were held at HOLLISS's home at 14 Wood Crescent, Te Atatu.

7. At this stage the meeting was addressed by Victor George WILCOX who stated that he was visiting the Branch because it and the Henderson/Te Atatu Branch had the job of organising the election campaign for him. He stated that the campaign must be based on Socialism and its future, the young people must be won and this would not be done by harping on the past. It must be pointed out that the C.P.N.Z. is the only Socialist party standing. The attitude that the vote didn't matter as long as the Party influence increased, was not to be adopted - the vote was very important - a big vote would help to bring people closer to the Party and give them confidence in the Party. He stated that the Labour Party would raise the question of vote splitting, but, he stated, the time to worry about that is past. He said that the C.P.N.Z. was not splitting the vote as all other parties supported the Capitalist system and the C.P.N.Z. must hammer home that the only way to vote "working class" was to vote for the C.P.N.Z. He considered that a big vote would frighten and get some initiative into the progressive Labour people.

8. WILCOX stated that the Branch must make plans for cottage and film evenings where the candidate could speak in the initial stages of the campaign and get more people drawn into activity. A big finance campaign would be needed as both Henderson/Te Atatu and Western Suburbs were being asked to raise £100 each. A survey must also be made of the industries in the area with a view to lunch-hour meetings and the shopping area is to be leafleted on Friday evenings.

9. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Fd/o.

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~~SECRET and PERSONAL~~

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21/2/10

25th July 1960.

The Prime Minister,
WELLINGTON. C.I.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION
1960.

1. The tactical efforts of the Communist Party are currently concentrated on two main themes: the attack on the Labour Party, and the "Build the Party" campaign. This note deals with the first of these themes.
2. The Communist Party of New Zealand has, except for a short period during the 1930's, always claimed a close relationship with, and has frequently attempted to affiliate with, the Labour Party. The nearest it appears to have come to success was in 1946 when the Auckland IRC supported the Party's attempt to affiliate. Since early 1959, however, there have been signs that the attitude of the Communist Party towards the present Labour Government has been slowly hardening. The change became fully apparent after V. G. WILCOX, the General Secretary of the Party, visited Communist China in October 1959. The Communist Party now makes no secret of its change of policy. The main propaganda organ - The People's Voice - has been used to prepare the way, and the slogan "Change the policies, not the Government" has been abandoned in favour of "Demand that the Government changes its policies". The name of the "theoretical" journal has also been changed from "The New Zealand Labour Review" to "The New Zealand Communist Review".
3. In accordance with the thesis developed by the Chinese that social democratic parties are everywhere in a state of decay, WILCOX has emphasised the great need of demonstrating to the people of New Zealand that the Communist Party alone represents the workers. He has described the Labour Party as the betrayer of the workers, both in the past and in the present, and has explained that in future the Communist Party is no longer to be considered an appendage of the Labour Party but rather is to be considered as "the vanguard of the workers".
4. In carrying out its new policy the Communist Party proposes to stand as many Communist candidates as possible in future General and Municipal Elections. In addition, the Party will pay special attention to those supporters of the Labour Party who are alleged to be disgruntled with party policy, which is described as being "alien to the workers' cause". In electorates where no Communist candidates will be standing electors will be told that the Labour Party no longer has the interest of the workers at heart and, as the Communist Party grows in strength, Communist candidates will be found. In the meantime the electors will be advised to vote Labour. In electorates in which Communist candidates will be standing, the weight of the Communist Party will be applied to the campaign. Perhaps in anticipation of the inevitable outcome, WILCOX has proposed that the electors be informed that votes for the Communist candidate will not be wasted effort. The main weapons to be used in the campaign will be the Party propaganda vehicles "The People's Voice" and the "New Zealand Communist Review", pamphlets and circulars designed for special purposes, and the Party's organisation and



Receipt 10887
By hand D. 26.7.60.

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2. COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

The Prime Minister.

25th July 1960.

influence in industry (especially in the trade unions), the Peace Movement and Women's organisations. Films and literature obtained from overseas sources will also be used. A fund raising campaign is now in progress with an initial target of £2000. If past experiences are a guide the Party should have little difficulty in exceeding this target.

5. I enclose a note on the 19 Communist Party candidates for the General Election.

... HIRSH was born in New Zealand on 26th September, 1903. He is a member of the Communist Party of New Zealand. He has been an active member of the Party since 1945, and is a member of the National Committee of the CPNZ. In addition, HIRSH is on the Auckland District Committee and Secretary of the (Auckland) Railways Branch of the Party.

Candidate

George Edward JACOBSON.

JACOBSON was born in New Zealand on 26th August 1904. He is an upholsterer by occupation and lives at 102 Avenue Road, Auckland. Having first come to notice as a member of the Communist Party, JACOBSON is currently Chairman of the CPNZ. He is also a member of the National Committee, Political Committee, and National Secretariat of the Party. JACOBSON stood as Communist candidate at the Parliamentary Elections in 1949, 1954 and again in 1957. He has been to Australia on Party business on two occasions (1951 and 1957) and visited Peking in 1956.

Encl.

H. E. Gilbert,
Director of Security.

Candidate

Peter Hilfred George MARRA.

MARRA was born in New Zealand on 15th April 1904, and resides at 16 Hagden Street, Auckland. He is a full-time Party official, a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and Trade Union Sub-committee of the CPNZ. He visited Hong Kong, Moscow and Peking in 1954/56 and was a delegate to the 21st Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1959.

Candidate

Eleanor Matilda AYO.

Mrs. AYO was born in London on 16th April 1916, and at present resides in Mowbray with her husband, Richard James AYO, an active member of the CPNZ. She joined the Party in 1957, and visited Australia in 1956. She is a member of the Auckland District Committee and Secretary of the Auckland Total Workers Branch of the Party. Mrs. AYO is a member of the Peace Council.

Candidate

Millie Rita SMITH.

Mrs. SMITH was born in Australia in 1912, but has been a resident of this country since 27th January 1941. Her husband is Australian-born August Frederick SMITH (a prominent Communist and member of the National Committee CPNZ). She is employed as a clerk in the CPNZ office in Auckland and lives at 11, Leithburn Circle, Glen Innes, Auckland. She is a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and Auckland District Committee of the CPNZ, and was a delegate to the Asian Pacific Peace Congress in Peking, 1952, and delegate to the October Celebrations, Peking, in 1959.

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~~SECRET and PERSONAL~~

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALANDParliamentary Candidates: Victor George WILSON.List of Candidates for the Parliamentary Election, 1960.AUCKLAND:Otahuhu Candidate: Stanley Hooper HIEATT.

HIEATT was born in New Zealand on 26th September, 1903. He is employed as a storeman at the Railway Workshops at Otahuhu and resides at 108 St. George Street, Papatoetoe. He has been an active Communist since 1945, and is a member of the National Committee of the CPNZ. In addition, HIEATT is on the Auckland District Committee and Secretary of the (Auckland) Railways Branch of the Party.

Ponsonby Candidate: George Edward JACKSON.

JACKSON was born in New Zealand on 26th August 1908. He is an orchardist by occupation and lives at 102 Avondale Road, Auckland. Having first come to notice as a member of the Party in 1935, JACKSON is currently Chairman of the CPNZ. In addition, he is a member of the National Committee, Political Committee, and National Secretariat of the Party. JACKSON stood as Communist candidate at the Parliamentary Elections in 1949, 1954 and again in 1957. He has been to Australia on Party business on two occasions (1951 and 1959) and visited Peking in 1956.

Central Candidate: Peter Wilfred George McARA.

McARA was born in New Zealand on 15th April 1904, and resides at 16 Hayden Street, Auckland. He is a full-time Party official, a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and Trade Union Sub-committee of the CPNZ. He visited Hong Kong, Moscow and Peking in 1954/56 and was a delegate to the 21st Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1959.

Roskill Candidate: Eleanor Matilda AYO.

Mrs. AYO was born in London on 10th April 1916, and at present resides in Ponsonby with her husband, Richard James AYO, an active member of the CPNZ. She joined the Party in 1937, and visited Australia in 1956. She is a member of the Auckland District Committee and Secretary of the (Auckland) Metal Workers Branch of the Party. Mrs. AYO is a member of the Peace Council.

Tamaki Candidate: Lillian Rita SMITH.

Mrs. SMITH was born in Australia in 1912, but has been a resident of this country since 27th January 1941. Her husband is Australian-born August Frederick SMITH (a prominent Communist and member of the National Committee CPNZ). She is employed as a clerk in the CPNZ office in Auckland and lives at 14 Leybourne Circle, Glen Innes, Auckland. She is a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and Auckland District Committee of the CPNZ, and was a delegate to the Asian Pacific Peace Congress in Peking, 1952, and delegate to the October Celebrations, Peking, in 1959.

~~SECRET and PERSONAL~~

Waitakere Candidate: Victor George WILCOX.

WILCOX was born in England in 1912 and arrived in this country in 1924. He first came to notice as a C.P. member in 1938. He is General Secretary CPNZ. Apart from being on the National Committee WILCOX is a member of both the Political Committee and National Secretariat. He is a full-time Party official. WILCOX has visited Australia, Russia and China. He lives at No. 1 Road, Swanson, Auckland.

Grey Lynn Candidate: Richard Charles WOLF.

WOLF was born in Auckland on 25th October 1906. He has been associated with the CPNZ since 1932. A plasterer by occupation, WOLF is an Executive member of the Plasterers' Union. He lives at 27 Crummer Road, Grey Lynn. He is a member of the National Committee, National Control Commission of the CPNZ and a member of the Auckland District Committee.

Waitemata Candidate: Hugh John McLEOD.

McLEOD was born in New Zealand on 14th July 1915, and resides at 33 Richmond Avenue, Northcote, Auckland. He is a full-time Party official and is employed as District Secretary, C.P. Auckland. McLEOD is a member of the National Committee, Political Committee, National Secretariat, and Trade Union Sub-committee of the Party. In 1949 this individual attended instruction classes at Marx House, Sydney, and was a delegate to the 21st Congress CPSU, Moscow, 1959.

Onehunga Candidate: Donald McEWEN.

McEWEN was born in England on 7th April 1907, and has been associated with the Communist Party since 1937. A carpenter by trade, McEWEN is on the Executive of the Auckland Carpenters' Union. He lives at 26 Montrose Street, Pt. Chevalier. McEWEN is a prominent Party member being a member of the National Committee CPNZ and Auckland District Committee. He attended a school at Marx House, Sydney, in 1958.

WELLINGTON:

Onslow Candidate: Sydney Edward SMITH.

SMITH, a resident of Porirua East, was born in Auckland on 29th December 1922. Currently employed as a storeman by Todd Motors Limited, Courtenay Place, Wellington, he was formerly a waterside worker. He first came to notice in 1948 as an active member of the Party and attended the Carnival for Peace and Friendship in Sydney in March 1952. He remained in Australia for a time to take a course in Communism at Marx House, Sydney. At present SMITH is a member of the Wellington District Committee. SMITH was prosecuted under the Emergency Regulations during the 1951 Waterfront Strike.

Central Candidate: Kenneth Sydney Charles STANTON.

STANTON, a resident of Island Bay, was born at Christchurch on 6th March 1920. He is employed as a wharf labourer by the Wellington Waterfront Industry Commission. He first came to notice in 1945 when he became a member of the Party. He subsequently became Secretary of the Wellington District, but resigned in 1957 for financial reasons. From February to May 1955 STANTON was in Australia on CP business. Currently STANTON is a member of the National Committee CPNZ and Wellington District Committee.

Hutt Candidate: Arthur Philip QUINN.

QUINN is a resident of Lower Hutt and was born on 1st April 1920 at Gisborne. He is employed at the NZ Railway Workshops, Woburn. Subject first came to notice as a CP member in 1942, although he is stated to have been a member since 1938. QUINN is currently Secretary of the Hutt Valley Branch of the Party. He also attends meetings of the Peace Council and Society for Closer Relations with the USSR. QUINN stood as CP candidate for Hutt Electorate in 1949.

Island Bay Candidate: Ronald Joseph SMITH.

R.J. SMITH is a resident of Island Bay and was born in Wellington on 2nd May 1921. He is employed in the Public Service as a clerk in the Department of Industries and Commerce, Wellington. He is a member of the Wellington District CP Committee, and first came to notice as a CP member in 1946. He has been active ever since. He is associated with all front movements, in particular the Society for Closer Relations and Peace Council. SMITH has previously stood as Communist Candidate in Local Body and General Elections. In 1949 he attended the World Festival of Youth in Budapest as a New Zealand delegate.

PALMERSTON NORTH:

Candidate: Frederick William MANNING.

MANNING a resident of Palmerston North, was born at Stratford on 13th February 1908. He is employed as a labourer in the Feilding Freezing Works. He is a prominent member of the Palmerston North Branch of the CP and has a long history of association with the Party. He is a member of the Society for Closer Relations.

CHRISTCHURCH:

Central Candidate: Francis Edward McNULTY.

McNULTY, a resident of Christchurch, was born at Lyttelton on 18th July 1914. He is currently employed as a labourer by Thos. Borthwick & Sons, Christchurch. A member of the CP since 1942, McNULTY is a member of the Christchurch District Committee. He was formerly a member of the SCR.

Avon Candidate: John Gibson LOCKE.

LOCKE, a resident of Christchurch, was born in England in 1908 and arrived in New Zealand in 1926. He is employed at present by Thos. Borthwick & Sons, Christchurch, as a slaughterhouse assistant. Currently Chairman of the Christchurch District Committee, he is also a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and National Control Commission of the CPNZ. LOCKE has been a member of the CP since 1940, and a member of the SCR since 1941.

DUNEDIN:

Mornington Candidate: John Leslie MARSTON.

MARSTON, a resident of Dunedin, was born in this country 47 years ago. A prominent Communist of many years standing, MARSTON is currently Chairman of the Dunedin Branch of the CPNZ. He is a former President of the Boilermakers' Union. He stood as Communist candidate in the 1949 and 1957 General Elections and is a boilermaker by trade.

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Dunedin North Candidate: Edgar Wilson HUNTER.

HUNTER, a bus driver by occupation, was born in New Zealand in 1904. He is a resident of Dunedin. He is currently Secretary of the Dunedin Branch of the CPNZ and has stood as Communist candidate in previous General and Local Elections. An ardent Communist, HUNTER has been prosecuted for publishing subversive literature.

WEST COAST:Greymouth Candidate: Robert Henry MITCHELL.

MITCHELL was born in Christchurch and has been living on the West Coast for over 20 years. A prominent Communist, MITCHELL is currently a member of the National Committee CPNZ and Chairman of the Greymouth Branch CP. He stood as a Communist candidate in the 1949 and 1954 General Elections. A well-known figure in mining affairs, MITCHELL is President of the Grey Miners Central Committee, President of the Runanga State Miners' Union and the Central Committee's delegate to the United Mineworkers of New Zealand. He is employed at the Strongman Mine and is a union workmen check inspector and is one of the Grey Miners delegates on the West Coast Composite Coal Committee.

There have been signs that the attitude of the Communist Party towards the present Labour Government has been slowly hardening. The change became fully apparent after W. G. HILTON, the General Secretary of the Party, visited Communist Britain in October 1959. The Communist Party now seems to regard the Labour Government as a "bourgeois" regime. The Party's official newspaper, "The People's Voice", has been used to give the Party's view on the Government, and the slogan "Change the Government, not the Government" has been changed to "Demand that the Government change its policies". The name of the "theoretical" journal has also been changed from "The New Zealand Labour Review" to "The New Zealand Communist Review".

In accordance with the thesis developed by the Chinese that social democratic parties are everywhere in a state of decay, HILTON has explained the great need of demonstrating to the people of New Zealand that the Communist Party alone represents the workers. He has described the Labour Party as the betrayer of the workers, both in the past and in the present, and has explained that in future the Communist Party is no longer to be considered an appendage of the Labour Party but rather is to be considered as "the vanguard of the workers".

In carrying out its long policy the Communist Party proposes to stand as many Communist candidates as possible in future General and Municipal Elections. In addition, the Party will pay special attention to those supporters of the Labour Party who are alleged to be dissatisfied with party policy, which is described as being "aiming at the workers' class". In elections where no Communist candidates will be standing, electors will be told that the Labour Party no longer has the interests of the workers at heart and that the Communist Party gives in borough. Communist candidates will be found. In the boroughs where electors will be asked to vote Labour, in boroughs in which Communist candidates will be standing, the support of the Communist Party will be applied to the campaign. In the event of a re-election of the immediate outcome, HILTON has proposed that the Labour Party be advised that votes for the Communist candidates will not be wasted effort. The main response to be used in the campaign will be the Party's propaganda which "The People's Voice" and the "New Zealand Communist Review", pamphlets and circulars designed for special purposes, and the Party's organization and

~~SECRET and PERSONAL~~

Extract from " PRESS "

" Newspaper. 474

Published at CH.CH. , on [date] 21-7-60

SUBJECT:

**Communists To Contest
18 Seats**

(New Zealand Press Association)

WELLINGTON, July 20.

Communists will contest 18 seats in the General Election. Two will stand in Dunedin—Mr E. W. Hunter, in Dunedin North, and Mr J. L. Marston, in Morningside.

Three years ago the Communists nominated candidates in only five electorates—Ponsonby, Island Bay, Christchurch Central, Westland, and Morningside. This year, according to the "People's Voice," there will be nine standing in the Auckland district, four in the Wellington area, two in Christchurch, and one in Westland.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

473
File No. 21 / 2 / 10.

MINUTE SHEET

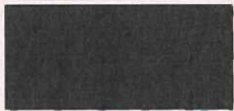
J.-18

SUBJECT: C.P.N.Z - candidates in General Election, 1960.

ADDRESSED TO

Director
You were enquiring for biographical details and précis of political history in respect of all Communist Party candidates standing in the forthcoming General Election. The data sought is attached.

The Party is contesting 19 seats, all urban electorate. The names of 18 candidates have been declared. The position in Hull is not clear. In all probability the candidate will be Arthur Phillip Quinn so his name has been added to the attached list.


21.4.60.

~~SECRET~~

472

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALANDList of Candidates for the Parliamentary Election, 1960.AUCKLANDOtahuhu Candidate: Stanley Hooper HIEATT.

HIEATT was born in New Zealand on 26th September, 1903. He is employed as a storeman at the Railway Workshops at Otahuhu and resides at 108 St George Street, Papatoetoe. ~~This individual~~ has been an active Communist since 1945, and is a member of the National Committee of the C.P.N.Z. In addition, HIEATT is on the Auckland District ~~C.P.~~ Committee and Secretary of the (Auckland) Railways Branch of the Party.

Ponsonby Candidate: George Edward JACKSON.

JACKSON was born in New Zealand on 26th August, 1908. He is an orchardist by occupation and lives at 102 Avondale Road, Auckland. Having first come to notice as a member of the Party in 1935, JACKSON is currently Chairman of the C.P.N.Z. In addition, he is a member of the National Committee, Political Committee, and National Secretariat of the Party. JACKSON stood as Communist candidate at the Parliamentary Elections in 1949, 1954 and again in 1957. He has been to Australia on Party business on two occasions (1951 and 1959) and visited Peking in 1956.

Central Candidate: Peter Wilfred George McARA.

McARA was born in New Zealand on 15th April, 1904, and resides at 16 Hayden Street, Auckland. He is a full-time Party official, a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and Trade Union Sub-committee of the C.P.N.Z. ~~This individual~~ visited Hong Kong, Moscow and Peking in 1954/56 and was a delegate to the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U., Moscow, 1959.

Roskill Candidate: Eleanor Matilda AYO.

Mrs AYO was born in London on 10th April, 1916, and at present resides in Ponsonby with her husband, Richard James AYO, an active member of the C.P.N.Z. She joined the Party in 1937, and visited Australia in 1956. She is a member of the Auckland District ~~C.P.~~ Committee and Secretary of the (Auckland) Metal Workers Branch of the Party. Mrs AYO is a member of the Peace Council.

Tamaki Candidate: Lillian Rita SMITH.

Mrs SMITH was born in Australia in 1912, but has been a resident of this country since 27th January, 1941. Her husband is Australian-born August Frederick SMITH (a prominent Communist and member of the National Committee C.P.N.Z.). ~~Subject~~ is employed as a clerk in the C.P.N.Z. Office in Auckland and lives at 14 Leybourne Circle, Glen Innes, Auckland. She is a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and Auckland District ~~Comm~~ Committee of the C.P.N.Z., and was a delegate to the Asian Pacific Peace Congress in Peking, 1952, and delegate to the October Celebrations, Peking, in 1959.

Waitakere Candidate: Victor George WILCOX.

WILCOX was born in England in 1912 and arrived in this country in 1924. He first came to notice as a C.P. member in 1938. ~~Currently subject~~ is General Secretary C.P.N.Z. Apart from being on the National Committee WILCOX is a member of both the Political Committee and National Secretariat. He is a full-time ~~salaries~~ official of the Party. WILCOX has visited Australia, Russia and China. He lives at No 1 Road, Swanson, Auckland.

~~SECRET~~

2./....

~~SECRET~~

2.

471

Grey Lynn Candidate: Richard Charles WOLF.

WOLF was born in Auckland on 25th October, 1906. He has been associated with the C.P.N.Z. since 1932. A plasterer by occupation, WOLF is an Executive member of the Plasterers' Union. He lives at 27 Grammer Road, Grey Lynn. He is a member of the National Committee, National Control Commission of the C.P.N.Z. and a member of the Auckland District ~~C.P.~~ Committee.

Waitemata Candidate: Hugh John McLEOD.

McLEOD was born in New Zealand on 14th July, 1915, and resides at 33 Richmond Avenue, Northcote, Auckland. He is a full-time ~~active~~ *Party* official of the ~~C.P.N.Z.~~ and is employed as District Secretary, C.P. Auckland. McLEOD is a member of: *2/2* National Committee, ~~C.P.N.Z.~~
Political Committee, *+*
National Secretariat, *+*
Trade Union Sub-Comtee *2/2 of a Party*

In 1949 this individual attended instruction classes at Marx House, Sydney, and was a delegate to the 21st Congress C.P.S.U., Moscow, 1959.

Onehunga Candidate: Donald McEWEN.

McEwen
~~Subject~~ was born in England on 7th April, 1907, and has been associated with the C.P. since 1937. A carpenter by trade, McEWEN is on the Executive of the Auckland Carpenters' Union. He lives at 26 Montrose Street, Pt Chevalier. McEWEN is a prominent Party member being a member of the National Committee C.P.N.Z. and Auckland District ~~C.P.~~ Committee. He attended Marx House, Sydney, in 1958.

WELLINGTONOnslow Candidate: Sydney Edward SMITH.

SMITH, a resident of Porirua East, was born in Auckland on 29th December, 1922. Currently employed as a storeman by Todd Motors Ltd., Courtenay Place, Wellington, he was formerly a waterside worker. ~~Subject~~ *He* first came to notice in 1948 as an active member of the ~~Wellington C.P.~~ *Party* and attended the Carnival for Peace and Friendship in Sydney in March 1952. ~~He is believed to have remained in Australia for a time to take a course in Communism at Marx House, Sydney.~~ At present SMITH is a member of the Wellington District ~~C.P.~~ Committee. SMITH was prosecuted under the Emergency Regulations during the 1951 Waterfront Strike.

Central Candidate: Kenneth Sydney Charles STANTON.

STANTON, a resident of Island Bay, was born at Christchurch on 6th March, 1920. He is employed as a wharf labourer by the Wellington Waterfront Industry Commission. ~~Subject~~ *He* first came to notice in 1945 when he became a member of the ~~Wellington C.P.~~ *Party*. He subsequently became Secretary of the Wellington District ~~C.P.~~, but resigned in 1957 for financial reasons. From February to May 1955, STANTON was in Australia on C.P. business. Currently STANTON is a member of the National Committee C.P.N.Z. and Wellington District ~~C.P.~~ Committee.

HUTT Candidate: Arthur Philip QUINN.

QUINN is a resident of Lower Hutt and was born on 1st April, 1920, at Gisborne. He is employed at the N.Z. Railway Workshops, Woburn. Subject first came to notice as a C.P. member in 1942, although he is stated to have been a member since 1938. ~~A prominent member of the Hutt Valley C.P.~~ QUINN is currently Secretary of ~~this~~ Branch. He also attends meetings of the Peace Council and Society for Closer Relations with the U.S.S.R. QUINN stood as C.P. candidate for Hutt Electorate in 1949.

*Hutt Valley**of a Party*

3./

Island Bay Candidate: Ronald Joseph SMITH.

R.J. SMITH is a resident of Island Bay and was born in Wellington on 2nd May, 1921. He is employed in the Public Service as a clerk in the Department of Industries and Commerce, Wellington. ~~Subject, who~~ is a member of the Wellington District C.P. Committee, first came to notice as a C.P. member in 1946. ~~He~~ has been most active in this respect ever since. He is associated with all front movements, in particular the S.C.R. and Peace Council. SMITH has previously stood as Communist candidate in Local Body and General Elections. In 1949 ~~this individual~~ attended the World Festival of Youth in Budapest as a N.Z. delegate. ~~During World War II SMITH served with the R.N.Z.A.F. in Canada and the U.K.~~

PALMERSTON NORTH

Candidate: Frederick William MANNING.

MANNING, a resident of Palmerston North, was born at Stratford on 13th February, 1908. He is employed as a labourer in the Weilding Freezing Works. ~~Subject~~, a prominent member of the Palmerston North Branch of the C.P. ~~has~~ has a long history of association with the Party. He is a member of the S.C.R.

CHRISTCHURCH

Central Candidate: Francis Edward McNULTY.

McNULTY, a resident of Christchurch, was born at Lyttelton on 18th July, 1914. He is currently employed as a labourer by Thos. Borthwick & Sons, Christchurch. A member of the C.P. since 1942, McNULTY is a member of the Christchurch District ~~C.P.~~ Committee. He was formerly a member of the S.C.R.

Avon Candidate: John Gibson LOCKE.

LOCKE, a resident of Christchurch, was born in England in 1908 and arrived in New Zealand in 1926. He is employed at present by Thos Borthwick & Sons, Christchurch, as a slaughterhouse assistant. Currently Chairman of the Christchurch District ~~C.P.~~ Committee, ~~GIBSON~~ is also a member of the National Committee, Political Committee and National Control Commission of the C.P.N.Z. LOCKE has been a member of the C.P. since 1940, and a member of the S.C.R. since 1941.

DUNEDIN

Mornington Candidate: John Leslie MARSTON.

MARSTON, a resident of Dunedin, was born in this country 47 years ago. A prominent Communist of many years standing MARSTON is currently Chairman of the Dunedin Branch of the C.P.N.Z. He is a former President of the Boilermakers' Union. ~~Subject~~ stood as Communist candidate in the 1949 and 1957 General Elections. ~~During World War II he served overseas in the Middle East and Italy.~~ MARSTON is a boilermaker by trade.

Dunedin North Candidate: Edgar Wilson HUNTER.

HUNTER, a bus driver by occupation, was born in New Zealand in 1904. He is a resident of Dunedin. ~~Subject~~ is currently Secretary of the Dunedin Branch of the C.P.N.Z. and has stood as Communist candidate in previous General and Local Elections. An ardent Communist, HUNTER has been prosecuted for publishing subversive literature.

~~SECRET~~

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WEST COASTGreymouth Candidate: Robert Henry MITCHELL.

MITCHELL was born in Christchurch and has been living on the West Coast for over 20 years. A prominent Communist, MITCHELL is currently a member of the National Committee C.P.N.Z. and Chairman of the Greymouth Branch C.P. He stood as a Communist candidate in the 1949 and 1954 General Elections. A well-known figure in mining affairs, MITCHELL is President of the Grey Miners Central Committee, President of the Runanga State Miners' Union and the Central Committee's delegate to the United Mineworkers of New Zealand. He is employed at the Strongman Mine and is a union workmen check inspector and is one of the Grey Miners delegate on the West Coast Composite Coal Committee.

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

468

Extract from " OTAGO DAILY TIMES "

" Newspaper.

Published at DN.

, on [date] 20-7-60

SUBJECT:

18 Communists For Elections

Communists will be standing for Parliament in 18 electorates in the November elections. Two will seek election in Dunedin—Mr E. W. Hunter in North Dunedin and Mr J. L. Marston in Mornington.

Mr Hunter (56) is a trolley-bus operator and is secretary of the Communist Party in Dunedin. He was an unsuccessful candidate last year for the Dunedin City Council.

Mr Marston (47) is a boiler-maker by trade. He was a candidate for the North Dunedin seat in 1949 and polled 38 votes when he contested the Mornington seat in 1957.

Three years ago the Communists nominated candidates in only five electorates—at Ponsonby, Island Bay, Christchurch Central, Westland and Mornington.

This year, according to the Communist publication the People's Voice, there will be nine standing in the Auckland district alone. Four will stand in the Wellington area, two in Christchurch and one in Westland.

The People's Voice says the party decided at its recent national conference to offer the maximum possible number of candidates at the election. The reason for this decision was that "with capitalism increasingly unable to protect and advance New Zealand's standard of living or to preserve it, the Communist Party must greatly increase its work to show the working people of this country that there is an alternative to capitalism."

Edgar Wilson

HUNTER, E. W. P.F.

MARSTON, J. L.

John Leslie P.F.

R2
File on 21/2/10

Extract first 3 para's ✓
to Hunter & Marston. ✓

P.60

~~SECRET~~

COPY

21/2/10. 467

165

Christchurch

1/60/113

H.Q.

19.7.60

N.Z. COMMUNIST PARTY AND ANCILLARY ORGANISATIONS
KNOWN ACTIVITIES FOR THE PERIOD 1ST JULY TO
14TH JULY 1960

ANNEXURE 'C' [REDACTED]

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Pamphlets

(a) Attached is a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Information Bulletin" published by the Russian Legation in Wellington.

(b) Also attached is a pamphlet entitled "How is Your Economy?" which contains a series of articles which have previously been published in the People's Voice.

2. Ralph Comyn BLACKLOCK (PPF)

In the report 1/60/90 dated 17.6.60, Annexure 'B', paragraph 2 refers, Ralph Comyn BLACKLOCK was referred to as attending a meeting of the Railways Branch of the Communist Party, Christchurch on 15th June 1960. This information is incorrect and BLACKLOCK did not attend the meeting as he was at that date, in Australia.

[REDACTED]
Field Officer

District Officer,
Christchurch.

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

Forwarded in triplicate.



[REDACTED]
District Officer

~~SECRET~~

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/2/10
Copy No. 466
of
(T.S. only) copies.

From C.S. 3

Our File: [REDACTED] Folios 1-7

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 18th July, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT: ANNEXURE "A" [REDACTED]

C.P.N.Z. ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

The C.P.N.Z. intends standing 19 candidates for the 1960 General Elections - one for each four electorates.

Victor George WILCOX (i.r.) is to undertake an election-eering tour of New Zealand.

It has been suggested that some of the targets for the Election Fund £2,000 appeal are too high and these are to be re-examined.

A National Leaflet on the Elections is soon to be issued at an estimated cost of £500. This will probably take the form of a page of the P.V. printed so that it can be folded into four in the form of a booklet.

[REDACTED]
C.S. 3

651

Seen by D.
copy on [REDACTED]

632/7

h.

File on 21/2/11

22.7.60.

~~SECRET~~465
G.D.D.-11

EXTRACT/COPY

From (source): D.O.A.

Reference: [REDACTED]

Date: 14 July, 1960For File No. 21/2/10

Original on

Received on 14 July 1960

Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED]

On 25 July, 1960

ANNEXURE

[REDACTED] CITY BRANCH (C.P.N.E.)

~~SECRET~~

1. A reliable source has reported recently that a meeting of the Branch referred to above was held at Room 36, St. Kevin's Arcade, at 7.30 p.m. on 12 July, 1960.

2. Those present were:-

Flora Wallace GOULD
John Augustus GRANT-MACKIE
Dianne GRANT-MACKIE
Harold GREEN
William Howell LEY
Alison Mary OUTLER
Alexander George HAIT
Donald ROSS
David WALSH
Maurice James WILSIE
Diana Miriam WILSIE.

4. The subject discussed was "Why the Party is standing so many Candidates at the General Election. Reasons given were:-

- (a) Economic conditions in N.Z. at present suitable for such a move.
- (b) The Report to the Conference endorsed this view.
- (c) Greater finance available to the Party
- (d) Increased awareness by the workers of "the evils of capitalism" in all forms.
- (e) Greater numbers in the Party.

The discussion of these points lasted 1½ hours, M.J. WILSIE and his wife taking a prominent Part.

8. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Fd/O~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

464

TALKING ABOUT

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

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!



Issued by the national El-
ection Committee, Commun-
ist Party of New Zealand.
July 1960

WE HAVE HAMMERED OUT OUR POLICY

We are coming forward in the 1960 General Elections with the maximum number of candidates that our numbers and finances permit.

This is because we say that the other three parties only vie as to who can run capitalism best --- and capitalism has nothing further to offer the workers of New Zealand.

The election campaign is a special phase of our continuous Build the Party Campaign. Like it, it arises both from the good conditions and the urgent need for Party building.

WHAT IS OUR MAIN AID IN THE ELECTIONS ?

ANSWER : To get the maximum number of votes for the Party candidates.

Why? Because that is the one result above all of the Election Campaign which will most help the Build the Party Campaign. A big vote will do most to establish us as a party to be seriously considered.

NOW IS THE TIME TO GET INTO GEAR !

The Election Campaign is a big job needing good planning and a lot of hard work. That's why we need to start actual preparation NOW.

The purpose of this little pamphlet is to outline how to do this, what to start on and whom to draw in.

An early start is the only way to make sure of the best possible finish.

WHAT IS PLANNED —

Finance -- The campaign will cost big money. We will launch on September 1 an appeal for the sum of £2000.

We got this sort of money in the Libel Appeal last year. You know it meant that members and supporters had to dig really deep. Obviously it will take the same sort of effort to get this £2000 this year.

That all depends on how convinced YOU are and how you succeed in convincing your People's Voice readers of the need for a bigger Communist election campaign than ever before. This time not shillings but pounds are needed. It can be done by promises of so much per pay day from September 1 by those who find £1 or £2 or £5 hard to find.

Propaganda-160,000 copies of a nationally-produced leaflet will be mailed to houses in the electorates in which we are standing. Each electorate committee should also produce its own smaller leaflet out of the funds it will be allotted from out of the main fund. (About £40 will be allotted to each electorate committee.)

There will be an attractive nationally-produced pamphlet, about 12 pages, to be written by Cde. Wilcox and to be available as soon after September 1 as is possible. (It can't be finalised until after the Budget is given.)

There will be a national speaking tour by Cde. Wilcox approximately 4 weeks before Election Day. With the exception of Auckland, where he will finish his tour, his public meetings should kick off a concentrated 3 weeks of open campaigning. (Longer speaking campaigns are not in the usual custom, do not attract big audiences and would, in this case, overtire our forces.

From about mid-August, the People's Voice will carry the Party's election programme in a series of articles explaining each point in this programme a lot more fully. (Speakers' notes will also be available about this time.)

OUR ORGANISATION MUST BE BASED ON MASS LINE

The election campaign is very important. But it is, nevertheless, only a special phase of our general work under the slogan "Out to the People, Build the Party".

Consequently it must reinforce, not interrupt our regular work.

All the present work of selling the P.V. and the C.R., collecting money for the paper and the Party, winning new helpers and new members -- all this must go on.

Therefore, our organisation must take this into account.

Nationally an election committee of three has been set up to co-ordinate the election work. It is appointed by and responsible to the Political Committee. This method of organisation will ensure that the Secretariat does not become bogged down in election work.

Districts -- In the same way, District Executives also must not become bogged down by overcentralised election work.

Each D.C. should set up a sub-committee, responsible to it, to co-ordinate the running of a decentralised election campaign in the electorates in its area.

BRANCH WORK WILL BE DECISIVE

Branches -- For them the election campaign will be a decisive test as to how far they have mastered the principles of work laid out in the circular "First Steps".

Their campaign in particular electorates will be strong or feeble according to how they are able to draw supporters into activity.

In the past we have drawn supporters in only on tasks which we have set -- delivering leaflets etc.

This time we want to draw them in to work in an organising capacity.

In other words we want to organise Communist Electoral Committees in each electorate -- COMPOSED OF MORE SUPPORTERS THAN PARTY MEMBERS !

This is essential, both in ensuring a strong, fighting campaign and in creating the conditions for building the Party out of the increased vote and increased work done

(The national Election Organiser is Cde. W. MCARA. He will tour the country in August to check up on the preparations made, to clarify tasks and help in tackling them.)

THINGS ARE HAPPENING RIGHT NOW

While you are reading this and thinking how to plan your local action, the National Election Committee has already got things under way.

- * People have been allotted research tasks to bring our programme right up to date
- * Inquiries are being made as to what will be the cheapest of all the possible effective forms of leaflet
- * Preliminary drafts are being started on the leaflet and the pamphlet

OUR S L O G A N ?

If you were not at the National Conference, you will have heard how much the question of an election slogan was discussed.

It is still difficult to hit on something both correct and appealing.

But the basic thing in all our propaganda approach must be that the electors can't afford NOT to vote Communist. That means the word "Labour" won't be in our slogan.

The content of the slogan must be along the lines that the only way to get workers' representatives in the House will be - vote Communist since any other MP will inevitably follow a policy for monopoly.

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT CIRCULAR NO.10

13/7/60

TO ALL DISTRICTS, BRANCHES UNDER CONTROL OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL CONTROL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Dear Comrades,

Communist Party £2,000 ELECTION APPEAL 1960

Under separate cover, copies of a National Directive-"Talking about Elections" has been forwarded. It must be carefully studied and used as a guide to all election work. Copies are to be made available to all Party members and close supporters.

The Finance Appeal for £2000 will be publicly launched on September 1st, but the inner-Party campaign should be started as early in August as possible. Collection Cards and Pledge cards will be posted within two weeks. It is desirable that all Party members be mobilised in the campaign to ensure that the maximum amount in cash and pledges can be put in at the public functions which should be organised to launch the £2000 Appeal around about September 1st. An all-out effort to ensure the biggest possible rally for friends and supporters to these functions should be made, and close follow-up organised to draw as many as possible into Election Committees.

All funds collected in the campaign are to be forwarded to the National Office, P.O.Box 1785, Auckland, each week.

In Districts where candidates are standing, the first £20 per candidate may be retained to cover preliminary expenses. The balance of the £40 allowed per candidate will be forwarded to Districts later in the campaign from the National Election Fund.

The following are the targets for Districts and Branches under the control of the National Centre:

TARGETS FOR THE £2000 ELECTION APPEAL

Auckland	£1,1060	Hamilton	£ 5
Wellington	£ 550	Huntly	£10
Canterbury	£ 160	Napier	£10
Dunedin	£ 50	New Plymouth	£ 5
Greymouth	£ 120	Buller	£ 5
Mangakino	£ 25		

TOTAL.....£2,000

The sum of £2,000 will not quite cover the budgeted expenditure and it is therefore necessary to ensure full organisation of the whole Party for a substantial overfulfilment ahead of time.

At the same time the Appeal should be presented to friends and supporters as one which is additional to, and not in substitution for, the normal financial requirements to keep the Party going.

Good Executive work and planning and check-up is the key to an all-out successful overfulfilment of the £2000 Appeal.

Comradely greetings,

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,P.O.Box 1785,
Auckland.

21/2/10.

462

Extract from "Coacuum"

"Newspaper."

Published at

Auckland Univ.

, on [date]

12.7.60.

SUBJECT:

Don't be surprised if in this year's General Election the Communists obtain considerably more votes than they have previously. Red ruin is not staring us in the face; nor is it all likely that there will be any Commies in the next Parliament. But there do seem to be appreciable groups in the community, especially in the more militant unions, who, while they would never dream of voting National, are too disenchanted with the present government to want to support Labour in November. In these circumstances, the N.Z.C.P. seems in line to get quite a few protest votes. It is doubtless to take advantage of this situation that People's Voice has increasingly in recent months been taking a sweetly reasonable line, trying to appear as a mouthpiece of an acceptable alternative left-wing party and not merely the hysterical voice of a lunatic fringe.

* * *

P.S.: As we go to press, People's Voice announces that this November there will be Communist candidates for at least eighteen seats, far more than at previous General Elections.

To see. Auckland University student
opinion re Communist prospects
in the General Election.

2.8.60.

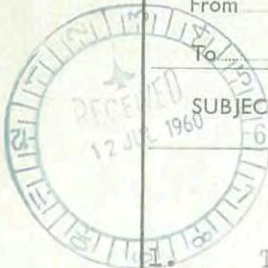
R/L
File on 21/2/

Seen [signature] 2 Aug

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/2/10
Copy No. of copies 281
(T.S. only) 461



From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/3/4

To H.Q. (D)

Date: 11th July, 1960

Your File:

SUBJECT:

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATIONS.

1. The attached are copies of C.P.N.Z. Publications, the originals of which were made available by a reliable source.
2. One leaflet refers to the 24% wage increase to the Freezing Workers, the other is the first of the Party's General Election campaign bulletins.
3. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER.

Q. Fwd

[REDACTED]

8/1/60

[REDACTED]

11/7



1. File on 21/2/10
2. Copy of report to [REDACTED]
3. File the Freezing Works pamphlet on 40/32/1.
4. Extract marked passage to

V. S. Wilson

21/5/7

21/7/7

21/3/7

EXTRACTS/COPIES TAKEN

4.7.60

[REDACTED]

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~

Issued by the National Election Committee, 1960
 July 1960
 1st Party of New Zealand



TALKING ABOUT

INSTRUCTIONS

The content of the slogan must be along the lines that the only way to get workers' representatives in the House will be - vote Communist since any other will inevitably follow a policy for monopoly.

But the basic thing in all our propaganda approach must be that the electorate can't afford NOT to vote Communist. That means the word "Labour" won't be in our slogan.

If you were not at the National Conference, you will have heard how much the question of an election slogan was discussed. It is still difficult to hit on something both correct and appealing.

OUR SLOGAN?

- Preliminary drafts are being started on the leaflet and the pamphlet
- Inquiries are being made as to what will be the cheapest of all the possible effective forms of leaflet
- People have been allotted research tasks to bring our programme right up to date
- While you are reading this and thinking how to plan your local action, the national Election Committee has already got things under way.

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That all depends on how convinced YOU are and how you succeed in convincing your People's Voice readers of the need for a bigger Communist election campaign than ever before. This time not shillings but pounds are needed. It can be done by promises of so much per pay day from September 1 by those who find £1 or £2 or £5 hard to find.

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There will be a national speaking tour by Ode. Wilcox approximately 4 weeks before Election Day. With the exception of Auckland, where he will finish his tour, his public meetings should kick off a concentrated 3 weeks of open campaigning. (Longer speaking campaigns are not in the usual custom, do not attract big audiences and would, in this case, overtire our forces.)

From about mid-August, the People's Voice will carry the Party's election programme in a series of articles explaining each point in this programme a lot more fully. (Speakers' notes will also be available about this time.)

460

Copy destroyed 8/11/88

459
G.D.D.-11

~~SECRET~~
EXTRACT/COPY

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AB/10/3 Date: 7.7.60
For File No. 21/2/10
Original on 21/4/18
Received on 7 July, 1960 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 13 July, 1960

CITY BRANCH (C.P.R.E.) AUCKLAND

1. A reliable source recently reported in writing, that a meeting of the City Branch (C.P.R.E.) in Auckland, was held on the evening of Tuesday 5.7.60 at Room 36 St. Mervins Arcade.

2. Those present were:-

Fiona Wallace GOWIE (i.r.)
John Augustus GRANT-BACKIN (i.r.)
Harold GREEN (i.r.)
Alison Mary CUTLER (i.r.)
Donald ROSS (i.r.)

Apologies were received from:-

Rose Margaret NELSON (i.r.)
Alexander George RAIT (i.r.)
Joan Dorothy WALKER (i.r.)
David WALSH (i.r.)
Jennifer WALSH (i.r.)

.....
9. Raffle Books were issued (25 tickets at 1/- each) for each book sold 15/- is to go to District and 10/- to the Branch. District hopes to make £500 profit on this and the money is to go towards the National £2000 Election Appeal.

10. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Pd/O

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

458

Published at _____, on [date] 6-7-60

SUBJECT CS1

21/2/10

**Further Communist
candidates**

Further Communist Party candidates for the forthcoming General Elections have been announced as follows:—

21/3/7

AUCKLAND.—Roskill: Mrs. E. Ayo.

21/4/7

WELLINGTON.—Island Bay: Mr. R. Smith. Onslow: Mr. K. Stanton will move from Central to replace Mrs. Mary Heptinstall because of health reasons. Central: Mr. E. Smith. Hutt Valley yet to be announced.

21/7/7

CHRISTCHURCH.—Central: Mr. F. McNulty. Avon: Mr. J. Locke.

21/8/5

DUNEDIN.—Morningside: Mr. J. Marston. Dunedin North: Mr. E. W. Hunter.

The West Coast seat of **Westland** has yet to be announced.

Extracts please for:

21/3/7 ✓

21/5/7 ✓

21/7/7 ✓

21/8/5 ✓



~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/10/2 Date: 5/7/60
 For File No. 21/2/10
 Original on 21/3/5
 Received on 5.7.60 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 4.8.60

SUBJECT: AUCKLAND DISTRICT C.P.N.Z. CONFERENCE - 2nd/3rd July, 1960 -
REPORT TO THE CONFERENCE AND THE DRAFT RESOLUTION.

1. The attached documents are copies of the Report to the Conference and Draft Resolution, made available by a reliable source.

15. SOURCE: [REDACTED] (Fd/O).

REPORT TO THE CONFERENCE

Pages 11-14:

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The preparatory work for the elections has already begun, for a successful election campaign depends upon the successful stepping up of the general line of our party - out to the people, build the party.

Comrade Wilcox's report and reply to the National Conference dealt in great detail with the primacy of the party. The ideological base of the Labour Party and the importance of a clear lead to the workers on these points. In addition to the constant study of the report it may well be for comrades to read again an article written by Comrade M.W. and published in the May 1959 Labour Review. 'Why communists contest elections', from which we quote: -

"While the Communists contest elections and expect to win them in the future, they do so with the knowledge that parliamentary representation is not in itself sufficient. They must have the conscious and active support of the masses. The masses in active opposition to, and prepared to struggle to restrict, monopoly, to safeguard small producers, to nationalise key industries and to battle for the extension of civil liberties - this is the way forward. Only the masses can turn parliamentary institutions into instruments which can be one of the bases of revolutionary change. This is why the communists contest elections under capitalism, not to act as a member of an executive for monopoly capitalism, but as organisers of the masses of the people in the struggle for a working state, in the struggle for socialism."

An example of this can be seen in Japan today - the working class and students were in battle against the ratification of the American-Japan treaty. The socialist party was also participating in the struggle, but when it came to the point of whether Eisenhower would be allowed to come to Japan, where did they stand? They were prepared to sell out the workers and do their best to tone down the struggle. It was the leadership of the Communist Party with the masses in active opposition of which Comrade Williams speaks that was the decisive factor in the tour being abandoned.

While the working-class movement of New Zealand is not yet at the same highly organised class conscious point as the Japanese workers, the task which history has given to the Communist Party of New Zealand is to give the clear and decisive leadership to take them step by step to that point. We will not achieve that by ourselves having, or spreading among the workers, any illusions about 'progressive' Labour party members. A big vote for the Communist party candidates in this election will be one of the most important factors in the building of the Communist Party and the raising of the class consciousness of the working class.

Following the decision of the National Conference to stand as many candidates as possible within the limits of our organised strength, the decision to stand nine candidates in the Auckland urban area has been made. The P.V. has carried the public announcement of the electorates to be contested and the

~~SECRET~~

names of the nine candidates selected. This decision has on the whole been received with real enthusiasm from the branches of our district and already comrades are receiving offers from non-party workers to assist on election committees, and give financial support.

However, again in our approach to the general election we find evidence of that spontaneity which plagues the work of the District Committee. On the basis of the pre-National Conference study, which indicated the general line on candidates, we should have given much earlier consideration to the electorates to be considered and the selection of candidates, and initiated discussions with D.C. comrades and the branches concerned in order to have the benefit of their feelings and opinions before the final decisions were made.

Had this been done the confusion which arose on the standing of a candidate in the Waitemata electorate as against the North Shore would have been avoided. The comrades on the Shore would have participated in the examination of the composition of the two electorates, put forward their ideas before, not after, the decision was taken and as a result would have been in a much stronger position to go into the task of establishing the party more firmly among the people in the electorates.

In our approach to the elections we need first of all to see the relationship of the campaign to our general line 'out to the masses, build the party'. The actual election campaign period in New Zealand is limited to about 3 to 4 weeks. But in this period there is greatly heightened political interest and discussion. It is therefore a very important period for a greatly heightened propaganda and agitational work by our party. The question is how can we best take full advantage of this opportunity to bring the party and its policies right to the fore in the period? How awaken a much more wide spread interest among large numbers of the working class in these policies and the party that devotes itself to their services?

The active forces we can mobilise, that is all our friends and non-party contacts and finance are the only limiting factors. So here we see the election campaign becomes a testing point of the past and present work of our party, particularly up to that time in 'going out to the people'. Here the successes in recruiting and increased P.V. sales should not be underestimated. The howls of Holyoake and the daily press show that the growth of the Communist Party strikes fear into the capitalistic class. From this we can see that a good increase in the party vote at the elections can have important national significance and above all in increasing the attractive power of the party for the workers. Not only does it hearten the whole party membership but the new growing draws the friends, supporters and contacts closer. It creates still more favourable conditions for building the party, widening still more effective its contact and influence in the working class now. So that faces up the three related tasks of:

- I. Intensifying in the immediate period ahead the practical activity of our branches in going out to the people.
- II. Stepping up our activity of house meetings of all kinds with the objective of consolidating our non party contact around the branches and winning them as active supporters of the communist candidates, willing to participate with the branch election committee direct.
- III. Organisational work of the election committees to win the biggest possible number of votes for the communist candidates at the poll.

This brings home the utmost importance of our party members understanding the necessity of co-ordinating contacts on a district scale. The contact which a Te Atatu branch member makes on his job with a worker living in Onehunga is of first rate importance to the building of the election committee there. But this knowledge of the contact of branch members in or handier to other electorates on which there is a C.P. candidate is an absolutely vital part of developing our election activity. The existing and new contact must be co-ordinated through the district as speedily as possible. That means that branch executives must check up on the contacts of all members, ascertain the names and addresses and when they are not in the electorate for which the branch is responsible, supply the list to the District Office. All comrades should again study First Steps in order to fully grasp the relation of this specific task with the whole question of party building.

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3.

Some brief points on the plans of the Political Committee on the elections are given in order that branches may develop their current activity of 'out to the people, build the party', in a way that will co-ordinate with the National plans. In Auckland the campaign will start within the party about mid-August. It will aim at mobilising the forces for a public launching of the £2,000 Election Fund Appeal at a town hall meeting, about September 1st. The main aspects of this will be the drawing in of non party supporters and the organisation of the finance appeal so that several hundreds of pounds can be forthcoming from branches and friends and collected in cash and pledges at the meeting. It is vital to make an outstanding success of this event. District targets in the £2,000 appeal have not yet been decided, but it is likely that Auckland will be awarded more than 50% as in the case of the P.V. appeals (special) we will want to overful this quickly. And that can be done with good preparation both ideological and organisational by the D.C. and Branch Executives. The campaign fund is not large for the number of candidates going forward. It is the minimum necessary to ensure effective presentation of the party propaganda and agitation.

National propaganda plans at present under consideration aim at a pamphlet by Comrade Wilcox to sell at 3d. 160,000 national programme leaflets and provision for a personal leaflet concerning the candidate in each electorate. In order to minimise the heavy load involved in letter box coverage by the branches, a postal distribution of the main leaflet to a number of electorates is being considered. Only two or three of the compact city seats in Auckland may have to be covered by the concentration of all party forces on one occasion. The main aim is to relieve cadres of what is otherwise a time-consuming and arduous job and enable more time to be devoted to personal contact and the winning of people in supporting and voting for party candidates. The incoming District Committee has the job of working out the final organisational details for the campaign in Auckland and the allocation of electorates to particular branches. This is complicated because of a number of factors and means some re-allocation of membership at least for a period in order to ensure the best utilisation of our forces for the election period. The dead line for this information being in the hands of branch executives should be no later than the 31st July. It will be necessary to make a new appraisal to the question of the leadership organisation of the campaign. We have got to get away from the old idea that everything centres on the district office and the district secretary. The overall leadership of the campaign must be a District Committee responsibility with each D.C. member and the candidate working in close cooperation with the branch executive and giving that detailed personal help and leadership which will enable the branch and the branch executive to become the core and leading force of broad election committee in each electorate.

Central organisation of election organisational details will be the responsibility of a small central election co-ordination committee under the leadership of Comrade J.F., who will have to be withdrawn from industry for a few weeks. Comrades will note that this approach gives full recognition to the elections as a period of high level political interest but strives to avoid the weakness of past campaigns in which party work has sometimes been abandoned and the party emerges from the campaign with comrades exhausted and the party organisation in chaos, a great deal of new contact made but no consolidation of it during or after the campaign.

If we plan our work correctly we should emerge from the forthcoming campaign in better shape, with new strength and able to follow up with our general line of 'out to the masses, build the party' on a sound basis and in more fertile soil than ever before. That must be our objective.

~~SECRET~~

HOLYOAKE HURLS THREATS

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

"Newspaper."

Published at _____, on [date] 29-6-60

SUBJECT:

To 'eliminate' unions that defend members

If anyone ever doubted what the National Party has in mind for the wage-earners should it become the government after November, Mr. Holyoake kindly spelled it out for him in Parliament on Friday last week.

Every unionist who takes any action to improve his wages or conditions, or even holds a meeting to consider what the union should do, is a "Communist wrecker," according to the would-be National Party prime minister. And the National Party, if it became the government, would "eliminate" them from industry on the 1951 pattern, he threatened.

U-2's real purpose revealed

LONDON: The U-2 planes sort over the Soviet Union were not looking for Russian attack rockets as a protection against "another Pearl Harbor," as Eisenhower claimed. They were looking for Soviet anti-aircraft batteries because "every time we locate a Russian anti-aircraft base we make Strategic Air Command that much more effective. In the event of war it is such intelligence that will save the lives and bombers of many Strategic Air Command squadrons."

Who said that? Allen



THIS WAY, MR. HOLYOAKE? Police batons were used in Japan recently (above) to try and "eliminate" resistance to Japanese and American militarism. Perhaps Mr. Holyoake wishes to use them here again (as in 1951) to try and "eliminate" the unions he dislikes so much. Batons grow weaker as the working people grow stronger, Mr. Holyoake!

Mr. Holyoake's tirade was immediately aimed to frighten small business and small farming votes back to the National Party. But it cannot be doubted that he is full of ambition to be prime minister again—a prime minister wholly and solely devoted to the interests of the growing monopoly interests.

Mr. Holyoake specifically mentioned the recent Kaituma stoppage. But this stoppage took place because the management, as represented by recently-imported American executives of the Bowater monopoly, fired the Electrical Workers' Union delegate for calling a meeting of his members.

To the best of knowledge of the People's Voice, this delegate was not get incorporation from the Arbitration Court while it saw others get it, did not put up a struggle?

Whose side?

All the subsequent dispute, with the no-loading-out ban, arose only because the employers later tried to find a tricky way to evade this gentleman's agreement.

2/2/10

21/2/10

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HOLYOAKE

HURLS THREATS

Dulles, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency chief, told Secretary of State Herter and U.S. Congressmen that at a conference soon after the U-2 plane was shot down.

This is revealed in an article in London-American, a paper published in London for Americans living there. The paper's report, printed on May 27, has not been denied.

The London-American says a hushed silence followed this blunt announcement and when no one spoke up Dulles continued: "We have known for some time that the Soviet Air Defence command is absorbing around 20 per cent. of their huge military budget."

"But it took these U-2 reconnaissance flights to establish what they are spending all this money for. These flights pinpointed the locations of numerous massive anti-aircraft centres, and indicated the sites of many more."

The Congressional leaders were told the latest weapon defending industrial centres is the SA-4 surface-to-air missile.

Still undetermined is whether these large and numerous anti-aircraft defences are being equipped with the SA-8 anti-missile the Soviet Union is known to have in production.

More than 10,000 jet interceptors armed with air-to-air rockets are part of these anti-aircraft defences.

Dulles said the Soviet defences are "three or four times as strong as ours" and it was vital to learn all about them.

not a member of the Communist Party. Nor were any of the members of the union who immediately downed tools to demand his reinstatement.

Not new

Someone ought to tell Mr. Holyoake that unions were taking just this sort of action in defence of their union representatives before either the Communist Party, Labour Party or the National Party were formed.

Nor would Mr. Holyoake be wise to consider Mr. Anthony J. Neary, the secretary of the North Island Electrical Workers' Union, who conducted the successful conclusion of the struggle which achieved the reinstatement of the delegate, to be even mildly Communist-minded.

Mr. Holyoake also blames the leading-out ban, imposed on all freezing works by the decision of the national executive of the Federation of Labour, on the Communists and the "weak" attitude of the Labour Government in not crushing them.

24 per cent.

But the freezing workers were after the same thing as the Kawerau men.

The Kawerau men, before their dispute had been turned into one for the defence of their union delegate, had met to discuss how to get incorporation of the 24 per cent general wage order in their award. Engineering workers in Auckland had also conducted struggles about this.

In fact, one could ask Mr. Holyoake: Which union, which did

is, then, perfectly obvious where Mr. Holyoake and the National Party stand on the question of the trade unionists' wages and conditions. Four square on the side of the employers!

But where does the Labour Party stand? Are they coming out boldly and squarely on the side of the workers? They are not.

Instead of saying, "We are a workers' party, founded and built by the trade unions to legislate and govern on their behalf, on the behalf of the majority of the people," the Labour leaders back down.

Workers' Party

Their only quarrel with the National Party is that they claim they can hold the workers' backs better than National can. "Fewer working days had been lost under Labour than the previous National Government," Mr. Hackett replied to Mr. Holyoake.

It is this attitude of the Labour Party, the crystallisation of Mr. Nash's 1951 famous statement of being "Neither for nor against" the workers that is deciding the Communist Party to come more and more forward as the only real workers' party in New Zealand—the party that stands for the workers in the long run, taking over all the resources of the country to run for themselves without benefit of capitalist owners, for socialism.

This is why the Communist Party is growing stronger, a fact Mr. Holyoake quoted in Parliament from the recent National Conference report.

A lot of political Canutes have tried to hold back the tide of working-class progress.

Mr. Holyoake won't be any more successful than the rest of them.



U.S. spy chief visits Britain

In the event of the G.D.R. concluding a peace treaty with those countries willing to do so, the search for a peaceful solution to West Berlin would continue, said Mr. Ulbricht.



21/2/10

Extract from " PEOPLE'S VOICE "

" Newspaper.

Published at

, on [date]

29-6-60

453

SUBJECT:

Poll on Labour Govt.

(Worker Correspondent)

AUCKLAND: A group of 12 workers I picked at random in a local factory were asked the following question:

- What (if any) is your main disappointment with the present Labour Government?

Their answers, given below, provide an indication of growing dissatisfaction with the government. (Significantly enough, not one of them expressed satisfaction, but each one of them had a particular grievance.)

First Worker: The failure of the government to control prices.

Second Worker: The failure of the government to legislate incorporation of the 24 per cent. into all hourly rates of awards from a particular date.

Third Worker: Excessive taxation.

Fourth Worker: Allowing the public to be unduly exploited with rents, particularly flat and room rents.

Fifth Worker: High taxation.

Sixth Worker: Not a working man's government. Failure to bring about a state of affairs where a worker can live reasonably on a 40-hour week.

Seventh Worker: Was told when he inquired at The Hague, Holland, prior to emigrating to New Zealand, that he was coming to a country with a 40-hour week. During the eight years he has been here he has enjoyed a 40-hour week for two weeks only.

Eighth Worker: Government displayed weakness on the issue of the 24 per cent. incorporation. He was also unhappy about the allocation of State houses.

Ninth Worker: Too much travelling abroad by Walter Nash instead of attending to urgent matters in New Zealand.

Tenth Worker: Failing to carry out democratic conference decisions of the Labour Party, particularly on the matter of recognition of Communist China.

Eleventh Worker: Failure to impose price control, and no action against exorbitant profits being made by business firms.

Twelfth Worker: Import controls too severe. Goods that can't be made here should be imported more freely, and the government should see that New Zealand-made goods came up to imported standards.

M.P.'s who made it their business to discuss these things a little more with ordinary workers instead of hob-nobbing with big business, and if they acted to correct some of their errors, would have a better chance of being elected in November.

SUBJECT:

Communist candidates announced

AUCKLAND: The recent National Conference of the Communist Party unanimously decided that the Party must stand the maximum number of candidates possible in the 1960 General Election. Fundamentally this was because delegates agreed that, with capitalism increasingly unable to protect and advance New Zealand's standard of living or to preserve it, the Communist Party must greatly increase its work to show the working people of this country that there is an alternative to capitalism.

To put forward its policy of curbing the monopolies that are strangling New Zealand's economy and to show that this struggle must be waged by all the working people right up to the stage of eliminating monopoly capitalism altogether, the Communist Party has already decided in which seats it will be standing candidates.

In a statement to the People's Voice last week, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. V. G. Wilcox, announced that some districts and branches had already made their decisions and some would soon be finalising them. The decisions he spoke of included the following seats and candidates:—

● **AUCKLAND:** Otahuhu, Mr. S. Heatt; Ponsonby, Mr. G. Jackson; Central, Mr. W. McAra; Roskill, candidate not yet decided; Tamaki, Mrs. Rita Smith; Waitakere, Mr. V. Wilcox; Grey Lynn, Mr. B. Wolfe; Waiemata, Mr. H. McLeod; Onehunga, Mr. D. McEwan.

● **WELLINGTON:** Onslow, Mrs. Mary Hepinstall; City, Mr. K. Stanton; Island Bay, Huft and Palmerston North, candidates not yet decided.

● **CHRISTCHURCH:** The Canterbury District Committee of the Communist Party anticipates standing in two or three seats, to be announced soon.

● **WESTLAND:** The Greymouth Branch of the Communist Party will name its candidate for this seat shortly.

● **DUNEDIN:** The local branch is considering two electorates, probably Mornington and Dunedin, and will be announcing the candidates at an early date.

COPIES REQUIRED FOR

21/5/7 ✓

21/7/7 ✓



~~SECRET~~
EXTRACT/COPY

G.D.D.—11

451

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/10/2A Date: 14.6.60
For File No. 21/2/10
Original on 21/3/5
Received on 14 June 1960 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 20 June 1960

"C.P.N.Z. Publications - FREEZING WORKERS LEAFLET

1. Attached hereto are copies of a leaflet issued by the Auckland District Office of the C.P.N.Z. for distribution at the various freezing works.

.....

3. On page two, a list of the electorates to be contested by the C.P.N.Z. in the forthcoming General Elections, is given. They are: Ponsonby, City Central, Waitemata, Waitakere, Roskill, Onehunga, Otahuhu, Grey Lynn, Tamaki.

4. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Field Officer.

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

G.D.D.-11

EXTRACT/COPY

450

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/12/8 Date: 9.6.60
For File No. 21/2/10
Original on [REDACTED]
Received on 9.6.60 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 23.6.60

SUBJECT: INDUSTRIAL NEWSLETTER - MAY 1960.

1. The attached is a copy of the Industrial Newsletter, May 1960, forwarded to this office by a reliable source.

.....

5. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (Fd/O).

EXTRACT from Newsletter:

Page 4:

Communist Party: A friend was recently sent a personal letter from the Chairman of the N.Z.C.P. calling his attention to a duplicated document enclosed. The document is a Party circular carrying a thinly veiled attack on the Labour Party. It would appear that the Triennial Conference of the N.Z. Communist Party, held last Easter, decided to abandon unity with the Labour Party and stand as many Communist members as they can afford at the next elections (at least 6 in Auckland). The Party believes that Labour will lose the next Elections and that there is a general swing away from Labour throughout the free world. Hence they do not wish to be associated with it at Election time. Already this line is being broadcast in all their propaganda material.

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EXTRACT/COPY

G.D.D.—11

449

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/10/5 Date: 9 June 1960
 For File No. 21/2/10
 Original on 21/4/5
 Received on 9 June 1960 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 22 June 1960

MT. ROSKILL BRANCH C.P.N.Z.

1. A reliable source recently reported in writing that a meeting of the Branch referred to above, was held at 21 Louvain Avenue, Mt. Roskill at 7.45 p.m. on the 7th June, 1960.

2. Those present were:-

Paul ATHORNS (i.r.)
 Robert Harold BROGAS (i.r.)
 John DICKSON (i.r.)
 John Findlay EVEN (i.r.)
 Morris Trevor Douglas GABOLINSKY (i.r.)
 William JENNIN (i.r.)
 James MAINE (i.r.)
 Donald ROSS (i.r.)
 Frederick John SPEAR (i.r.)
 Charles Herbert STAPLETON (i.r.)
 Stephen Watson TAYLOR (i.r.)
 Mervyn Haley WILLIAMS (i.r.)

.....

10. It was reported, that for the Parliamentary Elections this year, nine suburban electorates will be contested including Mt. Roskill - these electorates will no doubt be made known later.

.....

14. SOURCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
 Pd/O

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
EXTRACT/COPY

G.D.D.—11

448

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: [REDACTED] Date: 9.6.60
For File No. 21/2/10
Original on [REDACTED]
Received on 14.6.60 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 15.6.60

RESOLUTION OF TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

1. In source's opinion there is no difference in contents between the Resolution published in the "N.Z. Communist Review" and that passed at the Triennial Conference.

SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

" Newspaper.

Published at AK.

, on [date] 25-5-60

447

SUBJECT:

Wage and tax concessions?

Pressure forcing Govt's hand

Don't write any recent concessions and hints of more concessions off as mere election bait. And don't write them off as signs of a prosperous trading year or a naturally considerate or efficient government.

Some of these factors play a part in the hints of tax cuts on beer, petrol and cigarettes and in the permission for unions to apply for the incorporation of the 24 per cent. before their awards are due for review. Not to mention the recent trivial income tax "cut" back to 1957 rates.

But the main reason is the growing solidarity of trade unionists and the increasing pressure their organisations are applying on an unwilling government in a prosperous year.

This Labour Government showed that it had no consideration for the working people when it imposed the harsh taxes of 1958 on them, while giving concession after concession to the business community.

In short, it made the wage- and salary-earners bear the brunt of the capitalist crisis sweeping the world.

Nor has the Labour Government proved any allegiance to the working people by making conditions so attractive to overseas monopolists that they are tumbling over one another to set up business here.

Monopoly will invest most where labour is cheapest and most controllable.

Election Promises

Admittedly, it is election year and the promises are flying thick and fast. And, naturally, the good trading year that has given us a surplus that provides a setting for pre-election generosity.

But we all know what had happened to 1957's hand-outs before 1958 had got far under way. And it's fast becoming common knowledge that "good trade prospects" in this unstable capitalist world are just as reliable as a "good feeling" before a game of poker.

None of this will stop Labour claiming that its foresight and our "mutual sacrifice" were in the best interests of the working people—neglecting, of course, to explain how a "mutual sacrifice" can bring record profits to the monopolies but higher prices and steeper taxes to the wage-earners.

Likewise, the Labour Government will not publicise the fact that only a European drought boosted the prices of our dairy produce.

It will not state the obvious—that any concessions it feels itself pressed to give the wage- and salary-earners this year can be snatched back next.

But neither will it state the obvious fact that this year's growing working-class pressure can force not only pre-election concessions but post-election victories.

More rallying, educational and organisational work on the jobs and in the unions can ultimately make the working people the most powerful force in New Zealand.

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10.
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D.O.A.

AK/10/1A

H.Q. (CS)

24th May, 1960.

PAMPHLET "HOW IS YOUR ECONOMY?"

1. A reliable source has forwarded the attached pamphlet prepared by the Secretariat of the National Committee C.P.N.Z. for distribution.
2. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER.



COPY ON.....
COPY FROM 21/2/5

THE year 1960 is election year in New Zealand. Already the Labour Government leaders are beginning to tell the electors how well they have done and how the economy of the country is on the up and up thanks to their sound policies.

The National Party on the other hand has so far produced no policy except criticism of everything that Labour has done, though in general these are just the things the National Party would have done itself anyway.

The year 1960 "will be the best year New Zealand's economy has ever known," says Mr. Nash (Auckland Star, 9/2/60).

How is YOUR economy?

BEST FOR WHOM? For the wage- and salary-earners; or for the profits of big business? For the men and women, working people, who gave the Labour Government another go in 1957 to see if it could do better for them than the National Government; or for the big monopolies which dominate our economy (which is going to do so well) and which are the bitterest enemies of the living standards of the working people?

The big monopolies in particular and business in general had done very well under National. But the wage- and salary-earners' votes threw the Tories out in 1957 because they had not looked after the purchasing power of the ordinary people.

Another Labour Government was given a chance to show if it had any spark left of its old reforming zeal of 1935 and 1938.

But is 1960 likely to prove that the three years of Labour Government have been three years in which they made the people better off at the expense of the monopolies?

The plain answer is that the Labour Government, which in effect claimed that it could run the present capitalist economy better than the National Party, more "fairly" for the working people, has fundamentally done the same as the National Party.

In so doing, it has estranged itself from the trade union movement, which first gave it life over 40 years ago, just because it has done

**What
policy
can
balance
your
budget?**



everything possible to help the monopolies do better at the expense of their employees.

Tax Burden

The Labour Government found our overseas funds run down by the fall in the prices of our farm products. Its first crash measure was import control, a necessary measure in the interests of local industry.

To protect the wage- and salary-earner price-pegging immediately

Here is a fighting programme

THE Communist Party, in its programme for immediate advances in living standards for New Zealand's working people, says it is necessary to—

- **SEEK NEW MARKETS** for New Zealand's exports on the basis of mutually advantageous and reciprocal trade with the countries of socialism and the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa.
- **BASE NEW ZEALAND'S** defence policy of the signing of a Pacific Collective Security Pact open to all nations. Slash our present defence expenditure to £5 million and use part of the funds saved to establish friendly relations and trade with our Asian neighbours and with the socialist nations. Recognise the Chinese People's Republic.
- **BREAK COMPLETELY** from the disastrous National Party foreign policy of "following America right or wrong." Withdraw from the war pacts, ANZUS and SEATO, which are aimed against the inevitable world swing to socialism and national independence. Base our foreign policy on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Withdraw New Zealand forces from Malaya.
- **BREAK THE POWER** of monopoly over the domestic economy by nationalising such key sections as the banks, the freezing companies, the coastal shipping, the stock and station agencies, the insurance companies. Ensure trade union representation on the controlling boards.
- **DEVELOP IRON AND STEEL**, coal utilisation and chemical industries under nationalised control from the start. Obtain capital aid for these industries from sources that will take New Zealand products as payments in negotiated long-term deliveries.
- **FIGHT AGAINST** the burden of the economic crisis being placed on the shoulders of the workers. Demand a wage order based on a living wage for a 40-hour week. Equal pay for women. Demand the repealing of the anti-trade union laws—the 1951 amendments to the Police Offences Act and the I.C. and A. Act. End the assisted immigration policy.
- **INSTITUTE STRICT** and effective pegging of prices, profits and rents and proper control of capital issues.
- **DEMAND THE REPLACEMENT** of the money taken in 1958 from the Social Security Funds. Raise pensions and other social security payments to £5 per person.
- **PLACE THE BURDEN** of taxation on to the wealthy. Raise the income tax exemption level to £600, with £200 for wife and £100 for each child. Make the personal exemption on a sliding scale, disappearing at £2,000. Sharply increase the rate of taxation on personal incomes over £2,000 and company incomes over £10,000. Change social security tax from flat rate to sliding scale. Remove indirect taxation from all goods commonly used by the ordinary people while sharply increasing them on expensive luxury lines.
- **GIVE FINANCIAL AID** at low rates of interest to the working farmer who is threatened with ruin by the drop in overseas prices of New Zealand's exports. Make guaranteed price for butterfat on sliding scale. Aid development of co-operative enterprises in buying and in machine utilisation agencies. Scale down mortgage commitments, with complete moratorium where necessary. Institute government-subsidised technical and scientific assistance to working farmers.
- **CONTROL LUXURY BUILDING** and put the accent on ample housing for the people. Increase State house building programme financed at low rate of interest.

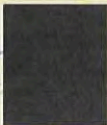
MINUTE SHEET

File Ref. 21/2/10

Section: CS1

Folio: ~~9-5-6~~ Ch 10/12/817

Date: 9-5-60

To: R 

* Attached copy of 21/12/6 dated
26 May 58 to be placed on
PF N. Christensen.

Extract para (a) to PF Marden WJ

" " (b) to PF Howard Cox

~~EXTRACTS/COPIES~~
" " (c) to PF ~~Denton H E~~.

R2

PS 24/5/60

CS1 Ro.

R.
As above please

11.5.60.



Note

* This report was shown
as 26 January 1958
instead of 26 May 1958
& is already on C's
file

21/12 23/5/60.

From ChristchurchOur File: CH/10/12/817To H.Q.Date: 9.5.60

Your File:

SUBJECT: LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS 1959

1. With reference to your file HQ(CS.1.)21/2/10 dated 2.5.60, I have the following comments to make.

(a) MUNDEN, William John

On 29th July 1958, Constable PRETTY, then of Dobson Police, furnished a list of persons whom he considered were of Security interest. This list is filed at this office because Constable PRETTY had not supplied information as to the facts which led him to his conclusion.

With regard to MUNDEN, he stated, "Frank William John MUNDEN, Dobson, married, aged about 38 years, Secretary Wallsend Miners' Union. Definite "C". (Sympathetic).

When Constable PRETTY was seen in December 1958, it was found that whilst MUNDEN is regarded locally as a Communist, there was nothing definite to indicate membership with the Communist Party.

A report on MUNDEN was furnished by the District Officer, Christchurch, on 13.2.59, and as a result of the enquiries made by the District Officer, this report touches chiefly on MUNDEN's connection with the Peace Council. The allegation that MUNDEN was a Communist had not been substantiated, was not reported to Headquarters, and for that reason was not refuted in the report dealing with MUNDEN.

MUNDEN appears to be closely associated with Communist Party members but he is not known to be a member of the Party and there is evidence, vide HQ(CS)PF dated 15.3.60, that in fact he is not a member of the Party. The analysis of the factors relating to the Local Body Elections had been handed to the typist for typing before the Headquarters report HQ(CS)PF dated 15.3.60 was received.

(b) COX, Howard

The "COX, H." quoted in your file as a nominee for the Halswell County Council is not Howard COX (i.r.) but is a Harry COX, 91 Junction Road, Christchurch, a Farmer, and he is n.i.r. at this office. His name and address has been checked discreetly at the offices of the Halswell County Council.

(c) DENTON, H.E.

H.E. DENTON is not indexed at this office as he is not known to be of any Security interest. He is a man interested in Local Government affairs and it would be quite likely that he would be asked to address different meetings. The fact that he addressed the Richmond Democratic Labour Party, does not necessarily mean that he holds any subversive views.

(d) CHRISTENSON, Neil

A copy of the interim report dated 26.5.58 is attached as requested.

Field Officer

District Officer,
Christchurch.

The Director, Wellington.

CLASSIFICATION:

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District Officer

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C.P.N.Z. POLICY REGARDING PARLIAMENTARY
LABOUR PARTY.

1. The Triennial Conference of the C.P.N.Z. was held in Auckland in April 1960, and one of the main subjects discussed was the policy which the C.P.N.Z. should adopt in relation to the Parliamentary Labour Party of New Zealand. The thinking of the Party leaders in this regard is clearly expressed in the report made by the General Secretary of the C.P.N.Z. (V.G. WILCOX) at the opening of the Triennial Conference. A copy of this report is attached.
2. Except for a short period during the 1930's the C.P.N.Z. has always claimed a close relationship with the N.Z. Labour Party and has frequently attempted, without success, to affiliate with that Party. The nearest it came to success was in 1946 when the Auckland Labour Representation Committee strongly supported the Party's attempt to affiliate. Since early 1959, however, there have been signs that the attitude of the C.P.N.Z. towards the present Government has been slowly hardening. The change became fully apparent after WILCOX returned from a visit to Communist China in October 1959, during which visit he received certain advice from the C.C.P. The C.P.N.Z. has made no secret of its change of policy. The main propaganda organ, the "People's Voice", has been used to prepare its leaders and the slogan "Change the Policies not the Government, which was adopted in 1959, has become "Demand that the Government change its Policies". The C.P.N.Z. has even gone to the extent of altering the name of its theoretical journal from the "N.Z. Labour Review" to the "N.Z. Communist Review".
3. The reasons advanced by WILCOX in support of this change of policy reflect the confused thinking of the Party hierarchy. WILCOX emphasised the great need of demonstrating to the people of New Zealand that the Communist Party alone represents the workers. He describes the Labour Party as the betrayer of the workers both in the past and in the present and explains that, in the future, the C.P.N.Z. is no longer to be considered an appendage of the Labour Party but rather is to be considered as "the vanguard of the workers". The Party is, in fact, reverting to its position of the early 1930's when, in common with other Communist Parties, it fell into line with the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Third (Communist) International. It will be remembered that the Congress decided to cease united front tactics with Social Democratic parties for the same reasons advanced by WILCOX in his report to the Triennial Conference in New Zealand in 1960.
4. In implementing its policy the C.P.N.Z. proposes to stand as many Communist candidates as possible in all future General and Municipal elections. In addition, the Party will pay special attention to those supporters of the Labour Party who are alleged to be disgruntled with that Party's policy which is described as being "alien to the workers' cause". In electorates where no Communist candidates will be standing the electors will be told that the Labour Party no longer has the interests of the workers at heart and, as the Communist Party grows in strength, Communist candidates will be found for that electorate. In the meantime, the electors will be advised to vote Labour. Where Communist candidates will be standing the whole weight of the C.P.N.Z. will be applied to the election campaign. Perhaps in

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anticipation of the inevitable outcome, WILCOX proposed that the electors be informed that, whatever the result, a vote for the Communist candidate will "not be wasted effort". According to WILCOX the main weapons to be used in those campaigns will be the Party propaganda vehicles "The People's Voice" and the "N.Z. Communist Review", pamphlets and circulars designed for special purposes and the Party's organisation and influence in industry (especially in the Trade Unions), peace movements and women's organisations. Films and literature obtained from overseas sources will also be used by the Party.



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DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION.NATIONAL CONFERENCE, Communist Party of New Zealand.APRIL 14th - 17th, 1960.

THAT, in endorsing the political report presented to this conference by the General Secretary, Cde. V. G. Wilcox, this Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand affirms the necessity of continuing the Build The Party Campaign with new targets.

It stresses that the overfulfilment of the targets in the Campaign is politically necessary if the Party is to achieve the results that the present period demands.

The report of the National Committee in June, 1959, stated the conditions were favourable for building the Party. Despite unevenness in detail targets and from District to District, overall results have shown that this estimate was correct. It is more than ever correct today.

These gains have laid the basis for further advances. They have shown in practice that the key to movement forward is participation of people.

Today the New Zealand people can only make real progress on the basis of a Communist Party united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its roots deep in the people and the people working with and in the ranks of the Party.

Improved methods of Party education are vital to a better understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its integration with practice. This combination of theory and practice enables the Party to develop wider ideological understanding of its role amongst its own members and the people as a whole.

Marxism-Leninism is a theory of the development of society. It accepts as a basic tenet that people make history, that the class that is exploited, the working class, is the revolutionary class destined to build socialism on a world scale. This theory which has already become a reality over a large part of the world is directly opposed to the class collaborationist theories of Social Democracy.

Because Marxism bases itself upon the movement of the revolutionary class it must prevail. How soon depends upon the ability of the Communist Party to apply that theory in practice.

This mass line method of work among the people cannot be developed fully unless the same methods of work are applied inside the Party. It ensures flexibility and a broad approach so necessary in the struggle against manifestations of revisionism and sectarianism.

The role of the Party press, the "People's Voice", the "Labour Review" Branch and industrial Bulletins, cannot be overemphasised. It is here that the Party places on record its political estimates and comments on the affairs of the day. It is here that are listed the struggles of the working class. It is the working class who, by their acceptance or rejection of the Party press, indicate what their opinions of it are.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND.REPORT TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE.14th, 15th, 16th, 17th April, 1960.Presented by Comrade V.G.Wilcox,
General Secretary, C.P.N.Z.

COMRADES,

This Conference of our Party is a very important one in our Party history. We have many vital decisions to make, decisions that can be of great benefit to the Party and the working class of New Zealand in the days of class battle ahead.

The international and internal situation that faces us today shows that since our last Conference three years ago, the world camp of socialism led by the Soviet Union has gone from strength to strength while the relative decline of imperialism, noted then, has continued. This situation has produced objective conditions which have made more favourable our opportunities in New Zealand for building the strength and influence of our Party.

The crisis in the imperialist camp has with quickening tempo produced a crisis in the world camp of social democracy. This development is reflected in the present problems raised in the New Zealand Labour Party and in the ineffectual policy of our Labour Government. The workers who have supported Labour to date show little enthusiasm and in some cases hostility.

This makes it imperative that at this Conference we tackle, not in an academic way but in a way that leads to easy application, the problems of our Party's attitude to social democracy in 1960. The fact that we are in the era of the death of imperialism - of the victory of world socialism - has produced the decline in the influence of the Labour Parties. Loyalty to some degree still exists but the enthusiasm, the confident faith, has gone.

Today when one speaks to workers about the Labour Party, or when they raise the matter with us, it is hard to realise what a real mass organisation of activists the Labour Party was, when it so overwhelmingly won the 1935 election. It is hard to remember the enthusiasm that then existed and the wide hopes of a socialist future. Compare that to the Labour Party of today, a Party with a skeletal organisation, relying for a working base on the affiliation fees of trade unions grudgingly given, a Party that has had to stop its national weekly paper, the "Standard", because of lack of support, and we can easily see that many adverse things have happened to the Labour Party in recent years. It is but a shadow of its former self. It is a far cry to the early "Maoriland Worker", to the fiery I.W.W.-ism of the early Semple, to the Labour leader Holland who wrote pamphlets on dialectical materialism.

There is a new situation in our Labour movement and tactics designed for a different situation are not likely to prove successful under these circumstances. Hence much of this Conference report will be taken up with this vital question. However, we have to carefully evaluate the new situation; make sure we do not overestimate the decline of the Labour Party influence on workers' minds (it is still very strong); otherwise we will in the end get into a very left sectarian situation isolated from the mass of workers and our position will be

no better than when we were committing right opportunist errors on policy and tactics.

We can, as will be shown later when we more carefully examine the position, demonstrate that in this new situation where correct policy has been boldly advanced, where the role and necessity of our Party has been explained, where our tactics have been well thought out, we can make gains in both membership and influence. A clear indication of this is the advance made in membership, paper sales and general activity through our "Build the Party" campaign launched in June, 1959. This was also shown in the success of the appeal for finance to save our paper, the "People's Voice", during the libel issue last year. The quick response and rapid overfulfilment showed that we had in the past very often underestimated our base and support, and overwritten our difficulties. The same applied to the Christmas appeal which was obtained without any very special campaign and the result - double what we asked for. This at a time when money is not so plentiful as far as any spare cash workers have to donate.

It all shows that, with correct policy and work, gains can be made today. We have stressed that they must be made if we are to have even the bare minimum of the political base that is necessary to face the big battles for socialism in New Zealand that lie ahead.

OUR PREVIOUS DECISIONS. It will be useful at this stage to look briefly at the decisions of our last Conference and of our National Committee and Political Committee meetings since. It will give some picture of how we have arrived at the point of view of this report.

Comrades will recall that in 1957 our Party had just emerged from a struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois influence in its ranks; a situation that had come to a head around the 1956 events in Hungary and Soviet action there, had to be cleared up. We had had the hysterical reaction of former General Secretary Scott. Well, we know you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and we could not make a Communist of Scott and the few others who went with him. Still, it is a fact that Scott and the others only reflected under N. Z. conditions the general rise of revisionism on a world scale. This trend brought out sharply in our Party in N. Z. ideological differences that had been partly hidden or unrecognised before. As we noted then, the class structure of N. Z., with its economic base and capitalist prosperity still dependent on export of farm produce and their price, our big urban and rural middle class, creates a situation making our working class itself very susceptible to such influences. Therefore our Conference correctly stressed that right opportunism and revisionism was a major danger to be guarded against in the future, insisting that there be no relaxing of vigilance merely because of the total organisational defeat of the Scott faction in our ranks.

These were correct and essential decisions with the open attempt to disrupt our Party and replace it by a so-called "democratic" Communist Party but a few months old. It was natural that our Conference should spend much time on reaching clarity on ideological questions. This was essential if a correct base for advance in the future was to be established. This 1957 Conference of our Party concluded with the firm conviction that many roadblocks that prevented activity had been removed: that steps were being taken to overcome our isolation from the people: that the days of incessant talking, of alleged agreement on policy but no action, were over. Conference

considered the Party had emerged stronger from the inner Party struggle although a few had left our ranks. The time had come when we could make small but significant gains in the coming period if we took our Party to the workers, to the people, and if we concentrated our small forces on the most important things, if we made our main effort in the ranks of the industrial workers. Past policy in this direction was confirmed. The call was to test it in practice. Looking back it was a good Conference. It cleared up many points; it did point correctly the general way ahead but, in retrospect, an obvious weakness was the lack of clarity and stress on the role of a Communist Party in N. Z. at that time. The future role of a Communist Party was made clear, but it still left our Party in practice a rather peculiar appendage of the Labour Movement. It was not clearly seen to be not only the Party of the future but the Party of today, under the developing conditions that faced us, the hard core of the Labour Movement then and now. This in fact must lead to the leading role of the Party degenerating into tactical manoeuvring among various sections of the Labour Movement, instead of decisive leadership on policy.

But overall it is correct to say that since that Conference a small but vital gain has been made by our Party and the general correctness of policy confirmed in action. Not that there have not been many weaknesses, many omissions and some misunderstandings. It is also true that some new factors have emerged. There is, therefore, no room for complacency at this Conference.

A brief review of Political and National Committee major decisions confirms this.

The fight against the heritage of the past has continued. That heritage that makes it so easy to talk but not act; to live within ourselves in our present small Party; to hide from, and to fear the people. All this is not easily discarded. It takes time to learn a new way of Party life but the results show we are learning.

The period has seen a continuing need to fight right opportunism in our ranks, in our policy as well as our tactics. A review later of our approach to the Labour Government and Labour Party will expose some weaknesses of this nature which must be guarded against in the future.

While in this past this has been the main danger and is the cause of most of the mistakes made, it is also important particularly in view of the formulations in this report to continually guard against left sectarianism, against adventurism, against a tendency to rush ahead of the workers. This position is usually reached by our Party relying too much on the views of a few cynical "leftists". These people on the "left" in N. Z., due to a hangover from certain anarcho-syndicalist influences in earlier times among the political left, have always had an undue influence even in our Party. The 1948-51 period is an example ending as it did in the 1951 waterfront defeat.

In 1951, in that 151 days struggle the men of our waterfronts, our mines, (freezing workers in some areas) supported by the best workers in other industries throughout N. Z. gave a taste of their mettle. We can be proud of the fight they then put up it does not alter the fact that they were led into a hopeless fight.

All these factors point to the need for continual vigilance as we struggle to develop a correct policy which will

build our Party and its influence. Today the situation demands a policy that emphasises the sharpening class issues in our country, a policy that leads to the defeat of social democratic ideology in the ranks of the working class, a policy based on a Marxist-Leninist examination of the facts of our situation as it exists today, not on sentiment or wishful thinking.

In the past we have had to stress more and more (as we ourselves have more fully realised its correctness and significance) that the building of our Marxist Party, the widening of its influence is the primary factor, that all other aspects are secondary. Here a big struggle, reflected very often unconsciously in pre-Conference discussion, is being waged against concepts of our Party and its present role which in fact are nothing more nor less than reflections of Labour Party influence in our ranks. From such a source come ideas that the return of a Labour Government is far more important than the gaining of Party strength, indicating a failure to see clearly that a Labour Government will betray the workers' interests to imperialism and that the workers' hope and future lies in a stronger Communist Party. From the same ideological weakness comes the idea that the nursing of a "left" labour group is more important than Party building, or in another sphere, the concept that the winning of official positions in unions is more important than mass influence for Communist Policy. If we build the mass influence we will get the positions, won, not on personality but policy. Labour Governments, "left" Labour groups, union positions, our personal relationship with leaders of the Federation of Labour, etc., all have their importance and must be given consideration and a tactical policy towards them formulated but, let us repeat, this comes after the primary factor, real effort in all spheres to build the Party.

The idea that we are small and because of that will remain small, that our present numbers condition not only the scope of our work now but in the future, is strong in our ranks and must be eliminated. We are small, we have vital work to do now as a Party, we will grow, we will win the leadership of the people. That must be the approach.

At the June National Committee meeting we stressed that the emphasis was out to the masses with our policy. Since then a new comrade, in pre-Conference discussion, raised the point that "Out To The People" is a better slogan in N. Z., as "Out To The Masses" sounds a little alien. I agree and unless others disagree will use this in future.

Our National Committee meetings have stressed that we must get it firmly in our minds that out to the people with our Party policy is the primary activity, that the interests of the Party come first in all things, that its building and the extending of its influence is the first job. This is on the wide political field; it is so in the trade unions, everywhere. We have also to see plainly and explain clearly that this approach in no way harms immediate trade union or other struggles; it in no way undermines unity on small (but because people are interested) vital issues of struggle. The fact is that to stress the primary role of the Party does not mean separation from the working class. The Party is the vanguard of the class. Its strengthening strengthens the whole class in its battles.

When we examine our successes in the "Build The Party" campaign, and their importance at this stage can hardly be overestimated, we find that it is precisely where this concept

has been firmly grasped and applied in everyday Party activity that we have made gains. On the other hand, where little or no success has been recorded we also find the old ideas prevailing, ideas hanging over from the Scott right-opportunist influence. Here the Party has been still working in the old way, still thinking of itself as a small "left" group making its major aim the helping of political Labour.

In the period since our last Conference we have had to fight a continual battle against bureaucracy, against organisational forms that restrict our efforts to meet new people, that disgust and turn them away if we at first succeed.

It was a bureaucracy I repeat, stifling full effort out to the people. It is necessary to mention that those who cried "bureaucracy" about policy around Hungary in 1956 and left us using that catch cry as the reason were talking of something else which was not bureaucracy but leadership, the correct functioning of democratic centralism.

This has been a battle at all levels in our Party organisations. In an attempt to set an example and to cure first things first, the matter was considered by the Political Committee in a report issued in December, 1958, where the work of the National Centre and National leadership was criticised constructively. Personal methods of leadership came in for a lot of fire at that time. Talking down to the people, big noting methods, were found to be aspects of our work and there was a demand for a little more direct personal leadership, a little less leadership from afar and away with wordy, obscure directives. That there has been improvement is shown by the more constructive reaction to National Centre leads over the past year but there is still a long way to go to reach anything like what is necessary if our National Committee work is to be fully effective. In its own way this has been our "rectification" campaign.

But this battle against bureaucratic methods is not one at the top alone. The winning of it there is a big step forward, but it exists right down through our Party. It has a strong hold in our District leaderships, although here, too, we believe the position is improving, but the battle is nowhere near won. It has a strong hold in our branches. At branch level, as at higher levels, it kills advance, it drives recruits away. If comrades think, they will recall, I am sure, many examples of something like this occurring. A Branch leadership having everything cut and dried, a stifling of discussion, a contempt of new ideas from new members, or a "You won't understand this, Comrade" attitude. It is "Communist Conceit"; and it is also bureaucracy.

With a number of new members now in our ranks we must fully realise that we have lost comrades in the past by just such bureaucratic methods. Our new members must be drawn fully into Party life; we must listen to and learn from the new ideas they bring; we must utilise to the full the new contact they open up for our Party in all spheres of its work. This is essential for a maximum advance in the coming period - a blending of experience with the new; a combination out of which emerges better initiative, a balanced but strong drive out with policy to the people.

Our new comrades on the other hand must not be rushed into things they are not ready for as has happened in some cases. Remember it is very seldom the man who sprints the first lap wins a 10,000 metre race.

Page six.

I have already stated that the significance and importance of the gains made by our Party since our last Conference and particularly since the start of the Party Building Campaign in June 1959 must be stressed, but it would be a foolish and bold person who would claim that they are anywhere near what is possible under present conditions. To find the reasons for this, to understand what is still holding us back will bring further successes in the future. We must find out what is the cause of the hesitancy and fear in our move out to the people with our programme; why our fighting programme is being used in practice not as a major means of building our Party, but still as a means of "gingering up" the Labour Party.

If we think about this we will realise that we have not fully understood what is involved in the new and more favourable objective conditions that now exist. A failure to see the depth of the new opportunities leads to clinging on to past methods and tactics with a consequent slowing up of our advance. This has happened.

MORE FAVOURABLE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS -- WHAT DO WE MEAN?

We have spoken many times in the last three years of the more favourable objective conditions that were developing. It is important to fully examine what we mean by these "conditions" and in what way they favour our growth. Then we will have clarity on what our policy means and leads to; we will see better ways of advancing it. In this way we will make sure that what we do now is a real step towards a socialist N. Z.

To date, in discussing the more favourable objective conditions that are developing, we have stressed the impact that the relative decline of imperialism, the growing crisis of capitalism, has had internally in our country and the fact that this impact, its adverse effect on our country, is likely to increase. This has been correct, but as yet we have failed to state clearly how much deeper the development goes than this.

Today we speak of "two worlds" - the world of socialism - the growing, the new, the future - and the world of imperialism - the old, the dying, the decadent. Events since our last Conference have done much to confirm that this is a correct appraisal of the relative positions of socialism and capitalism today. The decisions and political summing up of the meeting of the Communist Parties in Moscow, attended by Comrade Ostler, have been fully confirmed. Socialism has strengthened, Soviet advance is outstanding on all fields, socialism in People's China is triumphant, the rest of the socialist camp advances.

Many countries still do not realise the speed of advance in the socialist countries at this stage. From the days of the first Sputnik, mighty superstructures have speedily been built on the then existing socialist base, but not only that; every day with this speedy advance the impact on the capitalist world and its peoples has increased. This has been so in N. Z. as elsewhere but we do not always grasp its significance; while in the capitalist world new divisions have arisen, the general position relatively weakened.

The very important document issued by the 12 Parties from Moscow in 1957 needs further study. Not only does it outline the great socialist base that has now been constructed and its effects on the whole world, not only does it analyze the nature of imperialist decline, but it also lays the broad

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C.P.N.Z. POLICY REGARDING PARLIAMENTARY
LABOUR PARTY.

1. The Triennial Conference of the C.P.N.Z. was held in Auckland in April 1960, and one of the main subjects discussed was the policy which the C.P.N.Z. should adopt in relation to the Parliamentary Labour Party of New Zealand. The thinking of the Party leaders in this regard is clearly expressed in the report made by the General Secretary of the C.P.N.Z. (V.G. WILCOX) at the opening of the Triennial Conference. A copy of this report is attached.
2. Except for a short period during the 1930's the C.P.N.Z. has always claimed a close relationship with the N.Z. Labour Party and has frequently attempted, without success, to affiliate with that Party. The nearest it came to success was in 1946 when the Auckland Labour Representation Committee strongly supported the Party's attempt to affiliate. Since early 1959, however, there have been signs that the attitude of the C.P.N.Z. towards the present Government has been slowly hardening. The change became fully apparent after WILCOX returned from a visit to Communist China in October 1959, during which visit he received certain advice from the C.C.P. The C.P.N.Z. has made no secret of its change of policy. The main propaganda organ, the "People's Voice", has been used to prepare its readers and the slogan "Change the Policies not the Government, which was adopted in 1959, has become "Demand that the Government change its Policies". The C.P.N.Z. has even gone to the extent of altering the name of its theoretical journal from the "N.Z. Labour Review" to the "N.Z. Communist Review".
3. The reasons advanced by WILCOX in support of this change of policy reflect the confused thinking of the Party hierarchy. WILCOX emphasised the great need of demonstrating to the people of New Zealand that the Communist Party alone represents the workers. He describes the Labour Party as the betrayer of the workers both in the past and in the present and explains that, in the future, the C.P.N.Z. is no longer to be considered an appendage of the Labour Party but rather is to be considered as "the vanguard of the workers". The Party is, in fact, reverting to its position of the early 1930's when, in common with other Communist Parties, it fell into line with the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Third (Communist) International. It will be remembered that the Congress decided to cease united front tactics with Social Democratic parties for the same reasons advanced by WILCOX in his report to the Triennial Conference in New Zealand in 1960.
4. In implementing its policy the C.P.N.Z. proposes to stand as many Communist candidates as possible in all future General and Municipal elections. In addition, the Party will pay special attention to those supporters of the Labour Party who are alleged to be disgruntled with that Party's policy which is described as being "alien to the workers' cause". In electorates where no Communist candidates will be standing the electors will be told that the Labour Party no longer has the interests of the workers at heart and, as the Communist Party grows in strength, Communist candidates will be found for that electorate. In the meantime, the electors will be advised to vote Labour. Where Communist candidates will be standing the whole weight of the C.P.N.Z. will be applied to the election campaign. Perhaps in

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anticipation of the inevitable outcome, WILCOX proposed that the electors be informed that, whatever the result, a vote for the Communist candidate will "not be wasted effort". According to WILCOX the main weapons to be used in those campaigns will be the Party propaganda vehicles "The People's Voice" and the "N.Z. Communist Review", pamphlets and circulars designed for special purposes and the Party's organisation and influence in industry (especially in the Trade Unions), peace movements and women's organisations. Films and literature obtained from overseas sources will also be used by the Party.



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DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION.NATIONAL CONFERENCE, Communist Party of New Zealand.APRIL 14th - 17th, 1960.

THAT, in endorsing the political report presented to this conference by the General Secretary, Cde. V. G. Wilcox, this Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand affirms the necessity of continuing the Build The Party Campaign with new targets.

It stresses that the overfulfilment of the targets in the Campaign is politically necessary if the Party is to achieve the results that the present period demands.

The report of the National Committee in June, 1959, stated the conditions were favourable for building the Party. Despite unevenness in detail targets and from District to District, overall results have shown that this estimate was correct. It is more than ever correct today.

These gains have laid the basis for further advances. They have shown in practice that the key to movement forward is participation of people.

Today the New Zealand people can only make real progress on the basis of a Communist Party united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its roots deep in the people and the people working with and in the ranks of the Party.

Improved methods of Party education are vital to a better understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its integration with practice. This combination of theory and practice enables the Party to develop wider ideological understanding of its role amongst its own members and the people as a whole.

Marxism-Leninism is a theory of the development of society. It accepts as a basic tenet that people make history, that the class that is exploited, the working class, is the revolutionary class destined to build socialism on a world scale. This theory which has already become a reality over a large part of the world is directly opposed to the class collaborationist theories of Social Democracy.

Because Marxism bases itself upon the movement of the revolutionary class it must prevail. How soon depends upon the ability of the Communist Party to apply that theory in practice.

This mass line method of work among the people cannot be developed fully unless the same methods of work are applied inside the Party. It ensures flexibility and a broad approach so necessary in the struggle against manifestations of revisionism and sectarianism.

The role of the Party press, the "People's Voice", the "Labour Review" Branch and Industrial Bulletins, cannot be overemphasised. It is here that the Party places on record its political estimates and comments on the affairs of the day. It is here that are listed the struggles of the working class. It is the working class who, by their acceptance or rejection of the Party press, indicate what their opinions of it are.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND.

REPORT TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

14th, 15th, 16th, 17th April, 1960.

Presented by Comrade V.G.Wilcox,
General Secretary, C.P.N.Z.

COMRADES,

This Conference of our Party is a very important one in our Party history. We have many vital decisions to make, decisions that can be of great benefit to the Party and the working class of New Zealand in the days of class battle ahead.

The international and internal situation that faces us today shows that since our last Conference three years ago, the world camp of socialism led by the Soviet Union has gone from strength to strength while the relative decline of imperialism, noted then, has continued. This situation has produced objective conditions which have made more favourable our opportunities in New Zealand for building the strength and influence of our Party.

The crisis in the imperialist camp has with quickening tempo produced a crisis in the world camp of social democracy. This development is reflected in the present problems raised in the New Zealand Labour Party and in the ineffectual policy of our Labour Government. The workers who have supported Labour to date show little enthusiasm and in some cases hostility.

This makes it imperative that at this Conference we tackle, not in an academic way but in a way that leads to easy application, the problems of our Party's attitude to social democracy in 1960. The fact that we are in the era of the death of imperialism - of the victory of world socialism - has produced the decline in the influence of the Labour Parties. Loyalty to some degree still exists but the enthusiasm, the confident faith, has gone.

Today when one speaks to workers about the Labour Party, or when they raise the matter with us, it is hard to realise what a real mass organisation of activists the Labour Party was, when it so overwhelmingly won the 1935 election. It is hard to remember the enthusiasm that then existed and the wide hopes of a socialist future. Compare that to the Labour Party of today, a Party with a skeletal organisation, relying for a working base on the affiliation fees of trade unions grudgingly given, a Party that has had to stop its national weekly paper, the "Standard", because of lack of support, and we can easily see that many adverse things have happened to the Labour Party in recent years. It is but a shadow of its former self. It is a far cry to the early "Maoriland Worker", to the fiery I.W.W.-ism of the early Semple, to the Labour leader Holland who wrote pamphlets on dialectical materialism.

There is a new situation in our Labour movement and tactics designed for a different situation are not likely to prove successful under these circumstances. Hence much of this Conference report will be taken up with this vital question. However, we have to carefully evaluate the new situation; make sure we do not overestimate the decline of the Labour Party influence on workers' minds (it is still very strong); otherwise we will in the end get into a very left sectarian situation isolated from the mass of workers and our position will be

no better than when we were committing right opportunist errors on policy and tactics.

We can, as will be shown later when we more carefully examine the position, demonstrate that in this new situation where correct policy has been boldly advanced, where the role and necessity of our Party has been explained, where our tactics have been well thought out, we can make gains in both membership and influence. A clear indication of this is the advance made in membership, paper sales and general activity through our "Build the Party" campaign launched in June, 1959. This was also shown in the success of the appeal for finance to save our paper, the "People's Voice", during the libel issue last year. The quick response and rapid overfulfilment showed that we had in the past very often underestimated our base and support, and overwritten our difficulties. The same applied to the Christmas appeal which was obtained without any very special campaign and the result - double what we asked for. This at a time when money is not so plentiful as far as any spare cash workers have to donate.

It all shows that, with correct policy and work, gains can be made today. We have stressed that they must be made if we are to have even the bare minimum of the political base that is necessary to face the big battles for socialism in New Zealand that lie ahead.

OUR PREVIOUS DECISIONS. It will be useful at this stage to look briefly at the decisions of our last Conference and of our National Committee and Political Committee meetings since. It will give some picture of how we have arrived at the point of view of this report.

Comrades will recall that in 1957 our Party had just emerged from a struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois influence in its ranks; a situation that had come to a head around the 1956 events in Hungary and Soviet action there, had to be cleared up. We had had the hysterical reaction of former General Secretary Scott. Well, we know you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and we could not make a Communist of Scott and the few others who went with him. Still, it is a fact that Scott and the others only reflected under N. Z. conditions the general rise of revisionism on a world scale. This trend brought out sharply in our Party in N. Z. ideological differences that had been partly hidden or unrecognised before. As we noted then, the class structure of N. Z., with its economic base and capitalist prosperity still dependent on export of farm produce and their price, our big urban and rural middle class, creates a situation making our working class itself very susceptible to such influences. Therefore our Conference correctly stressed that right opportunism and revisionism was a major danger to be guarded against in the future, insisting that there be no relaxing of vigilance merely because of the total organisational defeat of the Scott faction in our ranks.

These were correct and essential decisions with the open attempt to disrupt our Party and replace it by a so-called "democratic" Communist Party but a few months old. It was natural that our Conference should spend much time on reaching clarity on ideological questions. This was essential if a correct base for advance in the future was to be established. This 1957 Conference of our Party concluded with the firm conviction that many roadblocks that prevented activity had been removed: that steps were being taken to overcome our isolation from the people: that the days of incessant talking, of alleged agreement on policy but no action, were over. Conference

considered the Party had emerged stronger from the inner Party struggle although a few had left our ranks. The time had come when we could make small but significant gains in the coming period if we took our Party to the workers, to the people, and if we concentrated our small forces on the most important things, if we made our main effort in the ranks of the industrial workers. Past policy in this direction was confirmed. The call was to test it in practice. Looking back it was a good Conference. It cleared up many points; it did point correctly the general way ahead but, in retrospect, an obvious weakness was the lack of clarity and stress on the role of a Communist Party in N. Z. at that time. The future role of a Communist Party was made clear, but it still left our Party in practice a rather peculiar appendage of the Labour Movement. It was not clearly seen to be not only the Party of the future but the Party of today, under the developing conditions that faced us, the hard core of the Labour Movement then and now. This in fact must lead to the leading role of the Party degenerating into tactical manoeuvring among various sections of the Labour Movement, instead of decisive leadership on policy.

But overall it is correct to say that since that Conference a small but vital gain has been made by our Party and the general correctness of policy confirmed in action. Not that there have not been many weaknesses, many omissions and some misunderstandings. It is also true that some new factors have emerged. There is, therefore, no room for complacency at this Conference.

A brief review of Political and National Committee major decisions confirms this.

The fight against the heritage of the past has continued. That heritage that makes it so easy to talk but not act; to live within ourselves in our present small Party; to hide from, and to fear the people. All this is not easily discarded. It takes time to learn a new way of Party life but the results show we are learning.

The period has seen a continuing need to fight right opportunism in our ranks, in our policy as well as our tactics. A review later of our approach to the Labour Government and Labour Party will expose some weaknesses of this nature which must be guarded against in the future.

While in this past this has been the main danger and is the cause of most of the mistakes made, it is also important particularly in view of the formulations in this report to continually guard against left sectarianism, against adventurism, against a tendency to rush ahead of the workers. This position is usually reached by our Party relying too much on the views of a few cynical "leftists". These people on the "left" in N. Z., due to a hangover from certain anarcho-syndicalist influences in earlier times among the political left, have always had an undue influence even in our Party. The 1948-51 period is an example ending as it did in the 1951 waterfront defeat.

In 1951, in that 151 days struggle the men of our waterfronts, our mines, (freezing workers in some areas) supported by the best workers in other industries throughout N. Z. gave a taste of their mettle. We can be proud of the fight they then put up it does not alter the fact that they were led into a hopeless fight.

All these factors point to the need for continual vigilance as we struggle to develop a correct policy which will

build our Party and its influence. Today the situation demands a policy that emphasises the sharpening class issues in our country, a policy that leads to the defeat of social democratic ideology in the ranks of the working class, a policy based on a Marxist-Leninist examination of the facts of our situation as it exists today, not on sentiment or wishful thinking.

In the past we have had to stress more and more (as we ourselves have more fully realised its correctness and significance) that the building of our Marxist Party, the widening of its influence is the primary factor, that all other aspects are secondary. Here a big struggle, reflected very often unconsciously in pre-Conference discussion, is being waged against concepts of our Party and its present role which in fact are nothing more nor less than reflections of Labour Party influence in our ranks. From such a source come ideas that the return of a Labour Government is far more important than the gaining of Party strength, indicating a failure to see clearly that a Labour Government will betray the workers' interests to imperialism and that the workers' hope and future lies in a stronger Communist Party. From the same ideological weakness comes the idea that the nursing of a "left" labour group is more important than Party building, or in another sphere, the concept that the winning of official positions in unions is more important than mass influence for Communist Policy. If we build the mass influence we will get the positions, won, not on personality but policy. Labour Governments, "left" Labour groups, union positions, our personal relationship with leaders of the Federation of Labour, etc., all have their importance and must be given consideration and a tactical policy towards them formulated but, let us repeat, this comes after the primary factor, real effort in all spheres to build the Party.

The idea that we are small and because of that will remain small, that our present numbers condition not only the scope of our work now but in the future, is strong in our ranks and must be eliminated. We are small, we have vital work to do now as a Party, we will grow, we will win the leadership of the people. That must be the approach.

At the June National Committee meeting we stressed that the emphasis was out to the masses with our policy. Since then a new comrade, in pre-Conference discussion, raised the point that "Out To The People" is a better slogan in N. Z., as "Out To The Masses" sounds a little alien. I agree and unless others disagree will use this in future.

Our National Committee meetings have stressed that we must get it firmly in our minds that out to the people with our Party policy is the primary activity, that the interests of the Party come first in all things, that its building and the extending of its influence is the first job. This is on the wide political field; it is so in the trade unions, everywhere. We have also to see plainly and explain clearly that this approach in no way harms immediate trade union or other struggles; it in no way undermines unity on small (but because people are interested) vital issues of struggle. The fact is that to stress the primary role of the Party does not mean separation from the working class. The Party is the vanguard of the class. Its strengthening strengthens the whole class in its battles.

When we examine our successes in the "Build The Party" campaign, and their importance at this stage can hardly be overestimated, we find that it is precisely where this concept

has been firmly grasped and applied in everyday Party activity that we have made gains. On the other hand, where little or no success has been recorded we also find the old ideas prevailing, ideas hanging over from the Scott right-opportunist influence. Here the Party has been still working in the old way, still thinking of itself as a small "left" group making its major aim the helping of political Labour.

In the period since our last Conference we have had to fight a continual battle against bureaucracy, against organisational forms that restrict our efforts to meet new people, that disgust and turn them away if we at first succeed.

It was a bureaucracy I repeat, stifling full effort out to the people. It is necessary to mention that those who cried "bureaucracy" about policy around Hungary in 1956 and left us using that catch cry as the reason were talking of something else which was not bureaucracy but leadership, the correct functioning of democratic centralism.

This has been a battle at all levels in our Party organisations. In an attempt to set an example and to cure first things first, the matter was considered by the Political Committee in a report issued in December, 1958, where the work of the National Centre and National leadership was criticised constructively. Personal methods of leadership came in for a lot of fire at that time. Talking down to the people, big noting methods, were found to be aspects of our work and there was a demand for a little more direct personal leadership, a little less leadership from afar and away with wordy, obscure directives. That there has been improvement is shown by the more constructive reaction to National Centre leads over the past year but there is still a long way to go to reach anything like what is necessary if our National Committee work is to be fully effective. In its own way this has been our "rectification" campaign.

But this battle against bureaucratic methods is not one at the top alone. The winning of it there is a big step forward, but it exists right down through our Party. It has a strong hold in our District leaderships, although here, too, we believe the position is improving, but the battle is nowhere near won. It has a strong hold in our branches. At branch level, as at higher levels, it kills advance, it drives recruits away. If comrades think, they will recall, I am sure, many examples of something like this occurring. A Branch leadership having everything cut and dried, a stifling of discussion, a contempt of new ideas from new members, or a "You won't understand this, Comrade" attitude. It is "Communist Conceit"; and it is also bureaucracy.

With a number of new members now in our ranks we must fully realise that we have lost comrades in the past by just such bureaucratic methods. Our new members must be drawn fully into Party life; we must listen to and learn from the new ideas they bring; we must utilise to the full the new contact they open up for our Party in all spheres of its work. This is essential for a maximum advance in the coming period - a blending of experience with the new; a combination out of which emerges better initiative, a balanced but strong drive out with policy to the people.

Our new comrades on the other hand must not be rushed into things they are not ready for as has happened in some cases. Remember it is very seldom the man who sprints the first lap wins a 10,000 metre race.

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I have already stated that the significance and importance of the gains made by our Party since our last Conference and particularly since the start of the Party Building Campaign in June 1959 must be stressed, but it would be a foolish and bold person who would claim that they are anywhere near what is possible under present conditions. To find the reasons for this, to understand what is still holding us back will bring further successes in the future. We must find out what is the cause of the hesitancy and fear in our move out to the people with our programme; why our fighting programme is being used in practice not as a major means of building our Party, but still as a means of "gingering up" the Labour Party.

If we think about this we will realise that we have not fully understood what is involved in the new and more favourable objective conditions that now exist. A failure to see the depth of the new opportunities leads to clinging on to past methods and tactics with a consequent slowing up of our advance. This has happened.

MORE FAVOURABLE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS -- WHAT DO WE MEAN?

We have spoken many times in the last three years of the more favourable objective conditions that were developing. It is important to fully examine what we mean by these "conditions" and in what way they favour our growth. Then we will have clarity on what our policy means and leads to; we will see better ways of advancing it. In this way we will make sure that what we do now is a real step towards a socialist N. Z.

To date, in discussing the more favourable objective conditions that are developing, we have stressed the impact that the relative decline of imperialism, the growing crisis of capitalism, has had internally in our country and the fact that this impact, its adverse effect on our country, is likely to increase. This has been correct, but as yet we have failed to state clearly how much deeper the development goes than this.

Today we speak of "two worlds" - the world of socialism - the growing, the new, the future - and the world of imperialism - the old, the dying, the decadent. Events since our last Conference have done much to confirm that this is a correct appraisal of the relative positions of socialism and capitalism today. The decisions and political summing up of the meeting of the Communist Parties in Moscow, attended by Comrade Ostler, have been fully confirmed. Socialism has strengthened, Soviet advance is outstanding on all fields, socialism in People's China is triumphant, the rest of the socialist camp advances.

Many countries still do not realise the speed of advance in the socialist countries at this stage. From the days of the first Sputnik, mighty superstructures have speedily been built on the then existing socialist base, but not only that; every day with this speedy advance the impact on the capitalist world and its peoples has increased. This has been so in N. Z. as elsewhere but we do not always grasp its significance; while in the capitalist world new divisions have arisen, the general position relatively weakened.

The very important document issued by the 12 Parties from Moscow in 1957 needs further study. Not only does it outline the great socialist base that has now been constructed and its effects on the whole world, not only does it analyze the nature of imperialist decline, but it also lays the broad

base of the development of Marxism-Leninism in our times. It contains many danger warnings for all Parties in the days ahead.

I will quote just one -- "Of vital importance in the present stage is intensified struggle against opportunist trends in the working class and Communist movements. The meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties ----

The experience of the international Communist movement shows that resolute defence by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Marxist-Leninist unity of their ranks and the banning of factions and groups sapping unity guarantee the successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the establishment of socialism and communism."

Out of the situation outlined in the 12 Parties' Statement has come the possibility of positive results from a Summit meeting, a period of peace, the era of peaceful co-existence. That this will develop is not certain. The "cold" war advocates in capitalism are only held back by the growing gap in decisive weapons and the overall strengthening of the world peace forces from a continuation of that policy to its logical conclusion of total war against the socialist world. But the prospects today for world peace are bright.

We need to consider what this involves. Some comrades seem to think that peaceful co-existence means we are all going to lie down together in peace in our own little sectors of the capitalist world. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Peaceful co-existence comes from a relative weakening of imperialism and a strengthening of the forces opposed to it. It means that the capitalist world enters into economic competition with socialism at a time when capitalist crisis is deepening and its ability to compete ever-lessening. On the other hand, socialism and its economy is every day becoming stronger, its ability to compete successfully ever-growing.

In the capitalist world, what is this likely to produce? In the first place, a growth of the contradictions within imperialism to a point of strain and even possible war within the capitalist camp. The trend in this direction can already be seen in the development of relations of Britain and West Germany, in spite of the all-out efforts of "Big Brother" U.S.A. to preserve a semblance of unity in the camp of the West; in N.A.T.O.; and in the approach to the socialist camp. This trend is likely to increase as the impact of the strength of socialist economy hits a weakening capitalist economy. The strain around the European Common Market is but another example.

Internally, economic competition with socialism will place added strain on capitalist economy in all countries. The economic effect of huge war budgets will be partially removed. Competition will be sharp and out of that sharpness will come a drive to intensify the exploitation of the working class, farmers and all outside the realm of monopoly. In other words, the boss will have to get more from the worker for less, if he is to compete with socialism at a pr fit for himself. The class struggle will intensify internally with the world development of peaceful co-existence in the long run.

If this was not so then peaceful co-existence would mean that capitalism has found some way of perpetuating itself. Shear nonsense. Or that a way has been found to pass from

capitalism to socialism without class struggle.

Arising from the Leninist concept of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems, there sometimes grows the incorrect idea that co-existence in the ideological sphere also exists. But socialism will continue to grow stronger and capitalism weaker, thus confirming the correctness or otherwise of the ideology of the different systems. Comrade Krushchov makes no bones about the superiority of socialist economy in this coming era.

The approach in this report is to make clear within our ranks what "peaceful co-existence" is. It is not our objective -- that is socialism, but remember it is something of great importance to achieve at present; important not only for our Party but for the whole of humanity. The alternative is world war as will be stated in a few minutes. Peaceful co-existence gives the working peoples and their allies the chance in peace to struggle for better living standards, to fight the inroads to monopoly. Out of that struggle, together with the rapid advance in the peoples' living standards and cultural levels in the socialist lands will come the desire for and the need for socialism in the present capitalist world.

This point with its consequences must be fully understood. Peaceful co-existence does not guarantee a peaceful path to socialism within each particular country. Today we should have no illusions about that. The capitalist class will fight. The degree and methods of that final fight will be determined by the relative strengths of the opposing forces, but as a revolutionary Party it would be foolish for the Communist Party to expect the capitalist class to wait until it is too weak to act. The menace of a new fascism is still before us. The fight will still be bitter and from our standards anything but peaceful.

Today we see the major imperialism, particularly the U.S.A. interfering in the internal affairs of small nations. This applies particularly to colonial and semi-colonial countries of the recent past. Guarantees of aid against "internal communist aggression" are the order of the day. We nearly saw intervention in Laos and war against socialist North Vietnam recently. It was obvious that our membership of S.E.A.T.O. would have committed us on the side of the U.S. imperialists but more of that later. Eisenhower recently enlarged the idea of the Monroe doctrine to include "aid" to South American states faced with "internal subversion". Because of their overall weakness a large section of the imperialist ruling class are obviously looking more and more to "small" wars whether open or under the cloak of aid to a satellite government. They purpose to stop the advance of socialism. This is not a pipe dream. It is happening in the world right now.

An understanding of these factors brings out more clearly the need for a Party such as the Communist Party and undermines ideas about a new "left" Labour, bent on the "peaceful" but "genuine" road to socialism. Indeed, we see that such developments, unless the Party strength grows and wins such elements to a revolutionary position, are but added weapons for the capitalist class. Today it is Nash, the Labour leader, who answers the call of Washington just as quickly as the National Party leaders did a few years ago. Only our strength, our growth, workers' mass support for our Party, will create the conditions where there will be no repetition of such a performance by anyone inside the Labour Movement in the future.

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To return to the development of a period of peaceful co-existence with the other factors as the background: this appears to be the likely outcome of the situation on a world basis as we now see it. But this is not a certainty. The "cold war" group with its reliance on full preparation for world war may yet prove dominant in the capitalist camp. They are still strong and continuing the "Dulles" policy, in spite of the fact that such a policy leads to total war, to a quick capitalist suicide because of socialist military and scientific strength. The fight for world peace must still be the hard core of our work.

But if the "cold war" policy reached its logical conclusion -- the "hot" war with its millions killed, maimed and diseased -- it would be but a final intensification of class struggle under capitalism. Such a situation may bring the peaceful development of socialism afterwards, but the prelude would certainly not be peaceful.

This aspect is stressed to indicate that, whatever the immediate future brings, how correct is the Chinese Party when it points out that the world Communist Parties should have no silly illusions about easy roads to socialism. Socialism has been achieved by over a third of the world's peoples but nowhere without class struggle. Looseness in considering some formulations arising from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on this question did not aid our work. The Declaration of the 12 Parties from Moscow in 1957 brought clarity. Lack of clarity on such basic questions leads to a failure in practice to make the building of our revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of New Zealand, the basic and major aspect of all activity and Party work.

Before proceeding further, it is desirable to repeat the point made that the fight for world peace is still the hard core of our work. In New Zealand the necessity of making the working class peace-conscious stands out. It is this lack of consciousness that makes them fail to see that a programme of progressive economic demands such as that presented by the Federation of Labour cannot be achieved if we continue our present commitments, commitments that could lead to war. An example is our membership of S.E.A.T.O. This weakness is reflected in our broad peace movement where direct working class representation is very small. Our trade unions must play an active role here. Correct work saw good representation of workers at the recent N. Z. - Australia Peace Congress from some areas. But it was an exception.

THE WORLD CRISIS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

I now come to the consideration of social democracy and the Labour Party in this new situation.

We know that out of revolutionary beginnings, social democracy -- in the era of imperialist advance and growth -- developed as a theory and organised force devoted to under-mining class struggles. In practice, the central approach was an is the legal obtaining of concessions from capitalism, not the changing of the system, thereby perpetuating the privileged position of the employing class. Its material basis was the fact that the working class in imperialist countries received a small share of the wealth exploited from the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Thus we find it widespread in the ranks of the workers in former strong imperialist countries, weak or non-existent in former colonial or semi-colonial countries.

Its hold on the working class and their allies has rested and still rests on capitalist ability to give "concessions" to the exploited to keep them quiet. Growing capitalist crisis has already in many countries, such as France and Italy, created a position where this is not possible. Now on a world scale, this position is becoming a general one. In Britain, we find the Labour Party even in opposition declining; heart-rending examination of the reasons are taking place, but no solution found because the solution can be advanced only by a revolutionary Party. It is no exaggeration to say that social democracy is in world crisis and decline. This is logical and must occur with capitalist world decline, with the restricting of the imperialist world. It is the development that, in fact, we now see occurring in our own Labour Movement, where social democratic theory lingering on from the past predominates and where Communist Party influence with its revolutionary Marxist theory is small.

Labour Parties in this crisis everywhere fall back on attempts to quickly remove any pointer to their "socialist" past. The removal of the old objective (never attempted by any Labour Party anywhere in the world) of "The socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange" becomes a fighting issue. They are all explaining they don't want to socialise everything, that there is a place for private enterprise (for monopoly in fact). The avowed capitalist Parties overseas and here all admit for that matter that they see advantages in nationalisation, in some major but low profit sections of economy. At this stage it is hard to find a difference between the approach of a Labour Party and that of, say, a National Party in N. Z., on this fundamental point. They want to attract the middle class vote by being in fact only a little more liberal than the Tories in appearance. In N. Z. historically the Labour Party is as outdated as was the Liberal Party in the twenties.

BUT ON A WORLD SCALE, IN COUNTRIES WHERE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IS STRONG BUT IN CRISIS AND LOSING INFLUENCE, CAN IT BE SAID THAT THE LOSS PASSES IN ANY LARGE DEGREE AS A GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP AND INFLUENCE TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PARTIES, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES?

It would be mechanical to expect a total transfer to take place automatically. Many factors to prevent such a happening stand in the way, including the effect of a very long period of violent anti-Communist propaganda. Still the question is valid and worth consideration because, on the surface, it does appear that the Party gains have been very small. The question arises, could they have been bigger with a more correct policy, with better tactics, with more active work among the working class? It is a question we have to ask; it is one, no doubt, for Britain, for Australia, for Sweden, for all countries where social democratic ideology has had such a hold in the workers' ranks.

Frankly, while some gains have been made by our Parties (as they have in N. Z.) no major advance has been achieved. Such a position demands a full consideration, as it is a dangerous one from a working class approach. It leaves the road open to middle class demagoguery. It could lead to a new fascism. That the solution is not an easy one is evident from the fact that many Parties in the bigger countries have as yet failed to find all the reasons or the total solution.

Today, as far as further advance in New Zealand is concerned, it is our central problem too. Our position in relation to the class enemy is clear-cut, but the tactics necessary to break the hold of social-democratic ideology over the mass of workers - assisted as it is by the very strength of the middle-

class in New Zealand - is, as yet, not clear. In New Zealand disillusionment with the Labour Party leads many to Social Credit ideas.

Our Party programme is plain, both in the objectives as set out in "N.Z. Road To Socialism" and in the immediate programme based on the fight against monopoly now as a stepping stone to our objective. In discussions overseas the general correctness of our policy has been confirmed, its Marxist approach considered to be along the right lines. This but underwrites our own conclusions, based on our experience in the recent campaigns. Success has been gained where our Party has gone forward openly and boldly. We see no reason to question the basic point of our policy which puts the Party, its building and the extending of its influence, first, followed by the need to concentrate our major effort among the workers in industry as the necessary prelude to any major and lasting advance, together with an immediate fighting programme against monopoly.

Discussions overseas have been helpful but, naturally, no other Party can solve our problems, so any reference to overseas discussions must be kept in perspective. Our problems have to be solved by the New Zealand Party, but discussions and exchange of ideas can and do help. In fact, until recently, our Party has suffered as a result of lack of personal contact of its leadership with other major Parties, particularly those of the socialist world. Even now, some comrades regard overseas visits as holidays. They do not see the positive results. They do not see that from time to time for us, as for other Parties, they are essential. It is impossible to belittle the help that their wide experience and Marxist knowledge can give through personal contact.

From all this, the question appears to be -- do we approach our work, our propaganda, after guarding against any stupid sectarianism, with the firm conviction that the Party comes first and is the most important, that it must be built now, its influence extended and that everything that stops this must be destroyed? A second question of almost equal importance, which logically follows if the answer to the above is negative, is - do we still put our policy forward in such a way that allows unnecessary room for illusions to continue about working class solutions being possible through social democracy, through Labour Parties? I think we do. In fact, I would go as far as to say we are still helping to create these illusions. This is totally incorrect.

If the answer to the first question is "no" and the answer to the second is as I suggest, then we are committing two errors. It is a major political weakness.

What does this imply? It implies failure to understand what the socialist victories and imperialist decline on a world scale mean to us. It means a lack of understanding of, and reasons for, the present decline of Labour Party influence, and consequently of the over-forward role of a Communist Party today. It has the fatal weakness of seeing social-democracy as being in its prime, not in its decline. It means we turn from the path that leads to victory, that we accept complacently the fact that our Party is only small and its influence restricted, and believe this is as it should be. We get into a position that we can only build our Party somewhere later. For us at present, let's worry about the Union first, the Peace Movement first, the 'left' in the Labour Party first, or something else, and after that -- well, we can start to worry

about the Communist Party. It is not leadership; it leads to tailing, to being a 'ginger' group of something, not the hard and vital core. It is opportunism. It can lead to revisionism, because it in fact negates the primary role and need for a Communist Party.

But on a number of occasions have we not acted in this way; have we not ended up in this position, although starting out with the opposite intention, with the correct approach in mind? Analysing this however, let us make sure we do not get matters out of proportion, because it is also a fact that, on many occasions, Party Policy has been presented in a very correct manner, has widened Party contact and influence and has increased the membership of our Party.

To begin, take the position we have got into in regard to national elections. A correct attitude, if what I have said is right, would be one on which the main emphasis, the main drive, is for Communists in Parliament, for increased Party contact and influence, and to use the favourable conditions of an election campaign for Party building. These would be the first considerations.

Of course, we have said just that many times. But in practice, has it worked out that way? Is it not a fact that the return of Labour assumes greater and greater emphasis as we have proceeded? Is it not a fact that sharp criticism of the very weak points of Labour policy has receded into the background - in some cases never to be raised, as in the last election on the £100 income tax issue? (We actually supported giving the wealthy as well as others the £100 tax rebate!) Is it not a fact that we have created unnecessary illusions about a Labour Government, about what it will do, both internationally and internally under the conditions of the capitalist world at present?

Our propaganda, our tactical approach has left many unclear on class issues. It has perpetuated the illusion that in Labour we get a "workers" Government, as opposed to an "employers" Government if National is in. Out of it has come the fact that there are a number of readers of the P.V. good Party supporters, who after many years of reading our Party paper still will not vote Communist, still hang on to ideas of "making sure" by voting for the "lesser evil", Labour. I personally know of several people in this position, good Party supporters in general, but who will not vote for us. For the fact is that our policy makes the position clear, but the tactical way we are presenting it hands the election day votes to the Labour Party. We end up over-emphasising what can be achieved inside the social democratic organisations by pressure because they have a workers' base. We de-value the Party and its role.

We have not yet convinced the people at election periods that a vote for the Communist candidate under our "first past the post" system is not a vote wasted even if a Communist is not elected. We don't make them see that they just cannot afford to vote anything but Communist because that is the one thing that really hits (as far as elections are concerned) the capitalist class and the parties of capitalism, both National, Labour and Social Credit. We don't make them see that Communist election victories can only be started by their votes now.

All this does not mean that we are not right to show concern about who is to be the Government, in view of the fact that we are not as yet an alternative Government. But it should be the secondary factor, not primary. While not opposing official Labour in seats, we are not contesting, we must make plain that our Party is the important thing, that to-day everywhere Labour, whether honest or not, because of its capitalist ideas, betrays the workers - that it has done, is doing and will do it in the future..

Let me add that if the conclusions in this report are correct, then at the coming General Elections this year our tactics should be to stand the maximum number of candidates consistent with our strength. In electorates where there is no Party candidate we would advise the workers to vote Labour, but we would also explain why this is no solution, and that it is only a temporary phase and that shortly we must be strong enough, with their support, to contest very widely in the interest of every worker, every progressive. Some comrades find it hard to make this kind of approach confidently. Let us remember when all is said and done it is not much different from what the L.P. did and the advice they gave workers when the latter were leaving the old Liberal-Labour Alliance in earlier times.

I know some comrades will still fall back on the argument that the Labour Movement is composed in overwhelming majority of workers and that therefore this alters things. It does not if the ideology is capitalist. The fact is that today any movement that does not adopt a revolutionary working class position will immediately betray itself on international policy, where the class issue is at its sharpest, and subsequently on internal policy as far as workers interests are concerned. "Left" Labour will do it, no matter how honest, if still based on illusions of peaceful 'democratic' socialism, of reforming the system. They will do it in days to come more effectively than the discredited "right", if the ideology is not changed.

Elements moving left in the Labour Party must be won to a class understanding of the issues to-day; they must be won to a

revolutionary position. Only a strong Communist Party can exert the influence inside the whole Labour Movement to achieve that. A Communist Party that submerges itself on election issues, or that basically sees its most important task as helping 'left' Labour, will not be able to do it. The concept of 'unite with and struggle against' has never been more applicable than on an issue such as this. On limited progressive points, we unite, but we are the vital section in any unity. We must exert increasing influence. To do so we must build and gain in strength.

If this does not come first, the concept of "unite with and struggle against" becomes one of "unite with and submerge into". The latter has occurred in many aspects of Party activity, as well as in election work. A correct approach has been our endeavour to get mass movement in the workers' ranks for a fighting workers' policy against monopoly, irrespective of Government, but with particular emphasis on raising this inside the whole Labour Movement, of getting organised opposition, while we have a Labour Government.

From this it becomes clear that such slogans as "Return a Labour Government and so many Communists" are very suspect. It is doubtful even if one such as "Return so many Communists and a Labour Government" expresses clearly our position. With an election this year we will have to develop slogans that, without being sectarian, clearly bring out the class position and the issue.

With regard to the importance of not fostering any illusions about the class position of various sections contesting, a brief look at our tactics in the Municipal Elections in Auckland last year will be helpful. Here the Party had a difficult task, in that it was for the first time faced with the handling of the retreat of Labour from the electoral field and its submergence in the United Independents. It was plain that this was done by them to remove any ideas of class issues being involved as far as Labour people were concerned.

In a private discussion while in China I explained the Labour Party retreat in Auckland and the comment was: "I hope you did not try to get them to stand". The fact is that if they retreat, it is O.K. by us; we may not say so publicly, but that is the position. There is a Party, our Party, which will make the class stand and battle on class issues on behalf of the working class. To peacefully let Labour fade right away and come forward all the stronger ourselves will not happen many times, but it happened in Auckland last year.

But did we do that? No. We spent some time and worry trying to get Labour to stand official. We did not face the fact that this was but an open expression of the fact of social democratic decline. It was not our job to revive, but to try to replace by winning the mass of workers to allegiance to our own Party. Then, of course, comes the question - why only six candidates? The answer to that is plain if we look at the Auckland Party leaflet. A very fine effort in general, but inherent in it is that sponsoring of illusions about Labour and the class position. A quote from its conclusion illustrates my point :-

"Apart from the Communist candidates mentioned above (whose record of service to the working people of New Zealand is well known), the Party will soon issue a complete list of other candidates who would help transform the City Council from a businessmen's Council into a Council that serves the working people".

A working class council: This was just not possible. There were six Communists and 21 are needed on the Council. We were going to find enough other candidates who would unite with us on a class basis to make a workers' council. You see, it is sheer rot. But what dangerous illusions we create and perpetuate in this way; how we undermine our all-out effort to make our Party a major force, the leadership of the working and all progressive people in New Zealand.

(The Auckland example from pre-conference material is quoted. Worse could be used from elsewhere.)

All this does not mean that we have nothing to say about Civic reform in Auckland with its Labour men, as candidates, etc. We may even give voting advice for that matter. But we must not let anyone think they will get a workers' policy, except from their support for our candidates. To give voting support is different from giving endorsement in toto on policy. For that matter, as indicated earlier, the Labour Party in New Zealand in its youth, when the Liberal Party was still a force, worked out tactics quite effectively on that issue, whilst all the time having the tactical objective of driving the Conservatives and Liberals into one political Party.

Personally I think that this political weakness of regarding our Party, its views, its propaganda, as secondary, of minor importance and that of other sections of the Labour Movement as more important, is pretty deep. The fact that sharper tactics, a greater emphasis on our own direct activity is every-more needed in the more favourable objective conditions outlined earlier, has not been as yet fully understood.

But weaknesses do not stop there. In Auckland we were faced with the chance of standing a candidate in a by-election early this year for the Transport Board. The Party has a very effective policy opposed to that of the big-business-dominated Auckland Transport Board. It was correctly decided to stand a candidate. The reasons were not only on transport policy alone but also because of the need for the Party to use every opportunity available to make the workers realise that the workers' Party in Auckland on both national and local issues was the Communist Party. We wanted to make it plain that the Labour Party might drop out but our Party, as a Party of the workers, would be in the fight. That this approach was understood by an increasing number of workers was shown by our increased vote in the Council elections.

In these elections last November we saw the Labour Party vote slump in Dunedin, Wellington, Christchurch, everywhere. In Onehunga a suburb of Auckland with a traditional labour background in municipal as well as national politics it actually dropped by half. While this happened the Communist vote, except Christchurch, went up. A significant fact.

And so a candidate was stood in the Transport Board by-election and in a very small poll (as was to be expected in a municipal by-election) our candidate received over 10% of the total vote. A good result, but far less than we could have got. A higher vote would have had national repercussions. A more effective campaign by the whole Party membership in Auckland, would have produced a higher vote.

The question is, why didn't our whole Party mobilise in the campaign. The answer is that they did not realise its political importance. Was that their fault? To some degree yes, but where lies the main fault? The fault lies with the leadership, particularly the National Centre, for failing to realise that

what it saw possible from an effective campaign, might not necessarily be seen by the average comrade, who was not so closely associated with the formulation of policy and tactics. We did not see the need on this, and every other such occasion, to conduct a political campaign in our Party to win conviction, although we decided this would be necessary at a P.C. meeting. To issue organisational directions on what to do was but to continue the old methods of the past. Therefore we did not get full mobilisation or a full vote. On the other hand the over 10% of the total poll showed the trend to a higher Communist vote. Similar examples from the whole country could be quoted.

Already we have enough examples to show that it is not sufficient to say you agree with the policy and the suggested tactics. It is vital to think, check and think again. For example, I can quote the position of one section which was very worried about who would be the coming Labour Candidate. They had been approached on this issue by progressives in the L.P. - locally and by the possible candidate himself as to whether he should stand. Well, quite rightly they wanted to have an opinion to say something. But they had got the cart before the horse. They had not yet considered the question of a Party candidate in the area, and whether we should stand one if at all possible. They certainly had not thought that before proceeding further all good progressive workers should be told to get behind our candidate. That is the message of this report on the coming elections. It was clearly stated in pre-conference material-a dozen other examples of how it is so easy to get back into the old rut could be quoted.

But when we speak of winning political conviction we must guard against solely seeing it as just something to try to do on special occasions or when some immediate campaign arises. I have quoted the example of the Auckland Transport by-election deliberately because it was one where we should have conducted a short inner Party campaign to get full understanding of the possibilities and of the reason for standing. But I must stress that in our Party nothing can take the place of regular organised Party study. It is the greatest help to political conviction that we can use. A grasp of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism is essential, or we are unconsciously in the idealistic camp.

Let us remember that the resolution of June, 1959 N. C. meeting in on portion stressed that :-

"In recognising in the above Party Building Campaign the primacy of the need for the Party to turn out in activity around policy among ever wider sections of the workers, it is essential that an improvement at all levels of Party education be effected if the ideological problems which will arise from growth are to be correctly handled and if our present membership is to be fully mobilised. Full attention must be given to this problem, both collectively by the National leadership and by the Party leaders individually responsible for direction on this vital side of Party life.

Education at Branch level must be given particular attention. It must be down to earth, interesting and related to life as the members have experienced it. Education must lead to conviction on the correctness of the slogan, "Out to the People, " strengthen comrades' desire to be active, and aid Branch members in activity in solving immediate problems. To

date this has not been achieved. It will be necessary to organise a series of cadre schools on long week-end holidays in the coming period."

I doubt if we can claim that we have accomplished this. There has been a partial improvement, but real conviction that it was essential has been lacking. Obviously this cannot continue in the future.

As we improve this aspect of work in the future, pursuing the approach in the resolution quoted, we must also make sure we do not overbalance, and give rise to a total neglect of the Marxist classics at branch level. There is as big a danger in going too far, in straining to relate everything to our life, as there is in the opposite process attacked in the 1959 Report. There is such a thing as the uneven development of capitalism and its decline. What may be obvious in some countries may only be an inherent factor in some others as yet.

In other words you cannot mechanically try to apply all points of theory to our situation or you get into a position of inventing the "Facts" to fit theory. Remember theory grows out of practice, out of Life, not life out of theory.

It is therefore essential that at all levels in our Party study of the general principles of Marxism, using basic works be undertaken.

Now let us return to examples of our lack of clarity, clarity that more effective education on our Party's role would have achieved.

A typical case is the fact that after the decision on the recent wage case with its small increase, the Party did not in leaflet form, or in a statement in the "P.V.", come forward publicly and strongly with its own demand for an immediate pegging of prices as from the date of the increase. It was, in fact, willing to leave such things to be worked out in the Trade Unions and elsewhere. We gleefully reported action there. We worked for it there. Quite rightly too. Yet our strong independent lead was required. To demand the pegging of prices is a strong class demand. It is far more so than price control, (the Official policy) which in fact delays price increases but also, under capitalism, legalises them in time. We could not expect more than the latter from the Trade Union Movement, in view of its strong reformist leadership; to that we could give qualified support. But our own demand should have been popularised among workers as widely as possible also.

Here is another example :-

At the first Secretariat Meeting in February this year, it was decided to issue a national leaflet answering the clap-trap of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand and our Minister of Finance, Nordmeyer, about the crisis now being over and everybody now being better off. It can be very effectively proved that such is not the case as far as the workers are concerned and also that even from a strictly capitalist point of view, the improvement rests on the increased price of wool, (showing a trend down again), of butter (well down now again in price), of mutton (gone down) and of beef

(well down on crazy U.S. prices of a year or so ago). Such propaganda from a Party intending to seriously contest the elections this year was vital. It would be essential for a Communist Party any year, election or not. But the leaflet has not yet appeared. It is still coming. This is but a repetition of an old, old story. When we decide to do a thing we must do it quickly, not in six months, if we want people to take us seriously.

On the credit side we can claim quicker action on such trade union issues as that of the 24% and the Freezing workers. The good response shows just how much the workers appreciate the Party giving such a quick effective lead.

'CHANGE THE POLICY NOT THE GOVERNMENT' TACTIC.

It would be well at this stage to see how in practice we have advanced with our tactical approach to our general policy of attacking monopoly, of demanding the placing of the burden of growing capitalist crisis on the shoulders of big business.

The return of a Labour Government at the last election has clearly demonstrated to what level Labour policy in office has now descended. Internationally New Zealand is the U.S.A.'s very willing tool, whether it is keeping going the cold war tactics around Hungary, or Mr. Nash agreeing with Washington over alleged Communist intervention in Laos - (where so feeble a case existed that it was laughed to scorn even by the rest of the capitalist world.) Internally we have seen the economic difficulties arising from capitalist crisis solved temporarily by placing the burden on the working class and its allies. Big business has continued to flourish. We see overseas monopoly being encouraged to come to New Zealand to exploit our resources and our people. A Labour Government will even help finance private enterprise for such purposes.

In a National report some two years ago we characterised the Labour Party of New Zealand of to-day as the Party of National capital. This still holds good yet, so great is the demand, so restricted is the field, for imperialistic capital expenditure overseas, (as far as the major capitalist countries are concerned) that we now see while the same Labour Government is almost daily announcing new ventures by overseas capital to industrialise and use N.Z.'s resources, they are trying to leave a few crumbs for the N. Z. capitalist. The story is that these investments will provide more employment - nothing is said about the high rate of exploitation of N.Z.'s natural resources and its people which inevitably follows.

The present Labour government and the earlier one of the 1936-49 period always pursued a policy favourable to the growth of native monopoly. But the march of world events, and the decline of world imperialism almost makes such a policy outdated. Hence the drive of foreign capital into N. Z. usually with some small concession granted to native capital, and with official Government blessing and aid.

Early in 1959, we called for an all-out effort to raise mass organised struggle against such policy inside all sections of the Labour Movement. It was at that time, with a National

Party offensive mounting, we issued the slogan "Change the Policies not the Government".

Inherent in our approach to this, if Party documents are studied, was the fact that our tactic was to get the maximum number of workers into struggle of various forms. Out of struggle arises a clearer understanding of class positions and out of that comes the first awakening from the hold of social democratic ideology - class collaboration. In other words, the developing of wide protest movement against the Government policy around the slogan to change the policies was intended to raise the influence of the Communist Party and build its numbers in the interests of the whole working class. We were not concerned as a Party to place first the preserving of the Labour Government - that came second.

The situation to-day in New Zealand does give this second aspect some importance, it is true. A considerable number of the most politically-minded outside the ranks of the Party do consider it a primary factor. But we do not. It is also true that if policy is not changed, then Labour faces defeat. But in this campaign we were first thinking of developing class understanding, of achieving extended influence for our Party --- the other came after.

However, many of our comrades have taken the preserving of the Labour Government as the most important thing, the reason for the policy. This attitude is but another example of the weakness in application of our tactics when we deal with the tough question of Labour Governments and Labour Parties in general.

We do not isolate ourselves from any section of the Labour Movement, but all the time we encourage struggle down below among the rank and file, struggle for a fighting workers' policy. We unite with many sections on various issues, but we must never lose sight of the fact that overall we work to develop class consciousness among the working people; we work to achieve a position where the Communist Party is the leading political force as far as support is concerned among the whole of the progressive people of our country. We must never concede that any organisation among the workers is more important; that better work can be done there than by our Party, or that anybody is going to do better outside. These ideas belong to the past. They stand in the way of Party building.

Of course, it is true all non-Party people won't agree with this. Well, we just don't get nasty or aggressive. We patiently explain our view, when necessary we agree to disagree, we unite on immediate issues and fight together, where we can agree. By that we do not concede ideologically; instead we gain in strength, because we do not submerge ourselves in the pretence of a false unity.

Returning to our tactics in relation to Labour Government policy to-day. Official Labour policy is unchanged. Our efforts, crystallised in the slogan "Change the Policy, not the Government", have not achieved a change (being Marxists, we did not expect any great change), although it has helped develop wider opposition to Government policy among the ranks of the workers. The question now is - can we wait longer? Is not a further sharpening of our approach to the Labour Government demanded by this situation? I think it is, or we will actually

be tailing behind some important sections of workers.

A more direct and vigorous criticism of the Labour Government and its policy is demanded to-day. Again, we must guard against being too far forward; we must be sure the average worker understands what we say, (some will still disagree) but it will only aid our enemies if we do not point out that, if present policy continues, then the workers have no reason to continue support for Labour; that under both National and Labour the workers have got a bad deal - big business has always been protected. We must carefully explain how this is so and why. The time has come to work towards open mass protests against Labour policy on international and internal issues, led and organised by the workers' organisations. The slogan now should be: "Demand that the Labour Government changes its Policy". This position would be widely understood in workers' ranks. With it must be put forward more vigorously the Party policy and objectives. The Party, under the conditions developing to-day, must slowly but surely be advanced as the serious alternative.

(Pre-Conference discussion has disclosed that a number of Comrades failed to see any radical difference between the slogan "Change the Policies Not The Government" and "Demand That The Labour Government Change its policies". This point is easily cleared up if we realise that if we had a National Party Government we would never have had a slogan "Change the Policies Not the Government" but we could under some conditions have one "Demand that the National Government Change its Policies" which is but a similar approach as we are making to the Labour Government as far as this tactic is concerned).

We have to make the workers realise that the "lifting" of the crisis that hit us some two years ago is of very short duration. Not only is capitalism in N. Z. in permanent and deepening crisis as part of the capitalist world but also what we said some two years ago still stands. We are in a very vulnerable position. Foreign capital, a little more industrialisation, has not changed the position radically. Our capitalism is still relying for buoyancy on the amount of our exports and the price they fetch on overseas markets. It has not been Government policy that has relieved the "crisis" as they claim. It has been the increased price of wool last year, the high prices received for beef, the exceptionally high returns for butter and cheese as a result of the worst drought in living memory in butter producing and exporting countries in Europe. The increased taxation on the workers tided us over. It has only been partially lifted. The prospects today are again for lower prices overseas. Wool is down to some extent on last year, mutton is at a low level, beef has fallen to some extent while butter is almost back to the level of 2 years ago. Nothing has been solved and we must make it plain that it will not be solved as far as the workers, small farmers, small business and professional men are concerned, unless a frontal attack on monopoly interests is made as a preliminary to an advance to a socialist New Zealand.

We have dealt at length with the crisis in the L.P., and its causes. It would be strange if such a situation did not also have its impact on the mass organisations of struggle of the workers, the trade unions. That it has is apparent today. Here too on a national basis a crisis is developing, clouded by personalities, but more and more based on the inability to obtain results that satisfy the workers through the traditional arbitration channels. Some have passed into the ultra right camp, some are trying to remain in the "right" camp while giving some support for open struggle, strikes, others are moving left. We would be foolish to ignore this situation and not realise that in fact in this important field of our Party work the prospects today are much brighter. Today the ultra-right wing moves towards disunity, but events have shown that they are the minority. How different to 1950 and the T.U.C. division when the small militant "left" split leaving the right wing completely dominant. Today the majority are not satisfied with the Labour Governments economic policy. The impact of the decline of imperialism is evident in this sphere as elsewhere. It was no accident that the Federation of Labour Report last year was so similar to our policy on these issues that many thought Mr. Walsh had copied it.

This trend, with the growing crisis, will continue and our lead in the trade union movement towards struggle and more direct political action will receive increasing support providing we keep away from personalities, job seeking and other vices that hindered us in the past.

In this report I am conscious of the many important aspects I have not touched upon. However, we have had to watch the time and also had to concentrate on both the report and discussion as much as possible on what, for us in N. Z., is the most urgent. One could have gone into a lengthy outline of the developments in the international situation since our last Conference, but this has been done elsewhere. It is the important background to the problems we have tried to tackle here. It has had to be left at that. Again little has been said about the internal economic position in N.Z. on this occasion. The general situation has been outlined - the particular has been dealt with before. We are all conscious of our position in the capitalist world, the growth of internal monopoly over recent year, the sudden spread of overseas monopoly outside the old channels they have had since pioneer times in the freezing and pastoral industries - the influx of capital for new ventures and works. We all know that in spite of this we have a special vulnerability to the developing agrarian crisis, that overseas prices for our exported primary produce determines most of the internal economic policies of our capitalist political parties.

Again nothing in particular has been said about the actual class positions and divisions in N. Z. They are deepening with the growth of monopoly, with the growing indirect interference from U. S. imperialism in our affairs.

An examination of the class structure of N. Z. was made in National Committee report published in the "Labour Review" in May 1958. Changes since are small and not in any way decisive so that for an understanding of the nature of our class society, its various groups, their strengths and basis, reference should be made to that important report. To restate it here would but unduly lengthen what is already becoming a long report.

Because we have dealt with the question of the L. P. at length it would be a mistake to consider that we can ignore the National Party, the Party of monopoly that bases itself on the middle classes and less well developed workers for actual support on election day. It is the menace it has always been. The reason it has been further dealt with is that our Party has shown consistently throughout the years that it well understands that Party's reactionary role, is under no illusions about it and will fight it to the end when the workers emerge victoriously into socialism.

The policy of the Labour leadership has helped the social credit illusions to grow again and this aspect cannot be ignored. A number of progressives have turned in this direction to find an easy way out. Our Party must show them there is no such easy way. That, in fact, such manoeuvres only place the yoke of monopoly capitalism more firmly on their shoulders - and that social credit can lead to a new fascism.

It should be noted that pre-conference discussion shows complete agreement on our Party programme - the main weapon in our work with the people of N. Z. This programme is the core of every "People's Voice", of every "Labour Review" every leaflet, every pamphlet. We don't just trot it out on special occasions. It is the basis on which our work in the Trade Unions, in the Peace Movement, in Women's organisations everywhere, depends. It must therefore be fully understood by all members if their efforts are to get results.

With our overall programme "N.Z. Road to Socialism" it is suggested that this Conference instructs the incoming National Committee to proceed to study it with a view to any possible strengthening that may be possible, arising from our added experience and, we hope, knowledge. But it is not an immediate issue and no radical changes are contemplated.

To make too many changes now would be to pretend we have got new experiences and new concepts since it was endorsed which in fact we have not. The main point on which there could be lack of clarity, and which needs checking on is the portion dealing with the nature of change to a socialist society and the nature of the state.

We advance today around the concept "On The Offensive" and "Out To The People". If we take our policy out, if we work in the way that produces results then a further advance will be achieved long before our next Conference.

It is important therefore to give some brief consideration to the programme we take out to the people. Now on the objective of socialism; yes, we have to propagandise much more around the matter of socialism. We have been considered, almost correctly, as a Party of immediate issues, immediate fights, mentioning socialism only in a pious way as some talk of heaven. (One attempt to cure that was the pamphlet on Socialism by Co. Ostler). We have to make it clear that nothing will be solved fully without socialism. The problems of our Comrades from the West Coast are an example of that. There in Westland they have to develop a policy for the development of Westland, at present a dying area. Nothing but socialism is the answer. In particular in the mining industry, the only one apart from the dying timber industry, that at present exists to any extent in Westland, we find it urgent that a programme for full coal utilisation

be developed. This, we find is not likely to be achieved to the necessary extent under capitalism. Monopoly oil interests, lack of full development of N. Z. resources stand in the way. In fact Socialism on the West Coast is an immediate issue. When we look at things this way we will find many other examples to use.

The point I am making is we have to show why Socialism is necessary in our general propaganda at this period. And we have to recognise that many of the appeals that meant something to the older generation mean nothing to our youth of today. To speak of the days, of the old "Red Federation of Labour", of some of the fiery Labour men of those days is 'water off a duck's back'. It does not mean anything. Socialism has to be shown as something much more modern and attractive than the capitalism that our youth knows. Youth likes adventure, it likes space ships and science. Our propaganda is very often still in the horse and buggy era. Then we wonder why we do not win youth. In a time when the eyes of most young people are unconsciously turning to Socialist lands and their scientific triumphs we have no youth movement in N.Z. An omission that I think this Conference should demand be overcome in the period ahead.

If we look at things this way, then we reach a position where our propaganda for a socialist future and our work around our immediate programme are in practice one and the same thing. The latter provides the clearing of the path to the socialist objective. We can't have the objective "socialism" and the immediate programme of struggle regarded as two separate things. This still happens. The relationship between the development of mass struggle around immediate issues now and the struggle for socialism is still very unclear in many minds. We won't get socialism without mass movement and struggle. We won't get Socialism even with mass movement and struggle unless we also teach the workers and their allies about the issues of Socialism, what it is, and what it means to us and to the people of the world. The significance of Marxism is clear. Therefore our programme of an all-out fight against monopoly now is very much part of the fight for a socialist future.

What are the essential fighting points in that programme, "The People Versus Monopoly" ?

We deal with the development of new markets, of a progressive foreign policy based on friendship with our neighbours in South East Asia and Asia and repudiation of any commitments linking us with the present U. S. policy, of attack on the hold of monopoly over our domestic economy, of the development of our industries under nationalised control, of taking taxation off the workers and putting it onto the shoulders of big business, of price pegging, of higher wages and improved conditions, of aid to the smaller farmers by graduated guaranteed prices. In these we find the plan not only for an immediate improvement of life for the N. Z. people now but also for something that will only be achieved by struggle, something that hits right at the main enemy - big business.

It is essential to struggle now to preserve our living standards, not only for us, but for the large number of people who will be gaining essential experience through it in preparation for harder and tougher battles ahead.

You see we have a programme that means something to every worker, every small farmer, every small business and professional man in N. Z. on whom the octopus grip of monopoly is squeezing more and more every day. This programme is for the present, adequate in my opinion. It needs further detail work on some aspects of

the economic improvements suggested which should be considered before the election period. Our attitude to "foreign" capital and to N. Z. development of its own industries needs enlarging in view of the influx of overseas capital, but overall it is a good programme. It has met, when taken to new people, with complete endorsement. I have not heard of any serious opposition from any section of workers. They agree with the programme not with the Communist Party.

One point, however, is worth of further stress. I am referring to our foreign policy. We all know that a progressive foreign policy is the key note and I think we should come out much more clearly in our programme on S.E.A.T.O. - its role, our membership in it and what this means. It needs greater emphasis. Our commitments here make us a junior partner in any U.S. venture of internal interference in the affairs of small nations in any plan and thus to stop the advance of Socialism.

If the U. S. moves against North Vietnam in a pretence of upholding democracy in Laos (and it nearly happened a few months ago) then there is no doubt from statements by both Nash and American military sources that we are at that point involved in a war against the Socialist world. We are a part of South East Asia strategically and the politics of that area and of Asia, very much effect us. The old ties with Britain assume less and less importance due to the decline of British imperialism and its influence here. The U. S. politically and to some extent economically moves in here while "People's China" and the Socialist world face us from the North.

TO THE OFFENSIVE BUILD THE PARTY NOW

The meeting of our National Committee last June, from which the slogan "To The Offensive - Build the Party Now" emerged, is likely to prove an historic one. There we analysed the background of the political and organisational weaknesses that had held our Party back, and after a full examination of the work of our Party over the previous period, with reports in from all sections, it was found that from Auckland to Dunedin the Party was sound, that in many places increased activity, better work in the trade unions, more and more cottage meetings, and a slight increase in paper sales could be recorded, but that at the same time we had gone out to the people with a fully organised Party. Still there was a hesitation. The demand from that N. C. meeting was "Out To The People".

Our analysis indicated that we could go forward if the right kind of policy was advanced, if the right kind of activity was developed. The call was for action everywhere to get new people interested.

On the basis of the reports of Party activity considered, then it was decided to launch a "Build The Party Campaign". I am sure that some of us with memories of years ago had some qualms when we remembered that every "Increase Paper Sales" campaign used to end with a reduction in sales and every membership drive saw us with fewer members at the end.

But the objective conditions in N. Z. where favourable reports were clear, the Party had recovered from past blows and was sound at heart. A small increase in membership had taken place.

Therefore the "Build The Party Campaign" was launched with a special call for intensified political education to ensure full conviction as to its needs and the possibilities of success. The objective was an increase before this conference of :-

- (1) 25% more members.
- (2) 250 more sales of the "P.V."
- (3) 100 more sales of the "Labour Review".
- (4) The achieving of a £30 a week maintenance Fund for the "People's Voice" on a regular basis.
- (5) A 20% increase in general Party finance

In proposing this at that meeting we stressed the great need for the Party to turn out in activity around our policy among ever-wider sections of the workers

What has been the result?

Here is the general position:- A more detailed account will be given as the full returns of the position as up to Easter come in.

In membership we have achieved the %25 increase on a National basis. In fact with all known totals in, it is nearly a 28% increase. This is very good but as I will show later, some have gone well past the target, others are lagging.

For the "People's Voice" we aimed at a national increase of 250. Returns now indicate an increase of over 330 so this plan has been overfulfilled. Again some areas have failed. The Greymouth area has given the campaign a big knock by dropping back from 236 sales to 149 instead of making any increase.

The "Labour Review" shows a national increase of over 200 which doubles our target. A very good result, and nearly all areas reached their objective.

The drive with the "L.R." has but confirmed the correctness of those in the Party who suggested that to make plain what this magazine is and its purpose, its name should be changed to "The New Zealand Communist Review". It is intended to do this after the Conference, and then no confusion about the fact that it is our Party's organ of theory should arise.

With the "People's Voice" maintenance the last few weeks have seen the major districts on the target mark or very close to it, but overall the total is well below the £30 a week for the whole period under review. We cannot claim to have gone much past the £25 a week on average.

With National Centre Party finance the increase of 20% has not been yet achieved. The only improvement has been a more regular payment of the old quota. This however is in itself a gain of some considerable importance.

That in general is the position. A satisfactory result but not a total victory. There is no doubt that much of the ground work done in this campaign will produce further gains on all fronts if the whole of our membership, from the National Committee members down, realise that Easter only ends the first stage of our "Build The Party" drive. We must continue to use to the full the new strength our gain in membership and contact has given us and utilise the lessons learnt in action over the past period.

The campaign has taught us much. First with regard to membership gains, we find that they have come from many and varied activities but that all have been based on the potential member seeing the Party as a Party of action, as a fighting Party of the working class. Where the Party has been submerged in a lengthy period of "trade union work" as in Greymouth, possible gains to a large degree still remain in that category, and the value of that good work in the trade unions is much reduced in consequence.

What has produced the good results? First, the drive with our best weapon of propaganda, our best organiser, the "People's Voice". This has been the main lead into the obtaining of members, of new "Labour Review" readers, of finance, of everything - however we can see from the figures that we still do not use our paper to the full as a Party weapon of struggle, for Party building. Again, what fine results have come from the very wide series of house meetings, of house film showings, of the showing of slides etc. As I write, the past weekend saw in Auckland, mainly as a result of branch initiative (the great possibilities of real organised effort by the leadership in this field is not grasped yet by the National Centre of District Leaderships.) a film showing by City branch with 47 present, and a good discussion, a film evening in a new area of Henderson with 30 present (This is about the fourth of such evenings in different areas of this district all with approximately the same attendance, and a film evening at Northcote with over thirty attending. All Communist Party open activity. We have sometimes worked for months for "Mass" meetings with smaller results. This is just an example. Consider the slide of our recent visit to China. New people were contacted right throughout the country, progressive trade unionists were brought along with their wives and from seeing the Communist Party as something helpful only in Union struggles they got the wider picture. Some joined. This has happened everywhere. Com. Smith's experience in Dunedin, Christchurch and elsewhere is an example as is Com. Ostler's in the North Island. The fact is people are now interested, From film showing and slides we can draw them into more direct political discussion. The best are won to our ranks and all are made our friends and supporters. Sometimes in this activity we have let the past dominate us. We have thought we could only get the reliable few along and that is all we have got but where "out and ask new people" has been the slogan, where we have taken this form of activity out to the suburbs, into new people's homes, then the result has been more than encouraging.

Again with the Party paper. What has the campaign proved? That it will sell if we take it to new people. What fine results can be recorded in many areas from new hotel sales, and to a more limited extent what good results have come from our members more vigorously and openly pushing our paper on their jobs, although here, there is still too much hesitation. Good results have come too from area canvasses. From these activities, have come the increases and from such things have come much of our new contacts, places for cottage meetings etc. From them come new members and enlarged influence.

One other aspect is worth noting in regard to our campaign and that is the good results that have come from members really thinking - "what can I do", who do I know, and then doing something about it. We have a wealth of contacts which we ignore. The lesson of the campaign proves that. Only a little has yet been done. In fact it is really perturbing to go to a place, hear a

discussion of who is to be contacted, who is likely to join etc., then to go back in six months and find no one has been contacted, and therefore no one has joined. This is an actual experience of mine and not fiction. Many of those areas which have failed to reach their target will find that that is just their position.

They have not really made the first break through, an easy job if there is enthusiasm, a little organisation and proper check up. So they lag behind. Well, you can still catch up in the days to come. But don't wait - do something about it right after this Conference - in spite of Conference discussion in your area and all the other urgent things.

Pre-Conference discussion material sent to the National Office has in the main been centred around political discussion. This was logical in view of the major political aspects raised in this report, but it does restrict what can be said about our experiences in the campaign. We know that some areas recruited on the basis of contacts being brought along to "study" or "discussion" evenings conducted as a regular part of the branch life, something worth considering for future use in many areas. It is a fact though, that we still have to find out more of our Party's experiences so as to give advice and aid more effectively to areas having difficulties.

The main thing is to see things in the light of 'what can we do about it?' Not we must just wait for the "P.V." and think that is enough. A new way of life in our Party must emerge if we are to fulfil the tasks confronting us. An example of this new outlook comes from Christchurch, an area well ahead in most aspects of the campaign but sadly lacking in new members as yet. This example shows us they will get them however.

It arises from the shooting in South Africa. A meeting under Party initiative of "People's Voice" readers took place in the Railway Workshops. There was discussion of what could be done, with Party comrades playing a leading part. It was decided that the leader of the discussion see the Secretary of the A.S.R.S. and see what could be done. If nothing, then a wreath was to be sent by the 'P.V.' supporters themselves. The Union Secretary said he would support such action if the Group went ahead themselves. So they collected money and in no time sent a wreath to Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwi, organiser of the Anti-Pass Campaign and member of the Pan Africanist Congress. A letter has also been sent. Copies of this were also sent to the Ch.Ch. Press, the Prime Minister of New Zealand and the "People's Voice". This is an example of the Party quickly in action on an issue that had the whole of N. Z. shocked. It is such work that will win mass support for our Party and will in time win those recruits we so badly need in our ranks.

Again at Christchurch in the freezing industry at Borthwick's under Party initiative a collection was made and a cable of protest sent. Very fine work.

How many times have we missed activity on such issues because we were waiting till somebody else suggested something.

We can ask ourselves have we played a full and effective part in the issue of the Maoris, and the All Blacks in South Africa. We were right not to try to dominate but have we really worked in such a way that people realise that our Party is the only one in N. Z. that says "No Maoris - No Tour"? It is doubtful.

Our new concept of the full role of our Communist Party must lead us quickly to new and better ways of work. We feel we can say that a start has been made in our "Build the Party Campaign".

CONCLUSION:

In discussing the Labour Party, our Labour Government and the question of social democratic ideology it must be realised that this aspect has assumed a major place in this report, because of the whole background of our Party, because the full role of our Party has never been completely understood, because we always ended up pushing somebody else rather than leading and because the nature and role of our Labour Party and Labour Government have never been fully realised by our members. Again the fact that so many workers, particularly in the large industrial Auckland area have walked away from the Labour Party, historically, placed it on the ground as far as New Zealand is concerned.

Therefore, we have had to get clear what comes first, what is most important, not only for us but for the whole working class and its allies in town and country. We find in this analysis that it is the building of our Party and the increasing of its direct influence that is primary.

We find that it has been this central point that has held us back in the past from what progress we could have made under fairly adverse objective conditions. It is still holding us back now to the degree that it still fashions our thinking about our Party, its role and policy. Eliminate its influence and our advance will be greater and speedier.

But here there is danger of dogmatism creeping in, of left sectarianism blooming. We must keep the primary role of our Party in mind but let us also realise that it does not mean that we do not unite with any other section of the Labour Movement around immediate issues on which we can agree. It is essential for our own building that we build such unity on these issues. It does not mean that we do not give support and praise for any progressive moves that have been or may be made by the Labour Government. It does not mean that we see no difference in a situation where the Party of monopoly - the National Party, is in power, and one where the Labour Government (still based for its main support on the workers) is in office. Of course we do, but we now enter a period where we stop fostering illusions in the workers' ranks as to what can be achieved without full support for the revolutionary struggle of a Communist Party. We will work together wherever possible, we will unite and fight together but we will also unceasingly conduct the ideological battle for Marxist understanding in the whole ranks of the workers.

The implications of this report do not mean we should rush out and try to take leadership in all the various mass organisations. How foolish it would be to try to do that; for instance in the C.A.B.T.A. organisation today, or to immediately lead a campaign for disaffiliation from the Labour Party in the Trade Unions. No, we have to build now towards leadership of the people's movements in the days ahead. That is the vital message of this report.

We have made a small start over the past period. We can see more progress possible in the coming period. There is no doubt our Party will grow and that its influence will increase. On our shoulders, small as we still are, rests the task of slowly but surely leading the working class of New Zealand out of the grip of imperialism, of monopoly, into the camp of socialism. It is an historic task, it is a glorious task. Let us confidently and with joy get even deeper into the class battles in our country in the days ahead. Through that we will deservedly win leadership.

~~SECRET~~

442

H.Q. (CS.1)

21/2/10

D.O.C.

2.5.1960

CH/10/12

LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS 1959.

1. Thank you for your very comprehensive analysis in your letter of 24th March, 1960. We have made the following observations: -

CAIRNS, W.: It was thought at H.Q. that this person might be identical with William John CAIRNS, miner, who was a C.P. member in 1950. However, since W.J. CAIRNS was last heard of in Ohura in 1953, it is unlikely that he is identical with the nominee for Charleston Riding.

MUNDEN, W.J.: We note that you state that subject was a Communist in 1958. As we have no information on his file to this effect, would you kindly forward a copy of your relevant report.

COX, H.: We note that none of the nominees for Halswell County Council is (i.r.) at your office. However, we have record of Howard COX who received literature from Co-Operative Bookshop in 1952, and was known as "Commo COX". Refer also to your 1/56/146 dated 10th October, 1956.

*Pls record destroyed
9/2/86*

DENTON, H.E.: We note you do not include subject who is (i.r.) here for having addressed the Richmond Democratic Labour Party in 1953.

CHRISTENSON, Neil: Would you kindly forward a copy of your interim report dated 27th or 29th May, 1958, concerning subject.



(CS.1)
for Director.

~~SECRET~~

The Communist Election Policy

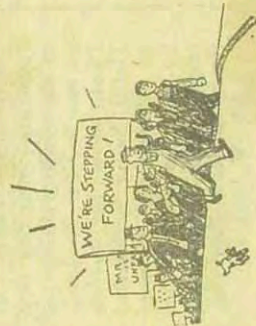
"A more direct and vigorous criticism of the Labour Government and its policy is demanded to-day," said Mr. V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, at the National Conference.

"Again, we must guard against being too far forward; we must be sure the average worker understands what we say; some will still disagree. But it will only aid our enemies if we do not point out that, if present policy continues, then the workers have no reason to continue support for Labour; that under both National and Labour the workers have got a bad deal—big business has always been protected.

"We must carefully explain how slons to continue about working—this is so and why. The time has class solutions being possible come to work towards open mass through social democracy, through protests against Labour policy on Labour Parties? Our propaganda, our tactical approach has left many unclear on class issues. It has perpetuated the illusion that in Labour we get a 'workers' government, as opposed to an 'employers' government if National is in.

"We end up over-emphasising what can be achieved inside the social democratic organisations by pressure because they have a workers' base. We de-value our Party and its role.

"We have not yet convinced the people at election periods that a



"The question appears to be: Do we approach our work, our propaganda (after guarding against any stupid sectarianism), with the firm conviction that the Party comes first and is the most important, that it must be built now, its influence extended and that everything that stops this must be destroyed?

"A second question of almost equal importance, which logically follows if the answer to the above is negative, is: Do we still put our policy forward in such a way that allows unnecessary room for illu-

vote for the Communist candidate under our 'first past the post' system is not a vote wasted even if a Communist is not elected.

"We don't make them see that they just cannot afford to vote anything but Communist because that is the one thing that really hits (as far as elections are concerned) the capitalist class and the parties of capitalism—National, Labour and Social Credit.

"We don't make them see that Communist election victories can only be started by THEIR VOTES NOW.

Maximum Number

"All this does not mean that we are not right to show concern about who is to be the government, in view of the fact that we are not as yet an alternative government. But is should be the secondary factor, not primary.

"While not opposing official Labour in seats we are not contesting, we must make plain that our Party is the important thing, that to-day everywhere Labour, whether honest or not, because of its capitalist ideas, betrays the workers—that it has done, is doing and will do it in the future.

"Let me add that if the conclusions in this report are correct, then at the coming general elections this year our tactics should be to stand the maximum number of candidates consistent with our strength.

"In electorates where there is no party candidate we would advise the workers to vote Labour, but we would also explain why this is no solution, and that it is only a temporary phase and that shortly we must be strong enough, with their support, to contest very widely in

the interest of every worker, every progressive.

"Some comrades find it hard to make this kind of approach confidently. Let us remember when all is said and done it is not much different from what the Labour Party did and the advice they gave workers when the latter were leaving the old Liberal-Labour alliance in earlier times.

"We do not isolate ourselves from any section of the labour movement, but all the time we encourage struggle down below among the rank and file, struggle for a fighting workers' policy. We unite with many sections on various issues, but we must never lose sight of the fact that over-all we work to develop class consciousness among the working people; we work to achieve a position where the Communist Party is the leading political force as far as support is concerned among the whole of the progressive people of our country.

"We must never concede that any organisation among the workers is more important; that better work can be done there than by our Party, or that anybody is going to do better outside. These ideas belong to the past. They stand in the way of Party building," said Mr. Wilcox.

PEOPLE'S VOICE—Page 3
April 20, 1960

MINUTE SHEET

440

File Ref. _____

Section: CS1.

Folio: _____

Date: _____

To: R.

At Flags B, C, & D, are lists of persons IR who stood for local elections in 1959.

Please make extracts for those with PFs, and entries on cards those without PFs, eg:-

McLEAN Mary Elizabeth.
 stood for ChCh City Council in 1959 local body elections:
 Party: citizens
 Votes cast ~~for~~ for her: 16,459
 Seats: 19
 Nominees: 41.
 Result: elected "

then BU to CS1.



12/4/60

91.

You may wish to:-

(a) Write to Doc on lines suggested by CS on the folio dated 24.3.60. Comparison to be made between our assessment (see flag A) and Doc's (remarks column of their letter dated 24.3.60).
draft attached.

(b) Discuss with DoA the note attached to folio dated 6.1.60.



5 Apr 60.

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

MINUTE SHEET

439

File Ref. _____

Section: _____

Folio: _____

Date: _____

To:

(S)

You will remember this:

The information is so diversified now that it would be difficult to collate it all into one simple table. Therefore, we won't attempt to do this. The only remaining value we can now get from BOT report is to compare BOT assessments of individuals with our own. In some cases we seem to have info that they have not and vice versa.



Wfr

DoA

Subject: Local Body Elections 1959
 Reference your Aik/10/1 dated 6 Jan 60.

1. We would be glad if you could ascertain whether certain nominees to the Aik 1960 local elections are identical to persons (IR) as follows:-

- (a) A W Robert Robson, Papatoetoe: possibly identical to the Arthur Robson, member of SCR of China Friendship Assn, last recorded as residing in Home Bay.
- (b) Harry Anderson, Devonport: A Harry Anderson, CP member, was last reported in Rotorua in Dec 58.
- (c) D G Wallbank, East Coast Bays: ~~to (IR)~~ A person of this name ~~is (IR)~~ was reported to be a possibly distributor of the PV (see 27/2/2 with CS).

C81.

~~SECRET~~

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

21/2/10 H4
Copy No.

of

copies.

(T.S. only)

406

From CHRISTCHURCH

Our File:

CH/10/12

To HQ

Date: 24.3.60

Your File:

21.2.10

SUBJECT: LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS

1. With reference to your file 21/2/10 dated 9.12.59 attached is an analysis completed at this office.

2. With regard to this analysis I have the following comments to make:

(a) Voting Population

I have been informed by the Registrar of Electors Christchurch, that these figures can only be obtained from the Town Clerk of each town, County or Borough as they are not published in any general reference work, and bear no relation to General Election Rolls as the qualifications for voting in local body elections differ considerably from those needed for a General Election. The Town Clerks in this instance have not been approached but this could be done if required by HQ.

(b) Votes Cast

This figure has been obtained by adding up the votes received by each nominee but it will be remembered that the same voter can cast his vote for, say, up to 19 nominees. Further, in some cases nominees were elected unopposed and in such cases no votes were recorded. In other cases special votes were shown as still to come to hand, and it is suggested that these, in certain instances, may not have been published by the newspapers reporting the election. There can therefore be no guarantee as to the accuracy of the figures given in this analysis. Further in local body elections, a man may have more than one vote as he gets a vote for each property owned and these may be scattered in a town or towns boroughs.

(c) Party

It was only in certain cases that the newspapers from which this information has been obtained, published the Party which each nominee was representing. It is suggested that, particularly in rural areas, nominees very probably represented no particular political party but stood for election purely as individuals.

(d) I.R. Nominees

Of the 182 nominees listed in the attached analysis, only 28 are (i.r.) at this office; of these 11 or possibly 12, have been elected, only one being a known active C.P. member. It would seem that out of the total number of nominees (182), those who are (i.r.) for various reasons, and have been elected, represent roughly between 5% and 6% of the total.

The District Officer,
CHRISTCHURCH.

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

Forwarded.


Field Officer


District Officer
~~SECRET~~

25/3/60

~~SECRET~~

Copy for 21/2/22.

21/2/8.

AK/10/2

402

D.O.A.

H.Q. (CS)

21st March, 1960

C.P.N.Z. and MAORI PEOPLE OF NORTHLAND.

1. A reliable source reported recently that a Maori named John WILCOX of 31 Premier Road, Pt. Chevalier recently met H.J. McLEOD (i.r.) and W. JERMYN (i.r.) and put before them the plans or wishes of a group of Maori people in Northland, to put forward a Maori candidate, who would stand in the 1960 Parliamentary Election, as a Communist Candidate, for the Northern Maori seat.
2. The man selected as this candidate is Tom HOHEPA, of Waima. HOHEPA is known to the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland - he is respected for his knowledge of the genealogy of the Maoris, back for forty generations.
3. McLEOD was enthusiastic at the prospect and arranged a meeting for G.E. JACKSON (i.r.), HOHEPA, V.G. WILCOX (i.r.) and JERMYN at the Concert Chamber of the Auckland Town Hall on Monday the 21st March, 1960 - before Rewi ALLEY's meeting.
4. SOURCE: [REDACTED]
5. FIELD OFFICER'S COMMENT: We have not previously had any indication of a "Maori Group in Northland" supporting the C.P.N.Z. Source stated that neither John WILCOX nor Tom HOHEPA were Party members but are very likely to become so, in the near future.

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER.~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

401

NOTE FOR FILE.

LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS
VOTES CAST FOR NOMINEES WHO STOOD AS C.P. CANDIDATES.

<u>Local Body</u>	<u>C.P. Nominee</u>	<u>Votes Obtained</u>	<u>Number of Electors who voted</u>	<u>Vote for C.P. no- minees in 1956</u>
Auckland City Council	G.E. JACKSON	3366		
	G.H. ANDERSEN	3329		1510
	D. McEWEN	2774		1597
	Mrs E.M. AYO	2165		
	R.C. WOLF	2020		
	P.W.G. McARA	1486	15,160	
Wellington City Council	R.J. SMITH	1500	} 36500	
	R. NUNES	1200		
Wellington Hospital Board	R. NUNES	1700		
Christchurch City Council	J.G. LOCKE	1758		2491
Dunedin City Council	E.W. HUNTER	3600		

NOTE:

Most of this information is derived from the "People's Voice" of 25th November, 1959. In this issue the Party states that H. BROWNING, who was elected to the Brunner Borough Council, is a Communist.

15th February, 1960.

 G.S.
~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

G.D.D.-11

400

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EXTRACT/COPY/

From (source): Trends of Communist Propaganda (No. 6)

Reference:

Date: 5-2-60

For File No. 21/2/1

Original on 21/41/7

Received on 3-3-60

Extracted/Copied by

On 4-3-60

Page 5.

5. THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

Signor Togliatti re-affirmed at the Congress that the Party would strive to gain power through parliamentary methods (unless forced to do otherwise by the "reactionaries") and urged the co-operation of all social groups in Italy, including the Catholics, to secure a new Left-wing Government. The USSR was represented at the Congress by Mr. Suslov.

From Signor Togliatti, Pravda, February 1:

- (i) Trade unions and the middle class must unite in a wide front against the monopolies; the land must belong to the tiller.
- (ii) To attain these aims, the Communists must act within the Constitution and form a broad alliance of social forces; agreement with the Socialists should be possible.
- (iii) The immediate aim is to break up the present Government alignment and create a democratic majority which will be the basis of a new Government.
- (iv) The Communists believe that democracy and a new society can be achieved by peaceful means, but they cannot ignore other aspects of the problem (look at what happened in France); the peaceful prospect can be forcibly rejected by the reactionary forces of the ruling class.
- (v) The Communist Party would support a Government of Left-wing forces which would guarantee more nationalisation, employment, economic reform, anti-monopoly legislation, as well as support for disarmament and the detente.

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21/2/10

Orig. on 26/5/14 399

D.O.A.

H.Q. (CS)

6th January, 1960

AK/10/16

RADICAL SOCIETY.

Forwarded for your information are two copies of "Newsletter" (Nos. 60/1 and 60/2) and also one copy of "Perspective".

SOURCE: [REDACTED]

See extract below

[REDACTED]
DISTRICT OFFICER.



[REDACTED]
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EXTRACT/COPY

RADICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

From (source):

Reference:

Attd. memo.
Date: 6.1.1960

For File No. 21/2/10

Original on 26/5/14

Received on

Extracted/Copied by

On 14.1.1960

RADICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER. Page 2.

.....

REASONS for the TRIUMPH of REACTION in the MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

SUPERFICIALLY, the recent elections were a contest between two antagonistic organisations. In reality the Citizens' Association represented business interests and the Labour candidates primarily represented their own. The net result of this mock exhibition of democracy, while the same vested interests will continue to pull the strings, is that public interests will be further subordinated to those of private enterprise. The only attempt to oppose the status quo was made by the Communist Party, but its efforts were relatively ineffective and for the following objective reasons:

IN THE FIRST PLACE, the CP programme contained nothing new and apart from flats for small families, there was nothing imaginative. It was concerned with the usual run-of-the-mill economic and administrative issues.

SECOND: while correctly recognising that easing of world tensions was essential for the CP reforms, it failed to put forward any constructive proposals for New Zealand's part in achieving this relaxation. Such an omission was fatal.

THIRD: the CP criticised the Labour Party for being reformists, yet itself had nothing to offer short of reforms. In trying to infuse working-class policies into bourgeois forms of organisation it appeared to be forgetful of the conflict of the class interests involved.

THE FOURTH REASON is the bankruptcy of the NZCP slogan "Change the Policies but not the Government", which reflected a major conflict within the minds of its initiators - "Cure the illness but not the patient, change the rules but not the game". This half-measure served only to confuse voters - does the CP wish to preserve Capitalism ??

FINALLY, the CP has an extremely poor public address technique. Even with sound policies (and slogans) could it possibly have achieved victory with the monologues it presented to voters? One only needs to listen to the radio especially the foreign broadcasts to realise the variety, (e.g. alternation of spoken work with song, male and female voices) that could be achieved in addressing.

FROM THESE CRITISICMS it becomes apparent that party leadership is divorced from the people. If it is in a reforming mood, let it start with itself; let the present Party Priesthood find out the true state of the worker, his life and his mind.

LET THEM ALSO DEVOTE some time to those workers they have previously neglected - those who work with their heads - the lawyers, teachers, scientists and so on.

IF THE CP INTENDS to ever become significant in New Zealand politics it should stop just praying for socialism. It has at present many strong hearts, but it needs many sound heads.

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CS.

DoA's proforma shows that the following are 'nr' at their office:

RAR Marshall: 'R. Marshall' is a member of SCR.

~~EJE Day: may be identical to 'Edward Day' of Birkenhead who subscribes~~

DG Wallbank: possibly distributor of PV.

AK Corban

~~AW Robson:~~

Arthur W Robson: 'Arthur Robson' of Herne Bay is mbr SCR & China Friendship Soc

Harry Anderson: mbr of CP at Rotoma: may have moved to Ok & be identical?

CLASSIFICATION:

~~SECRET~~
INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. 1/2/10
of copies.
(T.S. only) 396

From D.O.A.

Our File: AK/10/1

To H.Q.

Date: 6th January, 1960.

Your File: 21/2/10

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS = AUCKLAND DISTRICT.

1. Headquarters' memorandum of the 9th December, 1959 refers.
2. The chart with Election particulars from the Auckland District suitably amended is attached.
3. Candidates for the Auckland City Council followed the Party line - "Citizens and Ratepayers", "Civic Reform", "Communist" or "Independent." Contestants in the suburban and outlying districts were not affiliated to any particular political party, but were classified by the respective Town Clerks as "Independents." Their interest was entirely in local affairs and there was very little difference in outlook between all the candidates.
4. Item 25 should read "Mangere East County Town Committee" not "Borough Council".



REGISTRAR.

C.S.

David



R
BU to CS when ref file from
CLC is received.



CLASSIFICATION:

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- 3 -
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- Lower Hutt Council
15 seats (..... nominees)
18. Lower Hutt Mayoralty
19. Auckland City Council
21 seats (52 nominees)
20. Auckland Mayoralty
..... nominees
21. Takapuna Borough Mayoralty
..... nominees
22. Glen Eden Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees)
23. New Lynn Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees)
24. Takapuna Borough Council
9 seats (..... nominees)
- T.J. YOUNG (...) - Little known - 8,200
J. McDONALD (...) - Little known - 8,000
S. CHESNEY (...) - S.C.R. - 6,300
- P. DOWSE (Lab) - S.C.R. and P.C. -
- 633,102 G.E. JACKSON (Com) - C.P. member - 3,300
G.H. ANDERSON (Com) - C.P. member - 3,300
D. McEWEN (Com) - C.P. member - 2,700
E.M. AYO (Com) - C.P. member - 2,100
R.C. WOLF (Com) - C.P. member - 2,000
P.W.G. McARA (Com) - C.P. member - 1,500
Mrs M.B. KIRK (CR) - C.P. approved - 14,000
R. ELSENDER (CR) - Peace Council - 11,500
D. ISBEY (CR) - Onetime member - 11,000
Mrs A.H. DODD (I) - Peace Council - 3,500
A.P. SHONE (CR) - C.P. approved - 18,000
T. BLOODWORTH (CC) - S.C.R. - 17,000
- D.M. ROBINSON (Lab) - Onetime Party member
- J. SHEPHERD (...) - Possible sympathiser -
- B.K. BERG (...) - Onetime member -
- H.G. HARE (...) - Onetime P.C. -
- L.G. BOND (...) - Possible sympathiser -
- SHONE and BLOODWORTH elected
- Elected with 3,000 majority
- Elected with 1,000 majority
- Not elected
- Not elected
- Not elected
- Not elected

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County Town Committee

- 4 -

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25. Mangere East Borough Council
7 seats (...¹² nominees)
26. Otahuhu
8 seats (...¹³ nominees)
27. Manurewa Borough Council
8 seats (...¹³ nominees)
28. Ellerslie Borough Council
6 seats (...¹² nominees)
29. East Coast Bays
...⁹... seats (...²⁰ nominees)
30. Henderson Borough Council
6 seats (...⁹... nominees) *Card for Ernest Daniel Gregory destroyed 1/9/62*
31. Papatoetoe Borough Council
8 seats (...¹⁵ nominees)
32. Howick Borough Council
6 seats (...⁸ nominees)
33. Mt. Albert Borough Council
10 seats (...¹⁸ nominees)
34. Devonport Borough Council
9 seats (...¹⁹ nominees)
- R.A.R. MARSHALL (^{Ind}...) - Probable S.C.R. - Elected *N.I.R.*
- Edward Day who was*
E.J.F. DAY (...^{Ind}...) - Identification uncertain - Elected *N.I.R.*
- Advancement Group*
C. MOUNTFORT (^{Ind}...) - P.C., onetime C.P. member - 1,200. Elected *I.R.*
- Railways Branch C.P.?*
- one time C.P. member*
A.H. BELL (^{Ind}...) - Identification uncertain - Elected *N.I.R.*
- Ratepayers*
His card destroyed 1/9/62
- one time C.P. member*
Not correct 1/9/62
- HOLT Ind*
L.W. HOLT (^{Ind}...) - Peace worker - Not elected *I.R.*
- ASSID KHALEEL*
D.G. WALLBANK (^{Ind}...) - Little known - Not elected *N.I.R.*
- K*
A.H. CORBAN (^{Ind}...) - Identification uncertain - Both elected *N.I.R.*
- E.D. GREGORY (Lab)* - Little known - *Peace Council* ✓
- W*
A.R. ROBSON (^{Ind}...) - S.C.R. - *Not ident to Arthur Robson* Not elected *N.I.R.*
- Ind*
G.W. MCKINNON (^{Ind}...) - Onetime sympathiser - Elected *I.R.*
- John Ronald*
J.R. BURFITT (^{Lab}...) - Onetime C.P. member - Not elected *I.R.*
- Ind*
H. ANDERSON (^{Ind}...) - Identification uncertain - Elected *N.I.R.*
- Ind*
W.H. BENNETT (^{Ind}...) - Onetime P.C. - Not elected *I.R.*
- Progressive*

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From District Office, Wellington.

Our File: _____

To HeadquartersDate: 18th Dec. 1959

Your File: _____

SUBJECT: C.P. - LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS.INFORMATION:

1. I have made annotations in the Wellington and Lower Hutt sections of the attached electoral chart as follows :-

Wellington City Council:

(a) There were 45 nominees for the 15 seats.

(b) Mrs. Lettie Annie ALLEN was unsuccessful and was NOT elected. She had been a member of the previous council.Wellington Hospital Board:

(a) There were 16 nominees for 7 seats.

(b) Mrs. Lettie Annie ALLEN was elected to this Board.

Lower Hutt City Council:

(a) There were 25 nominees for 15 seats.

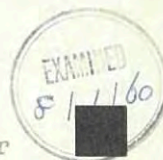
COMMENT:

2. (a) The total voting roll for the Wellington City Council was 85-726. It is estimated that only 36-500 voted. The chart shows 'votes cast' as 461-000 which figure, when compared with the number of votes polled by individual candidates, could give a misleading picture. In any case it is questionable whether an accurate political picture could be made out of the voting figures as it is an established fact that the candidates listed in the top half of the voting paper always poll better than those listed lower down the sheet because of the alphabetical listing of the names.

(b) It is noted that the candidate for the Wellington City Council, Ralph Herbert BROOKES (i.r.) had been originally classified in the chart as a 'sympathiser' and that the classification had later been removed. As a member of the committee of the N.Z. Council for Civil Liberties and membership in the Movement for Nuclear Disarmament it appears that the original classification as a 'sympathiser' should be allowed to stand meanwhile.

The District Officer,
WELLINGTON.

Field Officer



No. Membership of these two organisations does not automatically mean that a person is a sympathiser.

Seen [redacted] 8 Jan

The Director (G)

1. I agree with [redacted] comments above (para 2a).
2. As far as Brookes is concerned it can only be repeated that he is on record at this Office for certain actions which if attributed to most people would classify them as security risks.

11/1/59

SERIAL:	BODY:	VOTING POPULAT- ION:	VOTES CAST:	"I.R." NOMINEES AND VOTES RECEIVED:	REMARKS:
1.	Christchurch City Council 19 seats (41 nominees)		464,000 P.F. Lyell Charles John Harold Ernest IR IR Reginald Henry P.F. Robert Mateking	^{John Gibson} P.F. J.G. LOCKE (Com) - C.P. member - 1,800 L.C.J. SOUTHERN (Lab) - Sympathiser - 8,700 H.E. DENTON (Lab) - Little known - 11,000 R.H. STILLWELL (Lab) - Little known - 12,000 R.M. McFARLANE (Lab) - Little known - 13,000	None elected President Democ- ratic Labour Party Favoured Melbourne Congress
2.	Christchurch Mayoralty nominees		P.F.	George MANNING (Lab) - Little known -	Elected with 2,000 majority
3.	Lyttelton Borough Council seats (..... nominees)				
4.	Queenstown Borough Council seats (..... nominees)		Didn't	^{Hog Yow Sew-Hoy P.F.} H. SEW HOY (...) - Little known	Elected
5.	Buller Country Council 9 seats (..... nominees)	^{Karama West Coast}	P.F.	^{Neil} N. CHRISTIANSON (...) - Alleged sympathiser	Elected unopposed
6.	Waimairi County Council 8 seats (..... nominees)		P.F. James	^{ARTHUR Alexander P.F.} A.A. ADCOCK (...) - C.P. member 1948-1954 - J. SHANKLAND Jr. (...) - Little known -	ADCOCK elected
7.	Heathcote County Council 3 seats (..... nominees)			^{Jack Chell IR} J.C. HOLLIS (...) - Little known - ^{Card destroyed} [redacted] 6/4/85 ^{Howard or Harold}	Not elected. Uncle of R.C. HOLLIS
8.	Halswell County Council 6 seats (..... nominees)	^{NZ Railway Emp Timaru 1954}		H. COX (...) - Little known	Elected. May be sympathiser

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9.	Dunedin City Council 12 seats (..... nominees)	227,000	Edgar Wilson PF E.W. HUNTER (Com) - C.P. member - 3,600	Not elected
10.	Brunner & Runanga Borough Councils 2 seats (..... nominees)		Frank William John PF W.J.F. MUNDEN (...) - Militant unionist, also Peace Council -	Elected
	Mangahua County Council 10 seats (..... nominees)		Reefton PF James Eckley J.E. ETHEREDGE (...) - Onetime C.P. member -	Elected
	Brunner Borough Council 9 seats (..... nominees)		PF Harold H. BROWNING (...) - C.P. member -	Elected
	Grey County Council 15 seats (..... nominees)		PF Andrew David A.D. KENNEDY (...) - Onetime C.P. member -	Elected
	Charleston Riding seats (..... nominees)		William (Wink) PF W. CAIRNS (...) - Onetime C.P. member -	Elected
	Wellington City Council 15 seats (..... nominees)	461,000	Ralph Herbert PF R.H. BROOKES (Cit) - Sympathiser - 14,000 PF Mrs L.A. ALLEN (Lab) - Fellow traveller - 13,000 N.R. TAYLOR (Lab) - Sympathiser - 12,000 J.G. O'BRIEN (Lab) - S.C.R. - 10,000 C.T. TROUGHTON (Lab) - Little known - 9,000 P.M. O'ROURKE (IUA) - Little known - 3,000 PF R.J. SMITH (Com) - C.P. member - 1,500 PF R. NUNES (Com) - C.P. member - 1,200	BROOKES elected ALLEN elected RCB
16.	Wellington Hospital Board 7 seats (..... nominees)	224,800	PF Mrs L.A. ALLEN (Lab) - Fellow traveller - 16,000 PF R. NUNES (Com) - C.P. member - 1,700 W.E. ROSE (Lab) - S.C.R. - 11,000	ALLEN elected (see also Serial 15)

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17. Lower Hutt Council
15 seats (²⁵ nominees)
PLM
- PF Trevor James
PF James Walker
- T.J. YOUNG (...) - Little known - 8,200
J. McDONALD (...) - Little known - 8,000
S. CHESNEY (...) - S.C.R. - 6,300
PF Samuel
- All three elected
18. Lower Hutt Mayorality
- P.F. Percy P. DOWSE (Lab) - S.C.R. and P.C. -
- Elected with 3,000 majority
-
- Auckland City Council
21 seats (52 nominees)
- 633,102
Gordon Harold
P.F. Donald
PF Eleanor Matilda
PF Richard Charles
PF Peter Wilfred George
Whakatane 1956 PF Margaret Ramidy Brown
P.F. Robert
PF David
IR. Agnes Helen
PF Thomas
- G.E. JACKSON (Com) - C.P. member - 3,300
P.F. G.H. ANDERSON (Com) - C.P. member - 3,300
D. McEWEN (Com) - C.P. member - 2,700
E.M. AYO (Com) - C.P. member - 2,100
R.C. WOLF (Com) - C.P. member - 2,000
P.W.G. McARA (Com) - C.P. member - 1,500
Mrs M.B. KIRK (CR) - C.P. approved - 14,000
R. ELSENDER (CR) - Peace Council - 11,500
D. ISBEY (CR) - Onetime member - 11,000
Mrs A.H. DODD (I) - Peace Council - 3,500
A.P. SHONE (CR) - C.P. approved - 18,000
T. BLOODWORTH (CC) - S.C.R. - 17,000
- SHONE and BLOODWORTH elected
- Auckland Mayorality
..... nominees
- PF Dave Myer
- D.M. ROBINSON (Lab) - Onetime Party member
- Elected with 1,000 majority
- Takapuna Borough Mayorality
..... nominees
- James
IR
- J. SHEPHERD (...) - Possible sympathiser -
- Not elected
- Glen Eden Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees)
- Brian Kenneth PF
- Mary Summers*
B.K. BIERG (...) - Onetime member -
- Not elected
- New Lynn Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees)
- IR
- Mrs Harriet Serattine*
H.G.A. HARE (...) - Onetime P.C. -
MR Harry George
- Not elected
- Takapuna Borough Council
9 seats (..... nominees)
- IR Leslie George
- L.G. BOND (...) - Possible sympathiser -
- Not elected

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25. Mangere East Borough Council
7 seats (..... nominees) *PF R Marshall Quack* R.A.R. MARSHALL (...) - Probable S.C.R. - Elected
26. Otahuhu
8 seats (..... nominees) *Albany Berkenhead* *E.J.F. DAY* (...) - Identification uncertain - Elected
27. Manurewa Borough Council
8 seats (..... nominees) *Christopher PF* C. MOUNTFORT (...) - P.C., onetime C.P. member - 1,200 Elected
28. Ellerslie Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees) *Alan Trevor PF* A.T. BELL (...) - Identification uncertain - Elected
29. East Coast Bays
..... seats (..... nominees) *George (Portland Quack) IR* *NIR* L.W. HALT (...) - Peace worker - Not elected
D.G. WALLBANK (...) - Little known - Not elected
30. Henderson Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees) *NIR* A.H. CORBAN (...) - Identification uncertain - Both elected
E.D. GREGORY (...) - Little known -
PF ERNEST DANIEL
31. Papatoetoe Borough Council
8 seats (..... nominees) *Arthur (Quack) PF* A.R. ROBSON (...) - S.C.R. - Not elected
32. Howick Borough Council
6 seats (..... nominees) *George Wolmsley IR* G.W. MCKINNON (...) - Onetime sympathiser - Elected
33. Mt. Albert Borough Council
10 seats (..... nominees) *PF John Ronald* J.R. BURFITT (...) - Onetime C.P. member - Not elected
34. Devonport Borough Council
9 seats (..... nominees) *IR Henning (Quack) Harold (Rat) Hans (Quack) IR* H. ANDERSON (...) - Identification uncertain - Elected
W.H. BENNETT (...) - Onetime P.C. - Not elected
IR William Harold

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Fols 388-391 were
copies of fol. 393 -

21/2/10. —

now destroyed

14/11/84

H.C. (CS)

D.O.W; D.O.A; D.O.C.

9.12.1959

C.P. - LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS.

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1. Herewith a chart which is self-explanatory and which has been compiled from information available at H.C. from our records and from information forwarded by Districts.
2. Would Districts please complete the particulars where this is possible without undue effort and make any comments they consider relevant. Some valuable comments have already been received.
3. When the charts have been returned, a consolidated report will be issued to Districts.

(CS)

for Director.

Encl.

File

15 DEC 1959

Encl.

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21/2/10

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS 1959

See Annex A for history of individuals named hereunder.

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Body	Seats	(i.r.)	Votes gained	(ir) but not Elected
✓ CH-CH city council	19 41 nominees total votes 464,000 464,000		1,800 8,700 11,000 12,000 13,000	J.G.Locke (Com) L.C.J.Southon (Lab) H.E.Denton (Lab) R.H.Stillwell (Lab) R.M.McFarlane (Lab)
✓ QUEENSTOWN		H. Sew Hoy		
✓ LYTTLETON				
✓ BULLER County Council	9			
Karemea Riding.		N Christianson unop		
✓ WAIMAIRI County Council	8			
Styx Riding		AA Adcock		
✓ HEATCOTE County Council	3			J Shankland jun J.C.Hicks
✓ HALSWELL County council	6 9 nominees	H Cox		
✓ DUNEDIN City Council	12 Total votes 227,000		3,600	EW Hunter (Com)
WELLINGTON				
✓ City Council	15 Total votes 460,000	RH Brookes (C)	14,000 13,000 12,000 10,000 9,000 3,000 1,500 1,200	LA Allen Mrs (L) NR Taylor (L) JG O'Brien (L) CT Troughton (L) PMO'Rourke (IUA) RJ Smith (Com) R Nunes (Com)
✓ Hospital board	7 Total votes 224,800	Rx Nunes (Com) LA Allen (L) WE Rose	1,700 16,000 11,000	R Nunes (Com) WE Rose (L)
✓ LOWER HUTT city council	15	TJ Young J McDonald S Chesney	8,200 8,000 6,300	
UPPER HUTT				
Borough Council	8	MA Pagani	1,600 1,300	JD Milburn
TAWA Borough council	8	AH Carmah	1,200 960	W McGready
WEST COAST				
✓ Brunner & Runanga borough council	2	WJF Munden		
✓ Inanghwa county co	10	JE Etheredge		
✓ Brunner borough co	9	H Browning		
✓ Grey County council	11	AD Kennedy		
✓ Charleston Riding rep		Cairns W		
MAYORALITIES				
✓ Christchurch		Manning G	2,000 maj	
✓ LOWER HUTT		P Dowse	3,000 maj	
✓ Takapuna borough				J. Shepherd
✓ Auckland				

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Body	Seats	(ir)elected	votesgd	(ir)nât elect
AUCKLAND City Council	21		3,300 3,300 2,700 2,400 2,800 1,500 14,000 11,500 11,000 3,500 18,000 17,000	GE Jackson (Com) GH Anderson (Com) D McEwen (Com) EM Ayo (Com) RC Wolf (com) PWG McAra (com) M v B Kirk Mrs (CR) R Elsander (CR) D Isbey (CR) AH Dodd (I) Mcs. AP Shone (CR) T Bloodworth (C)
GLEN EDEN Borough	6	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	BK Berg
NEW LYNN Borough	6	XXXXXX		HGE HARE
TAKAPUNA Borough	9	XX JA Cameron		LG Bond J Shepherd
MANGERE EAST Bor.	7	RAR Marshall		
OTAHUHU Borough	8	EJF Day		

In WELLINGTON the total of votes cast for the CP amounted to 2,780, whereas in 1956 the total was 5,400. Overall council votes amounted to appx 461,000; CP percentage was .6%.

In AUCKLAND the total of votes cast for the CP amounted to 645,000, whereas in 1956 the total was 4,400 (with ~~twice as many~~ half as many candidates). Overall council votes amounted to 633,000; CP percentage 2.4%. ~~47% of the electorate voted.~~

In CHRISTCHURCH the total of votes cast for the CP amounted to 1,800, ~~whereas in 1956 the total was 1,900~~. Overall council votes amounted to 464,000; CP percentage .4%.

In DUNEDIN the total of votes cast for the CP amounted to 3,600, whereas in 1956 the total was *. Overall council votes amounted to 227,000; CP percentage 1.6%.

In the Wellington Hospital board election, the total of votes cast for the CP amounted to 1,700, whereas in 1956 the total was 4,400. Overall board votes amounted to 225,000; CP percentage was .75%.

The ~~average~~ overall CP percentage in the four city councils was 1.3%.

MANUREWA BOROUGH	8	C Mountfort	1,200	
ELLERSLIE "	6	AT Bell	600 (First)	
E COAST BAYS "	9			LW Holt DG Wallbank
HENDERSON "	6	AK Corban	first	
PAPATOETOE "	8	ED Gregory	sixth	AR Robson
HOWICK "	6	GW McKinnon		
Mt ALBERT "	10			JR Burfitt
DEVONPORT "	9	H Anderson		
OXFORD "				WH Bennett

(Those names underlined were elected):

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JG Locke CP member
 LCT Southon onetime member CP, now sympathiser.
 HE Denton addressed the communist-dominated Richmond Demo Lab Party 1953.
 RH Skillwell President Dem Lab Party & alleged associate of a CP mbr
 RM McFarlane ~~Specialist~~ ^{Specialist} ~~Peace~~ worker.
 H. Sew Hoy President of Puned in Chinese Soc 1953. Reliability of his info re: actualizes in doubt.
 N. Christensen alleged to hold Comm symps in 1948
 AA Adcock Member CP 1948-54. Present views unknown.
 J Shankland jun Attended Anniv Sov Regub party 1957.
 JC Hollis Jack Chell Hollis: uncle of Rex Chell Hollis (CP mbr). Not known to be communistic.
 H Cox ~~Prob ident~~ possibly identical to a C. Symp of that name.
 EW Hunter CP mbr
 RH Brookes fellow traveller or symp: possibly one-time member CP.
 LA Allen fellow traveller. SCR. PC.
 NR Taylor (of Duncan, Matthews & Taylor). Prob sympathiser.
 JG O'Brien SCR
 CT Troughton Sympathiser in 1955
 PM O'Rourke SCR but also devout RC
 RJ Smith CP member
 R Nunes
 LA Allen
 WE Rose fellow traveller. SCR. PC. ~~at bomb protest see above.~~
 SCR
 TJ Young prob. symp. prob SCR.
 J McDonald " " "
 S Chesney SCR
 MA Pagani Mbr CP in 51 + probably up to 1955. PC.
 JD Milburn Symp. SCR (1951). PC (1959). WEA. Manager Modern Bles.
 AH Carman Convicted for Subversion 1941. SCR donation. Prob receives Sov Bulletin.
 W McGeady onetime ~~int~~ active mbr CP. Quiescent since 1940.
 WJF Munden militant unionist. PC.
 JE Etlredge onetime CP mbr. May still be symp.
 H. Browning CP mbr
 AD Kennedy onetime CP mbr. Now prob. symp.
 W Cairns CP mbr 1950.
 G Manning ~~Chairman~~ ^{Chair} CABTA, chairman ChCh br N. Warfare camp.
 P. Dowse SCR & PC interests; friendly with CP mbrs.
 J. Shepherd Suspected symp, 1959.
 GE Jackson mbr CP
 GH Anderson " "
 * DM Robinson candidate approved of by NZCP. Onetime member of CP.

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D McEwen CP mbr

EM Ayo "

RC Wolf "

PWS McAra "

MVB Kirk Mr. NZCP approves of subject as a candidate: 10.11.59.

RElsender Connected with PC. Mbr of School cmttee which is perstated by CP.

D Isbey PYL in 1952. Overtime CP mbr

Att Dadd Mrs Sympathiser in 1951. Husband prob. a mbr CP in 1951. PC.

AP Shore NZCP approves of subject as a candidate: 10.11.59.

T Bloodworth Exec of UNA in 1958. Assists SCR.

BK Berg Mbr CP in 1950. Overtime chairman of a CP branch (PC).

HGE Hare PC in 1953.

LG Bond Suspected sympathiser 1959.

~~JAC~~J Shepherd ~~Suspected sympathiser 1959~~ see above.

RAR Marshall A 'R Marshall' is a member of SCR.

^{Edward}
EJF Day'Edward Day' of Birkenhead subscribes to Labours Review.
'E Day' of Albany is a CP mbr.C Mountfort PC. Mbr CP ~~in~~ in 1950. Prob symp nowA Bell possibly identical to 'A^T Bell' - mbr CP in 1946.

LW Holt strongly socialistic: peace worker. Associate of Prof AUREY.

DG Wallbank possibly a distributor of the PV.

~~At~~ Corban ~~Assid Khaleel~~ Possibly related to Corban Assid CORBAN, who is communistic.

ED Gregory. Subscribes to 'Peace'.

^{Arthur}
A Robson

Arthur Robson of Heme Bay is mbr SCR & mbr China Friendship Assn.

GW McKinnon Symp in 1950.

JR Burfitt CP mbr in 1944. Associate of FREER. Made a sponsored tour of China.

Harry Anderson CP mbr at Rotorua: may have moved to Ak?

WH Bennett PC in 1954.

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY

383

Autobiography of

From (source): S. W. Scott

Reference:

Date: Nov. 1959

For File No. 21/2/8 10

Original on P.F / SCOTT, Sydney Wilfred

Received on [redacted] by [redacted]

On Nov. 1959

Page. Chapter 12. The Cold War Casts Its Shadow.
112.

In 1946, the policy of the Communist Party towards the Labour Government was still conciliatory and it fought the elections that year under the slogan of "Return a Labour Government and four Communist M.Ps". The Auckland Labour Representation Committee was only the most important of the Labour organisations which urged that the Communist Party be accepted as an affiliation of the Labour Party. Next year, the atmosphere was notably different and the explanation was to be found in the deterioration of relations between the Soviet Union and the West.

Within the Communist Party, too, feeling began to harden and it was somewhere about this time that, as editor of the "People's Voice", I was reproached for publishing the photograph of the then Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser. The Labour Party leaders and especially some prominent members of the Government became uncompromisingly hostile in their comments on Communism and the Communist Party. The then Minister of Public Works, Bob Semple (popularly known in earlier days as "fighting Bob Semple"), was one of the most candid critics and his picturesque language was directed, not without effect, against the Communists.

Chapter 13 General Secretary:.....

18. The question arose as to what should be our attitude in the 1949 General Elections. Ever since the 1935 election blunder we had supported the return of a Labour Government. My instinctive feeling was in favour of supporting their return once again, even though our support was a critical one. But the new forces in the Party leadership were strongly against Labour and whereas, in past years, I would have fought for a policy of support, I now wavered. There was the clinching argument, it seemed, of Labour's support for the "imperialist warmongers".

My own articles and letters on the subject reflected my indecision and must have been somewhat... to those who wanted clear direction on how to vote where there was no Communist candidate, which was in most places. The election policy was a neutralist one which really left it to the individual Party member and supporter as to whether they should or should not vote for the Labour candidate. There was, of course, no suggestion that it would be permissible to vote for a conservative candidate.

I was not easy about our attitude and wrote a personal letter to Mr. Harry Pollitt, then secretary of the British Communist Party. He sent back a personal reply pointing out that British Communist policy was to support the return of a Labour Government, while standing a limited number of Communist candidates.

From this time on, I never doubted that we should support the Labour Government, whatever its international policy or other (real and imaginary) shortcomings, and in the snap elections of 1951 I advocated support for the Labour Government.

The 1949 elections, which took place only several months after my commencing duties as General Secretary, were attended by circumstances which convinced me that my supersession in the leadership was already determined on by persons of decisive importance within the inner leadership of the Party. They were small signs, but significant. The reason for this lay in deep underlying differences in political outlook.

Firstly, there was the whole question of the united front tactic and secondly, there was the old question, now assuming real importance, of the interpretation of Stalin's famous theory of aiming the "main blow" at "social democracy". Thirdly, and more fundamentally, there was a difference, lying deep in our respective philosophies and temperaments, concerning the true Communist attitude towards individual men and women, and first of all towards members of the Party and the people with whom

~~SECRET~~

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Chapter 10
Page 148.

THE PARTY IN DECLINE

.....As the Party became more Bolshevized", so did its influence lessen. In the trade unions, its strength was less than in 1937. The vote for Municipal and Parliamentary candidates had sunk to absurdly low levels. The time when Communist candidates could obtain nine and ten thousand votes (as was the case with Mr. Birchfield and Harold Silverstone in the war years) was gone. Amongst trades unionists, after isolating themselves from the so-called Right Wing, they had disgusted many of the Left Wing by the summary way in which the policy towards the Federation of Labour had been changed without consulting with their non-Party colleagues.

.....The Auckland Labour Representation Committee was only the most important of the Labour organisations which urged that the Communist Party be accepted as an affiliation of the Labour Party. Next year, the atmosphere was notably different and the explanation was to be found in the deterioration of relations between the Soviet Union and the West.

Within the Communist Party, too, feeling began to harden and it was somewhere about this time that, as editor of the "People's Voice", I was reproached for publishing the photograph of the then Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser. The Labour Party leaders and especially some prominent members of the Government became increasingly hostile in their comments on Communism and the Communist Party. The then Minister of Public Works, Ben Sempie (popularly known in earlier days as "fighting Bob Sempie"), was one of the most scathing critics and his picturesque language was directed, not without effect, against the Communists.

The question arose as to what should be our attitude in the 1943 General Election. Ever since the 1935 election blunder we had supported the return of a Labour Government. My instinctive feeling was in favour of supporting their return once again, even though our support was a critical one. But the new forces in the Party leadership were strongly against Labour and whereas, in past years, I would have fought for a policy of support, I now wavered. There was the conflicting argument, it seemed, of Labour's support for the "imperialist war effort".

My own articles and letters on the subject reflected my indecision and must have been somewhat... to those who wanted clear direction on how to vote where there was no Communist candidate, which was in most places. The election policy was a neutralist one which left it to the individual Party member and supporter as to whether they should or should not vote for the Labour candidate. There was, of course, no suggestion that it would be permissible to vote for a conservative candidate.

I was not easy about our attitude and wrote a personal letter to the Party Pollitt, then secretary of the British Communist Party. He sent back a personal reply pointing out that British Communist members did support the return of a Labour Government, while attending a limited number of Communist candidates.

From then on, I never doubted that we should support the Labour Government whatever its international policy or other (real and imaginary) shortcomings, and in the snap elections of 1951 I advocated support for the Labour Government.

The 1948 elections, which took place only several months after my concluding duties as General Secretary, were attended by circumstances which convinced me that my supersession in the leadership was already determined on by persons of decisive importance within the inner leadership of the Party. They were small signs, but significant. The reason for this lay in deep underlying differences in political outlook.

Finally, there was the basic question of the united front tactic and, actually, there was no real issue of principle, but the interpretation of the interpretation of the theory of aiming the "main blow" at "social democracy" were fundamentally different. There was a difference in the way of looking at the philosophy and temperament, and the way of looking at the individual and the mass, and the way of looking at the leaders of the party and the masses.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21/2/50

380

D.O.A.

H.Q.

26.11.59.

ANNEXURE TO HANDLING NOTES : [REDACTED] of 26th November.

1. INFORMATION: On the evening of the 24th November, 1959, [REDACTED] discussion evening, held by the Eden-Roskill Branch of the Communist Party of New Zealand, held at 21 Louvain Avenue, Mt. Roskill, the home of Frederick John SPEAR (i.r.).
2. Present at the discussion were:
Mervyn Haley WILLIAMS (i.r.)
Frederick John SPEAR (i.r.)
Annie Bertha SPEAR (i.r.)
John Findlay EWEN (i.r.)
William JERMYN (i.r.)
John DICKSON (i.r.)
3. The discussion centred around class struggle through the ages since the days of feudalism.
4. WILLIAMS stated that it was time for Communism to break completely with the Labour Party and go into active opposition. Today's Labour Party being solely the tool of New Zealand big financiers, opposed to the National Party which was the tool of overseas financiers, to wit, Wall Street.
5. WILLIAMS stated in reply to a question that "Imperialism" today means control per medium of money, in days gone by bayonets were used, but the result is the same.
6. Mention was made by DICKSON that a Tom CLARKE, 92 Prospect Terrace was interested in the Party.
7. It was also mentioned that a resident at 40 Woodside Road was a Party member.

58/Es

21/2/50

Card

(NIR)

Neither the Tom CLARKE, nor the resident at [REDACTED] identified at present.

C.S.

Registry
action completed.

FIELD OFFICER.

copy ready to file
attached, of at your
reference re
letter to D.O.A.
about "Spear".

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

380

D.O.A.

H.Q.

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7. It was also mentioned that a resident at 40 Woodside Road was a Party member.

(N/A)
COMMENT: Neither the Tom CLARKE, nor the resident at 40 Woodside Road have been identified at present.

58/Fs

21/2/10

Card

EXTRA [REDACTED]
TAKEN [REDACTED]

FIELD OFFICER.

Copy to [REDACTED] on 27/11/59

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

" Newspaper

Published at AUCKLAND

, on [date]

25th November 1959 379

SUBJECT:

COMMUNIST GAINS

The municipal elections on Saturday show important facts for the New Zealand workers. Significant were the losses suffered by Labour on a wide scale throughout the country.

Even strongholds like Onehunga, Lyttelton and Kalapoi fell. Elsewhere Labour majorities dropped sharply. This eclipse of Labour in the field of local government reflects to a large extent the mounting discontent of the New Zealand working people with the performances of the Labour Government.

The growing awareness of the need of a fighting party of the New Zealand working class was demonstrated by gains made by the Communist Party.

In Auckland, for example, Mr. G. L. Andersen and Mr. D. McEwen increased their vote by 120% and 79% respectively over the 1956 poll.

In 1956 the best Communist vote represented 15% of the total votes for the lowest successful candidate in Auckland. On Saturday this rose to 24%, a 9% gain.

The Communist councillor, Mr. H. Browning, was again returned for Brunner ahead of some Labour Party candidates.

These results demonstrate the correctness of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand in its estimations last May that the conditions were favourable for the Party to make small but significant gains.

"Out to the masses," popularising the Party policy and programme, is the way those gains can be achieved.

Those Communist Party candidates who mass contact has been enlarged over recent years are precisely those who have won big gains.

On the other hand the vote of candidates such as Mr. W. McAra who have lacked wide mass contact and been out of public activity for some years at best stood still.

The Wellington figures for candidates who had not stood for several years suggest that the basic Party vote remains solid and showed a small advance.

The Christchurch result shows a substantial drop in Mr. J. Locke's vote from 2491 in 1956 to 1758 on Saturday. There was no report of the total poll. The only success of Labour was the holding of the mayoralty by a reduced margin. Not a single Labour member was returned, although a full ticket was put forward.

The gains should not lead to complacency. The results are a pointer to the greater gains which await an intensification of the work of taking the Party Programme to new people, increasing the sales of the People's Voice and pamphlets and winning new members and supporters and finance for the Party.

Only in this way can a mass movement of the working class be built. Without it the defence of workers' living standards, jobs and peace cannot be organised. The elections have demonstrated the favourable situation.

The day when the demands of the working class will be fought for in the local bodies and in Parliament by the real fighters for the workers' cause—the Communists—is not so far off as some people would have us believe.

AUCKLAND

	1959	1956
H. E. Jackson	3356	—
G. H. Anderson	3329	1510
D. McEwen	2774	1597
Mrs. E. Ayo	2165	—
R. Wolf	2020	—
W. McAra	1186	—
Lowest Vote of Successful Candidate, 1959	14,139	—

~~SECRET~~

G.D.D.-11

EXTRACT/COPY

378

From (source): 32/2/7/2 Reference: AE/L/5B Date: 25.11.1959
 For File No. 21/2/10
 Original on 32/2/7/2
 Received on 26.11.1959 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 30.11.1959

NOTE FOR FILELOCAL BODY ELECTIONS - AUCKLANDINFORMATION:

1. When G.H. ANDERSEN and M.H. WILLIAMS were discussing the Auckland municipal elections recently during a function in Auckland they talked about D.M. ROBINSON's chances of winning the mayoral elections. It was WILLIAMS' opinion that ROBINSON would win and ANDERSEN said that he hoped he would.
2. They both considered that the Party had done a lot better during these municipal elections than at any other ones previously.

COMMENT:

This is an interesting comment as we have had no information on D.M. ROBINSON since 1955. There is a reference elsewhere on file to ROBINSON threatening legal action unless his name was taken from the Communist Party election ticket. It would, therefore, appear that ROBINSON wishes to keep his political beliefs a secret.



1 Dec

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY

377

From (source): [REDACTED]

Reference: AK/4/5b

Date: 16th November, 1959

For File No.

21/2/10

Original on

32/2/7/2 Folios 108-116

Received on

17.11.59

Extracted/Copied by

On 20.11.59

AUCKLAND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

There has been some criticism in Auckland C.P. circles of the Municipal Election Leaflet. It is being said that the leaflet is not positive enough propaganda for the Party. It is agreed that the leaflet is in line with past election policy - support of the Labour Party, but it is felt that the time has come for a stronger Party programme. It is maintained that the workers in N.Z. are not as strongly in support of the Labour Party as they have been in the past, but the Party is not gaining as a result of this. The reason for this is said to be that while criticising Social Democracy, Party policy has been inclined to give the illusion that the workers should continue to support it, when in fact, the aim should be its overthrow.

This criticism has become more noticeable since the return from China of V.G. WILCOX. WILCOX is known to have had Political discussions with the C.P.G. WILCOX has been heard to state that the C.P.G. considers the N.Z.C.P. should not encourage support of the Labour Party, thus strengthening Social Democracy in the minds of the workers, but should come out with a strong Party policy. The tactics which were correct ten or twenty years ago now tend to isolate the Party from the workers and should be changed. The workers must be brought to the point where they will break with Social Democracy, and Party policy in its approach to the masses must be strong enough to encourage this.

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE"

" Newspaper.

Published at AUCKLAND

, on [date] 11/11/1959

376

SUBJECT:

They decide how you live and what you pay Make them workers' councils

Here are excerpts from the programmes of the Communist candidates in the four centres. They are not the full programmes but they all have one thing in common—they are all working class programmes.

Auckland

Housing

Our Candidates will fight for a programme of high density housing for the centre of the city which can and must be carried out. This includes flats, terrace houses and houses on small sections, aiming at the planned use of all available land for workers' homes. Hundreds of thousands of pounds are to be spent by the present council on parking buildings. It appears that their big-business outlook means hundreds of thousands of pounds to park a businessman's car, but little or nothing spent for the worker and his family to park their bodies.

The outlook with the present council in power is grim indeed for all workers, young and old.

Transport

Auckland needs a properly co-ordinated system of railways (underground and electric), motor-ways, trolley-buses and buses. Until this is secured, fares will continue to rise, while the service gets steadily worse. The power of the City Council must be used to see that public transport is a public service, not a liability on the users, who are mostly workers.

On performance, the present council is a very effective tax-gatherer for the oil and tyre monopolies, like Standard Oil and Firestone. A large proportion of the levy they impose each year for the A.T.B. upon the hard-pressed suburban ratepayer finds its way into the pockets of the oil and tyre monopolies.

Fluoridation

The Auckland City Council cannot have a neither-for-nor-against attitude to fluoridation of the water supply. The Communist Party supports fluoridation on the basis of the known scientific facts. But because of the wide support and opposition to the matter, we propose that a broad Commission of Inquiry be set up, composed of the best scientific personnel available.



P. W. McARA



G. E. JACKSON

While everyone realises that our economy is based on business—a system known as capitalism—not everyone appreciates the fact that the general government administers the country in the interests of that system. And not everyone realises the immense power of businessmen, particularly the big businessmen, in determining how governments shall look after their interests.

Those interests are concerned primarily with the creation of the utmost profit. And as the source of that profit is the labour of the working people, it is only to be expected that the powers behind the scenes insist that the wage-earners shall shoulder the main burden of taxation, with the result of living standards.

And while the businessmen ensure that the general government administers the country as a whole in their interests, they also ensure that the local governments administer the offices, towns, transport, harbours, etc., in their interests.

They are a vital part of the machinery used by big business to see that New Zealand life is run first and foremost in the interest of big business profit.

The so-called Auckland "Citizens' ticket, for example, comprises 18 company directors, managers or executives.

The working people provide all the money to run the city and its services. Through rents and rates, bus fares, bridge tolls, electricity charges, workers pro-

vide the millions to pay for interest on loans, air port, harbour bridge, etc., put millions of workers' hard-earned cash at the disposal of a handful of businessmen. Services for the people suffer, but those that serve big business get the inside running.

The voice of the working people is not heard in the local government bodies. The Labour Party that once spoke out for them has retreated from the struggle. In Auckland, Wanganui and other places they have given the battle away and refused to come out and fight for the people.

Elsewhere they do not seriously challenge the power of big business or fight for policies that really would ensure the elites are run in the interests of the majority of the working people. The only party that stands four square for workers' councils, that puts forward policies and candidates pledged to place the interests of the working people first, is the Communist Party of New Zealand.

This year workers in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin have the chance of electing a number of these working-class candidates. They can be elected. It is vital to the struggle of all workers that they should be. Only if they are elected will the real voice of the people be heard. Thousands of workers to-day agree that even one single Communist M.P. would be an immense help in organising the people's struggle for a living wage, price-pegging and tax relief.

Because we have no Communists in Parliament, not one single voice was raised against the huge taxation levied on workers while profits soar to record levels. Communists on the local government bodies will provide a rallying point of the struggle for city administrations to serve the working people's interest.

Election of Communist councillors on November 21 requires every reader of the People's Voice becoming an organiser, winning friends, workmates and neighbours in going to the poll and voting for the candidates of the Party.

Wellington

(1) A cheap and efficient transport service to serve the people in their leisure.

business area to make business pay its share of transport costs.

(5) Tramways Union representatives to be on the

They decide how you live and what you pay Make them workers' councils

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G. H. ANDERSEN

Christchurch

Civic progress in Christchurch cannot be separated from a policy for peace and peaceful co-existence. While governments spend millions on armaments, local bodies find it most difficult to raise loans to finance necessary civic improvements.

Housing

Big waiting lists for State houses and pensioners' cottages show that adequate housing is still a big problem for many. Our plan is for the immediate council acquisition of central areas of land where mainly old houses exist, and there to build blocks of flats suitable for small families, couples, etc. These flats will carry more people in better and more modern conditions than the present old houses and will also provide more open space for surrounding gardens and parks. Many more pensioners' cottages must be built and the Government urged to build more State houses.

Rating

A way must be found to keep rates down for the home-owner, whose rates have been going up steadily every year, by increasing the rates paid by big firms.

Women and Children

Assistance should be given for the building of suburban community halls to be used also for kindergartens and play centres. More women's rest-rooms, fully-equipped children's playgrounds and a residential nursery to help sick mothers are all urgent needs.

Three things are necessary to make these policies possible: Bigger rates on large firms; profitable

commercial schemes by the council; cheap financial assistance from the Government to local bodies at the expense of military funds.

Wellington Candidates



R. NUNES

R. J. SMITH

Cheaper Services

Bus fares to be reduced—the gap between revenue and expenditure to be bridged by a special transport rate on all commercial and business enterprises that profit from the transport system. Cheap family tickets for week-end travel. End price discrimination favouring commercial users of gas and electricity, thus decreasing the prices to the householders.

Council Housing

Revoke the pre-war, low deposit, low interest, home-building scheme as carried out in Clyde Hill. Adequate and suitably-situated cottages for pensioners. Hostels for single women, apprentices and students. Clearance of slums and their replacement by blocks of family flats.

Street Lighting

Considerable sections of Dunedin are dimly lit for night driving on main roads. Investigate all roads

While everyone realises that our economy is based on business—a system known as capitalism—not everyone appreciates the fact that the general governments administer the country in the interests of that system. And not everyone realises the immense power of businessmen, particularly the big businessmen, in determining how governments shall look after their interests.

Those interests are concerned primarily with the creation of the utmost profit. And as the source of that profit is the labour of the working people, it is only to be expected that the powers behind the scenes insist that the wage-earners shall shoulder the main burden of taxation, with the result of living standards.

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Wellington

- (1) A cheap and efficient transport service to serve the people in their leisure as well as in their working hours.
- (2) A special rate to be struck on a zoned city

business area to make business pay its share of transport costs.

- (3) Reducing these costs by putting an end to the "contract system."
- (4) Immediate improvement in tram and bus workers' pay and conditions so as to attract sufficient staff to fully man an improved service.

- (5) Tramways Union representatives to be on the Transport Committee of the Council so that the direct experience of the workers can be used in improving time-tables, safety measures and service to the public, as well as ensuring prompt attention to the workers' grievances.

- SET UP A CITY COUNCIL BUILDING AUTHORITY, including representatives of the Trade Unions, to direct and co-ordinate the municipal building programme.
- COMMENCE CONSTRUCTION OF 25 to 30 BLOCKS OF FLATS with an average of about 150 various-sized flats in each block.
- ACQUIRE LAND IN NEAR SUBURBS and areas such as Mt. Crawford, to build in the next five years 1,500 family homes, 300 pensioners' cottages, 18 modern hostels for apprentices, students and young workers.
- CO-ORDINATE THE ABOVE PROGRAMME with vigorous slum clearance, commencing in the Te Aro Flat area.
- REMOVE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S RESIDENCE out beyond the City boundaries and use the 54 acres of this estate for multi-storied flat construction in conjunction with the slum clearance.

The Communist Party fights for—

- All rooming-houses and boarding houses to be licensed.
- As a condition of the licence, decent standards of accommodation, cleanliness

and facilities to be required.

- A staff of inspectors to be employed to ensure that these standards are complied with.
- A fair rent of approved price to be approved by the Labour Department or Price Tribunal and shown on each licence.

Dunedin



E. W. HUNTER

for improvements and consequent greater safety.

Parking

Develop off-street parking schemes to extend parking facilities—not restrict them.

Free Speech

The right of all persons and organisations to use the public streets

processions must be restored and guaranteed.

Council Employees

The Communist Party stands for better conditions and wages for all council employees to guarantee an adequate standard of living on a 40-hour week. It also believes that the old "master and servant" approach to employees is in need of revision.

Finance

To help make all these things possible, the Communist Party proposes that the Government should subsidise essential public works of a local character, such as road-making, water supply, etc., in the same way that it subsidised the building of air-raid shelters during the war. It can be done in war-time. It can be done in peace-time.



D. McEWEN



R. WOLF



E. AYO

Young People

Direct Government and City Council assistance to the young people of Auckland by provision of Youth Hostels and centres for Youth Clubs is urgent. Our youth do not want pious resolutions and continuous pin-pricks about their shortcomings. They need help to help themselves. Communist councillors would see that they get it.

Sports grounds and Sunday sport is a must. A survey shows that there is little or no improvement in the facilities of existing grounds since 1953-56. Despite that fact, the council has raised rentals to sports clubs, which do a magnificent job on a voluntary basis for the young people. Action urgently required. Communist councillors would see that they get it.

Kindergartens, Orehouses, Rest-rooms and Public Conveniences: Kindergartens and orehouses in the areas where workers live are very few. Women's rest-rooms and public conveniences are scarce. These are the workers' concern, therefore the concern of Communist



~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY/

G.D.D.—11

21/2/10

375

From (source):

Reference: AK/4/5/a

Date: 2nd October, 1959

For File No.

21/2/1

Original on

32/2/7/1 Fobios 56-58

Received on

6.10.59

Extracted/Copied by

On 8.10.59

The National Secretariat N.Z.C.P. intend to issue a circular in reply to the several criticisms in regard to the trips overseas of members of the Party leadership.

The Communist Party campaign for the Auckland Municipal Elections has begun. The Party would like to see a Council made up of the six Party candidates, some Labour members and selected Independent candidates. Leaflets to this effect are being prepared for distribution.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

G.D.D.-11

EXTRACT/COPY/

374

From (source):



Reference: AK/4/5a

Date: 16th September, 1959

For File No.

21/2/10

Original on

32/2/7/1

Folios 26-28

Received on

17.9.59

Extracted/Copied by



On 21.9.59

The Communist Party is to stand candidates in the forthcoming Auckland Municipal Elections.

Hilda M. PARRY will take over the running of the Auckland District C.P. Office during the absence of Lillian Rita SMITH in China.

COMMENT. There would now appear to be no doubt at all that H.M. PARRY is a Party Member.

~~SECRET~~



WORKERS NEWS!



21/2/10
373

WANTED NOW CHANGE POLICY

The last two conferences of the Federation of Labour have decided to take steps to ensure a living wage for a 40 hour week, the information obtained to be the basis of action for an amendment to the Minimum Wage Act.

As any worker knows, the present minimum wage of £9-7-6. is hopelessly out of date insofar as it is expected to serve as a living wage with today's costs as they are. While separate awards provide for varying rates of pay, the existence of a low minimum wage acts as a deterrent to obtaining a living wage for a 40 hour week. Also the Act fails to lay down how many hours a worker has to work to get the minimum of £9-7-6.

WAGE APPLICATION

The advent of automation and the deepening crisis of capitalism makes the demand for a living wage on a 40 hour week an urgent necessity. Most workers know how difficult it is to maintain a decent standard of living without overtime. The cutting out of overtime and the withdrawal of certain bonus schemes is showing up how inadequate ordinary wages are.

The solution is not to depend on overtime and bonuses, but to obtain a living wage for a 40 hour week.

WAGE APPLICATION

While the decision of the Arbitration Court for a new General Wage Order is not announced yet, it needs to be understood that the application has been made because prices have already risen, and it is only to maintain the status quo. What is needed is policy to take the workers forward.

The Government must be told to bring its policy into line with the demands of the Federation of Labour for price control, price pegging not price rises, for an adjustment to the Minimum Wage Act to provide for a living wage on a 40 hour week, for reduced taxes on the workers.

Do you know that the tax on a 2oz packet of tobacco is 3/3¹/₂? If the workers are not going to be made to accept a further decline in their living standards, action is needed now.

If you were one of the many who listened in to the budget reading with expectancy of paying less for your foaming glass, your wife's smokes or petrol for the family bomb then you were, no doubt, bitterly disappointed.

That the Government has let the workers down cannot be denied, and a continuation of their present policy of heavily taxing the family man while the big companies skip blithely onward and upwards at our expense, can only suggest defeat at the next elections - even though the National Party have nothing better to offer.

WE MUST NOT FORGET

AUGUST 6TH, 1945 - The A-Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

AUGUST 9TH, 1945 - The A-Bomb was dropped on Nagasaki.

Let us remember them - not in silence but in action - BAN TESTS AND THE BOMB!

It is not too late for all sections of the Labour movement to unite and press for a change of the Governments' present policies and a decided change of heart and uplift in national finance, by trading more and fully with socialist countries. After all if it hadn't been for the socialist market last year our wool prices would never have held up, and we cannot expect their buying to go on indefinitely unless we reciprocate on a similar basis.

But lets take a closer look at our taxation as it will be from April 1st next year.

Although Mr. Nordmeyer has stated that there will be no tax increase for ANYONE, his figures, as given, indicate otherwise. The lower-paid married man with a dependant wife and several children, who has paid no income tax in his P.A.Y.E. up till now, will be paying 3/- per year more, owing to the rise in social security tax - when the first £2 will no longer be exempt from Social Security tax of 1/6d. in every £.

Thus:	Married with one child
£12 per week tax	Now Oct 1st. April 1
	17-8 16-3 18.0

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassification Policy

Married with two children
£12 per week I5-0 I5-0 I8-0
Married with three children
£12 per week I5-0 I5-0 I8-0

Also the 10/- per week now tax free to allow for insurance premiums, will from April 1st become taxable.

The following figures show the extent of taxation on the three now "luxury" items:

BEER: 8oz glass, price 9d - tax 4.02d.
PETROL: Gallon, price 4-2d - tax 2-3 $\frac{3}{4}$.
TOBACCO: 2oz. packet, price 5-0 - tax 3-3 $\frac{1}{2}$
CIGS: Packet of 20, price 2-10 - tax 1-7 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Labour Government must redirect its concern from big business to the interests of the working-class, and it is the working-class itself which, through organised unity, must see that the Government does so - NOT NEXT YEAR BUT THIS YEAR.....!

7-YEAR PLAN

Every worker should be acquainted with a understanding of this great, important task undertaken by the Soviet peoples and their Government.

Here is a plan for increasing farm output by 70 per cent and industrial output by 80 per cent in 7 years; for building many hundreds of new factories, pits, power stations, ships and shipyards, and laying out 7,000 miles of new railway lines; for building new schools, clubs, colleges, 100 new television stations, 15 million apartments in towns, and 7 million houses in the countryside.

Every family is to have its own apartment, every young person to have 11 years education from 7 to 18/19 years, combined with productive labour in the last three years. The shortest working day and working week in the world will be introduced, the pay of low paid workers will be doubled, and the real incomes for all workers and collective farmers will be raised by 40 to 60 per cent.

Contrast the above with our so-called "Free World" - 5 millions unemployed in America, 620,000 registered unemployed in Britain, unemployed in Australia, New Zealand and in every country where there is capitalism. Despite ever-increasing production by the workers in all these countries, they are now faced with ever-increasing attacks on their standards of living, and are compelled to resort to strike action in order to maintain their share in the wealth which they alone create.

In so doing, they are met with the full force of the ruling class - the press, radio, parliament, the pseudo economists - all the big guns are brought into action denouncing the workers for their "unpat-

riotic" actions, ruining the economy, creating chaos and inflation. All the old stock phrases are employed in order to throw dust in the eyes of the workers. Apprehension, fear, is the main weapon of the employing class, whereby it maintains its privileged position in its ever-increasing exploitation of the working people.

Neither capitalist nor capitalism any longer exists within the Soviet Socialist countries. Exploitation of mankind has been abolished forever - that is basically why it is possible for a Government representative of all the farmers, workers and intellectuals, with the land, minerals transport and industries socially owned, free of private ownership and control, to plan production for the benefit of all.

This is why workers in the socialist countries can look forward to a 40 per cent increase in their standard of living. Which worker in this country, or anywhere in the capitalist world, has experienced a government that planned to increase worker's incomes by 40 to 60 per cent. It has never happened and never will, for only under socialism is this possible.

N.Z. TOO

Where to go? What to do? The Communist Party commends to you a booklet written by Alec Ostler giving, we believe, a short, clear-cut outline on socialism, why it will benefit New Zealand, and how to achieve it. If approached with it, you will find it a 6d well spent.

DEMOCRATIC?

Why was the student demonstration against Maori exclusion from the All Blacks banned? The excuse given by one spokesman of the City Council was that it might interfere with traffic, but another spokesman explained that the real reason was that the City Council just do not like processions of any kind at any time.

Legal advice sought by students indicated that the City By-law governing processions, Number 14, section 63, makes it obligatory to have a procession permit only in very few streets - Victoria, Colombo and High St.s, and then only between particular points. The solicitor consulted pointed out that in actual fact, it seemed that the By-law was invalid anyhow. The refusal of the permit was beyond doubt therefore, invalid.

PEOPLE'S VOICE

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Date 12/1/59

21/2/8¹⁰
371SOMETHING YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO.

To help in the campaign to Defeat Holland contact the
Communist Party at :-

AUCKLAND. Room 37, St., Kevins Arcade, Karangahape Rd., Auckland. C.L. 21/3/7
PHONE :- 48-723.

WELLINGTON. 125 Cuba Street, Wellington. 21/5/7
PHONE 53-528.

CHRISTCHURCH P. O. BOX 1000, CHRISTCHURCH. 21/7/7
PHONE 88-015.

DUNEDIN. / Mr. E. W. Hunter, 38 Pine Hall St., DUNEDIN N.E.L. 21/9/1

GREYMOUTH. / Mr. R. Taylor, 32 Marlborough St., GREYMOUTH. 21/9/21

All other Districts write :-

Organising Secretary,
P. O. Box 1785,
AUCKLAND. C. L.

7 copies subject files + P/F^s

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TAKEN



370

12th November, 1958.

The District Officer,
WELLINGTON, AUCKLAND, CHRISTCHURCH

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS AT LARGE
C.P. CONTRIBUTORS TO GENERAL ELECTION 1957 FUND.

1. Please refer to my letter of even reference dated 16th September, 1958, and replies thereto.
2. Further tentative identifications are as follows: -
 - (a) Members at Large:
 - N.H. (Whaka) : Adelaide Margaret (Nola) HALLETT of Otakiri, Whakatane.
(D.O.A. is requested to comment).
 - W.A. : possibly Walter ARMSTRONG who was residing at Mangakino.
 - R.J.D. : Raymond John DOWLE.
 - (b) Contributors to C.P. Election Fund:
 - H.A. (Rotorua): Henry Alfred Drummond ANDERSON.
 - E.B. : Elizabeth BARRY.
 - Y.R.(K ?), AB (Te Kuiti) should be V.K. and A.B.: Vera Kathleen TAYLOR and Allan Boyne TAYLOR.
 - H.E.A. (Napier)(cf. "Mrs H.E.A.-Napier", listed as C.P. contributor in "People's Voice"): Mrs Hilda Elizabeth ALLEN of Awatoto Road, Napier.
 - Mark A. (Otaki): Kelvin Mark AUCKRAM of 107 Queen Street, Levin.
 - J.H. (Glen Eden): John HALL.
 - Gran (Wanganui): Elizabeth Riddle ("Gran") MCGOWAN, died 27th April, 1958.
 - M.R. (Dunedin) : possibly Michael Nui RHODES, now of Christchurch.
3. The following item was omitted from lists of initials of members at large: - J.A. & M.A. This is probably John Buchanan ATKINSON and Margaret ATKINSON. The former is employed in the P. & T. Department. He is shown as having moved from Wellington in 1955 to a locality with initial letter "B". He is now believed to have returned to Wellington. D.O.W. is requested to investigate.
4. It has been established that letter "W" stands for Wellington. Hence "O.L." and "D. & R.H." in para 3 of my letter of 16th September are likely to be resident in Wellington.
5. District Officers are requested to keep the matter of identification under constant review. A number of members at large remain to be identified and in other cases tentative identification may be confirmed by discreet investigation. An instance of the use of initials of Christian names only has been detected, and should be borne in mind.

[REDACTED]
for Director.

~~SECRET~~

AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

21/2/58

368

3607.

21/2/58.
21/2/ 3.
21/2/ 4.
P.F.S.

Auckland.

22nd October, 1958.

The District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS AT LARGE;
C.P. CONTRIBUTORS TO GENERAL ELECTION 1957 FUND.

1. Headquarters memorandum dated 16th September, 1958 and my report of 24th September, 1958 refer.
2. A further check of the photographs recently received, show that -
H.L. (R) listed in paragraph 3 of the Headquarters memorandum is more than likely identical with -
Rex Hilton LEWIS of Rotorua.
3. It will be seen from H.L.'s card that a letter was sent to him regarding the 'As'. The 'As' are no doubt J & V.A. or Joyce Mary AUSTIN and Victor Francis AUSTIN of Rotorua, on whose card appears the note that a letter had been sent to H.L. regarding money owing by the AUSTINS for dues etc.
4. It has been reported that Rex Hilton LEWIS has the responsibility of collecting dues and other party money in Rotorua.
5. The notation after H.G., who is also listed in paragraph 3 of the Headquarters memorandum, is "Northland". This could refer to North Auckland or the district of "Northland" in Wellington.
6. Listed in paragraph 5 of the Headquarters memorandum is an Arthur R. (Glen Afton) who contributed £4 to the Election Fund. A check of the photograph shows quite distinctly that this should have been -
Arthur R. (Glen Afton).
Arthur R. is no doubt identical with, Idris Arthur REES (I.R), usually known as Arthur REES, a miner of Glen Afton and a communist of long standing.
7. The Y.R. (K7): A.B. (Te Kuiti) also listed in paragraph 5, should read V.K.: A.B. (Te Kuiti) neither of whom can be identified from records held in this office.

FIELD OFFICE

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY/

364

From (source): D.O.A.

Reference: AK/10/1A

Date: 26.9.58

For File No. 21/2/10

Original on 21/2/5

Received on 30.9.58

Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED]

On 27.5.60

ON THE IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME:

The Labour Party has published a leaflet "The Budget & the Wage Earner". This states "The crisis is just as serious as that we faced in the depression of 1931-35". It presents Import Control and Taxation Measures as "YOUR GUARANTEE" that the burden is being shared and that this time there will

- * No depression
- * No unemployment
- * No Wage cuts and
- * No Pension cuts. "

This kind of propaganda can only mislead workers. It shows up the anti-scientific theories of the Labour Party and their policy of adaptation to capitalism. Communists know that periodic economic crises are inherent in the capitalist system itself and can only be abolished by the abolition of the capitalist, and the establishment of socialist, relations of production.

The Labour Party doctrine ignores this. Consequently, it does not develop a fighting Programme and ignores the need for the people to actively struggle against monopoly. On the contrary, it continues to serve its interest - not least of all by its support for SEATO and wasteful military expenditure, and in ignoring the question of trade with Socialist countries which could help solve the shortage of overseas exchange.

In these conditions, the Immediate Programme of the Party can be seen as a most important weapon. It is necessary for all comrades to understand its relation to the step-by-step march of the N.Z. workers along the "N.Z. Road to Socialism". Our public presentation lacks this explanation yet. Comrades need to bear it in mind and explain it in their public and private discussions with working people.

One of the most important jobs which the Programme can do is to expose the inadequacy of the present Labour Government's Policy in meeting the crisis. There can be no doubt that our Programme can win many thousands of friends and give big impetus to the unity and struggle of the workers for real and effective action against the monopoly interests dominating our economy and political life.

The Programme will provide the focal point for our public activity over a whole period in the future, and consistent check-up of the work of the Branches and of each Party member around the Programme needs to be a weekly feature of Branch Executive and District Executive work.

The few but revealing reactions of workers to the Programme already received show that it does draw people closer to us and is a powerful potential recruiting medium. It will become ever more so as wider sections of the workers become more alive to the real threat of the developing crisis.

So, Comrades, the keynote is to make sure that this powerful document is constantly kept at work winning ever more friends, activating ever wider sections and thus building the mass movement of struggle against imperialism here at home and consequently on the international front.

MAKE SURE THAT WORKERS' COMMENTS
AND REACTION TO THE PROGRAMME, THE
ACTIONS IT STIMULATES ON THE JOB
AND IN THE TRADE UNIONS, ARE
IMMEDIATELY FORWARDED TO THE
NATIONAL CENTRE

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~~SECRET~~

21/2/58

AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

3607, 369

21/2/48.
21/2/ 8.
21/2/ 1.
P.F.S.

Auckland.

24th September, 1958.

The District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

C.P. MEMBERS AT LARGE.
C.P. CONTRIBUTORS TO GENERAL ELECTION 1957 FUND.

1. Headquarters memorandum of 16th September, 1958 refers.
2. With reference to paragraph 3 of Headquarters memorandum, W.A. could be Walter ARMSTRONG (i.r) whose last known address was Mangakino.
R.J.D. could be Raymond John DOWLE (i.r) of Auckland but it is unusual for a city member to be a Member at Large, however the letters C.I. could be C.1, in other words an Auckland city postal direction; DOWLE has a workshop in the city area.
3. With reference to the contributors to the Communist Party Election Fund, the following applies:-
H.A.(Rotorua) : Henry Alfred Drummond ANDERSON (i.r);
E.B. : Elizabeth BARRY (i.r);
"Gran"(Wanganui) : Elizabeth "Gran" MCGOWAN (deceased);
J.H. (Glen Eden) : John HALL (i.r);
T.M.Goodall (Frasertown) : Thomas Morton GOODALL of address given of whom we have no previous record.



FIELD OFFICER/

COPY ON
COPY FROM 21/2/58



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~~SECRET~~

21/2/8

367

21/2/18
21/2/8
21/2/1
P.F.sDistrict Officers,
AUCKLAND.
WELLINGTON.
CHRISTCHURCH.C.P. MEMBERS AT LARGE
C.P. CONTRIBUTORS TO GENERAL ELECTION 1957 FUND.

1. Documentary evidence was recently acquired in delicate circumstances showing CP members at large and CP contributors to the Party 1957 election fund. In most cases these persons were identified by initials and a further letter to indicate the locality in which they resided.

2. Members at large who have so far been tentatively identified are:

M.H.C.	Maxwell Hubert CANNELL - Tokoroa.
J. & V.A.	Joyce Mary AUSTIN and Victor Francis AUSTIN - Rotorua.
B.L.	Beverley Catherine LEY - Waihi.
* Mr. W.L.	William Howell LEY - Waihi.
A. Mac.	Alexander MacFARLANE - Putaruru.
P.H.	Paul Edward HOLMES - Kaikohe.
J.F.	John Christian FARNHAM - Whangarei.
W.E.	William Harold EADDY - Ngaruawahia.
Mr & Mrs J.M.	Jack David MURDOCK and Edna Ensley MURDOCK - Auckland.
L.C.	Lindsay Raymond Harrison CLARK - Opotiki.
Mrs. J.O.	Josephine May OLIVER - Taumarunui.
P.G.H.	Percival Gordon HANSEN - Gisborne.
* Jim J.	James Edwin JARMAN - Tiraui.
* H.L. Fitz.	Hilda Louise FITZGERALD - Kerikeri.
W.J.D.	William John DUGGAN - Manaia.
G.B.	George Allen BRAVERY - Whangarei.
* L.J.B.	Leslie John BEGGERSEN - Wanganui (Aramoho).
* P.Y.	Peter YELACICH - Wairara.
T.H.	Hugh (Taffy) HUGHES - Awanui (excused payment of dues)
* H.L.C.	Herbert Lindsay CRAVEN - Ohura.
C.F.	Catherine FITZGERALD - Kerikeri.
B.W.H.	Bernard William HORNBY - Rotorua.
N. & M.J.	Neville Harvey Joysey JOHNSTON and Marion Jean JOHNSTON - Hawera (not previously on record but initials appear in PV lists of contributors as from Hawera - joined CP in June 1958).

NOTE: * Indicates contributor to Election Fund.

3. Members at large who have not yet been tentatively identified are:

* N.H. (Whaka)	D. & R.H. (W)
R.L. (R)	* W... (was at W and previously at R - now at Tokoroa?)
L.H. (B)	R.D. (C.I. - recently purchased CP philosophy course)
O.L. (W - was at P)	J. & B.F. (M)
R.S. (BB)	R.J. (?)
P.C. (G)	
R.S. (P)	

NOTE: Letters in parenthesis show initial letter of locality of residence. * Indicates contributor to Election Fund.

~~SECRET~~

..2..

4. Dues paid normally by members at large amount to £1.10.0 per annum. The following have made large additional donations to CP funds:

Paul Edmund HOLMES: £23/8/4 in 1956; £5 in 1957.
 Beverley Catherine LEY: £15.0.0 in 1957.
 N.H.: £5.0.0

5. The following, who are not listed as members at large, contributed to the CP Election Fund. Some tentative identifications are given.

J.G. (Nelson)
 Paul (Hokitika)
 H.A. (Rotorua)
 Jack F. John FOULDS
 Geo.B. (Nelson) Frederick George BLAKE
 F.R.B. (Mangere) Frank Rex BARRY
 E.B.
 M.R. (Dunedin)
 Mr. K. (Timaru) Nevin John KIRKMAN
 G.E.F. (Wellington) George Edward FARROW
 "Glasgow" (Rotorua)
 Mr. P.S. Philip SUNDE
 L.J.H. (Balclutha) Leslie James HANSEN
 Y.R. (K?) A.B. (Te Kuiti)
 J.M. (Tokoroa) contributed £11.
 H.E.A. (Napier)
 F.G. Thom (Howick) Frederick George THOMSON
 T. Gibson (Atiamuri) Thomas Neil GIBSON
 Arthur K. (Glen Afton) contributed £4.)
 C.P.D. (Donnelly's Crossing)
 G.I. (Mangakino) Gordon Paton INGLE
 A.P.R. (Ponsonby)
 Mark A. (Otaki?) ("homeless pensioner")
 Mrs. Skill SKILTON
 J.H. (Glen Eden)
 "Gran" (Wanganui)
 T.M. GOODALL (Frasertown - contributed £9.15.0)
 "Whakatu" J.L. (Timaru) James Verdun LECKIE

6. District Officers are requested to complete identifications or comment where present identifications are thought to be incorrect. In some cases it may be appropriate to pursue discreet enquiries through local police, where members at large have been identified as living in country districts and have not come to notice for some time.

16th September, 1958.

for Director

District Officer,
Auckland.

Your AK/3/1 of 25th July 1958 refers.

9. d. w.

5 p.m.

SECRET

4 p.m.

Obtained from

3 p.m.

Source

2 p.m.

July 1958.

1 p.m.

12 m.

File on PF of ~~F.W. Gould~~

11 a.m.

~~o relevant election~~

10 a.m.

~~Campaign file.~~

9 a.m.

8 a.m.

February

91

JANUARY

SUNDAY

Refule on

21/5/10

5/11/88

As sent to Aunt,
Will, Chck.

~~Gould F.W.~~ 47/83
P. O. Box 1785,
AUCKLAND. C. 1.

13th October, 1954.

The Secretary,
.....

Dear Comrades,

WOMEN AND THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Our Election programme and District and National directives give a clear lead on our general approach to the question of how best to mobilise women during the campaign. The following suggestions are put forward by the Sub-Committee for Work Among Women and we hope Districts and Sections will find them helpful.

PARTY WOMEN.

As many as possible to be drawn into the actual organisation of the campaign, chairing meetings, selling pamphlets, looking after loudspeaker equipment and so on as well as the routine jobs of distributing leaflets etc.

Those housewives who have the time available to be encouraged to take part in weekly canvasses and leaflet distribution.

NON - PARTY.

Where possible to arrange morning or afternoon teas in their homes for women to meet the candidate. These could be in homes of our own women or those of sympathisers.

To be asked to assist with distributing leaflets and in canvasses.

To be invited to assist with work for the Fair, this work to be linked with the Election campaign. The candidate could come along to working bees to meet women.

Sections and Branches will no doubt have other ideas and we should like to hear of them. Experience to date shows that many women are taking a keen interest in the elections and in the policy of our Party. We will only achieve the greatest possible success if we go out to these women and draw them into some form of activity. First, let us arouse the enthusiasm of our own women and then win the support of the greatest possible number of friends of the Party.

Comradely greetings.

F. W. Gould, Secretary,
NATIONAL SUB - COMMITTEE FOR WORK AMONG WOMEN.

EXTRA
TAKEN

COPIES

21/2/8

Auckland District Conference.
May 9th, 10th, 11th 1958.

21/2/8 363

COPY ON

COPY FROM

21/2/5

Date 19/5/58

REPORT OF THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE

Comrades,

/ 19

Initials

Our usual practice is to make a brief review of world and local events as a background for an all-sided examination of the conditions within which we have to work in our own country and District.

On this occasion we have had as study material for our Conference a report of our Political Committee to our National Committee at Easter. This report was endorsed unanimously by the National Committee after full critical discussion.

This outline of the present situation in the world has been developed by a great deal of collective study and discussion and work by the leading committees of our Party. It states the decisive changes that have taken place and indicates clearly the favourable conditions within which we can develop the work of our District, the decisive sector of New Zealand in the struggle for higher living standards, peace and socialism. It also expresses the great confidence we must have in our class and Party as an integral part of the mighty world movement for Peace and Socialism. In essence, it shows clearly for all to see in practice that we are on the winning side. It also shows the responsibilities before us as a result of this position.

We therefore quote directly from the opening section of our National Report.

"We meet at a time when we have seen emerge out of a long historical process, a new and stronger position as far as the socialist world and the world working class is concerned. What we have in fact experienced is a new qualitative leap affecting the relationship of the socialist world and the imperialist world, affecting all class relations internationally. This factor is one which we must place as primary in our approach to policy and tactics, because its impact on N.Z. is already being felt and its effects will grow ever greater in the next few years.

"It is therefore very necessary to examine briefly this situation, first from its international aspects, so that we can more clearly do the same as far as N.Z. is concerned. On our correct Marxist approach will depend the correctness of our policy and tactics now and in the years to come. New vistas for progress are opening before our Party and the N.Z. working class now, but only if we further correctly develop the policy and tactics of our Party, bring out the weaknesses and shortcomings of past and present work and point out clearly how to improve our work and organisation.

"The qualitative leap that we referred to before in fact means that the balance of world forces has tipped decisively in favour of socialism. Victory in the struggle for the replacement of the old, shrinking and dying capitalist system by the new, developing and expanding socialist world, is now beyond question. The inevitable and irresistible advance of the working class on a world scale is now proceeding with ever-increasing tempo.

"The certainty of the victory of the working class in every country including our own is not based on wishful thinking. It arises as the inevitable outcome of the laws of the development of society. It is the operation of these laws - substantiated by the whole course of human existence - that explains the inevitable development of social life to an ever higher stage and therefore determines the tasks of mankind in our own era.

"We need to see clearly that only when our Party bases itself on, and relies upon, these scientifically determined laws and takes them into account in analysing our concrete situation in N.Z. can we develop correctly the policies and practical activities that can assist the forward development of the whole cause of the working class and its Party. Thus, it is timely that our whole Party should note the vital lessons life is unfolding before us on the international scene.

"For example, the law that the Relations of Production (i.e. the economic basis of society) must necessarily conform with the character of the productive forces of society is being vividly demonstrated.

"On the one hand we see how, because of its economic basis, capitalist society cannot utilise the tremendous scientific and technical discoveries of recent times for the benefit of mankind. On the other hand, the economic basis in socialist countries creates the conditions for the unprecedented development of the productive forces and the consequent scientific and technical advances mean tremendous development in the material and cultural life of the whole of the people.

"Here we find the fundamental basis for the superiority of the socialist system. The fact that the establishment of socialism overcame the capitalist contradiction between productive forces and productive relations is what creates the material basis for the unshakable confidence of the Soviet Union in achieving and then surpassing the per capita production of the coremost of the capitalist countries - the U.S.A. This is the permanently operating factor which finally ensures the victory of socialism and communism in all countries of the world.

"The recent success of the Soviet Union in pioneering mankind's exploration of space staggered the scientists, military leaders and politicians of the capitalist world. At one swoop, it demolished the curtain of lies with which the ideologists and propagandists of capitalism have sought to hide from the world's people the immense achievements of which the working class is capable, once it has cast off the fetters of capitalism and has established its own working class State power. The two "refugees" arouse the warm and spontaneous admiration of workers in every country. Instinctively they are identified with this victory as a brilliant achievement of the working class - the class to which they belong.

"For our Party the essential crux of the new relation of world forces is the fact that not only is the socialist world well on the way to outstripping the capitalist on all essential sectors, but on the decisive, vital one which means victory for socialism whether in peace or war - the scientific realm of inter-continental missile development with all its ramifications - it has emerged superior already and will, because of the material base and social structure outlined before, remain so.

"For imperialism there is, in peace or war, nothing but defeat. For the workers and their allies in all countries the future victory is assured. But war would mean untold loss of life and misery, hence the continued, in fact increased, need for urgency in the struggle for peace.

"We should in no way relax. The imperialists, headed by the U.S., today are attempting to get a breathing space in which they foolishly hope to advance ahead of the socialist world in war potential. They dream of doing that and of solving their problems in mankind's greatest bloodbath. It is a foolish, unrealisable dream but a dangerous one. It can lead to war. The peace-loving peoples of the world, with socialist might behind them, must stop it.

"The deteriorating situation of world imperialism, so evident in the growing signs of deepening economic crisis, brings sharply to millions of people the significance of the socialist world, led by the Soviet Union, to the world working class movement. The socialist world's leading role in the struggle for peace and democracy, the liberating of the colonial people, for the banning of the H-bomb, etc., reflects the fundamental interests of mankind everywhere. Thus, Soviet military strength has clearly emerged as a great weapon for peace.

"In essence the struggle for peace is the struggle against monopoly on an international scale. Hence the struggle by the socialist world for peaceful co-existence is directed at the very foreign monopolies against whose exploitation here in N.Z. our own workers are also ranged in struggle. For the further development of this struggle within N.Z. is the determining factor, not only in the defence of present living standards, but also the extent to which the election pledges of the Labour Party to improve the lot of the N.Z. workers will be carried out.

"It is easy, therefore, to see the common bond which exists

between the exploited N.Z. people and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is easy to see the vital importance to the working class of strengthening this bond. 361

"It follows logically that any blow (no matter by whom) against the imperialists, against monopoly capitalism is simultaneously a blow for world peace, democracy and socialism and for the security and living standards of our own N.Z. working people. Just as a blow against the camp of socialism (no matter by whom) is of assistance to imperialism, to monopoly capitalism, hurts world peace and hams the security and living standards of the people of N.Z.

"In our analysis of present and future prospects in N.Z., in our essential study of the class character of N.Z. life, of its social organisations and its state forces, we must keep firmly in mind the new world developing situation, the sharply growing strength of socialism, the ever increasing decline of imperialism. If we don't do that then the value of any analysis will be very small. To neglect it or ignore it would be but to adopt a stereotyped, dogmatic, pseudo-Marxist approach. It would be to ignore the new, the vital, the growing in the new situation.

"Obviously the changing balance of forces on a world scale increases the prospects of progress on the road to socialism in N.Z. if correct policy and tactics are adopted.

"We now see beginning what we have predicted for many years - the creation of conditions which greatly favour the success of our activities and provide the basis of our rapidly winning support among the working people. The effect of the sputniks in showing the achievements of Socialism was nothing short of electric on the minds of the working people of N.Z. But it is just the first of many amazing socialist achievements that will not be able to be hidden from the people. And these achievements will be the more startling in contrast to the picture in the capitalist world of deep and developing crisis. It will certainly come as a shock to the great majority of the working people of N.Z. to find that N.Z. as a capitalist country is not immune from capitalist crises. Yet becoming plain already is the fact that the growing agrarian crisis, now accentuated by industrial crisis, is going to hit N.Z. capitalist economy very hard.

"The point is that the simultaneous ascent of socialism and descent of capitalism will provide increasingly favourable conditions for success in our work, and we must not be slow in realising and taking advantage of this.

"The recent Declaration of the Parties of the socialist world needs to be deeply studied by all. Their survey of the world situation brings out the following main points of importance.

1. The main content of the era is the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale;
2. World development is being determined by the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems, socialism and capitalism;
3. The superiority of the socialist system over that of capitalism is being graphically demonstrated;
4. The qualitative change that has taken place in the balance of world forces is in favour of socialism.
5. The question of war or peaceful co-existence is NOW the most crucial question of world policy;
6. The essence of the struggle for peaceful co-existence is a struggle against monopoly capitalism;
7. The situation is growing ever more favourable for bringing the working people into the struggle for socialism.

"But with these factors in mind, study and analysis of all aspects of N.Z. life and economy is even more urgently necessary if our Party is to give the leadership to the N.Z. working class that will enable it to carry

out its historic task in the struggle for and the building of a socialist society.

"The basic task of the Communist Party is the Marxist-Leninist education and training in theory and practice of the N.Z. working class. To do this we need to proceed from the objective reality of our own country, including the ideological level and political development of the working class itself. The victory of the working class in N.Z. is inevitable. But it is a victory which must and will be won by the working class itself. It is not something that can be achieved by a few enthusiastic socialists. Socialism cannot be conferred on the working class.

"SOME ASPECTS OF CAPITALIST WORLD ECONOMY."

"The Declaration also points to the unstable character of capitalist world economy.

"The U.S.A. emerged from World War II unscathed, with vast expansion of industrial capacity and financially powerful; the only major nation on the Allies' side which was not confronted with reconstruction of huge devastation. She became the creditor nation of victors and vanquished alike. Promptly turning this situation to account, per medium of the Marshall Plan etc., the U.S. penetrated and gained a grip on the economic life of West Europe. U.S. monopoly capitalism sought to enslave these sections in a gigantic military alliance aimed at the destruction of the expanding socialist world, while at the same time carrying out her purpose of domination of the whole capitalist world. She set out to undermine the power and economic position of her erstwhile allies under the guise of "uniting" them against communism.

"The history of the past twelve years has been a record of growing financial penetration of the domestic economies of Britain and France, of taking over, step by step, their spheres of colonial exploitation. She assisted the development of the economies of the vanquished enemy countries to still further weaken and reduce the economic strength of Britain and France.

"The significance of this is shown in the following comparison of gold and dollar reserves. Estimates published by the United States treasury and the Federal Reserve System shows that in 10 years the world's gold and dollar reserves (including commercial balances have risen from 15,000 million dollars at the end of 1947 to 28,000 million dollars at the end of 1956. But the proportion in dollars as against gold has risen from a mere 17% in 1947 to no less than 50% in 1956.

"It is interesting to take a few of the major countries and see how this change has occurred.

Gold and Dollar Holdings. (Millions of Dollars)

Country.	Official Gold Holdings			Official Dollar Holdings.		
	1946-7	Dec. 31, 1956	Inc'se	1946-7.	Dec. 31, 1956.	Inc'se.
France	548	861	313	167	626	459
W. Germany	3	1497	1494	89	1833	1744
Italy	58	362	304	153	928	775
Japan	2	128	126	31	1039	1008
Britain	2020	1800	- 220	293	983	690

"The journal "International Affairs" 1956-57 (p.66) shows the following changes:

"Thus a significant lesson in the uneven development of capitalism is becoming clear today.

Rate of Increase of Industrial Production

	1948.	1955.
U.S.	95	124
Britain	88	119
W. Germany	56	181

(1950 = 100)

<u>Share of World Capitalist Production</u>			<u>Share of World Trade</u>		
	(%)			(%)	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>		<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>
U.S.	53.6	50.6		18.2	18.8
Britain	11.7	10.7		10.9	9.9
W. Germany	6.8	9.4		3.6	7.5

"Here we can see perhaps some of the reasons which forced Britain to 'go it alone' on China trade against the opposition of the U.S.A. West German monopolies have again become a formidable competitor to Britain in foreign markets. From this we can see that not Britain, but West German monopoly, is likely to be the leader of the European bloc with U.S. support.

"Alarm over this very position of Britain is shown by two big names in the world of British monopoly. The first is Lord Bruce, one-time Australian Prime Minister and now head of the gigantic P. & O. shipping monopoly. Lord Bruce pointed out last year that in the 10 years from 1945 to 1955 Britain has paid out about 9,800 million dollars (about £3,500 millions) more than she had received from exports and overseas investments. In the same period she had lived on loans or straight-out gifts amounting to 9,500 million dollars.

"The miracle is that she is not bankrupt" he said. "Can we hope to go on for the next 10 years living on the charity of others and by borrowing from others? I think the answer is that there is not a hope in the world that we can do anything of the sort". —Auckland Star, 28.5.57.

"And Sir David Eccles, the president of the British Board of Trade, was quoted in the same paper as saying of the European free trade area that Britain would have to join it or West Germany would be left a free hand to 'run the show'. He comments in a way that is revealing on the real attitude of the British ruling class to the last two world wars.

"Twice in my lifetime the Commonwealth countries have come thousands of miles across the ocean to fight a war in Europe. These were the last two attempts of the Western European nations or one of them to dominate others and form a hostile bloc across the Channel.....

"All through our history we have had to take up arms against any such threat from the continent of Europe. Now....six countries have signed a treaty to do exactly what for hundreds of years we have always said we could not allow with safety to our own country."

"To sum up this aspect it becomes plain, taking into account what has happened to imperial interests in the former colonial and semi-colonial world, that sharpening contradictions within imperialism arising from general decline can be expected; and that, because of the rapid decline of British imperialism, major repercussions will be felt in N.Z.

"The first effects are already partly responsible for the credit squeeze, import control and pleas to work harder and spend less.

"THE AGRARIAN CRISIS"

"The agrarian crisis has existed for many years. That this crisis has not been seriously regarded until recently is due to a number of factors, among which are the general holding of farm prices (particularly wool), due to huge army expenditure in peacetime since 1945, and the farm price support policies of many countries. The U.S. is an example of this. Here surpluses have been allowed to stockpile, while soil bank schemes, providing payment for putting means of production out of action, have operated.

"Because of the nature of our economy, our reliance on primary exports and the urgent need for a high price on the world market for them, this agrarian crisis is of particular importance to us.

"It arises from the same fundamental contradiction of capitalism of the exploitation of the working farmer and farm worker by the capitalist class, which has led to the present agrarian crisis.

which constitutes the basis of industrial crises. Capitalist crisis of overproduction, which bring in their train unemployment, as fall in wages and reduction in the effective demand for agricultural produce, inevitably give rise to partial or general overproduction in the sphere of agriculture. But the agrarian crises are generally more prolonged than industrial crises of overproduction. The common basis for the protracted character of agrarian crisis is the monopoly of private property in land and the extreme backwardness of agriculture in capitalist countries.

"All this may seem far removed from our immediate problems but this is not so. The deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism, the present industrial crisis and its effect on N.Z., together with the effect of growing agrarian crisis, must be studied very carefully.

"The result of capitalist policies designed to hold agricultural prices has been high prices to consumers in producing countries, 50% of the world's population undernourished and unable to purchase ever-increasing surpluses which threaten the capitalist world market and big rake-offs by monopolies. The American administration now admits that these measures have not solved the problem and price supports there are to be reduced.

"To-day N.Z. is affected because other countries are dumping heavy butter surpluses on the London market. They include Ireland, Finland, Sweden and Argentina. Wholesale prices in the producing countries (quoted by Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Skinner) are Finland 600s.cwt., Sweden 515s.cwt., Ireland 430s.cwt. These are dumped on Britain at about 240s. per cwt. This indicates the scope of the crisis. The trend, even if the United Kingdom imposes dumping duty, is likely to be still further falls in dairy products.

"Similar falls in other primary product prices are on the agenda. The United Kingdom is subsidising milk production to return the British farmer 7s.3d. per lb. butterfat and this kind of policy is not confined to dairying. It shows the magnitude of the threat, not only to our agriculture and pastoral industries but also to the whole N.Z. economy.

"This agrarian crisis is not some isolated phenomenon. In all countries the development of capitalism leads to the development of larger scale capitalism in agriculture. The concentration of small farms into large scale capitalist farms takes place.

"An illuminating disclosure of this development in the U.S.A. is contained in the report of Prof. Theodore Schultz to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, which basically says that, instead of trying to cope with surplus crops, we should cut down the surplus of small farmers. Sir Bruce Levy, N.Z. grasslands expert, projected essentially the same ideas to solve N.Z. farm problems. He said:-

"It is again the old story of the peasant slaving his guts out to supply the mechanical industry and professions of the world with cheap food.'Auckland Star, 23.5.57.

"His solution for this problem was for more big business farming:-

"He told members of the Wellington Rotary Club yesterday that large organisations processed and disposed of farm produce, and similar concerns should be allowed to help increase production. Land development companies, co-operative concerns and stock and station agents might be the "big operatives" of the future, he added.

"This could be achieved by encouraging the present owners to accept the "Big business concept", or by development of the land by company operators with the occupier as manager.' Auckland Star, 11.6.1957.

"Hence we need to see the agrarian crisis as having its root in the capitalist social system - a manifestation of the anarchy of capitalism production. If we see this crisis as the inevitable working out of the laws of capitalism itself, we will be able to understand how they lead inevitably to the deepening of the crisis, to the tendency for large-scale farms to develop, swallowing up the small farms and to the intensification of the exploitation of the working farmer and farm worker through the further extension of monopoly directly into agricultural production.

"The embryonic form of such developments emerged in N.Z. during the economic crisis of the 1930s, when thousands of farmers worked their land for bare sustenance from the stock and station agents and the banks.

"The experience of those days would tend to show that another depression in N.Z. would not necessarily easily or immediately lead to the classical development of large-scale capitalist farms employing hired labour. Rather the bitter struggle to hang on to his land at all costs, whether owned or leased, would repeat the picture of the farmer striving, through exhausting labour, under-feeding and destructive use of soil and cattle, to maintain or even increase production. Thus, not large farms owned by companies would be the general result, but apparently 'independent' farmers bound hand and foot to the banks and stock and station agents and working for them as surely as if these monopolies actually owned the farms and were employing the farmers as hands.

"Of great importance to our Party and the N.Z. working class is the understanding of how the contradictions and problems discussed above will affect our own economy. It is apparent that they will be reflected in the sharpening of all our main internal contradictions and will bring about a new alignment of class forces. The relation of these forces determines our tasks.

"We need to study further the conditions in which the agrarian crisis developed and the reasons why it is only in the last twelve months that the artificial barriers holding back the break in world commodity prices gave way. The consequences of this crisis for N.Z. and the working class will be raised when we turn to a more detailed examination of our own country and its economic life.

"DEVELOPING INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.

"The present slump in the U.S.A. is a prompt and clear substantiation of the characterisation of capitalist world economy outlined in the Declaration of the 12 Parties.

"In the imperialist countries the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations have become acute. In many respects modern science and engineering are not being used in the interests of social progress for all mankind because capitalism fetters and deforms the development of the productive forces of society. The world capitalist economy remains shaky and unstable. The relatively high level of economic activity still observed in a number of capitalist countries has arisen on the unstable basis of the arms drive and other transient factors. However the capitalist economy will not be able to escape deep slumps and crises."

"The slump in the U.S.A. is the third occasion since the second World War that the U.S.A. has suffered crisis. The present crisis is by far the most deep-seated and threatens to be more prolonged. In the U.S.A. industry is working well below capacity, production continues to drop and 5 million workers are jobless.

"When the country responsible for 50% of the industrial production of the capitalist world slumps to such an extent, it cannot but affect the remaining capitalist nations. Under-capacity working of industrial plants, further drops in prices of metals and industrial raw materials are consequences already being felt in other countries. Lead and zinc monopolies in Australia (some of them U.S.-owned) have cut production by shortening working time. The British export position will deteriorate if, as the result of reduction of U.S. purchasing power, British exports to U.S.A. are reduced, as seems likely. Already permanent unemployment is being accepted as inevitable in Britain. This will mean a further decline in commodity prices and greatly intensify N.Z.'s financial crisis and could lead to serious unemployment here.

"Thus we see that the longer standing agrarian crisis is accentuated by a new developing industrial crisis which logically reacts upon and intensifies the former. The future outlook for countries with our economic base within capitalism is grim.

"The likely intensity of the present industrial crisis in the U.S.A. with its wide effects on all capitalist countries, is still un-

certain, but what is certain is that a world crisis of great magnitude must within a relatively short period arise out of the insoluble and sharpening contradictions of imperialism. Taking into account the new balance of world forces it is not too much to say that it is probable that it will develop rapidly.

"Consequences of such a crisis are:-

1. The destruction of enormous productive forces. (In the past this has laid the basis for subsequent revival and boom. But in a world where the balance has tipped to socialism this is not so certain).
2. The further swallowing up of small business by monopoly.
3. A great upsurge of the working-class movement and the mass movement of the people, which inevitably threatens the power of monopoly.

"These contradictions are of greater significance today than in the 1930s. when socialism was still confined within the boundaries of a single country in which the material basis for socialist society was still being built. In the new conditions the third point is likely to be the dominant of the three factors.

"Already millions of American people will be shedding the illusion about 'People's Capitalism' which the bourgeois ideologists have worked so hard to create. Any intensification of the crisis will result in the swing of tremendous forces away from the passive acceptance of the ideas of an outmoded and bankrupt capitalist society into active support for the new, rising and developing socialist world system.

"The capitalist class well understands this. Hence its preoccupation with plans to prop up the tumbling edifice. But pump priming today is a very different matter to that of the 1930s. Then Roosevelt's capital expenditure and work schemes coincided with the period in which, the production resources having been destroyed or not used for a period, the conditions for economic revival had been created by the inherent laws of capitalism itself. Roosevelt's programme stimulated and assisted this revival. In recent years, however, the U.S. economy has been enjoying a period of relative prosperity. High level of industrial output has been reached on the basis of enormous state expenditure on the arms drive. Up till recently this and the expansion of instalment buying (i.e. mortgaging future earnings) sustained all other aspects of the economy at a high level.

"But today scientific development has been responsible for a change in war planning in the U.S.A. Missile advances render obsolete conventional bomber and fighter aircraft and call for big changes in Naval forces and reduction in land forces. This has led to lay-offs in the aircraft and associated industries, and in the conventional weapons industry. Reductions in armed forces, while not reducing total arms' expenditure, has changed the direction in which funds filter through the economy. The overall effect, it is suggested, would be that reorientation to new war techniques results in arms expenditures which, though increasing in total, are less wide-spread, filtering into the economy in fewer channels and influencing narrower sectors.

"As a result such expenditures must have a limited pump priming effect compared with those of earlier arms budgets. Further pump priming by vast Government expenditures in other spheres aimed at expanding civilian consumption may retard the onset of crisis. But, at the same time, it will create conditions for the development of still greater productive forces and so bring into sharper relief their contradiction with the production relations of capitalism.

"Thus the capitalist system confronts the working people ever more clearly with the fact that under capitalism crises are inevitable, since production assumes a social character, but the product of socialised (interdependent) labour of millions of workers passes into private appropriation by the capitalists.

"The contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation of the results of production is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and furnished the basis for economic crises of overproduction. And conditions today mean that the desperate and hopeless attempt of imperialism to either catch up with the U.S.S.R., or even hold its present position in the scientific field, can only speed the process."

The Report continues to outline the position in N.Z., showing clearly its domination by monopoly, foreign and domestic, which we ask comrades to study carefully, but which is not included in the report. The section on New Zealand concludes:-

"The essence of the world struggle for peace, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, is the struggle against world imperialism headed by Wall Street. The essential character of our N.Z. struggle versus world imperialism is the struggle against monopoly capitalism and its lackeys right here in N.Z."

"This struggle against monopoly capitalism is a class struggle. It is a struggle in which the enemy will use all the forces at his command on the economic, political and ideological front, to preserve and extend his positions of strength against the N.Z. working people and their allies. It is a class struggle that is a matter of life and death for countless millions of this and future generations."

"The role of leadership of this struggle belongs to the N.Z. working class. It is this class - the most cohesive and progressive class within N.Z. - which must unite the overwhelming majority of our people against their most powerful and formidable enemy."

CLASS FORCES.

The Report continues with a preliminary analysis of the class forces in our country and the relationship of class forces determines our ideological, political, economic and organisational tasks.

The class forces nationally shown in the summary are generally speaking:-

Bourgeoisie...	...	25,000.
Petty-bourgeoisie...	...	165,000.
Working Class	...	630,000.

These figures are taken from the Statistics of Persons Gainfully Employed and are the best available at this time. We have the job in front of us in Auckland of making out similar figures for our area.

To give some indication of the position of Auckland as the main base of the working class in N.Z., the urban population of Auckland on 1957 figures is 390,000 - almost 200,000 above the next highest figure, which is Christchurch.

When viewed from the aspect of the working class being the overwhelming majority of people employed, a large percentage of the working class are within the Auckland urban area. It is the working class with all its strengths and weaknesses, that has the future of N.Z. within its grasp. This highlights for us the policy of our Party since 1951 - concentrating on industry, particularly a basic industry, which includes the Waterfront, Railways Shops, heavy engineering, seamen, mining and road transport.

Our present concentration plan for the Building Workers Branch to develop a correct style in work in all fields as a step to achieving our 1958 Finance Plan, must not be confused with the need to concentrate on the main industries. On the other hand, success in the Building Workers Branch will be of great assistance as an example for extending our work and influence in the main industries.

The analysis of the working class in N.Z. shows that there are approximately 35,000 in the most important industries; approximately 250,000 in the middle sections (which include Building workers, general engineering and others); the third and least organised section of 300,000 include civil servants, ship assistants and clerical workers.

This indicates for us a tremendous task to raise and develop the class consciousness of the most advanced section in Auckland, on which depends the battle to raise the class consciousness of the other two sections comprising the great majority of the working class. These other two sections, by the very nature of their relationship to the ruling class, are strongly under the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, with the leaders of the middle section being more under this influence ideologically than the majority of the rank and file; for example, there is a solid militant core in the building industry which, if correctly led, is the basis for extending a strong class standpoint among the other sections inside and outside this industry.

To sum up briefly, Auckland is the main proletarian base in N.Z. The working class is the decisive section of the N.Z. people in the battle for higher living standards, peace and socialism. We have a high percentage of the most advanced sections of the working class in Auckland, as well as of the whole class. The development of the Labour Movement in Auckland is decisive for the whole country and is giving a lead to it. Being the main base of the Labour Movement means also that Auckland is the big centre of support for the Parliamentary Labour Party. Being the most important industrial base in N.Z. it also has the highest concentration of development work, such as the Bridge, Sewerage, transport, the airport and harbour development; as well as extensive secondary industry, whose production is based on materials controlled by monopoly. Therefore we stand to be the hardest hit by the financial crisis that is rapidly developing.

Basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism, our role in all circumstances - no matter how difficult - is to bring consciousness to the working class and their allies.

We proceed now to examine how we have performed in this role and determine how much better we all have to work to carry out our mission in today's favourable circumstances.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK AS THE CENTRE OF ALL WORK.

Only if our ideological stand is a firm Marxist-Leninist one can we expect to overcome the organisational, political and economic tasks that confront our class and Party. Our Report to last Conference dealt extensively with the question of ideology and the attacks of revisionism on our Party.

Since then our overall ideological position has become strengthened, assisted greatly by the Philosophy Course, the 64 Parties Peace Manifesto, the 12 Parties Declaration and leads given by the Political Committee, especially in 'First Steps' and 'Urgent Tasks'.

This is only a beginning to what we must achieve in the field of ideological work if we are going to be in the position to wrest the working class and its allies from the influence of the bourgeoisie and their ideas - which are the prevailing ones at the moment in Auckland and N.Z. Only in this way can we make the best possible use of our opportunities to build and strengthen our Party. As larger and larger sections come into struggle against monopoly capitalism in N.Z., they must be attracted to us by our firm class stand and concrete leadership in action against monopoly.

Improving our ideology means for all of us still more attention to Party study at all levels, more concrete work in developing our cadre force, to the point where we can justly claim to be a Party of leaders of a class in their many and diverse struggles - leading towards the goal of socialism in N.Z.

We have mentioned the role being played by the Philosophy Course in improving our ideological level. This is confined to a relatively small section of our District. At Branch level we must adopt a much more serious attitude to study. Although the need for this has been seen for a long time, we still have a 'bits and pieces' approach. Study for Branches is too easily skated over and preparation for study is left to individuals far too often.

The Party Building Course is a welcome development, but knowing the Course was on its way from our National Education Sub-committee, the continued delays had had a bad effect on developing a consistent approach to Branch study.

PARTY ORGANISATION AND CONTACT WITH THE MASSES.

In giving leadership to our Party on how to win a firm and ever-extending influence among the working class, our National Leadership two years ago this May produced "First Steps" as a guide to action; it was supplemented shortly afterwards by Comrade Blacklock's material on the P.V. We all accepted this as a sound lead and so it is. But our subsequent performance demonstrated a considerable gap between our theoretical acceptance of the guide and actual performance, which shows a gap in our ideological understanding.

Some Branches did analyse their P.V. sales, for example; others are only getting around to it fully now. Furthermore, even where the analysis was made, the facts revealed were only partially exploited. This responsibility to see that "First Steps" is brought fully to life rests firmly on the shoulders of the incoming District Committee. Our District Secretary at the National Committee said he would possibly take the palm for talking and writing about "First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks" and also be near the top for the number of times he thought he had studied it and analysed it concretely. But he got a real shock on how little he had understood it until examining it again in the light of the 1958 Finance Plan, and vice versa.

The facts reveal that our whole District has been struggling with "First Steps" only spontaneously, some of the time - not all the time and in an all-sided way.

Clarity on "First Steps" means clarity on the mass line of our Party among the masses and within the Party.

The picture is not all black, however, for much good work has been done that will be dealt with in more detail later and in contributions to the Report. One of the main lessons for us in applying "First Steps" so far is that although we thought we were giving concrete detailed leadership and all was clear, analysis shows that our leadership was general, not particular, and that neither we of the District Committee nor our comrades at Branch Executive and Branch level were clear-cut in our understanding.

"URGENT TASKS".

Taking up and extending one of the main themes of our National Conference last year - "No strong Branches, no strong Party" - "Urgent Tasks" shows clearly that if our Branches are not in good working order our Party cannot be strong at any level and our contact with the masses in industry in particular will be weak, flabby and lacking solid organised form.

Here, as in "First Steps" much remains to be done to make every Branch a sound Marxist-Leninist organisation. Lack of ideological clarity on the leading role of our Party was the main contributing factor to weak branch organisation. Over a considerable period a lot of attention has been given to breaking down bureaucratic practices in the leading body of the District in its relationship to the Branches. It was never the conscious intention of the District Committee or its subordinate body, the District Executive, to stand in isolation from Branches, but this was the case. A good deal of effort has been put in to remedy this and improve the collective work of the District Committee and Executive - to make it a Party Committee that serves the Branches, the key organs for Party work among the industrial workers.

Every Branch today has a District Committee Comrade responsible for it, not to take the place of the Executive, but to assist it in planning and developing Branch work. This is not an end in itself and a recent helpful discussion with the National Secretariat showed us that this was not going far enough and that we had to do more to give the whole collective of the Committee a wider knowledge and experience of our Branch problems. A small start has been made on this. For example, where possible District Committee members have been attending Branches other than their own, and

at our last District Committee meeting, with an eye to assisting cadre development, two comrades in charge of sub-committees gave the Reports to the District Committee.

It must be noted that although we are far from having the perfect District Committee, the critical and self-critical attitude to its responsibilities is steadily improving, and its attitude to the Philosophy Course indicates a real determination to overcome subjectivity in ideology and consequently work in leading our District forward.

BRANCH EXECUTIVES.

An important aspect of democratic centralism is that it is aimed at getting for our Party the very best quality centralised leadership in the conditions existing at any given time. Quality of leadership is one of the decisive factors in the overall quality of our Party and its work. But in the final analysis the quality of our mass work depends on the work of our Branches - the vital link between our Party leadership and the masses; the listening post, the testing ground for our leadership and policy among the masses, in whose hands the future of N.Z. lies.

This means that the quality of the work of every Branch depends on the well-organised, planned and checked work of the Branch Executive. Therefore it is imperative that our best cadres be responsible for the development of Branch Executive work.

Progress has been made with Branch Executive work, but much remains to be constantly done. It is still too easy to skip a Branch Executive meeting and rely on the District Bulletin to get through a Branch meeting. This is the path of spontaneity, an expression of petty-bourgeois ideology in our ranks. The District Committee has the responsibility of eliminating this, collectively and individually. The working class is not attracted by shot-gun methods of organisations and will continue to doubt our ability to lead if these methods are not resolutely overcome.

In this section it is desirable to consider the role of the Branch Secretary in particular.

Branch Secretaries are the key comrades in any Branch and a vigorous Branch Executive depends on them to a great extent. There has been a theory around that a Branch Secretary is a full-time job; that a Secretary should have no other responsibility but the Branch. This is an erroneous idea and indicates a mechanical approach to Party development and organisation. If a Branch Secretary is the key to Branch Executive organisation does it not follow that in the main in our stage of growth, the Branch Secretary will be a member of the District Committee? This is elected from among the very best comrades we have in our District, Comrades who have the best ideological development and therefore the finest class outlook.

To sum up this section of our Report, all work depends on the quality of our ideological work. There cannot be a firm Marxist-Leninist approach to Party, District and Branch organisation, to our political and economic work among the masses, without a high level of ideological development. Subjectivism in our approach to work will prevent us seeking truth from facts. An analysis of the problem of the working class and their allies in our District will be based on idealism, not Dialectical Materialism.

In the great changes in the world today and in the achievements of the lands of socialism, led by the C.P.S.U., we have the clearest of examples of the correctness of dialectical materialism philosophy and method. It no longer has the appearance of an abstract theory that only intellectuals can grasp. Our task is to develop our study so that even the most reluctant comrade, whatever age, sex or class position, eagerly tackles the problem of improving our ideological understanding and therefore our partisan class standpoint. There is not one comrade in the N.Z. Party today who is not influenced by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. We are not a Party of leaders and followers. Our strength lies in being a Party of leaders conscious and confident in our leading role as a collective and as individuals in society.

The key to improving our critical and self-critical methods of work, our understanding of the principles of collectivism within our Party and in our relations with the workers, the selling of the Peoples Voice and collecting of finance, the development of our cadres depends fundamentally on improving our ideological work and study.

"First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks" which are based on and spring from years and years of experience locally and internationally, have within them the guide to style of work and method of leadership that are our only path to establishing our Party in its rightful position of leader of the N.Z. working class and its allies - towards the goals of higher living standards, peace and people's power in N.Z. Our job as dialectical materialists is to interpret the problems in our District Committee and Branches in the way that our relations with the industrial workers (where our present and potential strength lies) are daily improved; so that we know our strength and weaknesses, the extent of our influence, our immediate and future prospects of improving the numerical strength of our Party, based on our ability to improve P.V. sales and finance and bring non-party supporters into increasing active support for our Party.

One of our slogans should be: "Bring Life to 'First Steps' and 'Urgent Tasks'".

EXPERIENCES IN APPLYING THE PRINCIPLES OF "FIRST STEPS" IN PRACTICAL WORK.

As previously stated, the struggle for greater clarity on the full significance of "First Steps" continues and must continue with greater intensity.

We come now to examine some of the work in the application of these principles of working with and gaining influence among the industrial workers. In these examples we see in practice the validity of linking theory with practice, testing theory in practice, and how practice develops theory, and as a result of practice theory is strengthened and enriched - in fact, applying the dialectical method to our work.

It is not always easy for the District Committee or a Branch to see that when they produce a bulletin, take part in a P.V. canvass, contact an industrial worker at an area branch house evening, or collect guarantors from supporters - they are then testing our theories in practice or adding to the store of theory which is the sum total of practice of millions of people, particularly the international working class and their Communist Parties. But this is what they are doing, thus strengthening the ideological position of our Party, challenging bourgeois ideas and supplanting them with working class ideas.

RETURN OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT:

Since our last Conference we have seen the return of a Labour Government. In Auckland we stood one candidate, Comrade Jackson (our National Chairman) in the Ponsonby Electorate.

Before embarking on an analysis of our work in this campaign with in relation to the application of "First Steps", we take a look at what the National Committee Report has to say on the question, because it correctly states the position:-

"We must -

"Base ourselves firmly on the working class - as they are, not as we think they ought to be;

"State clearly that the Communist Party wants to see the Labour Government remain in office and, in the workers' interests, carry out its pledged election policy;

"Explain that this means consolidating the support of all who voted for it and more people to its support, and that the necessary basis for this is the full and speedy application of its full election pledges. Nothing will draw the people more to the Government than seeing for themselves that the Government is quickly, in the face of Tory opposition, doing the job it promised;

"Lay stress on the outstanding and urgent promises on which the Government should act immediately.

"We need to show that the application of Labour Party policy will be and in fact is being already opposed; that the main attack will be delivered by overseas monopolies; that they will strive to bring the Government down and hence the Government needs to be doubly sure that when it confronts the electors again it has a record of policy pledges carried.

"The Government can only do this fully if it shows the N.Z. people that it will fearlessly curb the monopolies and break their stranglehold on key economic positions. The Communist Party must say that it will do all in its power to assist the Government in this struggle. It must develop to the utmost this struggle against the main enemy of the N.Z. people - monopoly.

"The Communist Party must bring out clearly to the supporters of the Labour Party and Labour Government that the Government's main electoral support is the N.Z. working class. Without the electoral support of this class it could not have become the Government. Without it, it will not remain the Government. Hence its first duty is to this class; its primary responsibility is to serve the interest of this class.

"We need to bring out the fact that the Government has clearly defined its stand in support of the development of New Zealand manufacturers and has shown them it will support them firmly and decisively against inroads of overseas monopolies. Yet at the same time, because capitalist ideology dominates, the Labour Government ignores the fact that there also exists the basic contradiction between the employers and workers.

"It will be necessary for the Labour Government, if it is in any way to represent the workers, to make it abundantly clear to the employers that, at the same time as it protects the national capitalist interests against foreign monopoly, it will strengthen the position of the N.Z. working class in its relationship to the N.Z. employers as a class.

"There is urgent need for the Government to declare that it will facilitate the restoration of workers' wages to correct the maladjustment in favour of employers which the Government itself points out has occurred in the past 8 years of National government. Likewise it needs to state forthrightly that it intends to strengthen and defend the position of the workers and their unions.

"The Government will NOT be able to retain the enthusiastic support of workers unless the present pro-employer, anti-worker orientation of the Labour Department is changed. This attitude reflects the anti-worker, big-stick attitude of the National Party, and has been consolidated in the Department over the last 8 years.

"The Labour Government must be made to see that the contradiction between employer and worker will sometimes result in struggles arising, in the vast majority of cases, from provocative actions by employers. It is necessary for the Government to declare itself in support of workers who have taken action as the result of such provocation e.g. victimisation, refusal to recognise union representatives or variation of conditions without union agreement.

"Similarly in regard to other programme points, we should state our approval, seek their urgent application, and at the same time offer our opinions. These opinions, which should always bring to the fore our working class stand, need to be advanced in modest, courteous and temperate language. Our presentation should constantly have in mind our audience, the vast majority of which supports and trusts the Labour Government.

"Our election campaign proved that once the workers learned we stood for the Labour Government they willingly listened to our own particular viewpoint, when we explained our approach on certain questions.

"Underlying the whole of our approach must be consciousness that our basic task is the raising of the class and political consciousness of the whole movement. The question of right and left trends is minimised to the extent that we are firm in our class stand, that our political line is based on the advance of the class interest step by step and that our presentations correspond to the level of development of our audience.

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"To the extent that we become the banner bearers of the positive points of the Labour Party programme, fully in struggle on the widest base for their fulfilment, to that extent we become the leadership of the movement for their realisation. Persistent following of this method is the key to consolidation of our influence among present Labour Party supporters, creating the conditions for the changing of their ideology. This way we ultimately win the ideological struggle and with it the leadership of the working class.

"With the world crisis of capitalism deepening rapidly, with growing agrarian and industrial crisis, it is clear that, to maintain and develop the living standards of the workers and other exploited sections, Labour's programme (or even our own seven point programme) will not suffice. They are but the start. Quickly a harder class approach must come, an approach that makes the rich pay to the full for economic crisis, with no added burdens on workers' shoulders.

"In other words, a struggle against internal and external monopoly will be an every-day life and death affair for the working class and its allies. Any further ideas of tax relief that includes the rich, as in the £100 scheme are out of date. Universal superannuation in crisis is absurd. There must be a means test for the rich. And so on.

"THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT, ITS CHARACTER AND PROGRAMME."

"We have said that many things are essential as far as action is concerned by the new Labour Government.

"The question obviously arises: In view of the consistent failure of Labour Governments in many countries to do just what we have outlined, can and will our Labour Government do it?

"To answer this question with any assurance we must first make a study of the nature and social basis of the Labour Party and Government. The election of the Labour Government last November indicated some slight shift in the relation of class forces. But that nothing fundamental occurred is seen easily by noting Mr. Nash's policy around SEATO, and, internally, the very great concern shown for capitalist interests and desire to soften for them any blow arising from over-seas crisis.

"Many see the Labour Party as a Party of the working class and consequently, the Labour Government as a workers' government. That some things are not done, that the capitalists and not the workers very often benefit from Government actions, are but examples of mistakes. Consequently such people look to the Labour Party as a working class party with the objective of socialism which is capable of being realised by a Labour Government.

"Is this so? Certainly not. If it was, the right opportunists from Scott out would be correct in the approach they made for so many years.

"What then is the Labour Party to-day. It has developed from its opportunist beginnings in 1916 (with a little Marxist tone) into the Party of national capital in our country. The earlier gropings towards a revolutionary position have been abandoned. That is why it places such emphasis on developing N.Z. industry, but ignores internal class contradictions. In the complex situation to-day it will always try to lean that way when possible. Bear in mind, however that exports, imports of raw materials and N.Z. industry are very closely bound together. Consequently an absolutely cut and dried picture emerges.

"But what does emerge is that ideologically the Labour Party is in the camp of capitalism. It bases itself on capitalist ideology. It is not, therefore, a workers' party. That, however, does not mean that the workers do not in majority support it, or think that it is their party. Today they do. We thus come to the position that the Labour Party, for its mass support for its organisational strength relies on the workers.

"It is at this point that the confusion in our ranks with regard to our attitude to the Labour Party has always started. But if we see that the National Party, while drawing its mass support from small business men, professional sections and working farmers while it is in fact the party of overseas monopolies and the big importers, then we should be able to

understand the parallel position of the Labour Party.

"Fundamentally then the Labour Party today is the party of domestic industrial capital, with its mass support among the working class and the mass working class organisations, the trade unions.

"We have to get clearly in mind that ideology is primary. If as at present led and with present outlook, the Labour Party's base is capitalism, then it cannot lead to socialism. It fundamentally will be opposed to any real fight against monopoly, no matter what propaganda it may issue. (One could conceive it leading a fight for some N.Z. monopoly against an overseas one, but not against all).

"Where does this lead us? Does it mean that the preceding portion of the report, where we look to Labour to do certain things, is nonsense?

"No, it does not. It could only do so if we saw the outlook of the mass membership and supporters of the Labour Party as static.

"To see the position clearly we must get back to what we said early in our 'Holland Must Go' campaign. Did we not then and ever since lay great emphasis on developing mass activity, mass movement from below among the workers? We stressed the target, the defeat of the National Government, but at the same time we stressed that the return of Labour would mean but a continuing of the fight for progressive policy to be put into action. We said the degree to which we could develop mass struggle against Holland would determine the degree that successful mass pressure could be exerted on the Labour Government to carry out policy for the workers. Our small success here leaves us in a weak position, but the new world developments greatly strengthen us as far as future work is concerned.

"But some argue, if the Labour Party is based on capitalist ideology, then nothing will make it act in a decisive way against monopoly.

"That is fundamentally true of the Labour Party and Labour Government as they are now. But struggle, with correct tactics, to get the Labour Government to fight monopoly on smaller questions will not leave the Labour Party static. Its best elements, its mass membership in the trade unions and elsewhere, will be won by struggle to a class outlook. This will not be a Marxist outlook in the sense of full understanding. The Communist Party has the task of giving the lead to that. But the Labour Party as we know and talk of it will be a thing of the past. Reformist, right wing leaders, who persist in digging deeper into capitalist class outlook, will lose mass influence. Capitalist ideology, social democratic ideology, will no longer dominate. These people will more openly and directly advance (unable to be read) themselves, working class, workers' party. Unity and One Workers' Party would be on the agenda.

"It is this that makes so important the development of struggle for Labour's immediate policy and for gradual expansion of that policy, all along the lines against monopoly, against putting the burden of growing crises on the workers' shoulders."

"This section brings out the primary nature of the masses in the Labour Movement, not in opposition to the Parliamentary Labour Party, but shows what is required in the interests of the people.

With this in view we conducted our campaign to win Ponsonby for the Communist candidate. The strengths and weaknesses of organisation in the campaign have already been discussed throughout our District in reports to branches. It has also been stated that we did tend towards right opportunism in our too uncritical approach on some parts of Labour Party policy, for example the Tax Rebate. There is a further indication of the stands the people, assisted by the leadership of the Party, must take to strengthen the movement and the Labour Party itself. This is the declared intention of the Labour Party not to contest the A.T.B. Elections this year. This means that the Auckland L.R.C., in fact, leaves the transport services - that should be run by the people's representatives for the people - in the hands of the representatives of monopoly capitalism, who will continue to run the services in the interests of big business. In the first instance, this must strengthen our determination to stand our candidates; secondly, we must leave no stone unturned to see that the whole

of the industrial labour movement in particular tries to make the L.R.C. change its mind.

POSITIVE LESSONS FROM THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

1. By stating our position firmly and with a greater absence of sectarianism than ever before, we considerably increased our vote. This would have been even higher had Comrade Jackson been able to concentrate on more house to house, person to person work, as had been done in previous Elections.
2. It helped to free our minds from the incorrect idea that there is an unbridgeable gap between area branches, area work, and industry. For example, a number of cargo workers were contacted and found to be friendly, although they stated frankly that they would not buy the P.V. at the wharf gates. Today through City Branch, they are in constant contact with our Party.
3. We found that a campaign could be run without the District Executive and the District Secretary being the king pins and the District Executive carrying the campaign on its back. Bureaucracy was therefore broken down and other cadres were able to show their mettle.
4. We were able for the first time to make contact with almost the whole of the railway industry through lunch-hour meetings, as well as many other factory meetings, where we received a good hearing for our policy.
5. On the basis of personal donations from jobs and areas we were able to overfulfill our Election Quota. The weakness was a slow start, which has already been discussed throughout the District.
6. A correct use of the local newspapers to outline the qualities of our policy and candidate, as well as a good distribution of Party election propaganda in a basic working class area. It is frequently overlooked, when arguing the merits of areas and industry that workers do not stay at work the whole 24 hours of the day, and contacting them at home is a step to knowing them in industry.
7. Some P.V. sales were gained and a good number of people won closer to our Party.
8. The Waterfront.— Before dealing with the actual election meeting, we want to draw the attention of Conference to the excellent job being done by City Branch, an area branch, on the waterfront. A very good example of an area branch putting into practice "First Steps". Comrades are aware of how this work was opposed by Scott, the high priest of revisionism in the New Zealand Party. There are regular and increasing sales of the P.V. and Labour Review and there is a regular well-produced bulletin to which some workers contribute. Socialist literature is distributed. Donations for the P.V. are a regular feature. A good section is becoming more friendly to us. This is no comfort to the shipowners, who are one of the largest monopolies operating in Auckland.

Work around the Cargo Workers' Election Meeting.— As soon as the date was arranged for the meeting, with the assistance of City Branch a personal message from Comrade Jackson was written and distributed at the wharf gates. Another bulletin was issued and eagerly sought after on the waterfront, answering more fully the questions put to Comrade Jackson. This bulletin also included a few pointers on questions to be put to Mr. Holyoake, who was speaking a few days later. This was followed by a Christmas number of the bulletin stressing the need for united action by the Cargo Workers to win their claims for wages and conditions that we were being heard by the Tribunal. Workers are also assisting with articles for the P.V. The ideology of monopoly is being challenged at home base. It is worthy of note that our first actual contact on the waterfront was with an early 1951 worker, who was first attracted to the Party by the work of the Otahuhu Branch in the Papatoetoe Motor Camp struggle.

For the first time in history City Branch has given proof to a section of people that when we say we are not like other political parties we mean it. Although not being able at their present strength to keep in touch with all the Pansy Moot-ers, they are endeavouring to keep in touch with the friends won in the area during the campaign and P.V. canvassing continues in the area; not enough, certainly, but some.

Although small in number of activists, City Branch also has a comrades selling P.V.s at 7 a.m. in the morning at the building workers' truck depot in Gympie Street, thus assisting our Party to gain influence in the building industry. Another comrade in the same branch has a contact in the Railway Goods sheds selling four papers and collecting guarantees for the Party. This branch also assists with giving out the Metal Workers Bulletin when required. This branch therefore assists in developing the influence of the Party among a basic section of industry as their key point, and helps directly in two or three others, besides general contact in the area. The branch has also developed a calendar of branch activities to assist in planning their work.

WORK WITH SPANISH

The Party is steadily making its presence felt among this section of workers closely allied to the waterfront and the transport industry. They produce bulletins fairly regularly and good leads have been given and accepted by the rank and file in the industry on such burning questions as the tying up of ships and sucking crews while cargo is still being discharged. Our main difficulty here is that because of the nature of the industry and the inexperience of our comrades, we have a tough job keeping in contact with them, let alone developing firm Party organisation. This same factor makes Party education very difficult.

OTAHUHU AREA BRANCH AND THE FREEZING INDUSTRY

We have had more ups and downs in the Freezing Industry in developing Party work and influence than in any other sector. Until recently spontaneity reigned completely and the District Committee was unable to achieve any continuity of propaganda or organisational work. To-day the Otahuhu Branch does bring out a bulletin on a three-monthly basis and this is normally followed by a gate meeting at Westfield. Comrade Heat has had the responsibility for developing this important sector of work for the District Committee.

The District Committee must be self-critical of its failure to achieve more in this basic section and must undertake to give our Otahuhu comrades more detailed leadership, so that the bulletin can become more frequent and our work more direct.

A good step that has been taken to overcome some of the weaknesses is that Comrade Heat, who is highly regarded in the industry, and another comrade are endeavouring to make frequent contact for P.V. sales and Party finance with freezing workers in hotels frequented by them on Saturday afternoons. We reiterate that the work here must be stepped up and receive specific leadership from the Incoming District Committee.

TAMAKI

This area branch with a limited number of activists has as its point of industrial concentration Harvey's Engineering Plant at Mt. Wellington. As well as distributing the Metal Workers Bulletin at the gates at the gates and organising factory gate meetings. For example the Knapp meeting at Harvey's was organised and conducted entirely by the branch - a very good example to our other branches. They have direct contact with the Labour Party in the area, through their relationship with L.R.C. and L.P. branch people. Their work in winning non-Party friends to actively work for the District in Party work, sell P.V.s, and support Party functions, is of a high order. Their attitude to difficulties that confront the branch is "we can, with the assistance of our supporters, work them out". This is an attitude that comrade Heat to other branches, particularly those that get bogged down in negative aspects of the struggle.

BUILDING WORKERS BRANCH.

This branch has a solid core of very good comrades, devoted to our class and Party. It has a fairly good base in the building industry. They along with City Branch were one of the storm centres in the struggle against the Scott faction and revisionism. This had the effect of diverting the Branch from its job of building influence within the industry. Every time the Branch looked like getting down to business, alien influences from inside and outside the Party were brought forward, character assassination was peddled, and naturally the Branch became diverted. It is of great credit to the Branch that they stuck to a firm working class line and are now in the position of rapidly overcoming the difficulties.

The prospects of extending the influence of our Party with this industry are bright. In the light of this the District Committee has decided to make the Building Workers a concentration point in terms of "First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks" to develop branch work along correct lines, with the object in view of achieving at least 100% success in the 1958 Finance Plan. Success in this, as in all other Party work - including P.V. sales - depends entirely on mass contact; the development of influence and supporters among the workers.

The concentration plan places emphasis on:-

1. Efficient well-planned Branch Executive work.
2. A concrete assessment and chart of income and expenditure of the branch.
3. A graph of the pledge payments from actual branch members, so that it can be clearly seen what is required from other sources.
4. A list of all known contacts for bulletin distribution, by post if necessary.
5. A plan to give the utmost personal attention by the branch to non-Party friends and supporters, to increase their support to the Party and win them into the Party as recruits.
6. A plan of work to be developed month by month for the Fair and Branch building jobs, films, etc.
7. The development of P.V. sales and the correct use of the Branch bulletin.
8. A concrete appraisal of the Branch membership.
9. The organising of the branch agenda by the Branch Executive so that the business meetings are bright and packed with action. Also to see that study is well organised and based on reality.

The plan is not a blue print but a guide to the development of a type of branch organisation that really runs well; not in isolation from the masses, but closely intergrated with them. We feel that the plan is a real attempt to interpret "First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks" for our District. ---copy---

The membership of the Branch embraces nearly every aspect of the building industry and progress is not confined to the carpenters section alone. The branch has a reputation for always rising to the occasion, which is true. The objective of the District Committee and comrades of the branch is to raise the day-by-day efforts consistently to the level of the capabilities of the branch in the special efforts.

Their P.V. sales, although stable, are not based firmly within the industry, where there is great scope for advancing in the present favourable conditions.

DRIVERS GROUP.

This comprises 5 comrades, including Comrade N.G., who is a member and Secretary of North Shore Branch. Over a considerable period we have been concerned about getting this group to operate effectively, with the end in view of commencing a Drivers Branch.

The comrades have contact with the industry, but nowhere near as effective as it could be. They bring out a bulletin, "Gear Change", but not on a systematic and regular basis as yet. Political issues are raised within the industry, but the main danger is tendencies towards concentration on Union problems and economism.

On the initiative of the Group, a good number of P.Vs are sold, but not all within the industry. The Group is led by Comrade B.A., with Comrade I.S. as Secretary.

In recent months real effort has been made to stabilize the group. Road transport is an important part of the economy of Auckland and the District Committee must be critical of its failure to assist in making greater progress than is apparent at the moment from the point of view of direct Party influence. With more direct assistance of a concrete nature, a branch based well within the rank and file of the industry can be achieved.

THE RAILWAYS BRANCH.

This Branch continues to do a great deal of work with a small membership. As stated at last Conference, this is a problem to which our comrades have not been able to find a solution. The position remains the same. They have an outstanding record in getting assistance from non-Party friends and would find it impossible to handle their P.V. sales if this were not so. As an example of their ties with the workers, they received 140 individual donations to the 1957 P.V. Appeal. Their work with the Election Committee in the Shops was very good indeed; comrades will remember it was the subject of a Labour Review article.

Their branch bulletin suffers from irregularity of production. It sometimes takes weeks for it to appear after the decision is taken to publish it; but this is improving. They also have difficulty with planning their Executive work.

The District Committee must concern itself with the inability of our Railways Branch to grow numerically, when they have such an outstanding record in other fields. What is the gap? Many discussions have failed to discover it so far.

METAL WORKERS.

The big problem of our comrades leading this branch is activating more fully the solid core of comrades within the Branch itself, as a step towards extending Party influence within the industry. Already there is support there for the policy of our Party.

The P.V. sales within the branch are stable. A concrete examination of the potential of the branch and its present contact would assist in extending sales within the industry. A further aid would be the production of their bulletin on a regular basis.

Discussions have taken place with the comrades within the industry with a member of the District Executive present, to get a better look at the picture as a step towards maintaining the branch. One of the main problems for the Branch to overcome with the assistance of the District Committee, is an attitude that "She's right - if we keep afloat the conditions will arrive wherein we can get cracking". Now is the time to be cracking and the small gains that are being made and maintained by the branch, such as regular payment for the P.V. payment of present branch quota and some bulletins, can be built on.

During the anti-Krupp campaign, factory meetings were held at three of the main engineering shops. It was the first time a Party meeting outside an election campaign has been held at Vulcan Steel. This meeting was successful and must assist in showing the Branch that where the effort is made, gains can be achieved. Comrade E.A. has District Committee responsibility for the Branch.

NORTH SHORE.

This is an area branch with a fairly widely scattered membership, but with a considerable contact with the people. Over the years they have on the initiative of the District Committee collectively and individually.

tackled, with some success, a number of area problems, including transport.

In the recent past, in an endeavour to get contact with industry, they canvassed an area adjacent to the Sugar Works, but were only partially successful. The Sugar Works, owned by the C.S.R., is a particularly hard nut to crack. They have not given up, however. Recently they distributed the national leaflet and the district leaflet on Krupp direct to the sugar workers at the Chelsea Wharf, a method that has distinct possibilities for a regular bulletin from the branch directed against the C.S.R. monopoly; a small beginning which could develop to big things in the struggle against monopoly, not only the C.S.R., but also Fletchers and the ship-owners.

The branch is giving a lead to the rest of the District in the use of films in making contact with new people and getting those few extra shillings that make all the difference to our finances. The branch should give some thought to continuing trying to win a base at the Dockyards. The branch is led by Comrade N.G. of the District Committee.

ROSKILL.

Roskill is a small branch with a great tradition behind it of area work. Although small, the branch battles to continue in existence and is a shining example to all the rest of the District in its pub sales with the P.V. and sales of the special. Comrade J.E. is the member of the District Committee responsible for the work of the branch.

Because of its gackground, this branch could do more within the area, despite its present membership. For example, they do not produce a bulletin; their bulletin used to be pretty good. It is an area with some industry. For example, the N.Z. Dairy Co. has a large depot in Dominion Road. A bulletin directed to the workers there, dealing with the crisis in butter sales, wages and prices, would be a step towards bringing "First Steps" to life.

WESTERN SUBURBS.

At last Conference we dealt at some length with the problem of this area and the difficulties of maintaining any organisation. Under the leadership of Comrade H.N., who was allocated the responsibility from the District Committee, a small core of members have met regularly and been able to maintain organisation. The major difficulty is keeping contact with those comrades who are unable to attend branch meetings. The branch keeps those members posted with what is going on by letters at regular intervals. Recently the branch has begun regular film evenings as a basis of activity.

The main industry in this area is the Brick Works, where two comrades work and one sells papers within the industry. Like Roskill, Western Suburbs has a background of good area work, and the Party is well-known in the area. Therefore if the District Committee can give the necessary assistance, after a careful survey of the area, despite the smallness of the branch progress can be made. Credit must be given to both these branches for sticking at it in the way they have, when it is so easy to give up.

A careful examination of the work of other area branches, like City and Tamaki, could possibly bring to light some of those small ways in which we can improve our contact with industry and the people in these areas.

TO SUM UP THE REVIEW OF BRANCHES.

Some results have been achieved in our District as a result of work done on the basis of the lead given in "First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks". It is no longer a question of starting to make those small advances that mean so much. Many have been made, and not to recognise this is not seeking truth from facts nor basing ourselves on objective reality.

Our task is to press on from our present basis to more small gains and larger gains in developing our Party organisation and improving our contact and influence with the industrial workers. The main responsibility for seeing that our branches get assistance in doing this rests squarely on the shoulders of the District Committee collectively and individually.

The responsibility for broadening the knowledge of the District Committee rests on the District Executive and D.C. members individually. The District Committee must still further improve its efforts to give concrete leadership to the whole District. The understanding of the D.C. of the basic nature of "First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks" in guiding us towards our full potential for serving our class must be considerably deepened. There are no short cuts for us.

The heart of our Party is sound and is basically capable of shouldering our responsibilities, with correct Marxist-Leninist leadership by example by the District Committee, on a better basis than at the moment.

WORK AROUND THE PEOPLES VOICE.

As our slogan "Organise with the Peoples Voice" shows, our work around the P.V. has advanced considerably, but still with a long way to go before we can be satisfied with our performance on sales, news collecting and payments. This applied with particular force to the District Committee, whose task is to serve the branches and give concrete leadership.

It could be said that having a slogan does not mean much without action. Examination shows that there has been action and some change in our attitude to the Peoples Voice. To-day it is no longer seen as a source of irritation and hindrance to Party work. Lenin's concept of a Party paper as the spearhead of Party work is steadily being recognised and acted upon.

Since the abolition of a P.V. Sub-committee and the placing of responsibility for the P.V. on the District Executive for weekly check, there has been some improvement. But we cannot be satisfied because despite the improvement the tendency is for us to slacken off in driving for sales, news and the maintenance fund. In fact spontaneity is still in the saddle. We are not consistent enough. Frequently the District Secretary for example, lets up in chasing a news item and those being chased by the District Secretary, for news items are extremely elusive. We tend to leave it to somebody else, and it does not get done or is late being done. This situation shows a gap still existing in our attitude to our paper.

Set out below are the details of our branch by branch sales and payment position at 28.4.58 and a comparison with the sales at the same period last year. Also if comrades study the graph on the P.V. they will get a good idea of the progress that has been made by them, and on the other hand, the work still to be done to really ORGANISE WITH THE P.V. Right at this moment our attitude to the P.V. is being put to test in the 1958 P.V. Appeal. Arising from the discussions and decisions of our Conference we should lead N.Z. in overfulfilling our quota of £200.

Branch sales P.V. 15, 1957.

Building Wks.	90
Bridge	36
Drivers	35
City	149
Metal Wks.	48
Northshore	30
Otahuhu	74
Railways (shops)	106
Railways (goods)	40
I. Tomasovic	12
S. Hicatt	6
R. Hollis	7
Roskill	150
Tamaki	28
Western Subs	70

Branch sales P.V. 15, 1958.

Building Wks.	108
City	171
Drivers	92
Metal Wks.	51
Northshore	47
Otahuhu	75
Railways (shops)	135
Railways (goods)	34
I. Tomasovic	12
R. Hollis	30
Roskill	156
Tamaki	28
Western Subs	51
Other sales	18
Sale or Return	13

Oth sales	14	Shop sales	35
Shop sales	34	Total	1050
Sale or Return	24		
Total	953		

The peak sales for 1957 were for P.V. 48, when the order was 1,091. The first issue for 1958 was 1,065.

There have been some transfers of sales from one branch to another due to shifts in employment, and other branches have lost sales due to this, Temaki Branch for instance reached 41 sales on the basis of non-party friends selling on their jobs, all of these friends have now changed their place of employment and not yet recommenced selling, where possible these sales have been picked up by other branches.

PROPAGANDA: Work of the Sub-committee:

It was only recently that Comrade Krushchev said: "We are convinced that our ideas will win... if a theory is correct and reflects the laws of social development it inevitably wins the minds of millions and millions of people and becomes a mighty force in the struggle for everything that is new and progressive."

He then pointed out that the growing standard of living in the Socialist countries would provide a logic and proof that was undeniable... an irrefutable example of the superiority of Socialism.

Since its formation over 100 years ago the Communist Party has been an example internationally of working class organisation and it has slowly and surely attracted attention, it has slowly and surely won recognition as the vanguard party of the working class.

The example of the C.P.S.U. in establishing scientific socialism is a glorious one that has boosted this process a hundred fold. As a result of its experience the fraternal parties have been greatly assisted in their work and today we have 33 million comrades throughout the world.

But where do we stand in Auckland? What example do we provide? Since the weeks of the Scott faction have been cleared from our garden it has had much healthier soil, but have we sown any good seeds that will flower and cause our fellow workers to respect it?

Today we see before us new slogans for inner-party stimulation:-

"Branch Executives, Efficiency is contagious"
and "Bring First Steps and Urgent Tasks to Life"

coupled with the slogan successfully put into practice last year - "Organise with the People's Voice", projected bulletins and that these new slogans are of vital importance.

Comrades if we claim we have a better system than capitalism, then we must also claim to be the most efficient party in our present class society. But are we?

How can we inspire confidence in our party as the vanguard party of the working class when our executive meetings are often scrappy, when our branch secretaries often fail to provide leadership, when our accounts are often undecipherable acrostics, when our branch meetings are often scrappy and unattractive, when our bulletins often fail to appear, if they are often shoddy in their workmanship, if we often fail to use the People's Voice properly?

Years ago when talking about style of work, Comrade Stalin said there were two essential features of party work--a wide (Russian) revolutionary range of action and an (American) efficiency.

He described the wide range of action as a revolutionary approach

the broke with conservatism and opened new perspectives, but he warned against it becoming revolutionary fancy or phrase mongering. American efficiency was an antidote to such an abhorration because it was the indomitable spirit that was undeterred by any obstacle, that plugged away with business like perseverance until every impediment was removed. But he warned against this degenerating into narrow and unprincipled commercialism. The broad revolutionary range of action was the antidote to this.

We, here in Auckland, tend to have a wide range of action but our efficiency tends to be at a low level with the result that we end up, much against our best wishes, phrase mongering.

We must have efficiency and the prime organisers of the efficiency must be our executives-- both branch and district. And when a stone is dropped in a pool the ripples of efficiency will radiate outwards touching every nook and cranny of our work.

Such a stone has been provided in the outline formulated by the Building Workers executive in conjunction with the District Executive.

Here we have a clear cut example of efficiency that inspires confidence. It has been correctly stated that it is not a rigid example to be copied in detail, but every branch, no matter how, must be equally efficient.

Efficiency is contagious.

Coming to the report of the Propaganda Sub-committee on branch bulletins with one or two exceptions it is almost a distressing report. It is certainly an indication to the reason why our finances are in such a plight, comrade Hegman, who prepared the report did not have the benefit of all the bulletins issued during the period under review, because the branches concerned did not pass on copies to the District Office as they ought to have done. And only four branches troubled themselves to reply to the District questionnaire on their propaganda work. We would ask them to do this as soon as possible so that we can form a complete picture of the propaganda work in our district. Imagine the confusion of an army general staff that did not know what the forces it had available because the platoon commanders refused to forward the necessary statistics!

In his report to the Sub-committee, comrade Hegman said that bulletins should be seen as a mass organiser developed in a certain way, directed to a particular industry or area. 'Such a conception does not conflict with the role of the P.V.' he said, 'but on the contrary one of the principle aims of bulletins should be to interest ever wider sections of the people in our paper, thus increasing sales and developing financial assistance for the P.V. Comrade Hegman said that the essential thing in regard to bulletins was the materialist philosophy of Mrs. Beaton for making jugged hare....first catch your hare; He then pointed out that the majority of comrades, and many leading cadres in this district are not convinced of the necessity for developing branch bulletins on a regular basis. His survey showed that seven branches produced bulletins and that only one branch, City, has achieved regularity. The immediate task facing our collective is to win branches to produce bulletins and appreciate the role which can be played by 'specials' once having established the precedent for regular publications.

At this stage a word or two about the organisation of the sub-committee might be of value. The District Executive has commended the sub-committee on its attempt to improve its style in work. This attempt has not been due to any special talents, but merely to an application of principles as far as they have been understood.

In the sub-committee Comrade Hegman is responsible for checking on branch bulletins, Comrade Arya has the responsibility for social and branch affairs, Comrade J.C. for art work (for which he is to be highly commended) and comrade R. Hollis has the responsibility for films and general directive as convener.

Let us study an example of work. A picnic was to be held so the Sub-committee met and drew up a general approach. Comrade Arya was then

given the responsibility of organising the picnic by activating as many as possible and told that the committee did not want to hear any more about the picnic except its successful outcome, or possibly any insoluble problem.

In a commendable style comrade Arya set about this work and soon there was a picnic committee of selected comrades with the task of activating others. About ten outsiders were activated, although there were some failures, and the picnic went off so well that it had an atmosphere of spontaneity that belied the careful organisation behind it.

This is the spirit that the sub-committee has tried to instil into all of its work. Not content with merely formulating a slogan, Efficiency is contagious, it has tried to demonstrate it in practice. This is happening in the social and branch affairs section under the lead of comrade Arya. She has drawn up for committee consideration a detailed plan of the years events linked with the financial plan for the year.

Films are a new feature of the Sub-committee's work. We have a business arrangement with a film organisation. It is most essential to remember that this is a business arrangement and not a philanthropy. The showing of films is an effective method of broadening the contact of our branches, assisting in their financial position. The arrangement for hiring of films has previously been outlined, what is now necessary is for our district to reach the position where each branch has at least one screening per month, or more if possible.

Some observations on the Krupp campaign. This campaign has very great significance for the whole of our party in that it did reflect the desires of the masses. Analysis shows that more could and should have been done on developing action against the visit and its significance for our attack on monopoly in N.Z. But the positive features are that from originally being sparked by us it spread through wide sections of the labour movement including the trades Council and a number of L.R.C's. No civic or Government receptions were held and he had to shulk through N.Z. There was an excellent response to our bulletins, leaflets and factory gate meetings. We must be forever vigilant to take up in every way the immediate and long term issues affecting the working class and their allies, and fearlessly go to the factory gates for example, on a regular and systematic basis.

District Audit and check finance Sub-committee. After the District Conference last year a committee was set up consisting of comrades R.S. J.P. J.G. and comrade T.S. as convener. Two comrades were new members to the District Committee and already carried heavy responsibilities in an industrial branch and trade union work, on top of this Comrade Jock Foulds was given the responsibility for the election campaign, and comrade Jim Gillies responsibilities in the trade union increased, leaving comrades Rita Smith and Ted Smith to carry out the responsibilities of the sub-committee. With the responsibilities in other fields which these two comrades had, detail work, so essential to the correct functioning of the committee suffered. Since early in March other comrades who were discussed with the District Executive were approached to work on the committee, this has improved the position and the work will improve accordingly.

The functions of the Sub-committee are:-

1. Checking on all aspects of branch finance, discuss position with branch members with the view to assisting them to develop their own forms of money raising and turning the branch out, developing of mass work and mass contact.
2. Audit branch books on a regular quarterly basis, analyse the measure of branch contact by the number of guarantors etc.
3. Audit District books.
4. Organise and be responsible for the distribution etc. of central money raising activity, such as the Fair, jumble sales and other methods.
5. Cooperate with the propaganda committee on activities designed for finance raising.

We think that a brief review of the work of the committee under the conditions previously outlined and some comment will help to present a clearer picture of the work of this committee.

Audit of branch books: - this was planned to take place in Room 36 on Friday nights and branches were notified, the request being for two members of a branch executive, one being the branch treasurer to attend so that all aspects of branch work could be discussed, and assistance given where possible to enable the branch to fulfil its obligations to The District and improve party methods of work.

For some reason this request to Branch Executives was not acted upon, and where some branches did bring in their books only the treasurer attended. Comrades we have to examine the reason for this apparent failure at branch executive level, and if the method of organisation is found correct, overcome the difficulty of getting those branch comrades together for the purpose outlined.

Audit of District books; this is carried out each month and assistance given to comrade Rita Smith where necessary or requested.

Fair: - the Town Hall Concert Chamber is booked for December 12th. We have examined the trends of the Fair, and even allowing for last years Fair being the day before election day, we find that there is a need for a new approach to this important work. The reasons for this; We have now held three Fairs in the Concert Chamber, the first, and most successful financially on Dec. 12.1955. The second two were on Nov. 30th 1956 and Nov. 29th 1957. The fact of the first one being a fortnight later and the day after Child Allowance day, may have had some bearing on the greater financial success. But we feel that the reason is deeper than either of these. When activity follows the same pattern for a period it loses its novelty and becomes a grind for those working for it, and becomes stereotyped to other people.

New ideas have been placed before the District Committee members and are not included in this report, the District Committee members, and the Sub-committee have the responsibility of discussing these with the branches. The suggestions as brought down by the Sub-committee will no doubt be added to and improved upon as a result of the collective discussion of our comrades. Organisationally we recommend that a committee be appointed now for the overall organisation and conduct of the Fair.

The volume of goods for the 1957 Fair was not good overall, some very good individual work was done, and credit must be given for it. The produce supplied was a splendid effort. But the cold facts are Tanaki and Otahuhu supplied the bulk of wooden and soft toys as well as a great deal of the other goods. City Branch did a very fine job, particularly in mobilising non-party people. Comrade Bill Jernyn did an excellent job in getting non-party participation. The children's clothing and toy stalls provided the bulk of the profits and the main suppliers of those goods were the before mentioned branches, so it is clear comrades that we cannot continue on such a narrow basis.

The fact that the District has been able to meet the monthly quota of £100 (now raised to £109) to our National Centre, and a weekly sum of approximately £26-0-0 to the P.V., besides paying current expenses of our District office has depended in the past on generous donors to our party and the untiring efforts of a small section of party comrades to whom great credit is due, but the basis of activity must be broadened if we are not going to work those few comrades into the ground.

At present we are £89 behind in our January-March quota to the National Centre. In order to overcome this position the importance of branch plans for finance within the overall political work to meet commitments to the District Office cannot be over emphasised. The branch plan must be based on raising the necessary finance to meet their quota to the District Office, pay their weekly commitments for the P.V. (a position which has greatly improved over the past year) and carry the party policy forward to ever greater numbers of workers by the application of mass work. Suggestions and help have been given in the method of approach to branch quotas, such as the fragmenting of the monthly quota to a weekly target. An organisational plan has been outlined to enable the collecting of regular sums of money from the workers, and the 'Fighting Fund' form has been supplied to branch comrades. These methods

we feel, will be a help in formulating branch plans, they must not be taken as a blue print but used to assist our mass work. The overall plan of mass work, concentration in particular fields at particular and appropriate times, and detailed check and analysis on successes and failures, with a consequent continuous turning out of our party to ever wider sections of our class and its allies is the real long term solution to correct methods of work contained within this overall plan. We must continue to exploit all avenues for 'quick methods' of getting finance which as, has correctly been stated, is just as much political money' as a direct donation once it comes into the hands of our party. All money in the hands of our party is political money.

The struggle continues with the District and the District Committee in particular, to see that the work of putting our District finances on a sound basis is not the sole responsibility of the sub-committee. As the results of the material collected for the Jumble Sale and Bazaar held on the 18th April shows, the struggle is far from won. Scant attention to collecting material was given by most branches. The effort was on the shoulders of the few and the cash result of approximately \$28 could easily have been doubled with the minimum of effort spread over our membership.

Comrades now have a clear picture of our financial position and what is required to achieve success in the future. As with the P.V., the struggle must continue for the acceptance of the responsibility to be taken by the District Committee and Branch Executives, plus the whole collective of our Party. Spontaneity as a method of work continues and must be overcome. Consistent checking and re-checking at all levels and detailed consistent attention to finance, firmly based on our mass work, is the key to success in our 1958 Finance Plan.

WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE T.U. SUB-COMMITTEE.

In this section of our report in 1956 and 1957 we dealt in great detail with the following aspects of work in the T.U. field:-

1. The District Secretary as the convener of the Committee.
2. The details of group organisation.
3. Aggregate meetings of Trade Unionists within our District.
4. Work in the Trades Council.
5. The struggle to preserve T.U. rights.
6. The problems of young workers and women in industry.
7. Job committees and job organisation.
8. Job bulletins.

We do not propose to do this on this occasion in the same detail, because all these points are inherent in the sections of the report dealing with "First Steps" and "Urgent Tasks". All the points have been and are the constant concern of the District Committee and District Executive and T.U. Sub-committee, who are improving their understanding of the fact that all unity of the working class and its allies (which is fundamental to the achieving of higher living standards, peaceful co-existence and peoples power in N.Z.) depends in the first instance on developing T.U. unity locally in our District throughout N.Z. and internationally.

It is common knowledge that the disruptive tactics of the reformists, the direct agents of monopoly, are applied most vigorously in our Trade Unions. It is in the Trade Unions that the whole infamous theory of class collaboration, in direct opposition to class struggle, is fomented by them. The more difficult the situation becomes for monopoly capitalism in N.Z., the greater the effort will be to split and disrupt the Unions. An example right now are the scurrilous circulars from the State Dept. that are issued by the right wing leaders of the

F.O.I., plus their complete opposition to any campaign to have the anti-T.U. legislation struck off the Statute Books of N.Z. This also applies to the Right-wing leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The main group of prop of monopoly capitalism in N.Z. to-day is the strength of the reformist ideas of social democracy in the Trade Union Movement.

How do we struggle against and overcome this?

Not by sorting up leaders and vilifying them for their actions, as has been our practice in the past. But by going to the masses on the jobs, in the Unions and in the areas with our policy for to-day, pointing towards a bright future. By showing the workers that in unity one with the other, they can achieve success in their demands. We are the only Party that can develop and guide the workers in this direction.

In the Unions and Trades Council in Auckland we have many good examples of improvement in work in this direction, pointing towards the position where the day is not so very far away when our Party can rely upon the Trade Unions in struggle against monopoly capitalism. This is inherent in the whole concept of "First Steps".

Comrades need to know of these experiences in developing T.U. unity and the United Front and we recommend to our comrades working in Trade Unions that they supplement the Report by bringing out their positive and negative experiences of this work in the Unions for the benefit of Conference. In this way we will get a concrete picture of our Party in action, working to bring consciousness to the working class and equipping them for victory over monopoly capitalism in New Zealand.

SOME POINTS AS A GUIDE ON THE CONTENT AND FORM OF THE UNITED FRONT.

The basic content of the development of the united front is the defence of the immediate demands of the working class, which embody their economic and political needs.

Our Party must not be content with general requests and exhortations to accept our solution of the problem of the workers, the achieving of People's Power in New Zealand. But we must find those slogans and steps in action which arise from the workers' needs right now. Such slogans and forms of action must be in close conformity with the facts of the development of the workers as a whole, job by job, industry by industry, Union by Union.

The direction of our work must always be towards shifting the burden of the crisis from the shoulders of the workers on to the monopolies.

Struggles must be developed at the present level of the workers to defend the T.U. and bourgeois democratic rights of the people in continuous, unsectarian struggle to raise the level of consciousness of the workers on the urgent need to deal with the penal clauses of the I.C. & A. Acts, the Police Offences Bill and all such legislation.

We must at all time be vigilant for the rapid changes in the situation that demand new methods of organisation and struggle to protect and build the unity of our class. Unity must be developed on Short Term and Long Term demands. Above all else, the developments of Trade Union unity and the United Front cannot be achieved without the firm leadership of the Party of Marxism-Leninism, our Party. This means for us no slackening, but a much greater effort to develop the independent work of our Party in the Auckland District, on the jobs, in the Unions and in the areas.

The task of leading the people of N.Z. out of the morass of our present ageing and decadent system depends on the working class. The preparation of the working class to accomplish this depends solely on us.

We conclude, comrades, on the note that our report gives some indication of the strength and confidence we must feel, stemming from the world situation, some indications of the work done by our District, the

strengths and weaknesses, some steps necessary to turn our weaknesses into strengths. It is easy to see the vital importance to the

We are confident that the Report will be strengthened and enriched as a result of the collective discussion of Conference and further examination and study by our branch members and non-Party friends.

We are taking the First Steps towards our District playing its full role in the struggle for peace, co-existence and socialism in New Zealand.

"In our analysis of present and future prospects in N.Z., in our essential study of the class character of N.Z. life, of its social organisation and its class forces, we must keep firmly in mind the new world developing situation, the steadily growing strength of socialism, the ever increasing decline of capitalism. If we don't do that then the value of my analysis will be very small. To neglect it or ignore it would be to adopt a stereotyped, dogmatic, pseudo-Marxist approach. It would be to ignore the new, the vital, the growing in the new situation.

"Obviously the changing balance of forces on a world scale increases the prospects of progress on the road to socialism in N.Z. if correct policy and tactics are adopted.

"It is now our belief that we have predicted for many years - the creation of conditions which greatly favour the success of our activities and provide the basis of our rapidly winning support among the working people. The effort of the capitalists in chasing the achievements of socialism are nothing short of electric on the minds of the working people of N.Z. But it is just the first of many amazing socialist achievements that will not be able to be hidden from the people. And these achievements will be the more startling in contrast to the picture in the capitalist world of deep and developing crisis. It will certainly come as a shock to the great majority of the working people of N.Z. to find that there is a capitalist country in our midst, the capitalist world, that is going through a deep and developing crisis, now known as the post-war crisis, is going to hit N.Z. capitalist economy very soon.

"The point is that the simultaneous ascent of socialism and descent of capitalism will provide increasingly favourable conditions for success in our work, and we must not be slow in realising and taking advantage of this.

"The recent Declaration of the Parties of the socialist world needs to be deeply studied by all. Their survey of the world situation brings out the following main points of importance.

1. The main content of the era is the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale;
2. World development is being determined by the competition between two classically opposed social systems, socialism and capitalism;
3. The superiority of the socialist system over that of capitalism is being graphically demonstrated;
4. The qualitative change that has taken place in the balance of world forces is in favour of socialism;
5. The question of war or peaceful co-existence is now the most crucial question of world policy;
6. The essence of the struggle for peaceful co-existence is a struggle against monopoly capitalism;
7. The situation is growing ever more favourable for bringing the working people into the struggle for socialism.

"But with these factors in mind, study and analysis of all aspects of N.Z. life and economy is even more urgently necessary if our Party is to give the leadership to the N.Z. working class that will enable it to carry

~~SECRET~~

21/2/10
AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

3607,

334

Auckland.

5th May, 1958.

A/District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S VOICE" NEWSPAPER DATED 30/4/1958.

INFORMATION:

1. Forwarded herewith are items of local interest appearing in the "People's Voice" newspaper referred to above.
2. On page 4 appears notification of a Special People's Voice Appeal for \$500. This has now developed into a yearly appeal.
3. On page 5 the H. McLEOD referred to in the article "Labour must contest Local Body Election" is Hugh John McLEOD, Auckland District Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand.
Also on page 5 the Mrs. LUCKENS referred to is Kathleen Muriel LUCKENS who has been mentioned previously in connection with activity of the Communist Party and The New Zealand Peace Council and The Society for Closer Relations with Russia. The G. JACKSON referred to in the same article as a speaker at the function is George Edward JACKSON, Chairman of the Communist Party of New Zealand.
4. On page 8 George Edward JACKSON, Chairman of the Communist Party of New Zealand comments on the news under the heading of "Important Conferences".

[REDACTED]
FILE OFFICER.

5th May, 1958.

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

Forwarded for Headquarters records purposes.

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[REDACTED]
A/DISTRICT OFFICER.

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7/10/1958

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Telephone
Reference:



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Department of Justice

GENERAL DUTIES DIVISION

21/2/8✓

File with CE 24/2

333

P.O. Box 3607,

Auckland.

21st February, 1958.

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

1957 COMMUNIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN

I forward herewith an Election Bulletin which was received by me through the post from Senior Detective E.W. MAHOOD. The latter obtained this copy from an undisclosed source at the Railway Workshop.

The Railways Branch of the Communist Party circulate a job bulletin known as "Union News" at the Otahuhu Railway Workshops and the above bulletin is probably a special election issue of "Union News".

The only matter worthy of comment is the published letter from Mr. Ritchie MacDONALD, M.P. for Ponsonby who was a former President of the Auckland Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. Mr. MacDONALD wrote apparently under the impression that "Union News" was a trade union publication.

Every step has been taken to obtain regular copies of "Union News".

DISTRICT OFFICER.

Director
to see please. The letter from Maud. is interesting.

FILE: [Signature]
27/2/58. Initials

S.58/101.

~~SECRET~~

Thursday October 3rd. 1957.

WE CRACKED THE £25 MARK LAST PAYDAY.

You will remember that your Committee's policy on housing called on the Govt to implement a decent housing program for Railwaymen & supported Labours State housing policy for 100,000 houses in five years.

Perhaps this picture from England could apply here if the Nationalists continue in office. An article specially written for our bulletin says:

Many of us are buying or intend buying our own homes on the never never plan & have read with alarm, the report in the newspapers recently of a statement by Professor Rodwell, an economist who said, that to encourage people to save & invest their money, interest rates should be raised. (by the way, the interest rate has gone up since National became the Govt from 3% to 5%)

In England which has a Tory Govt, the interest rate has skyrocketed to such an extent (7%) that a man who is buying his home on a building society mortgage & would normally cleared the mortgage in 31 years will not have his home freehold in that time due to the higher rate of interest which will have the effect of extending the term by approximately 26 years i.e. nearly double. Speaking in £sd, when he has finished paying for his home at the age of 86 he will have paid out £8,500 instead of £4,500 on a mortgage of £2,450.

The Tories hear are the same as the Tories anywhere. They legislate for the monopolies & big investment corporations at the expense of the people. Labour's policy is for low rates of interest for housing & the option of capitalising of the child allowance for the purpose of paying off the family home. So safeguard that home of yours by voting Labour in November.

PRICE INCREASES SINCE OUR LAST BULLETIN.

Hansell CITRIC ACID 9d to 9½d small I/3 to I/4 large. SEMOLINA 10½d to I/- per 1lb pkt. HERRINGS (in tomato sauce) I/4 to I/4½ small 2/- to 2/-½ large. TINNED PEACHES (Australian) 30 oz tins 4/4 to 5/-. TINNED APRICOTS (ditto) 4/-½ to 4/4. SULTANAS I/9 to I/10 Lb pkt. Mono-wrap REFILLS I/7 to I/9. CALIFIG I/II to 2/3 small 3/2 to 3/6 large. CUTICURA SOAP I/2 to I/3. COLGATES TOOTHPASTE I/6 to I/7, 2/5 to 2/7, 3/4 to 3/7. Hansell TARTARIC ACID 9d to 9½d, I/3 to I/4. COCA COLA 5d to 6d. MACARONI I/2½ to I/4. NOODLES 2/10½ to 3/2½. SPAGHETTI I/2 to I/4. VERMICELLI I/2 to I/4. ARROW-ROOT I/6 to I/7½, 2/7 to 2/10. PICKLES (Maconochies) I/8 to I/9½, 2/8 to 2/10½. CHOW CHOW (Whitlocks) 2/- to 3/1½. NUGGET (White shoe cleaner) I/3 to I/6. TOMATO SAUCE (Whitlocks) I/8 to I/9, 2/7 to 2/9. H. P. SAUCE 2/4 to 2/5½. WORCESTER SAUCE (ditto) I/8 to I/9, 2/7 to 2/9.

Govt which in 1949 said that Labour was responsible for wives being forced out to work to cope with the rises in living costs.

	£	s	d
Machine Shop	I	10	0
Airforce		10	0
Paint	I	11	0
Wood Wagon	3	5	0
Trimming Shop		8	0
Crystal Palace		9	0
Gas Shop		10	0
Structural	2	12	6
Reclaim	I	16	0
Joinery		7	0
Mill		13	0
Bogie Shop	I	3	6
Machine Bogie		9	0
Coppersmiths		13	6
Plating Shop		11	0
Equipment		9	0
Car I	I	0	0
Car & Wagon	I	2	0
Office		2	0
Blacksmiths	I	10	0
Car 2		17	0
Stores		6	0
Timber Yard	2	-	-
TOTAL	25	2	6

Thanks very much chaps. We asked you to push the total up to exceed £25. You made the grade. Lets show Holyoake that we trust him less than Holland if that is possible. Increase it still more.

ROLLS AVAILABLE.

Your Committee chairman reports that he now has for your perusal rolls for the following electorates.

Tamaki, Eden, Mt Roskill, Manukau, and Otahuhu.

Also he has the first issue of the Manukau Supplementary roll. We will get those for other electorates as soon as possible.

RALLY TO BE HELD.

A letter from Harold Gallagher, Secretary of the Auckland L. R. C. states that the Labour rally of Trade Union & Labour Party executives to discuss the election campaign will be addressed by Mr. Nash in the Town Hall Mon. Next at 8 p.m.

Not a bad performance for a



In 1954 nearly 20,000 "left it to the other joker!" We would say not too many of these Tories. Make voting a priority on Nov. 30th. and sweep the Nationalists from office.

LETTER FROM RITCHIE MACDONALD.

The following letter has been received by your Committee.

I wish to thank you sincerely, for the copies of your most interesting bulletin. I am sorry I have not written before as I was laid up with Asian Flu.

The election will soon be with us & it is most gratifying to find my old workmates rallying to the cause & assisting in the raising of finance which is so important in achieving a Labour Victory in November.

If all industrial workers would only contribute one penny a week throughout the preceding three years, what a wonderful fund we would have to fight an election. It seems a small premium to pay on an insurance policy which will return such a dividend as the Labour Party can give you.

To those who waver on payday may I remind them of what the National Party have done during their term of office.

High

cost of living, increases in rent, handing over of our National assets to private enterprise, failure to grant Railwaymen a long service bonus, purchase of expensive ministerial residences & cars & trips of Ministers & wives overseas amounting to £30,667. Holyoake's visit to the Soviet £4,183 & so on.

Do you remember the Compton case? The police Commissioner receiving £1925 per year who was relieved of his post. Was he handed his "Super" back? No! He was given accumulate leave of six months, £962 plus compensation of £6,000. On top of this he is now receiving £812 "Super" per year. What Railwayman has ever received this.

When you vote on Nov. 30th. think of these things & thousands of others! As an old Railwayman of 25 years service, an A. S. R. S. Official, I appeal to you all. Do not let your fellow men down. We need your help both financially & materially. Do all in your power to see that the workers vote Labour. You will not regret it.

~~SECRET~~

Telephone:

Reference:



Department of Justice

GENERAL DUTIES DIVISION

P.O. Box

3607,

330

Auckland.

16th January, 1958.

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

1957 ELECTION CAMPAIGN C.P.N.Z.

I have to acknowledge your letter of 8th January, 1958 relating to the above subject, which has been noted by the Staff of this Office.

Your commendation has been noted on the personal files of the members concerned.



DISTRICT OFFICER .

FILE. *File*
24/1/1958. *MBP* Initials

352/604.

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21/2/8

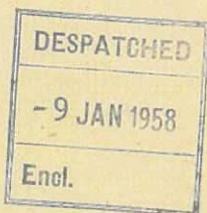
8th January 1958.

The District Officer,
P.O. Box 3607,
AUCKLAND, C.I.

1957 ELECTION CAMPAIGN C.P.N.Z.

I wish to express my appreciation of the work done by you and your staff in covering the election campaign of the New Zealand Communist Party. I would also commend the sound analysis of communist election policy made by yourself and [REDACTED].

H.E. Gilbert,
Director.



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21/2/8

New Zealand.

8th January 1958.

1957 ELECTION CAMPAIGN - C.P.N.Z.

2. You may find the enclosed survey of the election campaign policy of the C.P.N.Z. of interest. It was made before the actual date of the election (30th November).

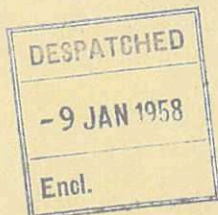
3. It was the policy of the Party to put up candidates in seats where a large labour majority was assured. The arguments used to justify this practice, in face of the communist appeal to co-operate with the Labour Party in defeating the Nationalists, are described in the survey. The wisdom of standing candidates was questioned in the 1957 Triennial Conference of the Party.

4. Figures for the past four elections are as follows:-

1949 ..	16	C.P.	candidates ..	3267	votes.
1951 ..	4	"	" ..	476	"
1954 ..	8	"	" ..	686	"
1957 ..	5	"	" ..	706	"

5. In the electorate of Ponsonby, the Party Chairman, George Edward JACKSON, polled 286 votes, that is 1.7% of the votes cast. The communist vote in this and other electorates is little indication of Party strength. Communist candidates did not necessarily stand in all districts where there were strong party branches. Many known communists resided in electorates where there was no Party candidate. As against this, the communist vote was undoubtedly swollen by the support of many non-communists. Since there was no question of the Party securing any voting strength in the House, it was able to make irresponsible promises which deceived a number of gullible people, especially old age pensioners.

6. The figures suggest that there are approximately seven communist electoral supporters for every two members of the Party. This proportion appears to be much smaller than that recorded in [redacted] But little significance can be attached to the New Zealand figure in the light of the circumstances mentioned in the preceding paragraph.



H.G.
H. Gilbert,
Director.

Encl.

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~~SECRET~~ELECTION TACTICS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMMUNIST PARTY.

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1. The material in the summary is based upon the "People's Voice", the C.P.N.Z. pamphlet "Toss out the Tories", and a secret source of accepted reliability.

CANDIDATES.

2. The C.P.N.Z. proposes to nominate 5 candidates for the elections on 30th November. These candidates are as follows:-

- Ponsonby - George Edward JACKSON, National Chairman, C.P.N.Z.
- Island Bay - Raphael NUNES, Wellington District Executive, C.P.N.Z.
- Christchurch Central - John Gibson LOCKE, District Chairman, C.P.N.Z.
- Mornington - John Leslie MARSTON, leading C.P. member.
- West Coast - Donald McEWEN, leading C.P. member.

FINANCE.

3. The cost of the campaign is to be met from an election fund amounting to £550. This money is to be raised by the increase of sales of the "People's Voice" and the issue of numbered collection cards. It is worthy of note that Party Branches have been asked to keep a systematic check on the collection of money for the fund and to record all details fully.

CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT.

4. The Party pamphlet, "Toss out the Tories", emphasises four principal points against the present Government:-

- (a) Living standards have been reduced, due to rising prices and higher taxation. This allegation is supported by comparative price-lists and by the statement that it is the policy of the present Government to include more people in the tax paying class;
- (b) Family life has been undermined by longer hours and by the necessity for wives to work. The pamphlet states that "the National Government, once so anxious to safeguard the family life, has even changed the Factories Act to make it easier for women to be forced to work longer overtime." The 40 hours week legislation is said to be in no way in accord with actual working hours.
- (c) The National Government's industrial policy is indicted. Bad relations have allegedly been fostered in industry. "Free enterprise" is not attacked in principle, but it is claimed that under the National Government it has led to "private empires", and reference is made to "the New Zealand and overseas monopoly concerns which virtually control the country today." At one time the present Government is said to have stressed "profit sharing". This was only to "disarm the Trade Unions and lull the workers into a state of docility favourable to undisputed stock-piling of profits by big business." The theory that "wage rises cause price rises (inflation)", is described as "just silly". It is answered by the false analogy that a capitalist can no more urge wage restraint upon workers than he can urge his fellow-capitalists to restrain a rise in profits. It is said that monopolies, and not wages, are responsible for price

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risers. The National Government is attacked for using "naked force in 1951." Industrial legislation at this time, described as "anti-workers laws", is misrepresented in the following terms: - "It is an offence for unionists to cease work, slow down, or refuse overtime (or even support actions). It is an offence to 'boycott' goods selling at exorbitant prices. It is an offence to have any document intended to 'excite disaffection against the Government.' You are guilty unless you can prove you are innocent."

- (d) The foreign policy of the present Government is said to have resulted in a wasteful defence expenditure. The Government is said to have fostered Japanese and German rearmament and to have refused to recognise the Chinese People's Republic. The ANZUS and SEATO Pacts are criticised, as also is the sending of N.Z. troops to Malaya.

CRITICISM OF THE OPPOSITION.

5. The Labour Party is attacked for its failure to produce "a bold and imaginative policy". It is said to have possessed such a policy when it won the Elections in 1935 and 1938. Then it attacked monopolies and "showed big business as an enemy of the people". It was allegedly the memory of this policy which enabled the Labour Government to win the 1943 and 1946 Elections. The Trade Unions and the Labour Party are said to have achieved better conditions for the workers, but to have failed to make any positive effort to change class structure. The Labour Party consistently refuses to do this, and sees reforms in working conditions as ends in themselves. Hence, according to Communist logic, it tends to use reforms to quieten the necessary struggle of workers against capitalism. The Labour Party can, therefore, give to the working people no permanent solution to their problems. It stands "for the perpetuation of capitalism no matter what curbs and restraints it may propose to put on monopolies". The basic Communist dogma is repeated: - "Whoever holds the economic power also has the real political power in our country". The aim of the Communist Party is described as the achievement of a socialist society, "but the N.Z. Labour Party leaders have long since tossed aside the banner of socialism".

ATTEMPTED CO-OPERATION WITH THE OPPOSITION.

6. While stressing their differences from the Labour Party, N.Z. Communists state that they realise that "the defeat of the National Party can only be achieved by the return of a Labour Government. Hence Communist candidates will be stood only where it cannot harm Labour's immediate election prospects." Policy instructions to Communist Branches contain the following points on "the split-vote bogey":-

- (a) It is to be pointed out that this issue "was raised when Labour was battling to win their first parliamentary seat";
- (b) In Ponsonby the Communist candidate is said to be confident that he will defeat his Labour opponent. There, the Nationalists have no chance. Rather than splitting the vote, greater interest will be provoked which will assist the Labour Party to win several Auckland marginal seats. The Labour candidate should concentrate "on a policy in the interests of the people, plus going to work on the Tories, instead of red baiting."
- (c) If canvassers stress the fact that "we are the party of the working class, and stick at it, the whole question of a split-vote will die away, or at least become less of a bogey. We are in the field in the interests of

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our class and not just putting up a front to bluff somebody else, or ourselves."

On the question of direct assistance to the Labour Party, the ruling of the Auckland District Executive of the C.P.N.Z. is as follows: - "Where the most friendly relations exist with the Labour Party branches, yes, but we do not become hacks for the Labour Party, for, if this happens, our independent work suffers, and in some cases becomes non-existent".

COVERT COMMUNIST POLICY.

7. It is the object of the Party to use its campaigning activities to increase its own strength. The Party Secretary, Victor George WILCOX, commented on the results achieved after the 1954 Elections, remarking that the Party had not made the most of its opportunities. It had been hesitant as to national policy and it had dispersed its forces. The campaign should have been used to "make contact with the masses, to take our policy to wider sections of the people generally." This lesson is to be applied to the present election campaign. Canvassing by all members of the Party is to take place within factories and at social gatherings. Wherever possible, Communist Party influence is to be extended within Trade Unions. Canvassers are instructed to point out firmly that they belong to a legally constituted party, "loyal to the working class of New Zealand".

OVERT COMMUNIST POLICY.

8. The C.P.N.Z. election manifesto propounds the following policies:-

- (a) Award rates for a living wage for a 40 hour week;
- (b) Strict and efficient control of prices, profits, rents and capital issues, and the reintroduction of import selection. Nationalisation of major industries and key companies;
- (c) Re-institution of building control and restoration of State Rental Housing;
- (d) Abolition of conscription, withdrawal from SEATO and ANZUS Pacts and return of N.Z. troops abroad. Banning of nuclear tests;
- (e) The development of markets for N.Z. produce in Communist and Afro-Asian countries;
- (f) Raising of income tax exemption level, increase of taxation on high personal incomes;
- (g) The defeat of the National Government and the return of a Labour Government.

CONCLUSION.

9. It is noteworthy that the whole stress of Communist propaganda for the election is on phrases such as, "the achievement of socialism", and not upon such less acceptable terms as, "the dictatorship of the proletariat". The revolutionary aims of the Communist Party are nowhere stressed, and its policy is slanted to hide its Marxist-Leninist basis and to win support from unthinking or uneducated people.

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Island Bay	-	R. NUNES	-	Wellington District Executive, C.P.N.Z.;
Christchurch Central	-	J. LOCKE	-	District Chairman C.P.N.Z.;
Mornington	-	J. MARSTON	-	leading C.P. member;
West Coast	-	not yet finalised.		

FINANCE.

3. The cost of the campaign is to be met from an election fund amounting to £550. This money is to be raised by the increase of sales of the "People's Voice" and the issue of numbered collection cards. It is worthy of note that Party Branches have been asked to keep a systematic check on the collection of money for the fund and to record all details fully.

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- (e) The development of markets for N.Z. produce in Communist and Afro-Asian countries;
- (f) Raising of income tax exemption level, increase of taxation on high personal incomes;

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- CONCLUSION.

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AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

3607

21/2/8

318

Auckland.

19th December, 1957.

District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

SUBJECT: ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN AUCKLAND.

INFORMATION:

1. On the 18th December, 1957 a reliable source reported to me in writing that a meeting of the Tamaki Branch of the Communist Party was held on the 12th December, 1957 at the home of Alan Abel LEVETT, 25 Hartland Street, Glendowie.
2. Those present were:-
Alan Abel LEVETT
Freda Bertha Alice LEVETT
George FRASER
Shirley FRASER
August Frederick SMITH
Lillian Rita SMITH
all of whom are known members of the Communist Party.

3. It was decided at the meeting that the Branch Social should be postponed until the beginning of the New year. It was also decided that the names of Lillian Rita SMITH and Mrs. Maude Louise ROBERTS of 61 Line Road, Tamaki, be forwarded for commendation, to the Social Club for their work during the year.

COMMENT: The "Social Club" referred to in the above paragraph is, no doubt, the "Workers Social Club" - Cover name of the Auckland District Office of the Communist Party.

4. August Frederick SMITH, reporting back from the District Committee Meeting held on the 7th December, 1957, said that Branch work had been spasmodic during the year and this was reflected in the fact that most Branch Quotas had decreased. This was caused by the lack of constant contact with outside connections. Recruiting for the year had been poor among the Branches, however it was hoped that Tamaki would be increased by 3 or 4 new comrades, next year. Among those named as joining the Branch were -
Yvonne Lilian WOOLLEY
Torrens William Lewis WOOLLEY and
Desmond Ernest STOUT, all of whom have been referred to previously in connection with the activity of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

5. SOURCE: [REDACTED]

6. FIELD OFFICER'S COMMENTS:

Attached hereto is a copy of a letter from the District Executive to all party members. It will be seen that the Auckland District Quota for the £550 Election Appeal (£250) was oversubscribed by £106.

[REDACTED]
FIELD OFFICER.

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COPY ON

COPY FROM 21/4/6

FILE.

11/2/1957

Initials

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EXTRACT/COPY

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From (source): Dist. Office, Ch' Ch. Reference: 1/57/223. Date: 18th Dec. 1957.
 For File No. P.F./ 21/2/8.
 Original on 21/8/1.
 Received on 23 Dec. 1957 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 24th Dec. 1957.

SUBJECT: New Zealand Communist Party, Meeting of
 No. 1 Branch at 37 Pavitt Street, on
 Thursday 26.11.57.

INFORMATION:

1. It is learned that among those who attended this meeting were the following :-

COE,
 CALLAGHAN,
 HOPKINSON,
 HOBSON,
 Jim
 Jim
 Mavis
 Peggy.

MURRAY,
 McNULTY,
 ROSS,
 Bill
 Frank
 Jack

2. The evening was spent on study of political economy and in general discussion.

3. It was advised that a new man who appears to be interested in the Party and who has joined the S.C.R.R. is a Mr. McKENZIE. Further details concerning him are not yet known. This man attended the Public meeting addressed George JACKSON recently.

GENERAL INFORMATION:

4. Jock ALLISON mentioned in a report dated 15. 8.57 as having attended a social evening on 5/10/57 is about 30-35 years of age. Andy BAIN who attended the same function is about 25-30 years of age. The photograph of John MEADE appears to be identical with the man who was present at the social evening with Russell WALKIN's sister, but identification is not positive. J. SHANKLAND who attended the 40th Anniversary Celebrations at Christchurch is about 40 years of age and is in some way connected with the Tramways.

5. It is gathered that the Communist Party at Dunedin chose Mornington as the seat to contest in the General Election because it is a safe Labour seat. This selection was made after consultation with Jack HANNAN's wife's mother, who is assistant district organiser for the Labour Party in Dunedin. It was because of this in-law tie-up that HANNAN would not stand in the Election.

6. Midge SILVERSTONE (wife of Harold SILVERSTONE) is a member of the Communist Party.

7. In the "Staro Daily Times" of 26.11.57 it was stated that Bill Richards, late President of the Tramways Union in Dunedin, had joined the Moral Re-orientation Group, and that he would lead no more strikers, etc., and that he had seen the light during the time he was in hospital a year or so ago. Party members say this is a lie, as during the time that RICHARDS was in hospital he wrote to Auckland saying that he was ideologically clear and wished to join the Communist Party. He was duly accepted, long before this while he was President of the Tramways Union he was in the confidence of the Party and had received from the Party National Office copies of confidential Party documents. At that stage he was a trusted person and National Office had decided to give him the copies as such.

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EXTRACT/COPY

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From (source): Dist. Office, Ch'ch Reference: 1/57/223. Date: 13th Dec, 1957.
 For File No. P.F./
 Original on 21/3/1.
 Received on 23 Dec. 1957 Extracted/Copied by [REDACTED] On 6th Jan, 1958.

Page 2.

8. It is understood that he has not relinquished his party membership and the Dunedin Branch of the Party has now written to the National Office to find out what to do in the matter. In view of the statement he had to the paper they are worried because he may still have some of these documents and could do the Party a lot of harm by revealing their contents.

SOURCE: [REDACTED]

DISTRICT OFFICER'S COMMENTS:

9. The above information was received by me from [REDACTED] on 18.12.1957. The information relating to William Benedict RICHARDS is of particular interest. Plans will be made and the matter will receive priority early in January. I have given the matter much consideration; I think it has real possibilities, but it will be necessary for me to ensure that certain persons are available in Dunedin at the time of my visit.

10. The following persons referred to in the report of [REDACTED] have been mentioned in previous secret correspondence, full names where known being shown hereunder :-

ALLISON,	Jack	MURRAY,	William Cox
BAIN,	Andy	McVULTY,	Francis Edward
CALLAGHAN,	James	RICHARDS,	William Benedict
COX,	Arnold James	ROSS,	John William
HANNAN,	John Joseph	SHANKLAND,	James Jnr.
HEPURN,	Mavis Laura	SILVERSTONE,	Nadge
HOBSON,	Margaret Jessie	WALKLIN,	Russell Thomas.
JACKSON,	George Edward		
*MEADE,	John		

* John MEADE has not been positively identified.

The identity of John Joseph HANNAN's mother-in-law is not yet known.

The identity of Mr. McKenzie is not yet established.

(Sgd) [REDACTED]
 District Officer,
 Christchurch, 19.12.1957.

~~SECRET~~

Telephone
Reference:



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Department of Justice

GENERAL DUTIES DIVISION

P.O. Box

3607,

Auckland.

17th December, 1957.

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND ELECTION CAMPAIGN 1957.

There was some early disagreement at all levels as to the wisdom of standing Communist Candidates in the 1957 General Election Campaign. Some of this feeling may have arisen as a result of the public reaction to events in Hungary in November, 1956, followed closely by the expulsion of Sidney Wilfred SCOTT in January, 1957.

The correctness of the policy in standing candidates was discussed at the 1957 Triennial Conference (New Zealand Communist Party) by Richard DIXON, Australian fraternal delegate. He supported the policy of standing candidates. A full report of his speech is on file at Headquarters.

From "Out Holland" and "Defeat Holland" slogans of former elections, the Communist Party on this occasion switched to "Toss out the Tories". In this, the Party slogan bore fruit, but the voting public would hardly be influenced by the slogan.

The election Fighting Fund with a target of £550 was oversubscribed by over £300. Running currently with this campaign was the usual Christmas appeal for £300 for the staff of the "People's Voice".

By the usual methods of finance manipulation it might be shown in published statements that the Election Fund realised £869 and the Christmas Appeal realised a figure in excess of £300. Only the Party book-keeper will know the true position, but on the published figures it is known that both targets have been fulfilled this year. By comparison with the 1956 Fighting Fund (almost fulfilled) with a target of £10,000, the present target is indeed a puny effort.

The average votes cast per electorate is the best since 1949. The Communist vote is, in my opinion, no indication of Communist strength. For example, JACKSON, in Ponsonby received 286 votes, i.e. more than the total strength of the Party in the Auckland District. The Party have in the past and no doubt again this year concentrated on gullible old age pensioners.

At best, the Party has justified its policy in standing candidates, and their slogan "Toss out the Tories" bore fruit with little or no assistance from the Party.

DISTRICT OFFICER.

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AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

P.O. Box 3607,

315

Telephonic
Reference

Department of Justice

GENERAL DUTIES DIVISION

Auckland.

11th December, 1957.

District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

SUBJECT: Communist Party of New Zealand Election Campaign 1957.

INFORMATION:

1. I forward herewith a review of the Communist Party Election Campaign for the 1957 General Election.
2. In March of this year, there was issued a "Pre-Conference Discussion Bulletin" (marked "Confidential - Party Members Only"), which was forwarded to Headquarters on the 14th May, 1957. On pages 18 and 19 of this Bulletin, under the headings of "Communist Party Candidates in General Elections" and "To Stand or not to Stand - Candidates in the General Elections", appear letters written by Party members on the advisability of standing Communist Party candidates in the General Elections. On page 6 of the Bulletin appears a paragraph headed "On the Party's Independent Role and the Campaign to Defeat Holland and Return Labour", in which it is stated:- "The Party's independent role must not be lost sight of when we begin shortly to campaign and work with the Labour Party and trade union workers around the slogan of returning Labour.-----Already Comrades have taken the initiative by moving to form a local Trade Union anti-Holland, Return Labour Campaign".
3. In the April 1957 issue of "New Zealand Labour Review" page 2 under the heading of "In defence of the living standards of the people of New Zealand" appeared a resolution of the Political Committee, dated the 7th March, 1957. This resolution sets out a 7 point plan to defeat the Holland Government and return a Labour Government, at the General Elections..
4. On page 6 of the same issue, under the heading of "Experiences in setting up of a job election committee" appears an article submitted by the Auckland Railways Branch of the Communist Party of New Zealand. This article dealt with the difficulty of setting up a "Combined Trade Union Committee" at the Otahuhu Railway Workshops, its purpose being to combine the efforts of the Labour and Communist supporters to defeat the National Government at the 1957 Election. This Committee was eventually formed.
5. In May 1957 a "Special Conference Issue" of the "New Zealand Labour Review" was printed. In answer to pre-conference discussion around the point of Communist Party candidates for the elections (on page 26) Victor George WILCOX, National Secretary, states:- "It follows that Parliamentary elections must become part of our general aim of establishing the leading role of the Party, that we cannot stand in isolation from them; that we must go forward and contest, and in doing so, not just go forward because it is a wider field of contact in that period. We are out to win".
6. It was announced in the "People's Voice" of 5th June, 1957 by George Edward JACKSON, Chairman of the Communist Party

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6. Cont. of New Zealand, on behalf of the National Secretariat, that the Communist Party was considering standing candidates for the General Election in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and the West Coast. The statement read:-
"The Party will campaign for the defeat of the Holland Government and the return of the Labour Party as the Government and for the return of Communists in the areas contested".
7. On July 12th, 13th and 14th the Auckland District Conference was held. A copy of the "Report of the District Committee" was forwarded on the 25th July, 1957. On page 20 of this report it is stated that the District Executive had recommended to the District Committee that the Party stand 2 candidates for the election, Lillian Rita SMITH in Auckland Central and Hugh John McLeod in Ponsonby. It stated that further discussion would be necessary in view of SMITH's position at the District Office. (Quote) "This raises the question of standing only in Ponsonby or if further investigation shows City (Auckland Central) to be O.K., consideration of another candidate".
8. The Party's election policy was issued in the form of a pamphlet called "Toss out the Tories". These pamphlets were taken by Party workers on their "People's Voice" rounds and every effort was made to sell copies to "People's Voice" subscribers.
9. This pamphlet was followed up on the 16th October, 1957 by a "Special Election" issue of the "People's Voice" on pages 4 and 5 of which the full Party policy was given, also the photographs of the Party candidates. Throughout the month of November the "People's Voice" carried articles and comments on the coming election.
10. In the "New Zealand Labour Review" for November 1957 were published two articles stemming from the Political Committee meeting of 10th September, 1957. The first appeared on pages 4 to 11, was headed "Report on Elections" and was submitted by George Edward JACKSON, the second appearing on pages 12 to 14 was headed "Resolution on the Elections".
- COMMENT: - Apart from the above the Party appeared to make little use of printed propaganda.
11. On the 7th October, 1957 an "Auckland District Circular" headed "1957 General Elections" was issued to District Committee comrades and branch executives. This Circular stated that George Edward JACKSON, the National Chairman, would be the Party's candidate for Ponsonby and not Hugh John McLEOD. On page 2 of the circular under the heading of "Why a Change of Candidate", the reason for the change was given as:-
"Comrade McLEOD's No. 1 responsibility as District Secretary, is to give full attention to all the necessary steps to improve our Branches in their internal organisation and contact with the people on the jobs and in the areas. An additional point is that seeing we are contesting only one seat in Auckland, it is correct that either our National Secretary or Chairman should be selected as candidate, as it is accepted practice that one of the titular heads of our Party leads the team in Campaign".
12. On page 2 paragraph 8 the Party's attitude to the Labour Party is set out. It states:- "The Communist Party wants the National Government out because its policies are consistently against the workers and it understands fully that the Labour Party is the only party at present capable of forming an alternative Government that could have any real working class policies. But frankly, while

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12. Cont. the Communist Party fully supports the return of the Labour Party it cannot fully support all the policies of the Labour PartyThe Communist Party considers that even the best of Labour's reforms on capitalism have proved insecure as long as capitalism continues".
13. On page 3 under the heading of "The Split Vote Bogey" the circular stated:-
"We are in the field to win every possible vote, confident that Communists can be elected to Parliament. There is no show of a National victory in Ponsonby and would not a Communist Party, Member of Parliament greatly strengthen the position of the working class in New Zealand".
In their campaign the Party's speakers at street meetings, made a point of saying :- "If you do not feel inclined to give the Communist Party candidate your vote, vote for the Labour Party candidate - we want to see the Labour Party returned as the Government on November, 30th".
14. This "backing" of the Labour Party was carried further at the Otahuhu Railway Workshops. The "Combined Trade Union Committee" which was set up for election purposes has already been referred to. Reference to the fund raising and propaganda activity of this Committee appeared on page 3 of the "People's Voice" dated 17th July, 1957 and on page 8 of the "People's Voice" dated the 30th October, 1957.
15. On the 27th November, 1957 a "Bulletin of the National Centre" was forwarded to Headquarters. Section one of the Bulletin listed the following Election topics:-
(a) The \$550 Election Fund.
(b) National Chairman's Further Appeal.
(c) National Committee letter to Prime Minister HOLYOAKE.
(d) C.P., M.Ps. are vital to the Working Class.
(e) Communist M.Ps. in Parliament.
(f) Political Committee Decision - the Position of Communist Party M.Ps.
16. The brunt of the actual campaign in Auckland was taken up by three branches of the Party, the City, Building Workers and Metal Workers Branches. The meetings held were all street meetings, with the exception of one held at the Star of Eden Hall, Ponsonby, on the 19th November, 1957 at which George Edward JACKSON, was the speaker. This hall meeting was widely publicised among members of the Party, but in all, only 45 people attended. The same lack of interest was apparent in the street meetings. The campaign headquarters for Ponsonby was at the home of Richard Charles WOLF, 27 Crummer Road, Ponsonby, and it was from this point that cars fitted with loud speaker equipment, left on the various evenings on which meetings were held.
A list of meeting places and the names of those taking part was forwarded from this office on the 20th November, 1957.
17. For the purpose of fighting the election campaign the Party launched a \$550 Appeal on the 9th October, 1957 by George Edward JACKSON ("People's Voice" of 9th October, 1957 page 8) who stated:- "The raising of finance is the indispensable key to a successful campaign". This appeal was oversubscribed, the actual amount obtained was last reported ("People's Voice" 4th December, 1957, page 4) to have been \$869.11. 3d. This appeal was subject of special mention in the "National Secretariat Circular" No. 11 dated 7th November, 1957, forwarded on the 20th November, 1957.
18. To round off the Party's campaign JACKSON made a national tour which opened at Dunedin on the 25th November, 1957.

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18. Cont He spoke at Christchurch, Greymouth and Wellington after leaving Dunedin.
19. JACKSON made much of the ban placed on radio time for the Communist Party for election purposes. A copy of a letter sent to the Prime Minister by him, was forwarded to Headquarters on the 20th November, 1957. It was also published in the "People's Voice" newspaper of the 20th November, 1957, page 7. This appeal for radio time was backed by the Radio Freedom League, the President of which is Arthur Richard Sydney O'HALLORAN, who is on record as a Communist Party sympathiser.
20. The full names of the Communist Party candidates and the electorates in which they stood, are as follows:-
 John Gibson LOCKE : Christchurch Central;
 Raphael NUNES-VAZ : Island Bay;
 John Leslie MARSTON : Mornington;
 George Edward JACKSON : Ponsonby;
 Donald McEWEN : Westland.
- Attached hereto is a newspaper cutting showing the votes polled by these candidates. In all, the Communist Party polled 706 votes which gave an .06% of the overall votes cast.
21. Figures for the past four elections are as follows:-
- | Year | C.P. Candidates | Total Poll | Average |
|------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| 1949 | 16 | 3267 | 204 |
| 1951 | 4 | 476 | 119 |
| 1954 | 8 | 1043 | 130 |
| 1957 | 5 | 706 | 141 |
22. In Ponsonby JACKSON polled 286 votes. The voting in this electorate was as follows:-
- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Labour Party | 11029 |
| National Party | 4437 |
| Social Credit | 686 |
| Communist Party | 286 |
| TOTAL | 16438 |
- This gave the Communist Party 1.7% of the votes cast. In the 1954 election Hugh John McLEOD in the same electorate, polled 186 votes of a total poll of 14322, giving him a 1.3% of the votes cast. Attached hereto is a list of the Polling Booths in the Ponsonby Electorate, opposite each is the number of votes gained by JACKSON
23. Enquiries from the Returning Officer for the Ponsonby Electorate show that the following persons signed JACKSON's nomination form:-
- John FOULDS, 14 Norfolk Street, Ponsonby;
 Richard Charles Wolf, 27 Crummer Road, Ponsonby;
 Eleanor Matilda AYO, 20 Sarsfield Street, Ponsonby.
- All are known members of the Communist Party of New Zealand.
24. On the 3rd December, 1957 an "Auckland District Bulletin" was issued, headed "Some points on the Election Campaign". It states:- "All comrades can draw strength from the fact that the Tories, the direct representatives of monopoly capitalism, have been defeated and a 2nd Labour Government returned; although not with a large majority from the point of view of actual seats won". "This situation shows the correctness of our Party's policy of directing the main blow against monopoly, N.Z.'s No.1 enemy, as far as the great majority of the people are concerned. It clearly demonstrates that the masses can be mobilised

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- 24.Cont. to act in their own interests and develop their own organisation.
Without a doubt our constant bringing forward in our written and oral propaganda the point that all progress depends on the development of the mass movement for higher living standards, peace and socialism has, and will have a wide effect among the people.
For us the job has only begun in developing the movement, but the results are such that they inspire confidence in the work and role of our Party for today and the future.
Our increased vote in Ponsonby 254 (286 final count) compared with 186 in 1954, the excellent job and street meetings, lack of hostility of any sort and increasing interest in the policy put forward by our Party are all pointers to a future of much work and satisfying results".

25. FIELD OFFICER'S COMMENT:

Public interest in the Communist Party election campaign in Auckland was so slight as to be almost non-existent. On the occasions that street meetings were covered, no member of the public was present, and as previously stated, the only hall meeting held, was very poorly attended - this after an appeal to Party members to be present.

It is natural that JACKSON should poll higher than the other Party candidates, as he had the benefit of the National and Auckland District Organisations behind him. His percentage of the votes cast in Ponsonby (1.7%) cannot give the Party any great reason for rejoicing.

On the other hand the oversubscribing of the £550 appeal by over £300 shows that the work put in by Party members in the drive to increase "People's Voice" sales and contacts, which was carried out in conjunction with the election campaign, had the desired effect. Whether this increase can be maintained in the face of the new Xmas £300 appeal remains to be seen.


FIELD OFFICER.~~SECRET~~

PROVISIONAL COUNT OF COMMUNIST VOTES - PONSONBY ELECTORATE - 290
1957 GENERAL ELECTION.

Communist Candidate - George Edward JACKSON.

<u>POLLING BOOTH</u>	<u>VOTES RECORDED</u>
Crummer Road	1
Ponsonby School	7
St. Cuthberts, Faulder Avenue	20
West End Tennis Club	4
Francis St. R.S.A. Hall	12
Garnett Road Westmere School	7
Elam School of Art	24
Grey Lynn Library	13
No. 3 Great North Road	11
Ivanhoe Road	4
Bay field School	29
St. Stephens Hall	23
John Street	1
Kelmarna Avenue	4
O'Neill Street	7
Pollen Street	4
Ponsonby Road R.S.A.	17
Richmond Road School	19
Sackwell Street	2
Leys Institute	32
Grey Lynn School	13
PROVISIONAL COUNT	<u>254</u>
FINAL COUNT.	286

CHRISTCHURCH CENT.

R. M. Macfarlane (L) . 7957
C. C. A. McLachlan (N) 4161
W. J. Campbell (SC) . 720
J. G. Locke (C) 140

Maj. for Macfarlane 3796
Last election.—R. M. Macfarlane (L), 7345; O. G. Moody (N), 8950; A. E. Williams (SC), 2185; A. Ostler (C), 137. Majority for Macfarlane, 3395.

Christchurch Central.—R. M. Macfarlane (L), 8763; C. C. A. McLachlan (N), 4692; W. J. Campbell (SC), 811; J. G. Locke (C), 153. Majority for Macfarlane, 4071. Mr Macfarlane's majority is increased by 275.

ISLAND BAY

Hon. A. H. Nordmeyer (L) 8481
A. S. Goldsmith (N) . . 4445
E. B. Elliott (SC) . . . 593
R. Nunes (C) 96

Majority for Nordmeyer 4036
Last election.—Hon. A. H. Nordmeyer (L), 8594; J. M. Whitta (N), 4670; D. L. Gardiner (SC), 821; R. J. Smith (C), 120. Majority for Nordmeyer, 3924.

Island Bay.—Hon. A. H. Nordmeyer (L), 9638; A. S. Goldsmith (N), 5159; E. B. Elliott (SC), 683; R. Nunes (C), 105. Majority for Nordmeyer, 4479. Mr Nordmeyer's majority is increased by 443.

MORNINGTON

W. A. Hudson (L) 7250
W. P. MacDougall (N) . 4480
J. O. Milburn (SC) . . . 1163
J. L. Marston (C) 36

Majority for Hudson 2770
Last election.—W. A. Hudson (L), 7279; W. P. MacDougall (N), 3393; D. F. Sloan (SC), 2797; J. Hannan (C), 128. Majority for Hudson, 3886.

Mornington.—W. A. Hudson (L), 7756; W. P. MacDougall (N), 4939; J. O. Milburn (SC), 1227; J. L. Marston (C), 38. Majority for Hudson, 2817. Mr Hudson's majority is increased by 47.

PONSONBY

R. Macdonald (L) . . . 10,134
G. F. Smith (N) 3987
W. A. Ross (SC) 609
G. Jackson (C) 254

Maj. for Macdonald 6147
Last election.—R. Macdonald (L), 8684; H. S. Barry (N), 4736; J. R. Stackpole (SC), 716; H. J. McLeod (C), 186. Majority for Macdonald, 3948.

Ponsonby.—R. Macdonald (L), 11,029; G. F. Smith (N), 4437; W. A. Ross (SC), 686; G. Jackson (C), 286. Majority for Macdonald, 6592. Mr Macdonald's majority is increased by 445.

WESTLAND

J. B. Kent (L) 8485
F. F. Boustridge (N) . . 4086
I. M. Fraser (SC) 727
B. McEwan (C) 117

Majority for Kent 4399
Last election.—J. B. Kent (L), 8152; M. Wallace (D), 4847; I. M. Fraser (SC), 925; R. Mitchell (C), 141. Majority for Kent, 3005.

Westland.—J. B. Kent (L), 9159; F. F. Boustridge (N), 4414; I. M. Fraser (SC), 790; B. McEwan (C), 124. Majority for Kent, 4745. Mr Kent's majority is increased by 346.

Total Vote May Reach 92 Per Cent

Labour 52,000 Ahead Of National

A slightly larger number of electors went to the poll on Saturday than in the 1954 election. Provisional figures show that 1,048,749 valid votes were cast, representing 84.1 per cent of the 1,229,317 people on the rolls. When special votes have been added it is expected that the total will be about 92 per cent.

The figures include Maori electors, but do not include 15,233 electors in Clutha constituency, where a byelection will be held following the death of the Labour candidate just before the poll.

The Labour Party polled nearly 52,000 more votes than National. In the four Maori constituencies the Labour vote was nearly four times as large as that of the Government.

The following table shows how the 79 seats have been distributed geographically:—

	Labour	National
Auckland City and Province	12	17
Hawke's Bay	2	2
Taranaki	—	4
Wellington City and Province .. .	9	5
South Island	14	10
Maori	4	—

The division of votes among the parties and groups in the polls and the percentage each gained of the provisional total are as follows:—

	Votes		Per cent
	1957	1954	1957
Labour	510,771	437,725	48.7
National	458,801	433,705	43.75
Social Credit .. .	76,475	111,068	7.29
Communist	643	1,043	0.06
Others	2,059	7,816	0.20
	1,048,749	991,357	100.0

The following table shows the total votes cast according to the provisional count in the different parts of the country:—

	Labour	National	Social Credit	Others
Auckland City	110,614	78,751	9,416	369
Auckland Province .. .	73,680	97,964	20,284	304
Taranaki	19,853	26,549	5,056	140
Hawke's Bay	24,106	27,075	3,002	—
Wellington City	63,715	42,917	5,214	163
Wellington Province .. .	34,381	37,674	9,190	95
North Island	326,349	310,930	52,162	1,071
Christchurch City .. .	54,468	36,477	5,544	140
Dunedin City	29,856	21,006	3,463	174
Rest of South Island .. .	76,188	84,568	11,294	117
South Island	160,512	142,051	20,301	431
75 European Seats .. .	488,669	452,994	72,446	1,505
4 Maori Seats	22,102	5,807	4,029	1,197
Dominion Totals .. .	510,771	458,801	76,475	2,702

The following table shows the total number eligible to vote, both European and Maori, the number who voted (excluding special) according to the provisional count this year, and in 1954, and the percentages in each case:—

	1957	1954
Total rolls	1,229,317	1,199,242
Voters	1,048,749	991,357
Percentage	84.1	82.7

Social Credit polled heaviest in the constituencies in the Far North and in Wanganui.

C.P. to stand some election candidates

AUCKLAND.—The Communist Party announces its intention to contest the elections this year in a statement issued to the press by Mr G. Jackson, National Chairman, on behalf of the Secretariat of the Party's National Committee.

The statement reads:

As a New Zealand party which has contributed to the political life of the country for the past 35 years, it is considering standing candidates in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and the West Coast.

Electoral data is being considered to decide which seats are most suitable, in view of boundary changes, so as not to endanger the return of a Labour Government.

The Party will campaign for the defeat of the Holland Government and the return of the Labour Party as the Government and for the return of Communists in the areas contested.

It opposes the Social Credit candidates, because their policy is based on a fallacy which promises

to solve the problems of the working people, while still supporting a capitalist system dominated by large-scale monopoly concerns with only a private profit interest.

The Communist Party calls on workers everywhere to unite around the immediate demand for the maintenance of living standards on the basis of a 40-hour week.

One of the necessary guarantees of this is a governmental policy which will ensure ever-expanding markets for New Zealand agricultural and pastoral products, thus providing the possibility for the continued prosperity of our working farmers.

If real organisation is built to win these demands, the Holland Government can be defeated, and the Labour Party returned.

~~SECRET~~

AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

~~21/2/8~~ 21/2/8
3607,

284

Auckland.

11th December, 1957.

District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

SUBJECT: National Secretariat Circulars No. 12 and 13.
Special Circular to All Branch Executives and
District Committee Members.
Auckland District Bulletin (dated 3.12.57).

INFORMATION:

1. I forward herewith for Headquarters records copies of the papers referred to above, the originals of which were made available for a short period by a reliable source.
2. National Secretariat Circular No. 12 - 26.11.1957.
It was reported in the "People's Voice" dated 4th December, 1957 that the £550 Election Appeal returned £869.11.3. The amount shown on the Circular as at 26th November, 1957 was £700.
This Circular also announces the opening of a £300 Christmas Appeal - giving the District quotas. On page 2 of the Circular it is reported that over the immediate past period, sales of the "People's Voice" have increased more than 200 weekly.
3. National Secretariat Circular No. 13 - 29.11.1957.
This Circular announces a meeting of the Political Committee for mid-December. It calls for various summaries by December 10th, - from this it appears that the Political Committee will meet during the weekend of 14th/15th December.
4. Special Circular to all Branch Executives and District Committee Members (no date).
In this Circular is given the Auckland Branch quotas for the £300 Christmas Appeal. The Auckland District quota was given in the National Secretariat Circular No. 12 as £2136 - the Branch Quotas total £150. Mention is made, in the paragraph dealing with the Christmas Appeal, of a Comrade H.W. of the Seaman's Branch. This man has not been identified. Further enquiries are being made regarding him.
Notice is also given of a School for Branch Comrades to be held on Sunday, 15th December, 1957 and that the tutor will be Gordon Harold (Bill) ANDERSEN.
5. Auckland District Bulletin - 3rd December, 1957.
The main item in this Bulletin is headed "Some points on the Election Campaign". It is also reported that the Auckland District Quota of £250 for the £550 Election Appeal was oversubscribed by £51.
6. SOURCE:

The Director,
WELLINGTON.

Forwarded for Headquarters records.

FIELD OFFICER.For DISTRICT OFFICER.~~SECRET~~

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FILE.

6/12/1957

Initial

21/2/8
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3.12.59.
JACKLAND DISTRICT BULLETIN.

Dear Comrades,

Some points on the election campaign.

All comrades can draw strength from the fact that the Tories, the direct representatives of monopoly capitalism, have been defeated and a 2nd Labour Government returned; although not with a large majority from the point of view of actual seats won.

This situation shows the correctness of our Party policy of directing the main blow against monopoly, N.Z.'s number 1 enemy, as far as the great majority of the people are concerned.

It clearly demonstrates that the masses can be mobilised to act in their own interests and develop their own organisation.

Without a doubt our constant bringing forward in our written and oral propaganda the point that all progress depends on the development of the mass movement for higher living standards, peace and socialism has, and will have a wide effect among the people.

For us the job has only begun in developing the movement but the results are such that they inspire confidence in the work and role of our Party for today and the future.

Our increased vote in Ponsonby; 254 compared with 186 in 1954, the excellent job and street meetings, lack of hostility of any sort and increasing interest in the policy put forward by our party are all pointers to a future of much work and satisfying results.

The District Committee on Saturday will fully discuss the campaign for our district including Ponsonby, and D.C. comrades will be charged with the responsibility of imparting the experiences, successes and weaknesses to every branch and every comrade. For only when our experiences are shared and discussed by all of our people and the masses can full benefit be gained for our class and party.

At the meeting our P.V. and financial position will be fully discussed in conjunction with the future work of our District. Comrades will be pleased to know that our election quota to day stands at over £301., £51. --, over our quota. The District Executive commends comrades for their fine effort.

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT CIRCULAR NO. 13. It is absolutely essential that all branch executives discuss this circular in conjunction with the D.C. report, take full minutes and have them in the District Office not later than Thursday December 12th., so that they can be co-ordinated and taken forward to the Political Committee meeting. We are conscious of the shortness of time and ask comrades to do their best.

P.V. APPEAL. Last weeks notes to branch executives, plus the National Secretariat circular on the P.V. Appeal, dealt fully with the political necessity for the fund and its fulfillment. Quite a number of comrades have got away to a flying start. We cannot afford any lag in getting going and ask comrades to get right down to business this week. The successful election and our party's work will be found to be of real assistance to us in overfulfilling our quota again.

THE XMAS HAMPER. Please make your final drive on the sale of tickets this week and have all books and cash returned to the District Office not later than Tuesday 17th December. Every book fully sold means 10/- in branch funds.

COPY ON 21/2/8

COPY FROM 21/2/85

FILE.

66/12/107

Initials

PARTY EDUCATION The school for branch comrades who have not held membership for a very long period, or others who would like to attend, and party friends, is now set down for Sunday December 15th. The tutor will be comrade Bill Anderson. The school will be held in Room 36, St Kevins Arcade, commencing at 10. a.m. Please let us know this week of comrades and friends wishing to attend.

District Committee meeting: District Committee members are again reminded of the meeting for Saturday, December 7th. The agenda, time and place were set out in last weeks bulletin.

XMAS BALL. Issued to branches today are tickets for the Xmas Ball to be held at the Manchester Unity Hall on Wednesday, December 18th. Comrades are asked to push the sales of tickets among workmates, P.V. readers and friends. On past experiences this is a good night out and the same opportunities for some relaxation with friends will be provided this year.

Your branch is issued with 12 tickets. They are all the one price - 7/6d.

FAIR. The results todate on the Fair indicate that results will be slightly up on last year. The District Executive thanks all comrades for their efforts and assistance, particularly those comrades who took the day off from work. We have a quantity of toys still for sale. A list and prices will be supplied to branches as soon as possible, however comrades wishing to purchase toys can do so on Friday evening, when they can also have a cup of coffee in Room 36.

QUOTA AND P.V. ACCOUNTS. All branch executives are asked to finalise P.V. and Quota payments for December on, or before December 18th (Wednesday).

We advise comrades to keep in mind the £100 tax exemption when seeking donations to the P.V. Appeal and straight out donations to Party funds before Xmas.

Comradely Greetings

District Executive.

~~SECRET~~

AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

21/2/58
3607.

283

Auckland.

9th December, 1957.

District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

SUBJECT: "People's Voice" Newspaper dated 4th December, 1957.

INFORMATION:

1. I have to report that the following notes are of local information concerning articles and comments appearing in the above-mentioned issue of the "People's Voice".
2. On page 4 the initials H.L.S. (Keri Keri) £2, referred to in the mailed donations of the election appeal is, no doubt, Hilda Louisa FITZGERALD, a regular supporter of appeals by the "People's Voice".
3. On page 5, D. McEWAN referred to as the Communist Party candidate for Westland is Donald McEWAN, a member of the Auckland District of the Communist Party of New Zealand. Also on page 5 under the heading - Spark Social - H. McLEOD referred to is Hugh John McLEOD, Auckland District Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand who is also a member of the National Committee.
4. In lists 18 and 19 of the "People's Voice" Improvement Fund, the following are no doubt identical -
Auckland D.C.

E.B.	: Elizabeth BARRY
F.R.B.	: Frank Rex BARRY
L.R. (Railways)	: Leonard Walter Scott REID
M.O. (City)	: Alison Mary OSTLER
D.L.	: Diana LEY
B.A.	: Elizabeth (Betty) ARYA
A.D. (Metal Workers)	: Alexander DRENNAN
T.S. (Taranaki)	: August Frederick SMITH

Hangakino.

J.L.	: John Edward LAWRENCE
P.A.	: Percival George ALLISON.
5. On page 6 a small paragraph refers to Harold Alexander OSTLER, editor of the "People's Voice", who has been representing the Communist Party of New Zealand at the 40th Anniversary celebrations held in Moscow. OSTLER departed from New Zealand on 18th October, 1957. He is stated to be the author of the article "Schooling and Civic Pride in the Soviet Union".

FILE.

11/14/57

Initials

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AUCKLAND DISTRICT OFFICE,

21/2/8 3607,

280

Auckland.

3rd December, 1957.

District Officer,
AUCKLAND.

SUBJECT: "People's Voice" newspapers of 20th and 27th November, 1957.

INFORMATION:

1. Of the articles and comments appearing in the above issues of the "People's Voice" the following notes are forwarded.
 2. 20th November, 1957.
On page 2 under the heading of "Dispute over Redundancy" appears the name of Louis David Honeyman ROBERTSON, Auckland Secretary of the Dairy Workers Union, for whom a Subversive History Sheet was issued on the 8th June, 1951, and who is on record as following the Communist Party line in Trade Union matters.
 3. Also on Page 2 appears Maintenance Fund list No. 17 the L.R. 7/- (Railways) no doubt refers to Leonard Walter Scott REID of the Railways Workshops, who is on record in connection with Communist Party and Society for Closer Relations with Russia matters. In this list reference is made to the Railways Branch, the Western Suburbs Branch and the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party of New Zealand.
 4. On page 3 appear the names of Donald McEVEN and George Edward JACKSON, both of whom are well known members of the Communist Party in Auckland.
 5. On page 4 appears the "£550 Election Fund List". Included in this list is H.L.S. (Keri Keri) £4: this, no doubt, should be H.L.F., Hilda Louisa FITZGERALD, of Keri Keri a frequent contributor to Communist Party funds.
 6. George Edward JACKSON, Chairman of the Communist Party of New Zealand comments on the news on page 8.
 7. On the same page appears a Memorial notice to Gwen LOWE inserted by Paddy.
COMMENT: Gwen LOWE is identical with Gwendoline LOWE of 135 Point Chevalier Road, Auckland, while Paddy is Patrick Devine BOWER, a Communist Party member, who at one time lived at the address given.
- 27th November, 1957.
8. On page 2 of this issue appears the name of Leonard Walter Scott REID, who under the heading of "Arms and Depression" is shown as Chairman of the Auckland Branch of the Society for Closer Relations with Russia.
COMMENT: The reception referred to in the same paragraph was subject of reports forwarded from this office on the 19th November, 1957.

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