



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST



ORGAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY IN AUSTRALIA.

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# Persian Gulf War:

On August 2, 1990 Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait, an oil-rich country whose feudal rulers were close to the U.S. In response the USA mobilized worldwide war moves against Iraq and the oppressed peoples of the Middle East. The U.S. and its allies have turned the whole region into a military base, including 1/4 million U.S. troops and 400 nuclear warheads onboard ships now protected by Australian frigates.

U.S. threats of a "military solution" to the Gulf crisis have been backed all the way by the Australian imperialists leading spokesman, the Crime Minister. Hawke announced on December 4 that the Australian Navy's taskforce is to be moved from the adjoining Gulf of Oman into the simmering waters of the Persian Gulf itself. Hawke further stated that the Australian warships would take on an active combat role if open warfare commences. Although no ground troops have been sent as yet, it is known that Australian army personnel have been on a 12 hour notice to depart for the Middle East since late October!

Australian imperialism has been quick to advance its own interests by cheering on the bigger imperialists. Gareth Evans has openly stated Australia's support for the use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and British imperialists.

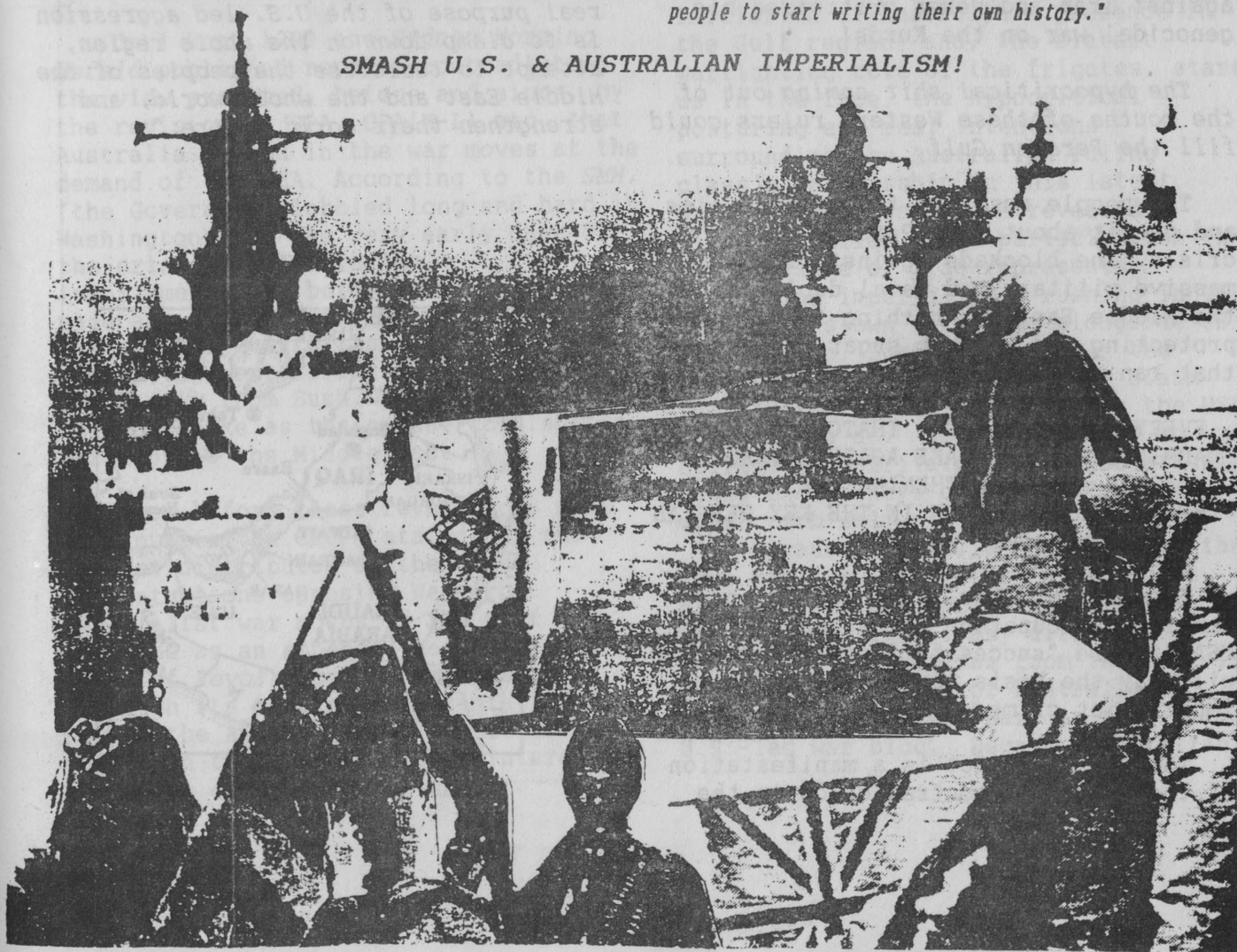
What has become clearer since we penned the following items in November is the real reason for the Gulf war moves. Other opponents of imperialist aggression have elevated the questions of oil and Kuwait out of context, focusing on them as the exclusive cause of the impending war. This view fails

to see that *Kuwait and oil have been just the excuse to set in motion long standing plans for U.S. imperialist-led military intervention in the Middle East.*

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was reported on 4 December (and at other times) as saying that even if Iraq withdraws from Kuwait and releases all hostages, that will not be the end of the matter. Baker stated that Hussein poses a long term threat to the region and must be dealt with. The U.S. paper *Houston Post* has claimed, and the Bush administration has not denied, that the CIA and its Kuwaiti equivalent were involved in a destabilisation campaign against Iraq from November 1989. Key aspects of the campaign were the Kuwaiti campaign to drive down the price of oil (which caused a loss of US\$14 billion to Iraq) and Kuwaiti provocations on the Iraq border.

All this highlights the accuracy of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's Aug.17 communique: *"The real purpose of the U.S.-led aggression is to clamp down on the whole region, attempt to terrorise the peoples of the Middle East and the whole world, and strengthen their world Empire... The U.S. is desperate to repair and strengthen its web of domination, exploitation and murder in order to continue feasting on the wealth produced by the masses all over the world. The Soviet Union, Britain, France, Australia and others feel obliged to take part so as to protect their own interests and not be excluded from the banquet hall... Now is the time for the proletariat and the people to start writing their own history."*

**SMASH U.S. & AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM!**



\*\*\* GULF CRISIS... WHAT'S IT ALL ABOUT? \*\*\*

Sure, HUSSEIN IS A TYRANT. But when the USA, Britain and Australia start sermonizing about: concern for the loss of the lives of people they rule over; and, sticking up for the rights of small countries against a "criminal", a "madman", "another Hitler" like Iraq's Saddam Hussein... Watch Out! Its a sure sign these oppressors are up to no good!

Here you have the greatest criminals in the history of the whole world -- the imperialist bourgeoisie. They are the biggest oppressors, responsible for the deaths of hundreds of millions of people the world over: people murdered outright in wars of plunder; people either conned or forced to go off and fight and be killed in wars to prop up the imperialist system; and people condemned to the slow death that comes from grinding poverty, starvation and disease. These are the very same imperialists that built Saddam Hussein into a militarized Frankenstein in the first place, backed him in a 10 year war against Iran and never criticized his genocidal war on the Kurds!

*The hypocritical shit coming out of the mouths of these Western rulers could fill the Persian Gulf.*

The people must cut through the lies and deceit about this Persian Gulf crisis. The blockade against Iraq and massive military and naval deployment in the Middle East has nothing to do with protecting the mafioso sugar-daddies that ran the Kuwaiti kingdom.

EVERY STEP THE BUSH, THATCHER & HAWKE ADMINISTRATIONS TAKE AGAINST IRAQ IS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE US-LED IMPERIALIST POSITION IN THE KEY PERSIAN GULF REGION.

Especially after the invasion and continued occupation of Panama, if the USA etc are "successful" against Iraq it will lay the basis for even greater imperialist crimes.

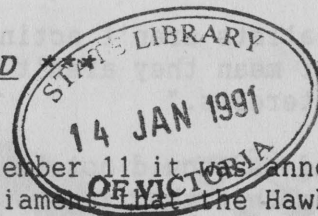
The Gulf conflict is a manifestation of the principal contradiction in the

world today: the contradiction between imperialism on the one hand; and, the oppressed peoples and nations on the other. Although the contradiction between various imperialist powers remains; its main aspect at the moment continues to be collusion rather than contention. U.S.-led war moves against Iraq are a continuation of the politics of the U.S.-led imperialist bloc.

Throughout the Iran-Iraq war the U.S. looked in vein for the opportunity and excuse to intervene in the Middle East without prompting retaliation from Soviet social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds). With Gorbachev pre-occupied taking the "social" out of social-imperialism and small-time tyrant Hussein on the move in Kuwait, the opportunity and excuse had arrived.

Again, as the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement put it in its August 17 communique: *"The real purpose of the U.S.-led aggression is to clamp down on the whole region, attempt to terrorise the peoples of the Middle East and the whole world, and strengthen their world Empire."*





The Hawke government was second only to Thatcher's Britain in joining the USA in the blockade against Iraq. Most of the Australian phoney left argued this was another example of Australia's subservience to U.S. imperialism. "Another Vietnam" was the common refrain from these pretend socialists.

It took 20 years for the truth about Australia's presence alongside U.S. imperialism in the Vietnam war to be revealed. In *War For the Asking*, his detailed study of the diplomatic manoeuvres that preceded the Australian government's dispatching of an initial commitment of 1000 troops to Vietnam on 29 April 1965, Michael Sexton deduced that, "...the real initiative did not come from the Americans, but from the Australians responsible for the decision made public on 29 April 1965." We haven't had to wait that long to learn that the Australian Labor Government joined the latest crime of U.S.-led aggression after begging the White House for days to join the Gulf invasion.

On 1 Sept. 1990 the *Sydney Morning Herald* published reports contradicting the view promoted, before and since, by the revisionist SPA, CPA(M-L) etc, that Australia joined in the war moves at the demand of the USA. According to the *SMH*, "the Government lobbied long and hard in Washington from the very early days of the crisis for Australian involvement..... before the U.S. had made any request, formal or otherwise." In fact the Australian ambassador in Washington went so far as to request the phone call from Bush which was later used by Hawke as the excuse to dispatch warships to the Middle East.

Even before these revelations were made public the CRCPA stated, in the leaflet distributed at the first demonstrations opposing Western imperialist war moves in the Gulf and included as an appendix to the last issue of *Revolutionary Communist*: "Through its leading representative Bob Hawke, the Australian ruling class has rushed in to advance its own interests alongside of US imperialism."

On September 11 it was announced in Federal Parliament that the Hawke government had authorized new rules of engagement for the Australian warships participating in the blockade of Iraq. Since then their orders have been to open fire on and seize vessels suspected of attempting to deliver cargo to or from Iraqi ports. Shortly thereafter reports appeared on the television showing footage of an Australian frigate participating in the firing across the bow of a ship that refused to stop, and Australian troops that were dispatched as part of a boarding team to search the ship. There were several more such acts of aggression involving Australian warships in October.

In late Sept '90, CRCPA issued *DOWN WITH AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM! PARTNERS IN U.S.-LED AGGRESSION* a leaflet which was distributed at the second round of anti-Gulf war demonstrations and teach-ins. The leaflet argued:

"As the Hawke government's initiation of Australia's presence in the Gulf region; and, the blatant warfighting role of the frigates, stares us in the face, the hypocritical posturing and real intentions surrounding the Australian ruling class's partnership in this latest U.S.-led aggression are revealed.

"Australian naval participation in the blockade of Iraq represents Australian imperialism's rushing in to advance its own interests alongside US imperialism. Some who call for the return of the frigates falsely claim that Australia is just doing as the USA tells it to do. Are we expected to believe that Britain and France are also pawns and lackeys of the USA? What utter rubbish!

"Because Australia doesn't have the same military, political or economic clout of the USA, Britain or France doesn't mean it has any different underlying motivations from them. It is a calculated choice of Australia's rulers to play their part in the U.S.-led war bloc. Because Australian

4 imperialists aren't acting on their own, doesn't mean they aren't acting in their own interests."

And we should not be so naive as to imagine that the frigates are the limit of Australian involvement. We know that North-West Cape was placed on a high level alert during the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 and that generally it and such spy bases like Pine Gap and Nurrungar have played an important role in the war moves of the U.S.-led bloc. What are these bases up to now?

Historically the Australian ruling class has taken advantage of its lesser

imperialist position to cloak the advancing of its own interests in world crises with false neutrality; and/or, limited condemnations of other powers' barbarism. It is more the case now, that world events are forcing the Australian imperialists' to show their real hand as they continue to advance their interests by rushing in to act on the behalf of, or stand alongside the bigger gangsters in the U.S.-led bloc. Australian imperialism pursues its own interests, whilst simultaneously striving to manoeuvre around the conflicts between U.S. imperialism and its bloc partners -- especially the rising sun of Japanese imperialism.



\*\*\* NATIONAL INTERESTS? \*\*\*

A key plank in the phoney left's "opposition" to Australian involvement in U.S. imperialist-led aggression in the Gulf is the claim that Australia's "national interests" are being betrayed. CRCPA argued such a claim is false too, in our 2nd leaflet on the Gulf crisis:

"Such a claim, as the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* says, 'obscures the fact that in imperialist countries the 'national interests' are imperialist interests and are not betrayed, but on the contrary defended, by the ruling monopoly capitalist class despite whatever alliances it may make with other imperialist powers and despite the inevitably unequal nature of such an alliance.'

"Australian imperialism's partnership with the U.S. against Iraq, no more betrays the "national interests" than previous partnerships of Australia with the USA against national liberation struggles in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam.

Now as before, Australia's rulers are advancing their 'national interests'."

"So where do our interests lie?

"For us proletarians and our allies this is not our country, yet! We just happen to live here, that's all. This happens to be the place where they are wageslaving and oppressing us. We proudly and most "disloyally" declare:  
we are not Australians,  
we are proletarian internationalists!

It is wrong for communists of any nation to take the ideological stand of being the best defenders of the nation. It is just as wrong for communists to go about their revolutionary work from the perspective of being the representatives of the workers of a particular nation or country. The *Communist Manifesto* declared that the workers have no country. In terms of our ideological stand and point of departure, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists in Australia are representatives of the international proletariat.

Based on an article in *Revolutionary Worker* (Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA) 2 Sept. 1990



## United Nations? International Pig Sty.

As U.S. imperialist-led war moves step up against Iraq, there is constant talk about the United Nations (U.N.). There is talk of intervention under the U.N. flag as being the best, and the only "realistic", solution to the Gulf crisis, even by supposed opponents of U.S.-led aggression. The U.N. condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and approved the trade embargo against Iraq. The U.S. and Australia claim this gives them the right to stop ships at gunpoint. Now the U.N. Security Council has approved of armed actions against Iraq.

Western propaganda now says that U.N. support means the U.S., Australia, Britain, etc. have permission from everyone in the world to attack Iraq.

This lie must be exposed: THE UNITED NATIONS DOES NOT SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. It speaks for the governments of the world - and these governments are all headed by oppressors. And that goes for the phoney communists that run the once socialist USSR and China too! These oppressors -- big, medium and small -- rip off and murder the people. The little oppressors sell their souls to the big imperialist powers who dominate the world economy. These small oppressors preside over their countries like hyenas picking the bones after the big cats have made a killing.

**WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS SPEAKS IT IS ONLY THE LARGE, MEDIUM, AND SMALL PIG OPPRESSORS OF THE WORLD WHO HAVE SPOKEN -- NOT THE PEOPLE.**

It is fair to ask: Why would the U.N. suddenly call for "actions" now? After all, the United Nations is famous as a do-nothing bullshit factory. They did not embargo Israel when Israel seized Gaza or the West Bank. They did not blockade the apartheid regime of South Africa or take any action against ten years of inhuman American and Australian destruction in Vietnam. They haven't bothered to act militarily for decades, and certainly not against the many outrageous acts of oppression and aggression from Panama to Bougainville. So why act now? And why act against Iraq?

The answer is that most oppressors (Australia included) tied into the world imperialist market oppose higher oil prices. They have formed a loose alliance to support the continued extraction of cheap oil from the Middle East -- and the continued oppression of millions of Arab people. They are not interested in "stopping aggression" or "saving hostages". They are in favour of strengthening direct imperialist control of this key region!

So because Australia, Britain and the USA etc have United Nations support..... SO WHAT? So if these same troops and warships that are today flying a red, white and blue flag tomorrow fly the United Nations flag as a "peace keeping force"..... SO WHAT? This doesn't change the fact that the U.S.-led actions are still the moves of imperialist bullies and must be opposed everywhere.

The Soviet Union was a socialist country when it was led by Lenin and Stalin. The destruction of socialism in the USSR came in the mid-1950's, beginning with the rise to power of modern revisionism, led at the time by Nikita Krushchev. Modern revisionism's attacks on Stalin were the excuse to overturn the dictatorship of the proletariat, in theory and in practice. Later the USSR emerged as an imperialist superpower rivalling the USA.

China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung advanced along the socialist road for nearly 30 years after 1949. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most advanced experience of the international proletariat in building socialism and revolutionising society. After Mao's death, capitalist roaders, who today are headed by Deng Xiaoping, overturned proletarian rule and initiated the process of capitalist restoration and capitulation to imperialism. There are no socialist countries in the world today.

The economic and political crises faced by both the Soviet and U.S. blocs has pushed them both to collusion against the rising tide of revolutionary struggles in the oppressed nations. The current line-up against Iraq highlights the fact that collusion is primary in inter-imperialist relations. Contention and strategic inter-imperialist war preparations are taking place only within the ambit of this collusion.

When Iraq first invaded Kuwait, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made a joint statement condemning the invasion. Both the USSR and China have cloaked their objective support for U.S.-led war moves in the Persian Gulf in the "neutrality" of the United Nations. Both of these phoney socialist regimes voted for U.N. Security Resolution 665 which authorized the use of "limited force" to enforce a previous resolution imposing trade sanctions on Iraq. Resolution 665 has given the U.S., Britain, Australia etc's unilateral imposition of a blockade against Iraq the image of United Nations "legitimacy".

At the same time, both the USSR and China are trying to pose as "friends of the Arab people" and supporters of "peace". Their calls for resolving the Gulf crisis through "mediation" are nothing other than attempts to advance their own interests against other powers in the key and strategic Middle East region. One way that both China and the USSR have sought to do this has been to embrace the proposal for "an international conference on all outstanding disputes in the Middle East" made by the opportunist leadership of the PLO, the feudal reactionaries of Jordan, and other Arab lackey regimes.

This is precisely the sort of imperialist concocted "peace" exposed by Lenin as offering the people nothing but further oppression and sooner or later more war. There can be no genuine peace as long as imperialism exists.

# **Phony Communism Is Dead. Long Live Real Communism!**

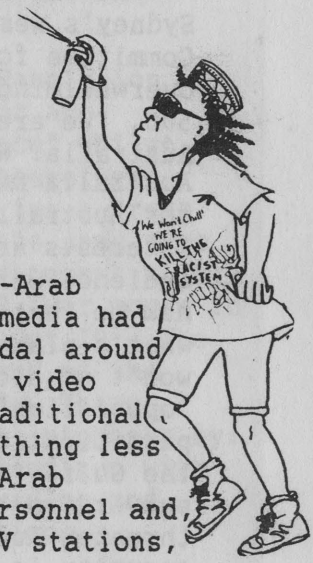


# **Mao More Than Ever!**

\*\*\* PROLETARIANS & OPPRESSED MUST CLOSE RANKS: \*\*\*  
TO HELL WITH ANTI-ARAB RACISM & THE AUSTRALIA THAT'S SPANNED IT!

"...the proletariat is a single class worldwide with a single class interest, faces a world system of imperialism, and has the task of liberating all of humanity."

*Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement p.30*



The existence within the working class of the Western imperialist countries like Australia, of a significant number of immigrant proletarians, drawn mainly from the oppressed nations, is a powerful social base for proletarian internationalism and the building and strengthening of the proletarian vanguard. Along with the indigenous people, immigrant workers make up the core of the class of proletarians with nothing to lose but their chains.

The initial gust of anti-Arab sentiment whipped up in the media had barely settled when the scandal around the official Australian Navy video foully depicting Arabs in traditional garb broke. The video was nothing less than an attempt to fan anti-Arab feelings amongst military personnel and, by its release to national TV stations, the wider populace.

The imperialists see immigrant and other nothing-to-lose proletarians as a source of trouble in times of crisis such as these. The Australian ruling class have in recent times partially dropped the "multi-culturalism" carrot whilst clubbing more heavily with the stick of "one Australia" in the ideological offensive to silence opposition and enforce compulsory patriotism.

Government Ministers have actively fuelled anti-Arab violence with their scaremongering about Arab "terrorists" who have secretly entered Australia to attack Australian sailors and other military targets.

The Australian imperialist media quickly moved to whip up anti-Arab racism to justify and support war moves against Iraq. The *7:30 Report* and *60 Minutes* both took to the streets of western Sydney to find, bait and vilify Arabs that don't go along with Australian aggression in the Middle East. Articles, letters and editorials in the press abused Arabs in Australia for (correctly) not being loyal to Australia. Reactionary pig Ruxton of the Victorian RSL issued a poisonous press release on Aug.18 full of obscene white supremacist trash. A couple of weeks later Ruxton pointed to how Italian shopkeepers had their windows broken when Italy entered WWII and warned Iraqis living in Australia that the "true blue" reactionaries he speaks for would give them "a rough time". In only faint echoes did the imperialist media report the upsurge in violence against Arabs including cowardly assaults and the vandalizing and firebombing of Islamic schools and mosques.

The Australian imperialists are striving to whip Arabs in Australia into line behind them. The reactionary assault against Arabs has been coupled with the promotion of "responsible Arab community leaders" who play the role of loyal opposition to Australian imperialism and chauvinism. Drawn from the better off sections of the Arab people in Australia these "responsible leaders" have thus far thrown one wet blanket after another onto the simmering hatred for imperialism amongst Arab workers in Australia. They are "fighting" racism in front of the toothless "Anti-Discrimination Board". They write letters asking for apologies to the Australian government. They are bending over backwards to demonstrate their subservience to Australian imperialism.





At the Aug. 24 meeting at Lidcombe in Sydney's west the spokesperson for the Committee for Arab Australians told the overwhelmingly Arab audience of over 500, "We are the most committed to Australia. We declare our loyalty to Australia means... fighting and dying for Australia if Australia's legitimate interests are threatened." And if the audience weren't getting the message by now he left us with no doubt as to what's planned for those of us who won't go along with such spineless "opposition" to Australia's participation in U.S.-led aggression in the Gulf: "We have to guard against subversive elements who in any way threaten Australian security. Australian security is our security, let us be its protectors."

Elsewhere, at a later protest march other "responsible" Arab leaders threatened to stop anyone from marching with Palestinian flags, pleaded with some Maoists not to burn the Australian and Israeli flags, gaped in horror as their anti-Australian imperialist banner was unfurled, and almost shit their pants when the Maoist initiated chant "Fuck Australia" was taken up.

For Arabs in Australia the real message must be made clearer and the real deal must be acted upon: there is no future in lining up behind Australian imperialism even when begging our rulers to advance their interests at a distance from the U.S.-led war moves against Iraq. These "responsible" Arab leaders would have us believe that Australia is a great place. They look at the millions of immigrants put through this meatgrinder of a system and instead of focussing on the fact that the vast majority are chewed to pieces, they concentrate on the few, who like themselves, have slipped through to take up a relatively comfortable existence and conclude not just that the meatgrinder works well, but that we should fight and die for it!

When reactionaries raise the jingoist jingle, "Australia: Love It or Leave It", and when "good Australian Arabs" declare at Gulf protests "Long Live Australia" (as they have!) the Australia they want the oppressed to line up behind is meatgrinding imperialist Australia. Well blow that!

The bourgeoisie and their loyal opposition don't want us at the bottom of society to rock the boat. Well we've got news for them because not only will the nothing-to-lose proletariat and our revolutionary allies rock the boat but we're going to upturn it and tip them right out.



Palestinian fighters study Mao.



ماوتسي تونغ

احشدوا قوات متفوقة  
لا بادة قوات العدو  
واحدة بعد أخرى

Within days of the Australian government announcement to send warships to join in enforcing the blockade against Iraq, people began organising and agitating against the decision. There have been petitions, pickets, vigils, public meetings, rallies and marches in opposition to U.S.-led aggression in the Gulf region, including the sending of the three Australian warships.

At the same time, there has been vigorous disagreement on a whole range of associated questions as, different politics have contended with each other. This is not sectarian debate or irrelevant "squabbling on the left" as the ruling class media likes to make out. It is a question of whose line (i.e., understanding, programme, strategy and tactics) is going to do the job that has to be done; and whose line leads to diverting the masses from the revolutionary path and setting them up to be smashed by imperialism and reaction.

As is apparent from even the most cursory reading of their papers, the so-called "communist" and "socialist" parties have repudiated any inclination toward making revolution in Australia and supporting revolution throughout the world. Their position on the Gulf crisis is the latest instance highlighting these opportunist impostors "revising" of Marxism. Describing the revisionists of his time Lenin said, "They forget, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side" of Marxism. "They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the social-chauvinists are now 'Marxists' (don't laugh!)." Revisionists haven't changed since Lenin summed them up in *State and Revolution* in 1917.



The pro-Soviet SPA's "Resolution on the Middle East" bleats for an imperialist concocted "peace" whilst supporting the U.N. (and therefore imperialism's) resolution for a trade embargo against Iraq. At the same time the SPA expresses disillusionment with the USSR's support for U.S. war moves in the Middle East (*Guardian* Oct.10). The SPA hanker for the firm hand of the Brezhnev period when the New Tsars advanced their imperialist interests by: contending, instead of colluding, with U.S. imperialism; and, invading and bullying the oppressed nations.

The Trotskyites turned Gorbachev groupies known now as the DSP are busy jockeying for the Moscow franchise. They are playing down the Soviets' collusion with the U.S. and playing up the Soviets' "peace" plan. The De-Socialist Party also support a United Nations "peace"keeping force (*Direct Action* Oct9

The "independent" revisionist CPA, soon to be "New Left Party", applaud French President Mitterand. French imperialism's "peace" plan is Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, "free" elections in Kuwait, "general disarmament" in the region, and a comprehensive attempt(!) to settle the Palestinian "problem" (*Tribune* 10/10/90). The sooner these renegades from communism completely drop all claim to support for Marxism the better.

The pro-Deng CPA(M-L) blame Iraq for awakening the "gods of imperialist war" (*Vanguard* Aug.8). *Rearguard* goes on to wonder if unnamed "others" (who can this mean but U.S.-led imperialism?) will "intervene to bring the Iraqi invaders to heel". In implementing the international line of the Chinese capitalist roaders the CPA(M-L) promote the anti-Leninist myth that a "peace movement" can stop imperialist war. The Chinese Parrots(M-L) whine about "little Australia so far removed from the action, with its enormous reserves of oil and gas" (*Vanguard* Aug.29) and seek to fan national chauvinism that opposes war's devastation for Australia at the expense of other regions of the world.

These various revisionists, via their leadership of various "peace" groups, have become the self-appointed leaders of the various "Bring the Frigates Home" and "Gulf Action" coalitions along with the pro-imperialist Australian Democrats and Greens. Under revisionist leadership the anti-Gulf war groups are pushing for a mass campaign geared around: pleading with "our" rulers that it is better to advance Australian imperialism's "national interests" by keeping off the centre stage of world political drama; and, supporting the "peace" initiatives of the various imperialist powers.

Speaking outside the U.S. Consulate at the September 1 protest in Sydney as a representative of the "Bring the Frigates Home Coalition", the SPA's Hannah Middleton oinked, "Our national dignity and independence have been swept aside.. It used to be 'all the way with LBJ,' well now it is 'when Bush says jump, Hawke asks, how far?'" Not only had Middleton purposely ignored that morning's *Sydney Morning Herald* revelations about how Canberra begged Washington for days to be "invited" to join the U.S.; but she did not mention the USSR or China's support for U.S. imperialism's use of force to enforce the blockade. At the same time the "chairperson" of the CPA(M-L) waddled around waving a "Ban the Bomb" peace flag. Does this mean the Chinese Parrots(M-L) now consider even the Eureka flag too "r-r-revolutionary"?

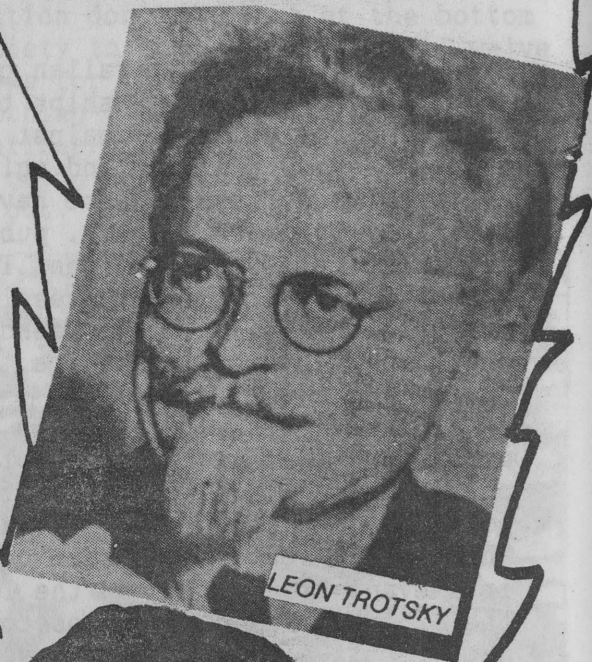
**\* Trotskyites:**

**"Left" in form, Right in essence**

"Trotsky distorts Bolshevism, because he never could grasp any definite views about the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution" . . . Lenin, "Against Liquidationism."

Fraudulently posturing as Leninists and the "revolutionary socialist" opposition to the open betrayal by the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese false communist parties are the Trotskyites. Whether working within these Coalitions or babbling with criticism from a sideline pulpit, Trotskyism today, in whatever incantation it appears, shows the enduring accuracy of Lenin's original summation: "What a swine this Trotsky is -- Left phrases and a bloc with the Right... He ought to be exposed."  
(Collected Works, Vol.35 p.285)

## REVISIONIST DOGS



REVISIONISM IS DEAD!  
LONG LIVE  
MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISMI

As all genuine Marxists know, and as history verifies, it is the masses who make history. With their Euro-chauvinist "theory" of "permanent revolution" Trotskyites are notorious for pissing on the national liberation struggles of the masses in the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time the Trotskyites promote anti-Leninist economism (trade unionism) and "critical" support for the pro-imperialist Labour parties in the West.

Because they do not stand for all-the-way revolution but instead for diverting the oppressed from true liberation, Trotskyites say that we must: support Saddam Hussein against the imperialists; whilst lobbying the very same Australian Labor Party that sent warships to the Middle East.

The "Socialist Labour League", "unconditionally defends Iraq" (*Workers News* Aug.24). The "International Socialist Organisation" say "We want Iraq to win, to defeat the United States and its allies" and "for every inch he [Saddam Hussein] takes down this road -- a road towards revolution[?!] -- he should have our support" (*The Socialist* Aug.1990). At a number of early pickets the ISO carried placards which read "Victory to Iraq".

"Never yet has Trotsky held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. He always manages to 'creep into the chinks' of this or that difference of opinion, and desert one side for the other." . . . Lenin, "The 1903 Programme and Its Liquidators."

Where in this is the revolutionary role of the masses? Where is the understanding of the Iraqi people who have been brutally repressed? What about the Kurds, the many thousands that have been massacred and displaced? What about their anger and fighting spirit? What about their victory and the victory of the masses of the region in the fight against imperialism? Listen to what the ISO have to offer the masses: "Marxists [sic, they mean Trotskyites] in Iraq would seek to encourage working class discontent with Hussein's regime... They would explain... that the regime was impeded from fighting effectively against imperialism by its suppression of the Kurds..." (*The Socialist* Sept. '90 p.10). And the ISO have the cheek to serve this crap up in the name of Lenin!

There's a big difference between supporting reactionaries like Saddam Hussein and supporting and mobilizing the masses for genuine revolutionary war:- *People's War*.

Along with the demented "Spartacists" the SLL feature as the religious fundamentalists of Trotskyism. They profess an unshakeable faith in Trotsky's 1938 "Transitional Program". With such faith, and such a text at their disposal they see no need to learn from experience. The Trotskyites have understood, they therefore have no need to think! It is hardly surprising then that today's Trotskyites' successes have been no less brilliant than those which they achieved under their guru's leadership after 1929. Their impotence, and their infantile "leftism", the "leftism" of undaunted dogmatists who have never made a revolution but have undermined those of others (whom they call Stalinists), is indeed humorous if not pitiful.

Given that Trotskyites can take advantage of favourable objective conditions, just as much as Marxist-Leninists, victory must be put down to a correct line and leadership. Trotskyites cannot concede this, they would condemn themselves.

Just how off-base and anti-revolutionary is Trotskyism's and the other revisionists' stand on revolution in the oppressed nations, is again being shown up in Peru. Where in the 1960's the Trotskyite "revolutionary struggle" led by Hugo Blanco ended in utter failure, the Maoist Communist Party of Peru have led the masses in successfully waging revolutionary war since 17 May 1980. Whole areas are being liberated from the reactionaries, yet the Trotskyites, Soviet- Albanian- and Chinese-style revisionists, and other reformists have formed a United "Left" against the People's War.

Typically, Trotskyites and other revisionists alternate between cheerleading selected reformists (usually those with a cosy relationship with Soviet social-imperialism like the ANC), and simply crossing to the other side of the barricades under the pretext of opposing "terrorism" (as in their opposition to the revolution in Peru).

So, their "internationalism" around the Gulf crisis is either support for Saddam Hussein or the imperialist powers.

CRCPA supports the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* which states: "Lenin pointed out, 'There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is - working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and only this, line in every country without exception.' Lenin stressed that proletarian revolutionaries must approach the question of their revolutionary work not from the point of view of 'my' country but 'from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.'"

The SLL's "Socialist Program" (*Workers News* Sept.21) is full of dangerous and reformist illusions. It claims to "open up" the road to "complete the world socialist revolution" but it evades the means by which the working class is to take power. The SLL "Program" passes over in complete silence the basic Marxist-Leninist principle of the necessity of civil war to overthrow the imperialist order. It is nothing more than a variant of the Soviet-style revisionists' "peaceful road to socialism".

Behind all the mouth-frothing phrasemongering is the SLL's "demand that the union leaders and 'lefts' expel the Hawke-Keating right wing from the ALP and take the road of struggle for a workers' government to implement a socialist program" (*Workers News* Aug.31). There is no role for the workers and oppressed in the SLL's puny "road of struggle" beyond lobbying "lefts" and "union leaders" (or as Lenin more accurately tagged them, labour lieutenants of capital).

The SLL themselves have written of how the "left" in the Labor Party and the trade union movement have gone along with the entire reactionary program of the supposedly more right wing leadership of the Labor Party. They note how every single "left" Labor MP endorsed the dispatch of warships to the Gulf.

They point out that "lefts" like Brian Howe have been leading the attacks on pensioners, unemployed, and other sections of the people (*Workers News* Aug.24). These Trotskyites' phoney socialist politics are exposed as all the more ludicrous when one looks to the state of Victoria. There the "Socialist Left" have assumed, in the person of Joan Kirner, leadership of the Labor government and proceeded to implement a "socialism" even more reactionary than the supposedly more right-wing Labor government led by John Cain.

The Spartacist League have attempted to distance themselves from the SLL over the Gulf crisis with another version of anti-Leninist economism. The Sparts paraphrase their U.S. mentors' slogan: "Labor's Got to Play Hardball to Win". The Sparts promote the Trotskyite drivel about the Soviet Union being a "deformed workersstate" and like to speak out on the best way the Soviets should help "world revolution". Who can forget the Sparts obscene slogan at the time of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, "Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan"? or at the time of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, "Grenada for the Cubans"? Their latest joke is to write to the Kremlin and demand that the Soviet government rescind its arms embargo against Iraq (*Australasian Spartacist* Sept/ Oct 1990). Perhaps such out-Sovieting the Soviets is to be expected from fools who claim that deformed workers hold state power in the USSR.

Trotskyites and other revisionists aren't trying to mobilize the nothing-to-lose proletariat and other oppressed masses for revolution. They are pitching a line based on wage deals and reforms to the labour aristocracy and the better off sections of the working class. They reject Lenin's *What Is To Be Done* and his analysis of the reasons behind the collapse of the Second International. Subsequent experience has confirmed that the response of the labour aristocracy even to impoverishment is most likely to be to rally even more closely around the ruling class since this upper strata of the working class senses, and with a certain logic, that their fate is linked to that of the bourgeoisie and the outcome of imperialist war.

# Gallipoli vet Ernie: 'War's a swindle'



Gallipoli veteran Ernie Guest fought a war that hindsight tells him was all about money. Now at the other end of the century, he sees young Australians ready to die in another war about money

IT'S my 95th birthday tomorrow and I've seen more senseless slaughter than any man should have to witness.

Last week I watched again as Australian fighting men left home ready to die in other peoples' wars.

No one told me in 1914 that the reason we were at war with Germany was economics - I only worked that out with hindsight.

And nobody has told the troops or the people this time that the real reason Australians are headed for the Middle East is also economics.

Truth is the first casualty of war because politicians need to get people interested in fighting.

The day in 1914 when Kaiser Bill declared war, truth went out the window. This time the politicians are saying we have to punish Iraq and defend the rights of Kuwait.

It's a swindle. An awful lot of fellows were filling their pockets pretty full with Kuwaiti oil money and they don't want to lose it. It's as simple as that.

We did nothing when Indonesia invaded East Timor, nothing when they invaded Dutch New Guinea. And that was in our own backyard.

I'm a bit of a rebel but I'm speaking as one who has suffered in war.

When I came off Gallipoli, with shrapnel in my arm and shell-shock from the Lone Pine attack, I was like a match with the wood scraped off.

I was very thin, had a touch of cholera and hadn't had a change of clothes in four months. The only way I was able to muster the strength to take part in the attack was by drinking some Ideal Milk and Cafe Ole smuggled from a hospital ship.

The cholera was from the 1500 dead stacked in front of our trenches. I'll never forget the smell or the maggots and flies. Just before Lone Pine my mates pumped a can of milk into me with a drop of rum in it.

Oil has become the most important influence on the economies of the world. That is why our ships are headed for the Persian Gulf.

When money is involved, it's more important than nations or men. These decisions are made in boardrooms, not parliaments.

We are sending three naval ships to the Middle East and it has not been put to the people. You weren't asked. I wasn't asked. It wasn't publicised throughout the whole Commonwealth.

It was done as soon as the United States said: "We need to stop this because the trade is too important".

The Government claims it can't find money for the people, yet it spends millions of dollars to build a beautiful warship and send hundreds of our finest young men halfway round the world only to write-off the loss if it is sunk.

Tell me where the economic and political sense is in that?

Australia has always been quick to go to war - this time too quick. It is going to give us a bad name throughout the Arab nations.

We were bloody popular there. Even when I went back to Turkey for the 75th Gallipoli anniversary in April, the people were willing to shake your hand. They knew Australians were decent people.

If you put men in uniform, give them a rifle and bayonet, they will do whatever job is given them - even with insufficient equipment and without being told how.

The mistakes are made at the top - by the men who control thousands of lives. Many, many times soldiers have been put into situations - like Gallipoli - where they never had a chance.



## Revolutionary War Is the One We'll Fight!



A group of active-duty GIs during the Vietnam war display "the enemy's" flag.

There are broad sentiments among the people for peace. Whilst the "left" tail behind or turn their backs on these peace sentiments, our attitude, the attitude of revolutionary communists, is fundamentally different: "We understand that war cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and Socialism is created; and we also differ in that we fully regard civil wars, i.e., wars waged by the oppressed class against the oppressing class, slaves against slave-owners, serfs against land-owners, and wage-workers against the bourgeoisie, as legitimate, progressive and necessary" (Lenin, *Socialism and War*).

A few pages further on, Lenin argued that it was the duty of revolutionary communists to utilize the sentiments of the people in favour of peace. At the same time, Lenin pointed out that revolutionary communists will not, "deceive the people by conceding the idea that peace without annexations, without the oppression of nations, without plunder, without the germs of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement. Such a deception of the people would merely play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent governments and facilitate their counter-revolutionary plans."

It is important to heed Lenin's concluding sentence to this paragraph, "Whoever wants a lasting and democratic peace must be in favour of civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie," for this is the demarcation between genuine Marxists and those phonies that Lenin tagged social-pacifists ("socialists" who used the language of Marxism but are really pacifists).

In "Problems of War and Strategy", Mao Tsetung put it this way: "On the issue of war, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries; if such wars occur, the policy of these Parties is to bring about the defeat of the reactionary governments of their own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing."

In 1952 Stalin refuted the claim (still made today) that a strong peace movement means Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably leads to war is "obsolete".

Stalin declared: "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."



The RIM Declaration analysed in 1984 that both the danger of a third world war and the possibilities for victorious revolutions were increasing. The Declaration called for "beginning revolutionary warfare where that is possible, stepping up preparations where the conditions for such warfare are not ripe." This view remains correct. All manner of Laborites, defrocked "Marxists", Trotskyites and revisionist renegades sneer and say we are bad for upholding the truth that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Such "criticism" from impostors is nothing new, as Mao said: "Some people ridicule

us as advocates of the 'omnipotence of war'. Yes we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist".

Genuine communists, that is, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, say that as long as imperialism exists peace is a dangerous mirage. Twentieth century history records that war, of one sort or another, has been continuous and remains inevitable. Today the statement by Mao Tsetung: "Either revolution will prevent war, or war will give rise to revolution", as the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement points out, "rings out all the more clearly and takes on urgent importance".

**If war breaks out in the Gulf...**

# PROTEST!!

## MELBOURNE

Assemble City Square from 5.00pm on the day

## SYDNEY

Protest from 4.00pm onwards on the day at U.S. Consulate, Cnr Park and Elizabeth Sts, City.

## CANBERRA

Go directly to the Lodge to demonstrate on the day.

## BRISBANE

Assemble King George Square from 4.30pm onwards on the day





If war breaks out in the Gulf, us proletarians and our allies in this country should take the position of revolutionary defeatism. That means we can't support "our" government and its evil partnership with other imperialists and their running dogs as it participates in the murder and brutalizing of our Arab class brothers and sisters. We welcome the defeats of our own ruling powers at the hands of its enemies... no matter who those enemies are! Of course we would prefer that to be the proletariat and oppressed peoples led by a genuine communist party, ridding the Middle East of imperialism and Zionism in the only way possible: New Democratic Revolution and People's War.

We must link the struggle against imperialist war in the Middle East, especially Australian imperialism's complicity in that crime, with the struggle for revolution -- in Australia and worldwide. Look around the world -- the times are getting heavier and a showdown is coming between the oppressed and the oppressors. More and more we have to fight in conscious unity with the people battling the oppressors from Peru to Palestine, from South Africa to Eastern Europe, from Tiananmen to Redfern. We have to keep the strategic goal of revolution in mind even as we are fighting more immediate battles.

If we only wanted to protest war and make some noise for peace, if we only wanted to rattle our slave chains, then pretty loose mass organizations would be enough. But if we want to eliminate the cause of war, if we want to break the chains that bind us and our class brothers and sisters across the globe, then we need a vanguard -- a party with

the most far-seeing and liberating ideology, tempered and determined revolutionary leadership, and solid organization with deep roots among the masses of people. Today there is no such party in Australia. Forging a genuine communist party in Australia is an urgent task, and it is the immediate task facing revolutionary communists in Australia.

It is our firm conviction that a truly revolutionary Australian party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is sure to come into being in the flames of revolutionary struggle. We are equally convinced that the Australian revolution will undoubtedly be victorious provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Australian revolution. In this way we will fulfill our responsibility, and contribute the most we can, to hastening the development of the world revolution.

Our basic model for making revolution in Australia remains the October Revolution forged under Lenin's leadership -- a (typically long) period of political work laying the basis for and preceding the going over to armed insurrection in the big cities, followed by the setting up of a revolutionary regime and the pursuance of civil war against the opposing reactionary regime.

We revolutionary communists have declared our burning class hatred for Australian imperialism and all oppression as we strive to rally forces for its overthrow. A key part of this whole process is exposing and opposing Australian imperialism here and overseas as it digs in to defend and expand its ill gotten gains.

**AUSTRALIAN & ALL IMPERIALIST TROOPS & WARSHIPS,  
GET OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST!**

**SAILORS, SOLDIERS... DON'T GO!  
TURN THE GUNS AROUND!**

**FAN THE FLAMES OF REVOLUTION,  
FROM PERU TO PALESTINE AND AROUND THE WORLD!**

**DOWN WITH REVISIONISM & PHONEY 'SOCIALISM'!**

**UNITE AROUND MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM,  
BUILD THE VANGUARD PARTY TO OVERTHROW AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM!**

**LINK UP WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!**

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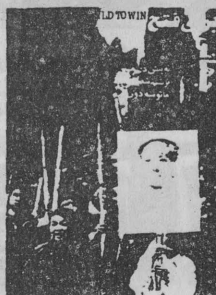
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Collapse of  
**REVISIONISM**  
in the East

Unleashing  
the Masses,  
Unlocking the  
Future

— Mao  
Is the  
Key!



1960s. Liberation fighters from the Congo (now Zaire).

1960s. Demonstration in New York City.

A WORLD TO WIN 1990/15



"The summation of historical experience has, itself, always been a sharp arena of class struggle. Ever since the defeat of the Paris Commune, opportunists and revisionists have seized upon the defeats and shortcomings of the proletariat to reverse right and wrong, confound the secondary with the principal, and thus conclude that the proletariat 'should not have taken to arms.' The emergence of new conditions has often been used as an excuse to negate fundamental principles of Marxism under the signboard of its 'creative development.' At the same time, it is incorrect and just as damaging to abandon the Marxist critical spirit, to fail to sum up the shortcomings as well as the successes of the proletariat, and to rest content with upholding or reclaiming positions considered correct in the past. Such an approach would make Marxism-Leninism brittle and unable to withstand the attacks of the enemy and incapable of leading new advances in the class struggle — and suffocate its revolutionary essence."

- from the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*



*Mao's polemics against Soviet revisionism and the launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the capitalist roaders in the Chinese Communist Party gave hope to revolutionaries around the world who saw the rot that had developed in the Soviet Union and were searching for the way to overthrow imperialism and recast the world.*

*Top: The miners of Mutchengkien energetically repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, China's Khrushchev, that was being applied in the mines.*

The decade of the 1990s has been ushered in with a series of events of earth-shaking proportions — the collapse of most of the previously constituted regimes in Eastern Europe and the almost complete abandon on the part of the Soviet and East European rulers of any pretext of Marxism-Leninism. For the Maoists, who have been the resolute opponents of these regimes for the

past three decades, this is a most welcome development. The existence of these hideous regimes masquerading as "proletarian" and "socialist" has long been a burden for the genuine revolutionaries. Better that these revisionists openly declare their true colours than that they continue to cloak their crimes in the name of our ideology.

Further, the collapse of these

regimes has opened up a very favourable situation in these countries. Although there is much confusion in the thinking of those who have lived through this travesty of "socialism," the desire for a radical destruction of the existing society, the awakening to political life, the discrediting of the former rulers and the divisions among them, all make for the most favourable objective situation for revolutionary advances in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since Khrushchev rigged up the capitalist system there in the 1950s. And not only are the revisionist enemies of revolutionary communists weak in those countries where they have held power, the entire pro-Soviet revisionist movement the world over has been profoundly shaken and disoriented by the events of autumn and winter 1989-90.

But while one set of enemies is thrown into disorganisation, another set of enemies, the ruling classes of the Western imperialist states, is puffed up and arrogant. These reactionary gangsters are trying to use the troubles of the rival gangs in the East to claim the final victory of capitalism, the market and "democracy" over what they continue to falsify as "communism" or "Stalinism".

The collapse of these regimes also poses serious responsibilities before the genuine communists. It presents us with the task of wielding our scientific ideology and understanding of the capitalist nature of the phoney socialist regimes and waging a vigorous political and ideological counteroffensive. Without this, it will be impossible for revolutionary Marxism to get a foothold in the East bloc or, more generally, to defeat the anti-communist wave currently unfolding.

#### Mao Tsetung

Our greatest weapon to understand the current situation and to battle the enemy is the comprehensive teachings of Mao Tsetung concerning the nature of socialist society, the class struggle that takes place under socialism, and the danger of capitalist restoration like that which, Mao analysed, had taken place in the Soviet Union and the East European countries following the death of Stalin.

Not only did Mao understand socialism from a theoretical point of view, he was also able to lead the broad masses in constructing socialism and in waging the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an unprecedented mass upsurge aimed at overthrowing those top officials of the Communist Party who, like their counterparts in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, were turning socialist public ownership into a mere facade hiding their own private expropriation, whose essence was the same as that of all other capitalist exploiters.

Indeed, the working class and the masses of people in the Eastern European countries have long recognised that a special stratum of privileged people concentrated in the Communist Parties have been appropriating the fruits produced by the labouring people. In Eastern Europe, communist phrases have been used to cover over real inequality and exploitation just as in the West Christian demagogy about "love thy neighbour" has accompanied vicious class exploitation and oppression. Unlike many revisionists, we should not be surprised or shocked that the masses in these countries are hoisting anti-communist banners, when the word "communism" has been used to justify all of the exploitation, inequality and reaction of those regimes. As Mao put it so forcefully when speaking of the capitalist-roaders in China, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries." It is up to us, the genuine revolutionary communists, the Maoists, to strip off the "red" mask from these reactionaries and show everyone their ugly capitalist face.

What is most important to grasp about the discredited regimes of the East is not principally their form of rule and ideology which made them different from the West, but the class essence of these regimes which makes them the same as the capitalist West.

1) A small minority of society controls (and in fact, owns) the means of production (through its control of the state apparatus).  
2) This minority functions as a *class* in every way. Thousands of links, visible and invisible, secret or open, bind together top party politicians, directors of factories, schools and hospitals, leading figures in the

media and cultural arena. Furthermore, this class perpetuates itself just as surely as the bourgeoisie in the West by passing on wealth and power to its children.

3) This ruling class uses the police, army, courts and prisons to exercise a disguised dictatorship over the majority of society and to viciously clamp down on anyone who opposes them.

4) The workers are reduced to the status of wage-slaves; they have no control over the affairs of state nor even any real say in the function of their factories and enterprises. Their task is to shut up and work hard and receive their pay in return.

5) Production is determined not by what is needed to benefit the people, but by what will generate the most profit, even if this is often disguised by the state plan.

6) The education system and cultural sphere exalt the way things are and propagate the views of the ruling class. Little criticism of the existing set-up is allowed.

All of these features of the East European regimes are very familiar to our readers in the imperialist West, for they are features of all capitalist states.

Why, then, has it proved so difficult for the genuine communist movement to penetrate these countries? Why is it that even some from the communist movement who have previously opposed these regimes find themselves confused and despondent at the sudden turn of events? At the heart of this question, too, is the question of Mao Tsetung Thought.

It is interesting to note, for example, the avowal of demoralisation emanating from the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.<sup>1</sup> The PLA has long tried to portray itself as the guardians of Marxist-Leninist "orthodoxy". They distinguished themselves in the 1960s by siding with Mao Tsetung and the revolutionaries in the Communist Party of China in the struggle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism.<sup>2</sup> But they never really grasped Mao's analysis and were often puzzled and disturbed by the revolutionary torrent Mao had unleashed in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (despite the fact that Mao and the Chinese had gone to great lengths to inform the Albanian leadership — see specifically Mao's brilliant "Talk

**MAO ZEDUNG'UN ÇİZDİĞİ  
GÜZERGAHTA İLERİ!**

**Proleter Devrimlerin  
Rehber İdeolojisi,  
MARKSİZM-LENİNİZM-  
MAO ZEDUNG DÜŞÜNCESİ!**

**TKP/ML**

Marksiist-Leniniist-Maoist Parti Merkezi

to the Albania Military Delegation" reprinted in AWTW 1985/1). After Mao's death and the counter-revolutionary coup of Deng Xiao-ping and Hua Guo-feng in 1976, Enver Hoxha launched a vicious attack on Mao Tsetung Thought, an attack which did considerable harm to the international communist movement and made the task of regrouping the genuine revolutionary communists all the more difficult.

It must be said the Albanian viewpoint found quite a following in what was the international communist movement, more than can be explained simply by the narrow opportunist fear of a "stateless" international movement for the time being. Albania tried to represent itself as the champion of the heritage of the international communist movement (and especially of Stalin), while attacking its greatest accomplishment — the Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung. In fact, the Albanians defended Stalin's *errors* and not his achievements of building socialism. The fact that so many were won over or disoriented by this line shows that Mao's teachings had not been thoroughly assimilated by much of what then represented the international movement.

#### What is Socialism?

Some of the most vulgar distortions of Marxism-Leninism have taken place exactly on the fundamental points of what socialism is. For Marxist-Leninists, socialism can only mean a *revolutionary transition period* leading from capitalism and other reactionary forms of class society to the achievement of communism throughout the world. It is the most thorough and radical revolution that has ever taken place in the history of humanity.

History has shown that the socialist revolution can only begin when the proletariat has seized political power by force of arms and has established its own revolutionary dictatorship. This is the road of the October Revolution that, as Mao said, is valid for all countries. Only with political power firmly in its hands is it possible for the proletariat to construct a socialist economic system based on state and collective ownership of the principal means of production (factories, mines, rail-

roads, land, etc.).

It is important to stand firm in the face of the critics of Marxism who would negate the accomplishments of Lenin and Stalin in building the first socialist state. We can say with confidence that the Bolshevik Revolution marked a turning point in the history of mankind. Negating the experience of Lenin and Stalin means abandoning the proletarian dictatorship, the forcible overthrow of the existing property relations and the conscious reconstruction of society in the interests of the proletariat and the masses. It means abandoning the goal of classless society, communism. It means giving up on the very idea of all-the-way revolution.

But this defence of our principles *will not be successful* unless it is coupled with a thorough and penetrating exposure of the class nature of revisionism, of its bourgeois essence. How is it that the *forms* of socialism (state ownership, leadership of the Communist Party, planned economy) have taken on an entirely different content?

Marx first pointed out that social-

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ist society would be born ideologically, politically and economically stamped with the birthmarks of the old society. Furthermore the history of the proletarian revolution has been that power has been seized in first one country or a group of countries surrounded by a hostile world dominated by imperialism. The weight of the past as well as of the world situation in which they found

themselves has placed a tremendous burden on the genuine socialist states that have existed.

How would it be possible to move in the direction of a society based upon "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" when the economic base in the Soviet Union and later in China were weak and unable to meet these needs?

One of the great contributions of Mao Tsetung was always keeping the final goal of achieving communism throughout the world firmly in mind and evaluating the line and policies adopted in socialist construction from this angle and none other. It was not enough, Mao understood, to develop the productive forces of society — the productive forces certainly had to be developed, but on the *basis* of continually revolutionising the relationships between people and the thinking of people which was still largely marked by the ideologies of the exploiting classes. And the productive forces had to be developed not as an end in itself but to provide the necessary material basis for a higher form of society no longer divided into classes.

In understanding these laws of socialist construction, Mao learned much from the negative as well as positive experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union under Stalin. He pointed out that economic categories ultimately reflected relationships between people, and that it was incorrect to talk only about things and not about people.

Of course, Stalin, unlike those like Khrushchev who attacked him after his death, was also thoroughly committed to the communist goal. But while Stalin waged struggle against many opponents of socialism, he had difficulty seeing how they were being engendered from within the socialist economy itself, that these opportunist elements who strove to transform those sections of the socialist state and economy which they controlled into their own private property represented a new bourgeoisie. Theoretically he had even argued that the existence of a bourgeoisie had become impossible in the Soviet Union with the construction of the socialist economic system. Stalin downplayed the need to continue making *revolution* even

after socialism had been established.

Mao, on the other hand, was able to analyse how a bourgeoisie is inevitably generated under socialism and that, therefore, it is necessary to repeatedly *arouse the masses from below* to strike down the bourgeoisie within the Communist Party itself and, step by step, dig away at the capitalist economic and ideological "soil" which was generating new bourgeois elements batch after batch.

Mao saw that the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be understood, in Marx's words, as the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, and that its strength would come from drawing the proletariat and the broad masses more and more into "affairs of state" — the fundamental questions of the society. Mao knew that the proletariat could not simply "delegate" their dictatorship to the Communist Party. The vanguard communist party is needed to lead the socialist revolution, Mao understood, but he also grasped that the *enemies* of the revolution would also be found within the communist party. Mao had to wage a sharp struggle against the theory that once socialist ownership had been established the main task was to develop the productive forces, arguing instead that further revolutionising society and continuing to battle the capitalist roaders is the decisive factor in advancing socialism.

Mao understood that socialist economic construction required a state economic plan, that this is a vital way in which the proletariat begins to consciously transform nature instead of being merely the slaves of economic laws as under capitalism. But Mao also understood the question of centralised planning in a very dialectical way, that is, he understood the unity and struggle of opposites — between balance and imbalance, agriculture and industry, heavy and light industry, and between the centre and the regions. He knew that centralised planning had to be accompanied with local initiative. On these questions, too, Mao summed up the negative as well as the positive experience of Stalin, and in particular Stalin's tendency to rely on heavy-handed, bureaucratic and overly centralised methods in socialist planning. For Mao, the proletariat must dominate the plan and never the other way around. One

famous slogan during the Cultural Revolution hung over the Shanghai waterfront: "Be Masters of the Wharf, Not Slaves to Tonnage!"

Mao realised that the struggle to achieve communism would be long, protracted and complex, involving

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For genuine communists worldwide, coming to understand the true contradictory nature of socialist society was not frightening but liberating.

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twists and turns and struggles with which the international communist movement was not yet familiar. This is reflected in his statement that, "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."<sup>3</sup>

#### A Long, Bitter Battle

Throughout history, the transition from one social system to another has proven to be a protracted process full of setbacks as well as advances. The Chinese party stressed how the replacement of slavery by the feudal system in ancient China took hundreds of years. Similarly, in Europe the bourgeois revolution took place over several centuries before feudalism was thoroughly supplanted by capitalism. In both Britain and France, for example, counter-revolutionary restorations took place and held sway before the rule of the bourgeoisie was firmly established.

What was true for the bourgeois revolution is all the more true for the proletarian revolution which does not seek to replace one exploiting class by another, but to carry out the most profound revolution in history, a "radical rupture", as Marx put it, with all previous exploiting societies. The seizure of political power by the proletariat is already a great

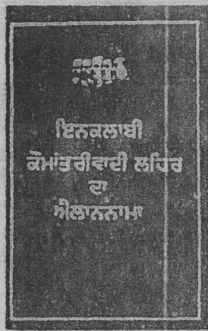
accomplishment, but this seizure of power *only opens the door* to the struggle to transform the ways in which people interact with each other in all aspects of social life.

The ideas and practices which have grown up on the basis of thousands of years of class society will not go away without a bitter struggle, and these ideas and practices will continually have a tendency to corrupt and ultimately transform even socialist society. When the factory managers believe their role is to decide and that of the workers is simply to produce, when the workers themselves believe that their lot is simply to obey orders, when engineers and technical personnel believe that their better position in society is due to their own natural talent, when teachers behave as tyrants and cultural works extol the traditional role of women, for example, we are not very far from capitalism.

Consider the vital problem of "bourgeois right". Under socialism, a wage system would still be necessary and workers would be compensated according to the principle of "to each according to his work" since the higher form of social organisation "to each according to his need" could not yet be instituted. The realisation of this principle is indeed a big victory over capitalism in that it establishes that "he who does not work, neither shall he eat", and in so doing deals a giant blow to the old capitalist class who lived off the labour of the workers. But at the same time "equal reward according to equal work" invariably brings about real inequalities because, as Marx put it, people have most unequal needs (a single man, for example, compared with a woman responsible for three children). Furthermore, the ideas associated with this principle of "to each according to his work" are most certainly *bourgeois*, such as the idea that "hard work merits reward" and "those who work harder should receive more", etc.

The continued existence of a wage system and the need for goods to be exchanged through money is a reflection that society has not yet gone beyond the barriers of commodity production and distribution according to the value of commodities. This is what Lenin was referring to when he said that "we have





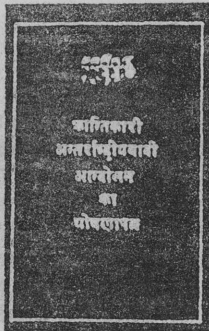
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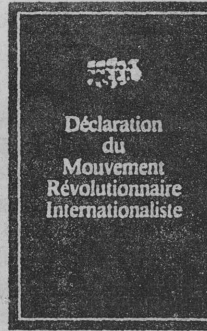
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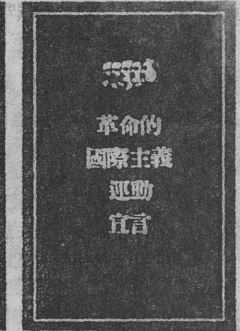
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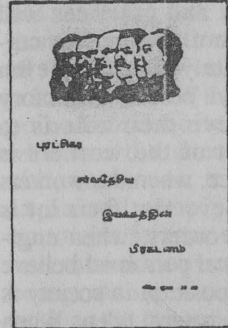
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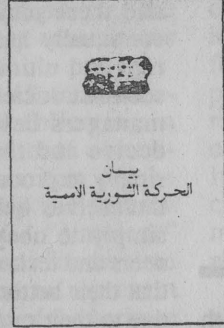
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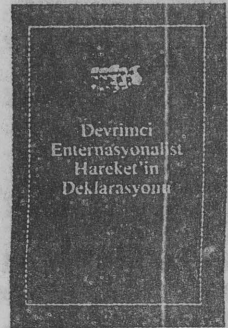
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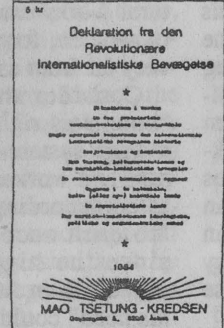
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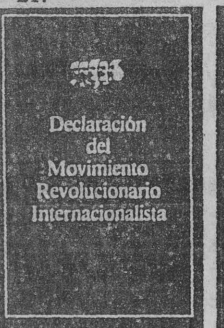
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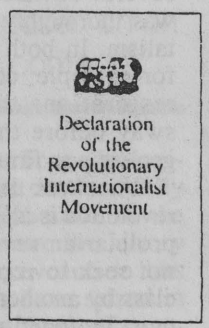
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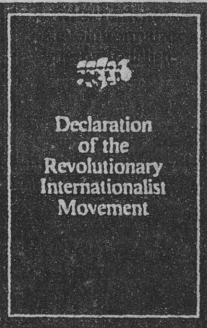
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### Signatories of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Participating Organisations in the RIM

- Central Reorganisation Committee,
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
- Ceylon Communist Party
- Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy]
- Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD-(M-L)]
- Communist Party of Peru
- Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist [TKP/ML]
- Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group
- Nepal Communist Party [Mashal]
- New Zealand Red Flag Group
- Organisation of Marxist-Leninists of Tunisia
- Organisation of the Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan\*
- Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh]
- Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
- Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
- Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic]
- Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

\* The Information Bureau of the RIM has announced that the Organisation of the Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan has been accepted as a signatory of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and as a participating organisation of the RIM.

In addition to the above list of those whose participation in the Movement has been publicly announced by the Committee, a number of other organisations work closely with the Movement to advance its cause and build and strengthen vanguard communist organisation.

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been printed in over 20 languages. Not shown here: Gujarati, Nepalese, Japanese and Kannada.

- 1. Punjabi, 2. Italian; 3. Farsi, 4. Hindi, 5. French, 6. Chinese, 7. Malayalam, 8. Bengali, 9. Créole, 10. German, 11. English (U.S.), 12. English (Indian), 13. Spanish (Spain) 14. Spanish (U.S.), 15. Spanish (Peru); 16. Spanish (Colombia), 17. Turkish, 18. Tamil; 19. Arabic, 20. Danish, 21. Kurdish.

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Make Revolution! Build and Strengthen Maoist Parties United in the RIM!

created a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie." Under revisionist rule this principle of "bourgeois right" is worshipped. In China, following Mao's death, the revisionists have even raised the slogan that "to get rich is glorious". Mao pointed out that under socialism, bourgeois right "could only be restricted" and not eliminated, but he did indeed fight to restrict it and criticise the ideology associated with it. Left unrestricted, bourgeois right would lead right back to capitalism and even the principle "to each according to his work" would, if a new bourgeoisie takes the means of production for themselves, become again the well-known capitalist principle that "he who works the least gets the most."

Mao realised that it would be no quick and easy matter to eliminate the "three great differences" between city and countryside, workers and peasants and manual and mental labour. As long as these differences existed communism would be impossible. The elimination of these relics of centuries of class society also depended upon a higher level of productive forces than existed in China as well as upon radical revolution in the organisation of society.

Mao's response to understanding the difficulties and the protracted nature of the transition to communism was not to throw up his hands and declare "human nature" unbeatable. Rather, he sought the *means* to carry through the revolution under these circumstances and he armed the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals of China and the internationalist communist movement with this correct scientific understanding of socialist revolution. For genuine communists worldwide, coming to understand the true contradictory nature of socialist society was not frightening but liberating.

It let us understand how it was that what had long been described as an "impenetrable fortress" of socialism in the Soviet Union had been captured from within and, more importantly, showed that through the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and masses such as during the Cultural Revolution, it was possible to *defeat* those who would drag society back to the capitalist road, and, in so doing, unleash

hundreds of millions of people to make giant leaps in transforming all aspects of society. Mao restored Marx' and Engels' vision of communist society in which men and women would consciously and voluntarily change the world and themselves, untrammled by the existence of classes, a vision which, at the hands of revisionists, had been distorted, hidden and stripped of any practical significance.

Despite the great victories won in the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, after the death of Mao Tsetung the capitalist roaders in China were able to come to power through a coup d'état aimed at Mao's staunchest followers led by his widow Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. That socialist revolution in China itself was temporarily defeated was, of course, a great blow for the proletariat worldwide. But Mao had armed us to withstand this blow, to understand it, to carry forward the battle on other fronts and in other countries and never to lose our strategic confidence in the final victory of our cause.

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All of these points are complex and are governed not only by the general laws of nature and revolution but by very specific laws particular to the socialist economy as well. In order to really thoroughly expose the capitalist nature of the Eastern European regimes, and more importantly, to be prepared to do a good job at socialist construction when we come to power, it is neces-

sary for the genuine revolutionary communists to get a deeper handle on this question and a basic mastery of the political economy of socialism. And it is also necessary for the communists to get a firm grasp on Mao's criticisms of Stalin, not to chime in on the anti-Stalin chorus, but so as to be better able to draw, for themselves and the masses, a clear line of distinction between the East European monstrosities and a genuine socialist society. The revisionist regimes inherited many of the *forms* of socialism. Furthermore, they took advantage of the mistakes that had been made by Stalin and genuine revolutionaries. In the countries of Eastern Europe this was even more complicated by the fact that, unlike the Soviet Union, little revolutionary transformation had ever been carried out. To aid this study, we have reprinted some brief extracts from two important works, Mao's *Critique of Soviet Economics* and the *Fundamentals of Political Economy* (a textbook published in Shanghai in 1974 under the leadership of Mao's line) in the hopes that these texts in their entirety and others will be studied.

As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it, "Lenin said, 'Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat'. In the light of the invaluable lessons and advances achieved through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, this criterion put forward by Lenin has been further sharpened. Now it can be stated that only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the recognition of the objective existence of classes, antagonistic class contradictions and of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the whole period of socialism until communism. And as Mao so powerfully stated, 'Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.'"

#### Form and Content

It has often been pointed out that Mao was able to develop his penetrating understanding of socialist

revolution because of his excellent grasp of the dialectical materialist method. He was never content with the appearances of things; he always strove to find their essence. He realised that it was the unity and struggle of opposites that determined the nature of every process in nature and in human society and he relentlessly pursued this method when examining socialist society.

The Communist Party has political power? Well and good. But is the Communist Party really a party of the proletariat, is it representing their largest interests or is it becoming a private club in the hands of a minority of society which strives to protect and reproduce the interests of this minority? Mao proved that there was no such thing as the "monolithic party" (as Stalin was fond of calling it) but that the party itself would always be the arena of fierce two-line struggle between the proletarian and revisionist line, whose outcome would determine the very direction of society.

You have established the dictatorship of the proletariat? An important accomplishment. But is this state really putting power in the hands of the workers and peasants? Mao asked, "who criticises?" He cut through the economist/revisionist conception that considered "socialism" simply the improvement of the conditions of the masses and insisted on the political power of the proletariat allied with all of the revolutionary masses. He saw that the state itself was a contradictory phenomenon under socialism. It was absolutely necessary to build and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, but this very state apparatus could and would be transformed into a weapon against the masses, a dictatorship of the party bigshots, factory directors and technocrats, or a new bourgeoisie, unless the most tenacious struggle by the masses was carried out.

You say that you have built a powerful socialist country? This is a great accomplishment. But Mao pointed out that to talk about the final victory in one country "runs contrary to Leninism" and that we should never lose sight of the worldwide goal of communism. If the socialist state became an end in itself, if it no longer existed to serve the advance toward worldwide com-

munist, it would cease being socialist at all and become an obstacle in the path of the world revolution — which is exactly what happened in the USSR.

Mao understood that things could, under certain circumstances, be transformed into their opposites. We too should use this method when analysing events. The revolt of the masses in Eastern Europe is objectively a revolt against the evils of imperialism, yet in the minds of most of the people in those countries it is a revolt against socialism and communism. This is not a reason to tail behind the backward sentiments of the masses in those countries. No, these people must be challenged, and boldly, with the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But it is also very wrong to look only at the surface appearance of things and draw erroneous conclusions as to the revolutionary possibilities in these countries. Phoney "Marxism-Leninism" — real revisionism — has been the official ideology, the state religion, in the countries of the East bloc. No real possibility of inroads for genuine Marxism existed until this state religion was thoroughly repudiated and rejected by the masses. To see only the anti-communist label and ignore the anti-capitalist content is a violation of dialectics — and it is wrong.

#### The International Dimension

As we mentioned above, one of the reasons for the difficulties of the socialist states that have existed was the fact that they were situated in a hostile world still dominated by imperialism and reaction. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it, socialist countries are base areas of the world revolution and are a subordinate part of the latter. The socialist countries are locked in a life and death struggle with the world imperialist system. It is absolutely necessary for the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to take power wherever possible and begin constructing a socialist society. The victories in this process, such as those won in the USSR under Lenin and Stalin and in China under Mao, help propel the whole world revolutionary movement forward, especially by serving as living proof that

exploitation of man by man need not be the organising principle of society. They serve as a beacon to the oppressed of the possibility of a better future.

Socialist states have adopted a policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist and imperialist states. But such peaceful coexistence can only be a truce in an ongoing conflict which, in the long run, can only be resolved by the victory of one camp or the other. The imperialists have shown that while they might at times be forced to accept the existence of a socialist state, they will never give up their efforts to encircle, harass, subvert, or even invade such a socialist state.

Furthermore, apart from the military aspect, as long as the imperialist system is still dominant in the world, a great deal of the world's productive forces, and with it, important economic lifelines of the world, will be under their control, and this will be used against the socialist society. Given this and given the planetary character of human society, something which has become all the more marked with the advent of imperialism, it is inconceivable to imagine a communist society existing on only part of the earth.

#### Can Socialism "Deliver the Goods"?

One of Khrushchev's great boasts was that East-bloc "socialism" would "bury" the West through the process of peaceful competition. He thought he could build up an empire that would rival that of the United States and Europe in terms of the living standards it gave to many of its people living in the imperialist metropole. Of course, Khrushchev and his successors were never able to fulfil this boast, and today the relative riches in the West are being used as the ultimate proof of the so-called superiority of the Western capitalist system.

The main reason for the relatively poorer economic situation in the East than in the West is simply that the West has been *more successful* at exploiting an international empire. Not that the social-imperialists of the USSR have not also tried to construct and profit from such an empire — they have. But for a number of historical and geopolitical rea-

sons, the Soviet-led bloc was never able to secure and profitably utilise a worldwide network of countries to the degree that the Western imperialists have.

A genuine socialist country would never enter the race for neo-colonies and Third World feasting grounds. The development of the productive capacity of a genuine socialist state is never an end in itself and even raising the level of living standards of the masses in these countries is subordinate to the goal of advancing toward communism. Put bluntly, it is better to go without if the only way to obtain the desired material goods is by becoming a new exploiter state. The East bloc had no compunction against entering this reactionary competition; they taught their populations that the very goal of socialism was more "goulash" on every table (which is why Mao ridiculed Khrushchev's "goulash communism"). But in the final analysis the West proved a better source of goulash than the East.

It must be added, however, that the "scales" which the imperialist West wishes to use to measure the supposed superiority of its system are rigged. It is easy to show, for example, that revolutionary China under Mao or the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin were poor compared with the West. But what about the countries the West exploits? The imperialist system has two "poles" — those who live in the imperialist citadels and benefit to varying degrees from the privileged position of these countries *and* those who live in the vast reaches of Asia, Africa and Latin America where whole countries have been deformed and put at the service of ensuring the wealth of the imperialist countries. China before liberation in 1949 was exactly one of those countries which had been sucked dry by the imperialist nations, and the scars of this oppression were inherited by the proletariat when it took power. But despite these very real economic hardships, revolutionary China was able, step by step, to develop the economy in an all-round way that greatly raised the living standards of the people, especially in such key areas as nutrition, health and education, and that also provided for further advance along the socialist road. In fact, the standard of living

of the masses in China compared very favourably to the standard of living of the labouring people in the oppressed countries.

The collapse of East bloc "socialism" is also being used to say that the only path of economic development is to hitch a country's development to the "motor" of imperialism. It is true that the imperialist exploiting machine is a powerful motor for "economic development." It can chew up people by the millions and spit out tons of broken bones and, in the process, it can build modern cities usually surrounded, in the Third World at least, with equally "modern" slums. Imperialism can only develop a country by creating in miniature what it does in the world as a whole — increasing wealth at one "pole" while increasing misery and desperation at the other "pole". Like a magnet, capitalism and imperialism cannot exist without both poles, within a given country and internationally.

The Soviet Union promoted a "socialist" version of this same theory, calling on the countries of its bloc to step in line with the "international socialist division of labour." The disastrous results of this policy in Cuba are one of the subjects of the article by Rudi Mambisa in this issue.

#### The Situation is Excellent

The deep crisis of the East bloc regimes and the collapse of Soviet-style modern revisionism provide an excellent opportunity for the genuine communists. Although the trumpets of anti-communism are loudly blaring, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and other Maoist forces are equipped with the necessary tool to seize hold of this excellent situation and advance the revolutionary struggle. This tool is none other than Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought — the resolute enemy of pessimism, agnosticism and all forms of revisionism. The lessons that the proletariat have learned in making revolution and building socialism are not in vain; they will permit us to sweep aside the rubbish and construct the new. The fact that the socialist revolution has proven complex and protracted is no argument whatsoever against launching the revolution, but rather

testimony to the greatness of the task of creating a whole new world.

The masses of people in the oppressed countries, in the East bloc and increasingly in the Western imperialist states as well, are being propelled into struggle against the ruling classes. This is because, as Mao put it, "Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance." And where there is resistance people inevitably seek an ideology that will teach them whom and how to fight. Right now many people are following various enemy flags, but they cannot help but be increasingly disillusioned with such false promises.

The possibility of a new wave of revolutionary struggle is certainly not lost on the imperialist enemy. One of their greatest concerns in the East is to swiftly restore some stability to the bourgeois order. The capitalists, East and West, must rapidly unveil the true meaning — the class content — of the "democracy" they have been heralding. Those who have been rising up against the social inequalities and the privileges of a few must now be taught that such privileges and inequality are the very heart of the capitalist democracies to be constructed. The aroused masses must be put back to sleep — and as quickly as possible, given the hardships that are in store for them. But history has shown that this is not always so easily done. □

#### Footnotes

1. In a speech to the 9th Plenum of the Albanian Party of Labour Central Committee in January 1990, Ramiz Alia, leader of the PLA, describes the recent events in E Europe as being "on the whole favourable to capitalism"; he asks, "how is it possible for the working class, for the masses, to become protagonists and supporters for the restoration of capitalism" and concludes that the communists "should live with this tragedy painfully, but of course not in despair".
2. Nikita Khrushchev was the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union between 1953 and 1964. In 1956, shortly after the death of Stalin, Khrushchev launched an all-out attack on Stalin and the very principles of Marxism-Leninism and the accomplishments of socialism in the USSR. He presided over the restoration of capitalism in that country until he himself was overthrown in a palace coup by Brezhnev and Kosygin in 1965.
3. Cited in "Capitalist Roaders Are the Bourgeoisie Inside the Party", *Peking Review* No. 25, 18 June 1976.

# ONLY REVOLUTION CAN SAVE OUR PLANET!

April 16, 1990—Revolutionary Worker—

Those who rule over us like to brag that their system is the "best of all possible worlds." But the fact is, the capitalist system is strangling the very life out of this planet. The lungs of the planet are being ripped out as tropical rain forests are destroyed. The earth's protective shield, the ozone layer, is being depleted. And vast areas are being devastated from massive toxic waste. In a thousand and one ways this system is killing people because its law of "profit in command" means the total disregard for the health of the people and the environment.

In 1854 the Puget Sound Indians occupied a large area of land in Washington. When the U.S. government offered to buy the land, Chief Seattle wrote in his reply:

"We know that the white man does not understand our ways. One portion of land is the same to him as the next, for he is a stranger who comes in the night and takes from the land whatever he needs. The earth is not his brother but his enemy, and when he has conquered it, he moves on. He leaves his fathers' graves and his children's birthright is forgotten. He treats his mother, the earth, and brothers the sky, as things to be bought, plundered, sold like sheep or bright beads. His appetite will devour the earth and leave behind only a desert."

A hundred and fifty years later, the capitalists still control things on this planet. And they are still waging war on the earth... the air... the water... the sky. Mass movements around ecology have developed in countries throughout the world. People are fighting to "save the Earth." And in doing so, they are confronting the political question of what is the real cause and solution to this problem. There is a growing sense that there is something *deeply* wrong with a system that treats the earth and its inhabitants this way. And more and more, there is a feeling that only something radical and "earthshaking" is going to stop the destruction going on.

Many people also correctly see that there must be a "global approach" to this problem—that it is impossible to try and understand ecological issues in a narrow, "country by country" way. As Karl Marx said:

"From the standpoint of a higher economic form of society, private ownership of the globe by single individuals will appear quite as absurd as private ownership of one man by another. Even a whole society, a nation, or even all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not the owners of the globe. They are only its possessors, its usufructuaries, and like *boni patres familias*, they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition."

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, has also addressed this question. In *Reflections, Sketches, and Provocations*, Avakian says, "A very profound analysis is concentrated in this statement by Marx, which gives from yet another angle an added emphasis to the importance of viewing things first and above all from the point of view of the world arena and the world struggle. Stepping back and viewing things from that standpoint, looking at the world map from this aspect, for example, it becomes clear that simply viewing the struggle in terms of how it should proceed in one particular country or one particular part of the globe cannot deal with the fundamental problems that mankind as a whole confronts in attempting to be, as Marx says, the trustees of the globe. And it cannot, in fact, lead to a qualitative change, to a qualitatively more rational approach to how to utilize the resources of the earth to further the emancipation of mankind and to advance human society. In a materialist sense, a country-by-country viewpoint, or a viewpoint of only being concerned about the advance in one nation or one part of the world, cannot even approach, let alone solve, this problem. So the land question in the final analysis is a global question."

Chairman Avakian then goes on to point out two important problems the people of the world need to solve to become "trustees of the globe."

The first problem is the national question. In countries dominated by imperialism the masses need to wage a people's war of national liberation. And in the future, the struggle to achieve national equality, even between states ruled by the proletariat, will remain a crucial part of the transition to this higher form of society that Marx referred to—a communist world.

The second problem is the question of small production. Small production and small ownership of land is widespread in the world today. And even after the proletariat seizes power, "Land to the tiller" will remain a just, revolutionary demand. It will not be possible to abolish "overnight" all private property and private ownership of the means of production. And the proletariat in power will have to learn to live with small producers while at the same time struggling to transform them and their outlook. As history has shown, this is bound to be a complex and difficult process, full of twists and turns.

All this underscores the fact that we can't approach the problem of "saving the planet" without taking a revolutionary internationalist approach. Only revolution can save our planet—revolutions aimed at getting rid of oppression in every part of the world. The issue here is not simply "protecting the species." At the root of the serious ecology problems threatening the planet today there are big political and economic problems—imperialist domination and poverty. And so if we want to solve today's problems of ecology, we have to address the question of the profound *lopsidedness* of the world.

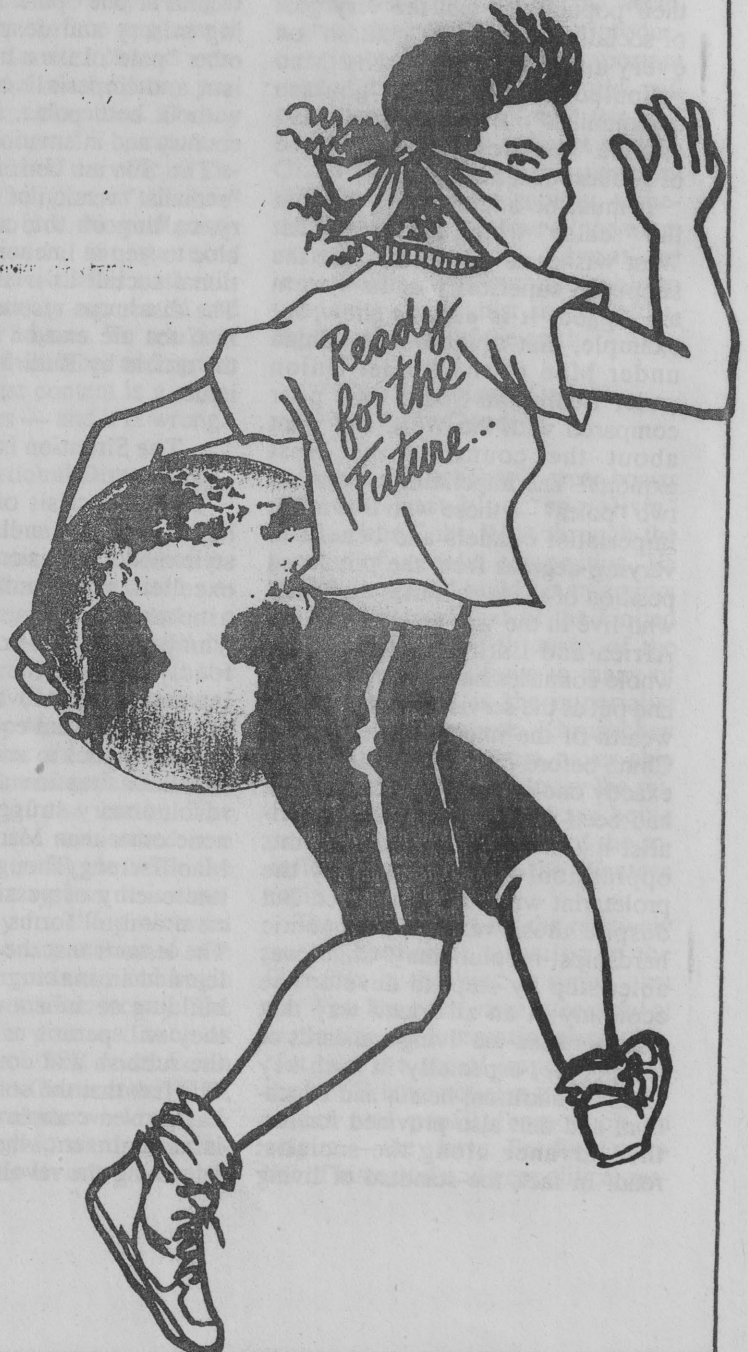
The imperialist countries, both East and West, dominate a great part of the world's productive forces and enslave the great majority of the world's people. As Lenin pointed out, *parasitism* is one of the most important features of imperialism. Whole sections of the imperialist countries are devoted to nonproductive activities, while the imperialists plunder large parts of the world and exploit the masses there as colonial slaves. And some of the spoils from this are passed along to sections of people living in the home country. This parasitism is backed by the tremendous weight of military production and the threat of destructive weapons that could destroy the planet. These are the features of the lopsidedness of the world today. This underscores the responsibility of people right here in the "belly of the beast" to rise up and overthrow this system.

Marx's point that we are only the earth's possessors and that we must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition underscores the importance of ecology. But as Bob Avakian points out, "More than that, it helps us to see more clearly how human society is indeed the *trustee* of the globe, and

how insane it is for different nations, and even different individuals within different nations, to be battling each other for control over little parcels of this earth in a way which can only maintain anarchy and stand as a great obstacle to human society consciously deciding how to best use—and at the same time preserve for the future and develop—the globe of which it is the trustee."

The capitalists want to cover up the fact that it is them and their system that's killing the earth and its people. These days it's fashionable for corporations to talk about "ecological responsibility." But the needs of this system are completely incompatible with ecological responsibility. And we are not all just common travelers on "Spaceship Earth." Those who rule have the power of life and death over us. We live in a world marked by classes and class society, by oppressor nations and oppressed nations, by oppressors and oppressed. And the destruction of the earth and its people is one result of the exploitative social relations carried out and maintained by the capitalist class.

The people of the world cannot allow this class of oppressors to remain the owners and abusers of the earth. The fate of the planet must not be left in the hands of a system that is completely outmoded and is already destroying the earth and its inhabitants. And no amount of individuals "changing their lifestyle" is going to solve this problem as long as the people don't have state power. Only revolution can save our planet. And only revolution can free humanity from the chains of exploitation—so that, in fact, we will be able to carry out our trusteeship over the globe and hand down to succeeding generation, a whole new world. □



# AUSTRALIA & BOUGAINVILLE

*The following response to criticism of CRCPA's position on AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM AND BOUGAINVILLE is now being made publicly available:*

In July 1989, CRCPA distributed a leaflet titled, "HANDS OFF BOUGAINVILLE! AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM GET OUT OF PAPUA-NEW GUINEA."

The leaflet provided some analysis and background to the struggle being waged by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army against the police and military forces of the PNG government and referred to the despatch to Bougainville of four Iroquois helicopters by the Australian government. The spark for this upsurge in struggle related to the Panguna copper-mine on Bougainville operated by Bougainville Copper Ltd.

The leaflet was subsequently criticized in writing by a former supporter of CRCPA:

"I believe the main thrust of the leaflet to be quite wrong... I also think it illustrates the differences we have had on this subject..."

Other (ex-)supporters of CRCPA have expressed substantial agreement with this letter of criticism.

The "offending" section of the CRCPA leaflet read,

## AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM IS TO BLAME.

Troops from Papua-New Guinea (PNG) have tried to suppress the Bougainville rebellion with a reign of terror. With their 'Operation Blueprint' they have murdered thirteen, and bashed and teargassed many more. Roundups, and burning the homes of suspected rebel sympathizers have become routine. Legislation to bring back the death penalty is afoot.

Australian capital has been deeply entrenched in PNG since World War I. Currently Australian investment is about \$2 billion. Nearly 70% of the PNG economy is owned by Australian capital. Large Australian profits are made, amidst the poverty of the PNG peoples. Much in the same way that the wealth of Australia was built on top of the outright robbery of the Aboriginal peoples.

In spite of pious promises from Prime Minister Hawke that they won't be used against the Bougainvilleans — the Iroquois helicopter is a war machine! It is designed for counter-insurgency.

PNG is boiling over with social unrest. Australian imperialist exploitation is the cause. It is not surprising then, that Australian troop intervention has been openly reported and discussed in the media.

We've seen such sabre-rattling before.

Australian troops and warships were despatched to Fiji and Vanuatu, in case they were needed to protect imperial interests.

The CRCPA leaflet argued, "The Bougainville people are right to rebel against Australian imperialism and its PNG accomplices." The leaflet concluded by raising the following slogans:

**VICTORY TO THE BOUGAINVILLE REBELS!  
NO AUSTRALIAN INTERVENTION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA!  
SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF THE PACIFIC PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION!**

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The letter of criticism stated,

- [1] "Bougainville Copper Ltd is a part of the CRA group and that company is at least 80% British.
- [2] "It is therefore in defence of British imperialism that the Australian government and equipment are being used and it is British profits that the Australian taxpayers money is being used to protect.
- [3] "The Australian military forces are in this instance a lackey to British and not Australian imperialism and The Hawke Labor party is clearly a comprador government protecting foreign imperialist interests.
- [4] "The thrust of the leaflet totally distorts this important fact presumably in an attempt to prove that Australia is a significant imperialist power.
- [5] "Surely if you look objectively at the facts you will see that Australia is almost overwhelmed by Foreign ownership of all our important resources. The concept of Australia being a significant or even an independant Imperialist is patently wrong
- [6] "Industry both primary and secondary, Tourism and finance are well under the foreign thumb and the few remaining large 'Australian' companies have shareholdings that cannot be analysed and are dependant to a very large extent for loans and share placements to the large OS financiers.
- [7] "The leaflet therefore deflects the attack away from the real enemy, fails to show the comprador nature of the Hawke labor party and reflects very adversley on your handling of the facts."
- [8] "...You seem to hold the view that you must expose all capitalists simultaneously. That you must fight on all fronts simultaneously. That any attempt to distinguish between those who are the main enemy at a particular time, and those who could be brought into support the general line you espouse, is an act of the political degenerate."

(Spelling as in original,  
margin numbers ours -- CRCPA)

[8] The letter of criticism continued with allegations of "Trotskyism", "leftwing communism" and a general deviation from Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung on tactics being levelled at the CRCPA.

The CRCPA stands by the Bougainville leaflet and completely rejects the criticisms and slanders contained in this letter.

It has now been recognized, even by Amnesty International, that the four Australian supplied helicopters (flown by Australian pilots) were used against fighters of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (ABC television news 11/7/90). The Australian government remains a firm supporter of the blockade against Bougainville which is causing a rising death toll on the island due to a breakdown in medical services on the island (The Age, July 10, 1990).

There is nothing new in this letter of criticism. It is wrong and it articulates exactly the Chauvinist Party(M-L) view that Australia is an oppressed country (by foreign imperialism) and the Australian government and bourgeoisie more generally are comprador or lackey in character. This view, in marginally different manifestations, has had a long history in the "communist" and "left" movements in Australia. It remains the dominant view on the Australian "left". It has also been the subject of ideological struggle within the CRCPA (as this letter indicates) and other groups which strove to keep aloft the banner of Marx, Lenin and Mao in the wake of the revisionist betrayal by the CPA(M-L) majority after the capitalist roaders' coup in China following Mao's death in 1976.

Historically, there have been two types of deviations from the Leninist analysis that in the era of imperialism there is a fundamental division of the world between a handful of advanced capitalist countries and the great number of oppressed nations. On recognition of this reality -- Lenin, Stalin and Mao all argued correctly that -- the world proletarian revolution is composed of two revolutionary currents: socialist revolution in the imperialist countries; and, national liberation in the oppressed nations. The "left" deviation is best represented by the Trotskyite and Hoxhaite sectlets who maintain it is a question of immediate socialist revolution in the oppressed nations as well. The openly rightist deviation, which has had a long history in the communist movement in Australia, is a blurring of the Leninist differentiation with the notion that Australia is oppressed by foreign capital and there is a need for Australia to be "independent" before there can be socialist revolution. The letter of criticism is firmly in this rightist revision of Lenin's analysis of imperialism and the tasks it places before the proletariat in Australia.

#### [1] BOUGAINVILLE COPPER LTD. (BCL) AND BRITISH OWNERSHIP

BCL's headquarters are in Melbourne. It is owned 53% by Conzinc Riotinto Australia (CRA), 19% by the PNG government and the remaining 27.3% is held by public shareholders, mainly Australian (Pacific Islands Monthly, January 1989). The Panguna copper mine, which is at the centre of the struggle on Bougainville, is jointly operated by BCL and the PNG government (Time, October 16, 1989). It contributed at least 17% of PNG's internal revenue and 45% of export earnings before the Bougainville rebel landowners shut it down in 1989 (The Age, April 13, 1989).



Copper mining began when in 1969, CRA in collaboration with the Australian colonial administration, forcibly seized land owned by Bougainvilleans. Police baton charges and tear gas attacks were used to crush (temporarily) the resistance of the local people (Playford and Kirsner, Australian Capitalism p.61).

It is true that CRA is "at least 80% British", but that is not decisive. The CRCPA leaflet correctly located the struggle over the Panguna copper mine in the context of Australian capital's overall domination of the PNG economy.

## [2] BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND PNG

Subsequent investigation by us has confirmed the neo-colonial domination of PNG and Bougainville by Australian imperialism.

In the oppressed nations finance capital is in the hands of foreign capital. Since the end of WWI Australian finance capital -- based mainly around Westpac, which as the Bank of NSW opened its first Papuan branch in Port Moresby in 1910 (Buckley and Wheelwright, No Paradise for Workers p.247) -- has been the dominant fraction of capital in PNG.

After PNG's "independence" from Australia in 1975 this in no way changed except that Australian imperialism, both directly and through its comprador government in Port Moresby, has tightened its grip.

The letter of criticism would have us believe that because one British monopoly also has a significant interest (but as we indicate above NOT, as the letter of criticism implies, a majority interest in the Panguna copper mine) that it is British imperialism that is dictating to the Australian government.

In denying Australian imperialism's involvement and responsibility, this perspective is oblivious to the fact that in the imperialist era, the alignment of (social-)imperialist powers (big and not so big) is a question of lining up in two rival blocs headed by the biggest powers. Like the wolves they are, imperialists of all sizes hunt in a pack. We know from 20th century history, that both previous world wars developed not as free for alls with each power attacking the others willy nilly. The fact that Australian imperialism is in alliance with other bigger imperialist powers, in no way changes the fact that they are acting out of their own imperialist interests. Because of the uneven development of monopoly capitalism, all imperialist alliances are unequal. This "inequality" in no way changes the imperialist nature of these alliances.

In any event, to claim that, today in 1990, British imperialism carries more clout in PNG or the S-W Pacific generally, than does Australian imperialism is unsupportable on the evidence. One of the spoils that fell to Australian

imperialism from defeated German imperialism after WWI was the colony of New Guinea. Our rulers have not looked back. PNG is Australia's largest buyer of rice and third largest market for high-tech manufacturing products. Exports from Australia to PNG are running 4:1 in Australia's favour now at around \$1 billion (Australian Financial Review January 17, 1990). Australian corporations are responsible for 45% of all foreign investment in PNG's mining, manufacturing and service industries (MacLellan, "Policing the Economy in PNG," Arena no.86, 1989, p.43). And as the CRCPA leaflet pointed out, 70% of the PNG economy is owned by Australian capital.

But still, we do not believe that it is purely economic concerns that drives Australian imperialism to act as regional policeman for the Western imperialist alliance. Rather, Australian imperialism is concerned to maintain a relatively stable and passive PNG mainly because of the example that a successful anti-imperialist and secessionist movement there would set for the rest of the region. The Australian imperialist media certainly recognize this, as the following quote from an editorial in The Age (January 23, 1990) highlights:

"The success or failure of the Bougainville rebellion will influence similar movements elsewhere in PNG. The gold and copper OK Tedi mine, another venture in which a lot of Australian money is invested, is already starting to follow the pattern set a year ago on Bougainville..... PNG is justified in seeking... military aid to help it control the Bougainville insurrectionists... "

As well, there is the role Australian imperialism has been allocated, as a Pacific power, within the Western bloc's strategy of turning any war with the Soviet bloc away from Europe, where the social-imperialists have enormous ground forces advantage, to a global conflict where maritime forces have a more significant role, especially on the more vulnerable flank of the Soviet bloc.

The Australian ruling class has carefully crafted the political and economic structures of PNG to suit its own strategic imperialist interests. Aid is high. In 1988 the Australian government gave PNG \$275 million, as well as half its military budget. In May 1989, Australia agreed to give PNG \$1.5 billion in assistance over five years (The Sun, Melbourne, May 25, 1989). Currently there are in the order of 100 Australian defence personnel deployed in PNG and PNG officers are trained in Australia (The Australian, January 19, 1990). And as mentioned above in referring to the CRCPA leaflet the four helicopters used against the rebels were provided by Australia, as were the pilots (ex-RAAF) whose salary was paid for by Australia. The parallel with Vietnam here is obvious.

Cameron Forbes, reporting from Port Moresby made these points in The Age, (April 22, 1989):

"Its a time of questioning the political system [in PNG]...the relationship with Australia, the former colonial power...there are charges of economic suppression and neo-colonialism by Australians....."

the fires of secession will blaze...

"PNG... remains dependent on Australian aid and will be for more than a decade..... The head of the newly born Trade Union Congress, Lawrence Titimur, uses that nasty term, exploitation... 'the basic exploitation is from Australians... exploitation has increased rather than decreased... the troubles at OK Tedi [operated by Australian monopoly BHP -- CRCPA] and Bougainville, the youth riots -- in our view these are signs of frustration at oppression and suppression'... He [Titimur] also claims the old plantation owners have returned in a new guise -- as management agencies which [Australian] banks insist be involved before funds will be loaned to PNG owners... similar agencies operate in sectors servicing the mining industry... the levels of profit in this country must be the highest in the world. Managerial positions are held by [Australian] expatriates and our people wander the streets'."

One of the more nauseating aspects of the campaign against the proposed Multi Function Polis, pushed by Chauvinist Party (M-L) and the rest of that motley pack of scraggly "left" nationalists, has been the xenophobic hysteria over the possible creation of a large Japanese expatriate population in Australia. The "left-wing" racists' collective silence about the 4,000 plus expatriate Australian population in PNG and Bougainville who live off the backs of the toiling indigenous masses has been deafening.

### [3] COMPRADOR

Mao Tsetung never used the word comprador ("a class which directly serves [foreign] imperialism and is fostered by it" -- *SW*, II p. 289) in the context of an advanced capitalist country. Mao Tsetung always upheld the Leninist division of the world even if "Maoists" in the West have not. For example in "Problems of War and Strategy," Mao remarked that, "capitalist countries... in their external relations, they are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress, other nations." To suggest, as do the CPA (M-L), that Mao's exposition of the role of the comprador bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations is applicable to the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries is a monstrous forgery.

### [4] AUSTRALIA AS AN IMPERIALIST POWER

Australia is a lesser imperialist power with its own sphere of international plunder especially PNG and the S-W Pacific. It is the biggest capitalist power in the Southern Hemisphere and whilst it is not one of the big six Western imperialists (currently meeting in Houston, USA - July '90), it is in the top ten. The Australian social order and class basis is indistinguishable from bigger and the biggest imperialist powers. Lenin's five-point definition of imperialism clearly fits Australia.

As stated above, when Australia intervenes or threatens to intervene -- and we've seen a lot of that lately around crises in Fiji, Vanuatu, PNG as well as Namibia and a commitment of naval support to the Persian Gulf -- it does

so for imperialism as a whole, as a member of the Western imperialist alliance and for its very own imperialist interests.

The claim that because Australia is not one of the biggest imperialist powers it is therefore not an imperialist power at all is nothing more than the the Chinese revisionists' "Theory of the Three Worlds" re-visited.

#### [5] FOREIGN CAPITAL IN AUSTRALIA

The key question of who holds state power is decided by identifying in whose hands finance capital is in — foreign or local capital. Although there is a substantial proportion of foreign capital in selected industries this does not make Australia dominated by foreign capital. Banking capital and key industrial capital, the most important segments from which finance capital emerges (as per Lenin's Imperialism) are owned by Australian bourgeois. None of even the most outspoken advocates of the "Australia is a client state" school have suggested otherwise.

Like its lesser imperialist peers, Australian capitalism has always made use of foreign capital to expand because the domestic base for capital accumulation is inadequate, and because it is characteristic of the post-WWII, neo-colonial phase of imperialism that imperialist powers penetrate each other and each others' neo-colonies with capital and goods.

As the profit figures for Australian trading banks routinely show, high profits are made because, not in spite, of heavy foreign borrowings.

#### [6] THE MAIN ENEMY

In his struggle against the opportunists of the Second International and their desertion from the communist ranks Lenin had recourse to hold up the fighting internationalist spirit of the German Leibknecht. Leibknecht declared in the face of the social-chauvinists who claimed the real enemy lay beyond the border that, "the main enemy is at home." CRCPA strive to live up to this in theory and practice.

As Mao said in "Problems of War and Strategy", the one war that Communist Parties in capitalist countries want to fight is the civil war against their "own" ruling class for which they are preparing.

To argue or do otherwise, is a rejection of the basic Leninist principle on the attitude the proletariat in the capitalist countries must take toward its "own" bourgeoisie.

The "general line we espouse" is hastening the development of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing imperialism in Australia. All

imperialism and reaction are our enemy but our main enemy is Australian imperialism and will not change from "particular time" to "particular time". We unite with all who can be united in this historic mission of the revolutionary masses led by their vanguard party.

The letter of criticism confuses the general line of a proletarian party (or group) with strategy and tactics. But in any event the fundamental principle of having a revolutionary defeatist position towards one's "own" bourgeoisie is not negotiable. We are not out for support from the class enemy. We base ourselves upon those with nothing-to-lose -- the downtrodden proletarians -- and their allies.

### [7] TROTSKYISM

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement points to the cold hard truth that, "the basic Leninist principles regarding the preparation for and waging of the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries have long been buried under an avalanche of revisionism" (p.37). One of the biggest boulders in the pile of revisionist rubble in this country has been the view that denies Australia is an imperialist country.

Far from us being the Trotskyites it is those who from an openly rightist position deny Lenin's analysis of imperialism that have most in common with the also anti-Leninist (but from the "left") Trotskyites.

Despite invoking their names, the letter of criticism is not able to (nor is it possible to) muster Lenin, Stalin or Mao Tsetung as support for the proposition is advancing a "left-wing" communist or Trotskyite line.

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**RIGHT:**  
racist  
cartoon  
from the  
Communist  
Party's  
*Workers'*  
*Weekly* 1938  
**FAR RIGHT:**  
Similar  
racist  
cartoon by  
Dengist  
CPA(M-L)'s  
*Vanguard*  
28/9/88.

### JAPANESE DESIGN



# STUFF AUSTRALIA DAY!

The 1988 Bicentennial bloodfest may be over, but the stench from the patriotic belch of January 26th still burns our nostrils.

The Aboriginal people have exposed this day as Invasion Day. The systematic theft of Aboriginal land and the destruction of Aboriginal culture which began back then, continues to this day.

Those concessions which have been granted by the ruling class, such as limited land rights, have flowed from the actual resistance of the Aboriginal people themselves. Resistance against the continuing and basically unchanged oppression by Australian imperialism of the vast majority of Aboriginal people.

IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL.

The Aboriginal people are right to rebel against the racists, reactionaries and rulers of Australia, and the more rebellion the better!

We must support every outbreak of Koori protest and rebellion.

The pleas by the ruling class for reconciliation in 1988 are still echoing two years later, and so is the hypocrisy.

Pleas such as "forgive and forget" all boil down to telling the oppressed that they must accept their continuing oppression and genocide.

That is, if you are young, black and get on the wrong side of the police, within a few hours of arrest, having been bashed first by the cops and then by the screws, you could be dead.

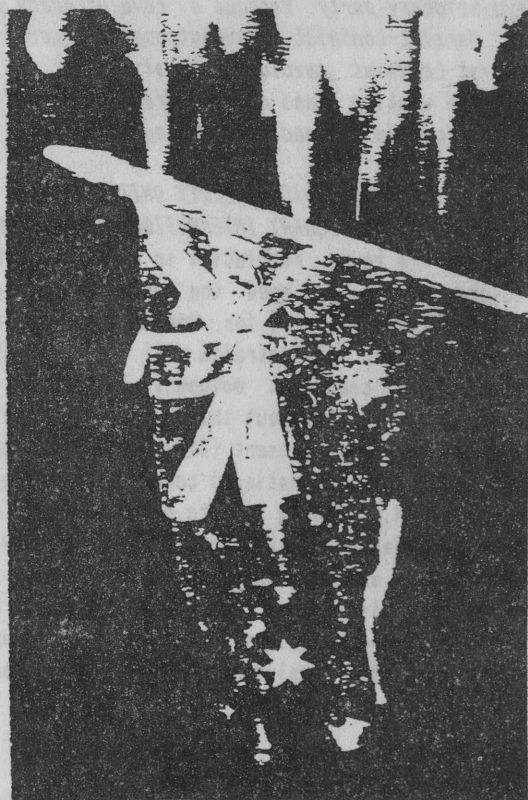
Loud and clear the Aboriginal people have made themselves heard—there is nothing in this day to celebrate.

WE'RE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISTS, NOT AUSTRALIANS.

For we who are the proletariat and its allies—the propertyless class—there is likewise nothing to celebrate, nor even identify with, in Australia Day.

We don't have a country. We live in it but it is not yet ours, and we identify not with Australia but with the international proletariat. Our flag is the red flag of revolution, not the tattered and bloodstained flag of the ruling class.

**RED, WHITE & BLUE  
WE HATE YOU!  
YOU STAND FOR PLUNDER  
YOU MUST GO UNDER!**



# Where We Stand



**FALSE COMMUNISM IS DEAD, LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM!**  
Krushchev's attack on Stalin, in the notorious "secret" report at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 heralded the emergence of modern, Soviet-style revisionism. Marxism-Leninism was revised by gutting its revolutionary soul and capitulating to imperialism. The attack on Stalin was the excuse to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat in theory and practice. So not since the 1950's has there been any working class rule in the USSR when this new bourgeoisie inside the Soviet communist party steered a course down the capitalist road. So too, in Eastern Europe where communist parties followed in the steps of Krushchev's revisionism and restored capitalism. Two decades later in China, capitalist roaders (headed by Deng Xiaoping) snuffed out what was a revolutionary beacon under Mao Tsetung's leadership. Today the state capitalists that run these countries are reeling, scorned and reviled. Many have even dropped the label "communist". Fine! Mao identified these revisionists for the privileged parasites they are 25 years ago and with accuracy predicted: "If the Rightists stage a coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace..." Another socialist revolution is the only solution for the East -- MAO MORE THAN EVER!

## **MAKE REVOLUTION!**

Nothing less than turning the whole world upside down (or rather right side up) is going to bring down this imperialist system. Preparation for all-the-way revolution, and not pitiful reforms is the urgent order of the day. The revolutionary movement in Australia must aim to serve the world revolution by overthrowing the state power of the ruling class here. This will pave the way for proletarian dictatorship and through more revolutions eventually classless communism. We stand by Mao Tsetung's words:

*"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs."*

## **FOR A MAOIST PARTY UNITED IN THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!**

If there is to be revolution in Australia the proletariat and its allies will need the party Mao spoke of above as none has existed here for decades. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard in Australia will be built as part of the international communist movement. The recent regrouping of Maoist forces throughout the world into the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is a qualitative leap in rebuilding the international communist movement. The CRCPA supports RIM, joining in its campaigns and working toward forming a Maoist party. CRCPA is guided by the 1984 RIM Declaration, and strives to make the specific application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Australia. This means: carrying out revolutionary agitation and propaganda; analysis of the world and Australian

situations; implementing a revolutionary mass line, spreading the outlook and influence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the highest degree; and, being based amongst those who have nothing to lose - the downtrodden proletarians - and, their allies. This is so that when a revolutionary situation emerges a mass party can be forged around revolution and *not* economic deals, reforms and selling out to bourgeois political parties and imperialist powers.

## **DOWN WITH AUSTRALIAN IMPERIALISM!**

Australia is a lesser imperialist power. Although the Australian ruling class doesn't always act on its own doesn't mean it isn't acting in its own interests. This Australian imperialist bourgeoisie wields state power. It commands the army, police, courts, bureaucracy etc using them to keep us down. Parliamentary elections merely mystify this bourgeois dictatorship. Australian imperialism has its own sphere of dominance, bullying and exploitation, in the SW Pacific etc as well as a growing global presence. CRCPA welcomes more defeats for Australian imperialism and its allies. Today, there is nothing progressive about Australian nationalism. *Our flag is the red flag*

## **DOWN WITH RACISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION!**

The history of capitalism in Australia is a continuing saga of genocide, outright robbery of the land and, brutal oppression of the Aboriginal and Islander peoples. Concretely taking up this national question and upholding the right to self-determination, including secession, is a key cornerstone around which the unity of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed Koori and Murri peoples must be built. The biggest step in getting rid of the ideological poison of racist attitudes will be taken when this imperialist system that is the source of this sewer, and in turn thrives off it, is swept away.

## **OUR INTERNATIONALIST DUTY.**

Australian communists make revolution not just for the workers and oppressed in Australia. The Australian revolution must be made in unity with and for the cause of the international proletariat. We place special emphasis on supporting the People's War in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru, a party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and participating in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

## **STEP FORWARD!**

To those who can hardly wait for the time when this rotten system can be torn down, link up with us revolutionary communists. Join us in preparing the ground for people's war to seize political power and pave the way for the creation of a new system that will put an end to *all* oppression and exploitation, everywhere.

*Committee for a Revolutionary Communist Party in Australia  
Correspondence to "The Committee" at either:  
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GPO Melbourne 3001 Sydney South 2000*