

# STRUGGLE

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**COMMITTEE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY IN AUSTRALIA**  
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Bombard the Headquarters! (gouache)



MAY 1999

## GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Australia (RCPA) is the political party of the proletariat.

The basic programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all exploiters, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in place of the present dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The aim of the RCPA is for socialism over capitalism, with the ultimate goal of communism.

The RCPA takes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical basis in this era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and the world-wide strategic offensive for socialism is gathering strength.

The correct application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Australia will lead to the seizure of state power by armed force. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will strengthen and grow in the course of struggle against both "left" and "right" opportunism.

The collapse of the socialist countries was brought about by the external attacks of imperialism, but principally by the internal seizure of power by modern revisionism, the agents of imperialism. The new offensive against imperialism and for socialism, now gathering strength will only succeed if the whole party and the masses study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The RCPA upholds proletarian internationalism, it unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and groups in the world; unites with the proletariat; the oppressed people and nations of the world and fights with them to overthrow imperialism led by the United States of America, the modern revisionists at home and abroad, and the reactionaries of all countries, to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man in the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Members of the RCPA, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and overcome every difficulty to win victory.



**ADVANCE VICTORIOUSLY  
ALONG CHAIRMAN MAO'S  
REVOLUTIONARY LINE**

*Apply M-L-M,  
principally Maoism!*

"Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, '*It is right to rebel!*' For thousands of years, it had been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. *And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.*"

*— Mao Tsetung*

## ANALYSIS OF CLASSES IN AUSTRALIA.

Australia is an imperialist country. Australia is not an oppressed country, but an oppressor and is an aggressive exploiter in this part of the world. The main spheres of influence are South East Asia, the South West Pacific Island States, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, and growing exploitation in Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Australia complies with the five principles of imperialism laid down by V.I. Lenin, in his work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

1. the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;
2. the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this 'finance capital', of a financial oligarchy;
3. the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance;
4. the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and
5. the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.

Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.

Australia's place in the world imperialist system and the character and tasks of Australia's revolution are two of the key questions on which various communist movements in Australia have, in the past, floundered. These past views have wavered between Australia being an oppressed nation and the need for Australia to be independent. Campaigns were developed around these theories. What the various communist parties forgot, was their reason for being, which is: the communist Party stands for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat through revolutionary violence.

Australian capital participates in the plunder of South East Asia and the South West Pacific Island States. Australia is part of the major military pacts in the region, led by the US imperialists; ANZUS, US-UK intelligence sharing agreements; defence treaties with Japan, South Korea, the Five Power Defence Agreement of the UK, NZ, Malaysia, Singapore.

Australia trains in Australia military personnel from all over the region. Australia participates in regular military and naval exercises throughout the region. Australia takes part in military interventions, Malaya, Korea, Vietnam; seeks to control Papua New Guinea through "aid", and Fiji and other Island states. Although Australia is not the largest investor in the region, considerable Australian capital reaps substantial profit. Australia leads campaigns throughout the region for "human rights", "freedom of the press", and for "democracy", aimed to interfere in the internal affairs of nations, to impose "western legal and political institutions, and to foster chauvinism at home.

The Australian ruling class has its own political agenda within the world imperialist system and exports capital to all continents either through big companies like BHP, big banks, through foreign "aid", Austaid, in co-operation with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The Australian ruling class holds State power: the police, the courts, prisons, the armed forces.

We reject the view that the USA or any other foreign power is the target of the Australian revolution, the target is our own ruling class.

We reject any fight for Australian "independence" put forward by the various revisionist groups who campaign against foreign capital. This is a form of "defence of the fatherland".

Mao Tsetung, when writing the analysis of classes in Chinese society, asked the questions. Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? The answer to these questions is important for the Australian revolution.

Australia is ruled by the imperial bourgeoisie. Foreign capital is extensive and interlocked with Australian capital. Whether Australian or overseas capital or a combination of both, this class, interlocked with bank finance capital, owns the means of production, distribution and exchange and exploits Australia and countries where they export capital, are the rulers of Australia. They own the mass media and hold state power. They represent the most reactionary class forces opposing revolution. They rule through the bourgeois democratic parliamentary system, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Their parliamentary representatives are the Liberal and National Party and the Australian Labor Party.



## RURAL AUSTRALIA

What should be our attitude to the farmers? Land ownership falls into a number of categories. The great pastoral holders, originally called "Squatters", today hold land often the size of some European countries. When the English invaded they seized the continent in the name of the Crown and declared "terre nullius" (the country was empty of inhabitants).

Currently pastoral leases cover 42% of Australia or 3,338,204 sq. k. Some holdings are leased from the Crown and some are owned. Some foreign owned, some held by Australians. This class of landholders are the most reactionary and ruthless in their opposition to Native Title Land Rights, they foster hatred among the farmers for the working class, they are closely linked to the big mining trusts and are part of the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie. They are represented in the bourgeois parliament by the National Party.

Historically, Australia relied on agriculture. In the 1950's between 85 and 95% of export earnings were earned by agriculture. In 1986 this fell to 35%. Agriculture's contribution to the GNP has declined from 25% in 1940 to 5% in 1986, and rural employment has declined from 14% in 1940 to less than 5% in the 1990's. Wool prices have fallen to a near-century low, and the stockpile of wool is one million bales. (This can be attributed to over production, world use of man made fibres, too expensive for an impoverished world to buy and poor management).

Ninety percent of sheep farmers recorded losses of approx. \$45,000 per farm. Only 25% of broad acre farms are debt free: 25% have debts in excess of \$128,000: 12% have debt loads of \$350,000: some sheep farmers have debts of \$600,000 and many cannot service their loans taken out in the 1980's. Land prices have fallen to a third of their former value. Since 1975 more than 40,000 farmers have walked off their properties.

The farms are going to richer rural families, absentee city capitalists, overseas buyers and trusts and the banks. These new owners use the former farm owners as managers whose knowledge and labour are marketable assets. The "manager" does not own his means of production, he is a wage earner and not petty bourgeois but proletarian in class. Agri-businesses and banks hold these farmers as tenants. Some reduced to contract farmers and piece workers. The agri-businesses, the banks and urban capitalists control the production and output. They are able to keep their capital free to invest elsewhere if the farmer-manager does not comply.

Farmers battling to hold on to their properties are plunged into the ranks of the proletariat, their income is so low they often have to apply to social security to survive, and hunt rabbits and kangaroo for food. Farm women have long sought employment outside the land, returning to teaching or nursing to supplement the family income. Women have always had side lines of income, growing vegetables, flowers, eggs in addition to their family responsibilities. Their participation in rural affairs has helped to cement relationships for the lonely and isolated, and in the growth of community life. The women in the country have made a major contribution, whether their voice in rural affairs has been comparable is another matter.

Former farm workers, the rural proletariat, now reduced to less than 5%, often constitute a rural underclass, unemployment, lack of formal education, low wages, they have little opportunity for re-education and retraining for other jobs, if these jobs exist. Country towns are being marginalised along with the rural decline. Over the past two decades rural Australia has lost 40% + of its population and with this a loss of social cohesion. State services have been shut down resulting in the loss of health services, banks, some post offices, schools, and many hospitals. Empty shops, businesses, closed railway workshops, rail services, the loss of a local doctor, councillors, social workers, and loss of young people leads to the local sporting authorities cannot muster enough people for a local team. These are the visible results from the rural decline. The not so easily seen is the suicides, now one of the highest in the world, and the growth of family violence.

Rural holdings were 200,000 in the 1960's, now there are 100,000 and the expected fall is to 50,000, while rural debt is estimated at 17 billion dollars.

The revolutionary forces, led by the Communist Party, need to overcome the fostered and real anti-proletarian consciousness among the farmers. These ideas have been cultivated by the bourgeoisie, their mass media, the organisation leading farmers and have been a convenient whipping horse to hide the falling world trade, falling world prices and rural decline.

Proletarian class consciousness can be taken to the farmers now that their class position is changing. Some farmers are fighting the banks and big companies, both local and foreign, who sell the agricultural supplies and machinery. Proletarians will find many allies in the country towns and among the dispossessed farmers and the women and youth, who are without jobs. Unity is essential among these rural workers and the industrial proletariat.

There are also a large number of itinerant rural workers. They travel from property to property at harvest time to pick fruit, and do general harvest jobs. These people live a precarious life, often live under canvass and have to bargain for a price for their labour power from each land owner.

## RURAL AUSTRALIA.

It would be a mistake to believe that the entire rural population is flocking to the banner of the One Nation political party.

Over the past two decades rural Australia has lost 40% of its population and with this a loss of social cohesion. State services have been shut down resulting in the loss of health services, banks, some post offices, schools and many hospitals. Hospitals, often built and financed by the local community are either closed or facing closure. Visual disintegration shows empty shops, businesses, closed railway workshops, train stations: and often the loss of the local doctor, counsellors, social workers and the local sporting clubs are unable to muster a team for competitive matches.

Rural holdings were 200,000 in the 1960's, now there are 100,000, it is estimated this could fall to 50,000

The rural debt is 17 billion dollars. The banks still charge 15% interest. whereas in many European countries bank interest to farmers and for infrastructure development banks lend money at 5%.

The fall in the international price of wool and wheat plus a seven year drought has brought the family farmers to their knees.

Historically Australia has relied on agricultural producers. No longer does Australia ride on the sheep's back. Up to the end of the 1950's between 80-95% of export earnings were regularly contributed by agriculture. By 1986 this had fallen to 35%. Agriculture's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has declined from 25% in the 1940's to just 5% in 1986 and rural employment has declined during the same period from 14% to less than 5%. Farm production has fallen from \$4 billion in the 80's to \$2 billion currently.

Wool growers have seen their clip fall from 900 cents per kilo to 386 cents in 1997. Farmers recorded a loss \$190 Million in 1991-2 as a result of the drought covering 90% of wool growers.

Large numbers of broad acre farms have debts. 255 have debts in excess \$128,000; 12% in the wheat and other crops sector have debts in excess of \$350,000 while some wheat farmers have debts in drought areas in NSW and Queensland of \$600,000

To service these loans many farmers spend 40% of their gross cash incomes on interest payments; others debts have compounded and their equity has plummeted and their fate is sealed. The lack of income over and above the interest to the banks has prevented the farmer from maintaining their machinery. The result is a high level of industrial accidents and death.

Land prices have fallen to less than a third of the value in the late 1980's. Since 1975, more than 40,000 farmers have left the land with a further 30,000 expected to go in the next 2 years. Land economists say poor farms will be fragmented and sold to neighbours; better holdings will be sold at the reduced prices to large rural holdings; absentee city owners; overseas buyers or superannuation trusts. The trend is, ownership to the corporately based and overseas landowner. Many of the properties have been purchased by urban and rural professionals, doctors, and bureaucrats, who are offered negative gearing and other tax concessions, to hold until the land prices improve.

This means that rural land is being transferred away from the farmer and local community to the urban capitalist. The result is that job opportunities for youth and professionals dries up. There is a growing gap between the rich and the destitute as the poorer farmers with crushing debts leave the land.

Many farmers are managing the farm for the banks, many seek employment outside the property. Women have always played a large part in saving the land. Women on the land have for generations worked, in the home, raising cut flowers, vegetables, eggs, and, more often than not, have returned to teaching or nursing to hold the property together.

The banks often allow the farmer to stay on the property where he works as a manager or to put it another way, he is a rural worker and no different in class from the rural proletariat. The farmer's knowledge of the land and his or her labour is their marketable asset as they no longer control the means of production, the land, the machinery or the stock. They are no longer members of the petty-bourgeoisie.

This loss of their former class position is hard to accept. Many are locked in battle with the banks to retain their properties. There is reason to believe this debt ridden changed status is a contributing factor in the high suicide rate in rural areas.

During the 1980's, the banks engaged in lending money easily. Farmers were unable to see the effects of the 'globalization', the rising interest rates, and some shonky deals involving 'foreign' loan, the shrinking world market and the looming financial crash.

The petty bourgeois farmers have had a long tradition of hostility to the working class and the trade unions. This is part of their class position. Now the small farmers are thrust down into the ranks of the working class while staying with the ideology of their former class. They are stuck with massive debts to the banks and big pastoral companies and everything on the farm is mortgaged to the hilt. They are stuck with properties they cannot sell, and from which

## RURAL AUSTRALIA.

they gain little income. Many have had to seek help from social security. They also find that the National party, the National Farmers Federation, and the main political parties are wedded to economic rationalism and the deregisted banking system. Further import restrictions have been lifted to enable produce from overseas to enter the market. The result is massive loss to the local grower and further unemployment.

At the World Trade Organization /GATT, the USA spelled it out, They put the world on notice, it will withdraw most favoured nation treatment from countries that failed to give increased access to US banks and insurance companies... Australia has toed the line.

## ABORIGINES AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDERS.

The Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are two national minorities within Australia. Ever since the arrival of Capitalism, the indigenous people have suffered racial discrimination and oppression. Their poverty is a national scandal. They have endured stolen land, massacre, a suppressed language(s) and culture, stolen children, being forced into reservations and neglect. In the face of this oppression there was and still is resistance. The indigenous people have developed a wide spread, militant, nationalist movement for land rights and to control their own affairs.

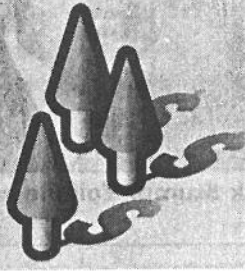
They have a consciousness as a separate people. Their struggle for land rights challenges the imperialist system and the strangle-hold the monopolies have over the land.

The Revolutionary Communist Party's policy towards the A & T.I. struggle is all out support and the right to independent development within a socialist Australia, including the right to secede.

The revolutionary party has a responsibility to work among white Australians to fight against racism and to work among the indigenous people for their demands. We believe many can be won to Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. Many of the experiences of the USSR and Mao Tsetung's China, in the way minorities were preserved, given a written language and restored to health, will be of great value to demonstrate the liberating system of socialism and the abolition of private property, over dog eat dog imperialism.



As Karl Marx wrote in *Capital*, the:  
**accumulation of wealth at one pole, is ... at the same time the accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, and moral degradation at the other pole.**

BEN  
MITCHELL

# Business goes bush, buying up big

Big business is buying up the bush. A study of Australia's multi-billion-dollar rural industries has revealed that some of the country's largest companies and richest people have become major landholders and primary producers.

Barons of the Bush, a survey by the *Australian Farm Journal*, shows that while small family-owned farms dominate primary production, big corporations now control vast tracts of farm land.

And overseas businesses have become a significant force in Australian agribusiness. National Mutual's owner, the French insurer Axa, is the biggest wool and wheat producer in the country.

The Stanbroke Pastoral Company, Australia's largest single landholder, continues to dominate the beef market, running about 535,000 head of cattle on 32 giant farms. Four of the company's holdings are bigger than one million hectares.

The company, owned by AMP, bought two new properties during the year, increasing its cattle holdings by 35,000 head.

Its nearest rival is the Australian Agricultural Company, owned by the pastoral giant Elders, which runs 350,000 head of cattle on 17 properties in Queensland and the Northern Territory.

The AAC, Australia's third-largest landholder, was incorporated in 1824 and is the second-oldest company in Australia.

The farming empire established by Sir Sidney Kidman in 1912 still looms large over Australian agriculture as the country's second-largest landholder and fifth-biggest cattle owner.

THE AGE THURSDAY 19 NOVEMBER 1998

S. Kidman and Company, which is jointly owned by the Kidman, Ayers and Clover families, runs about 150,000 cattle and 45,000 sheep on 11.18 million hectares. In its prime the company owned almost 4 per cent of Australia.

The media baron, Mr Kerry Packer, is also among Australia's largest farm owners. His business, the Consolidated Pastoral Company, is Australia's fifth-largest landholder and third-biggest cattle owner.

Consolidated owns 17 properties that support 230,000 head of beef cattle and 90,000 sheep, which produce 2400 bales of wool a year. Mr Packer's group recently bought a dairy farm near Warrnambool, which milks about 1200 cows.

The biggest private landholder and third-largest wool producer in the country is Mr Hugh MacLachlan, the cousin of the former defence minister Mr Ian MacLachlan.

Mr MacLachlan is believed to run about 250,000 head of sheep on his farms in South Australia, New

million hectares. His sheep produce about 6000 bales of wool a year, making him one of Australia's richest 200 people, with a personal fortune of \$105 million.

Another farming empire with close political links is the McDonald family, the seventh-largest landholder in the country and the largest private cattle producer.

The McDonald empire is owned and controlled by Mr Jim McDonald and his two sons Bob and Don, who is the president of the federal National Party.

The family, one of Australia's oldest rural dynasties, owns 10 central Queensland properties, running about 116,000 head of cattle on 3.37 million hectares.

Heytesbury Beef, owned by Ms Janet Holmes a Court, is Australia's eighth-largest landholder and fourth-biggest cattle producer. On its 11 farms, Heytesbury runs about 180,000 head of cattle.

National Mutual is also Australia's biggest wool grower, with about 320,000 sheep on 18 properties, worth an estimated \$150 million.

National Mutual produces about 8000 bales of wool a year. The company also runs 62,000 cattle, and produces 40,000 bales of cotton, 3500 tonnes of canola, 31,500 tonnes of wheat and 10,500 tonnes of barley.

The group's annual wheat production also makes it the top grower in Australia.

Clyde Agriculture, owned by the British company John Swire and Sons, is the second-biggest wool grower, producing about 6000 bales

of wool a year.

The company runs about 270,000 sheep on 13 properties and is the second-largest wheat producer.

One of the world's richest men, the Sultan of Brunei, has pastoral interests in Australia. The Sultan owns Western Developments, a beef producer with 600,000 hectares in the Northern Territory.

But while the big companies and richest people feature prominently in the Barons of the Bush survey, it is the smaller, family-owned farms that make up the bulk of production.

The 10 biggest wool producers make up a tiny 1.4 per cent of the national clip of 3.6 million bales. The top 10 produces only 49,500 bales.

In the beef industry, the 10 biggest cattle farmers, which include most of Australia's largest landholders, run 1.98 million head or 7.5 per cent of the national herd.

The top 10 landholders control slightly less than 60 million hectares, or about 7.6 per cent of Australia's land mass.

In other rural industries, the survey showed the top cotton grower was Colly Cotton, a dedicated agribusiness, which produces about 170,000 bales a year. Its revenue last year was \$450 million.

The next biggest was Auscott, owned by the United States-based Boswell Company, which produces about 65,000 bales annually.

The biggest dairy farmer was the New Zealand-owned Tasman Agriculture, with an estimated 13,000 cows on its Tasmanian properties.

The top rice producer was the

Twynam Pastoral company, owned by the Argentinian businessman Mr John Kahlbetzer. Carlton Football Club's president, Mr John Elliot, was the second-biggest rice grower.

Southcorp Wines was the biggest wine producer while Tate and Lyle Bundaberg was the largest sugar cane grower.

The churches have also become significant stake holders in agriculture.

In a deal believed to be worth about \$60 million, the United States-based Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, better known as the Mormons, bought four NSW properties in December.

The Mormons, a big player in US agribusiness, will trade as AgReserve Ltd, producing maize, sweet corn, sheep and cattle.

*22 May 95 Feed*

# Cattle stations muster strong sales

FIONA CAMERON

IT may be too early to say that bulls are stampeding the northern beef property market, but two big stations hit the market and three more sold this week for close to \$6.5 million.

Sold were three Stanbroke Pastoral Co properties: Stanbroke Station, south of Mt Isa, for more than \$3.8 million; St Albans at Clermont (\$1.65 million); and Old Hidden Valley, that forms part of Havilah Station, north-west of Mackay (\$870,000).

Primac Elders agent Chris Todd said the auctions had attracted good interest and the price paid for St Albans in particular was a show of confidence.

Charles Lund was the buyer of St Albans, a 35,600ha aggregation adjoining Beresford Station, and John and Owen Scott of Rossetta at Clermont bought the 41,255ha aggregation Old Hidden Valley.

Stanbroke's 2879 sq km Stanbroke Station, south of Mt Isa, was auctioned on Tuesday and after bids opened at \$3 million, it was passed in at \$3.8 million and later sold for a higher price to the McDonald family from Cloncurry.

The co-agent for the sale was Garry Martin of Primac Elders Brisbane.

In what will be one of the biggest Queensland rural sales this year, grazier Wallace Logan's huge and strategic Gulf properties Magowra and Miranda Downs could bring more than \$25 million.

The sales were foreshadowed earlier in the year but the formal marketing campaign, by tender closing on June 30, began this month. Primac Elders (Brisbane) agent Dick Allpass is handling the campaign.

Another property tagged for sale is Mr Logan's Longreach district property Vergemont,



**Steaking a claim:** The Asian crisis is not thought to have hit the northern cattle market because growers have switched to raising beasts for southern buyers

which he bought last year for about \$2.8 million.

Magowra and Miranda Downs will be sold with 60,000 head of cattle, and the sale price seems certain to top the estimated \$22 million that Shipfield Pastoral Co raised from the sales of Elgin Downs and Wandovale in recent months.

Also passed in at auction in the past week was the Adelaide-based Hughes family's 205,000ha Dutton River

north of Hughenden, which drew a highest bid of \$4.35 million against a \$5.3 million reserve when offered by Primac Elders.

While initial reports from valuers indicated that Asia's financial meltdown had significantly slowed activity in north Queensland's cattle property market, other reports say the oversupply created by the decline in live exports has been absorbed by stock sales and that many producers have

already turned to growing cattle for southern markets.

The agent who marketed the Shipfield properties, Charters Towers Primac Elders agent Lorin Bishop, said that although the circumstances that led to six neighbours pooling funds to buy Wandovale for more than \$10 million was a "one-off", it pointed to a trend.

"In recent years we have seen the corporate buyers snapping up these big properties but I think we are going to

see more of them being sold to families and private individuals," he said.

Analysts have noted the large number of grazing properties available now in north Queensland, with at least five either for sale or recently sold with carrying capacities of more than 10,000 head of cattle.

"Historically, these operations are tightly held, with only a trickle of sales," wrote Herron Todd White valuer

Peter Honnef in a recent report.

After a dearth of such property on the market in the past two years, vendors were now seeking to capitalise on the confidence shown last year with the big Bankers Trust and Heytesbury sales.

Analysts agree the collapse of Asian markets for live export cattle has not prompted the listings, mainly because so few producers had moved into that trade.



## The Bush Barons: Australia's largest agricultural landholders

# BU



**1. Stanbroke Pastoral Company:** 13.5 million hectares. (Owned by AMP and its shareholders. Stanbroke is the largest single landholder in the world)

**2. S. Kidman and Company:** 11.18 million hectares. (Founded by the late Sir Sidney Kidman, this company is one of Australia's oldest and best known agricultural dynasties)

**3. Australian Agricultural Company:** 6.52 million hectares. (Owned by Elders, AAC; runs about 350,000 head of cattle on 17 properties in Queensland and the Northern Territory)

**4. North Australian Pastoral Company:** 5.71 million hectares. (Majority, owned by brothers Henry and William Foster, North has 15

properties across Queensland, the Northern Territory and Tasmania)

**5. Consolidated Pastoral Company:** 5.22 million hectares. (Kerry Packer's personal farm and a big one at that. The group produces cattle, wool and wheat and barley from 17 properties)

**6. Hugh MacLachlan:** 5.03 million hectares. (The top private landholder in the country, Mr MacLachlan - cousin of the former Defence Minister Ian MacLachlan - is believed to run more than 250,000 sheep)

**7. McDonald family:** 3.37 million hectares. (Another private rural dynasty run by Jim McDonald and his sons, Don and Bob. Don is the president of the federal National Party)

**8. Heytesbury Beef:** 3.28 million hectares. (Owned by Janet Holmes a Court, Heytesbury recorded sales of \$1.3 billion for the year ending 31 December 1997)

**9. Williams Family:** 2.71 million hectares. (A well known South Australian agricultural family. Runs about 20,000 head of cattle on eight SA properties)

**10. David Brook:** 2.69 million hectares. (Regarded as one of the most innovative beef producers in Australia, David Brook and family run 30,000 head of cattle including 12,000 pure Poll Hereford breeders)



NatMut is Australia's biggest wool grower, with 320,000 sheep on 18 properties, worth about \$150 million.

Picture: JOHN DONEGAN

# Business buys up big in bush

## PETTY-BOURGEOISIE.

There are approx. 800,000 small businesses in Australia, employing about 40% of the work force. The manufacturing sector has fallen from 24% of the GNP to 15% and employment from 26% to 13%. These employers have employees numbering from 5 to 50. The sell off (sell off is the general trend, though the process differs from state to state) of the state instrumentalities, gas, electricity, water, transport, rail, which, in the past, employed large numbers of workers, who were able to win, with struggle, some concessions over wages and conditions, have been dispersed into "outsourcing" casual and part time labour. Many of these businesses are now non union and working conditions have declined and unemployment increased.

These small business owners are hostile to the huge monopolies and land lords who exploit them and at the same time, they are hostile to their workers who want to be paid award rates and retain conditions already won. Small owners strive to be rich at the expense of their workers, but economic circumstances force about 30% each year into bankruptcy. Result is the workers are faced with unemployment and the bankrupt owners are proletarianised and in debt. The Federal Government constantly makes attacks on the conditions of workers to accommodate this section of the petty bourgeoisie. Nevertheless the small business people are working long hours for little return and the rents of their properties are going up and up. Both the workers and the petty bourgeois bosses lead precarious lives, and need to be investigated and won from their middle position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Some of this class can be friends of the revolution or at best temporary allies. It is necessary that the revolutionary proletariat win as many as possible from their usual vacillating class position. They like the rural farmers are in the grip of the banks and the big bourgeoisie.

Other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie are teachers in universities and secondary schools, university students, better off farmers, government public servants, doctors, small lawyers, small shopkeepers. These sections need special attention by revolutionaries. As in all sections there will be a right wing and a left wing. University students, mostly the sons and daughters of professional parents, often are propelled into action over serious social issues: the Vietnam War, was an outstanding example. The students are finding that after graduation, few will find work for which they were trained, students are protesting against the high fees and the dropping of courses.

Other sections of the above find themselves in a precarious economic situation. Once their jobs were secure, this is not the case now. Only a few will climb up the ladder to wealth and security and many will struggle against the deteriorating economic circumstances in Australia and the world. Many of this class are engaged in struggle over a variety of issues outside the parliamentary struggle.

A section of the intellectuals are in the pay of the bourgeoisie. This is evident among those who provide comments on world affairs. Intellectuals who have an independent view are simply not asked to comment on the mass media.

The life of many has changed, they work long hours, at reduced pay and status, they are subject to interference by bureaucrats and government officials. As a class they do not have confidence in proletarian struggle as they feel the imperialists are too strong to defeat. Australia has been without a revolutionary party for more than 30 years, therefore a thorough investigation, and much patience is needed in bringing proletarian politics to their ranks. Intellectuals and professional workers are often employed in the expanding service industries. While their standard of living is higher than industrial workers, they face insecurity. Generally their class position is individualism, but increasingly they are participating in action against the excesses of their employers.

## THE PROLETARIAT

The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself. ( Communist Manifesto)

One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the super-profits gained by finance capital, etc, the capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labor aristocracy, a section which comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow minded craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of the reformists and the 'Centrists', at present it may be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie, (Lenin. LWC, Vol.31, p. 193)

Why is opportunism strong in Western Europe (and Australia)? It is because the culture of the advanced countries has been, and still is, the result of their being able to live at the expense of a thousand million oppressed people. It is because the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more in this way than they could obtain as profits by plundering the workers in their own countries.....

These words were written by Lenin a long time ago but their truth still stands.

There are numerous ideologies among the working class which more or less express their ideological subordination to the influence of the bourgeoisie. The social power of the imperialist state with its schools, mass media ( TV, radio, press etc.), church, theatre, is reflected in the existence of religious and reformist tendencies among the proletariat.

From the cradle to the grave most Australians are bombarded with bourgeois propaganda. Starting at school, the education system is administered by the State whose sole function is to fill student's minds with respect for the institutions of the State: respect for the Royal Family, the Church, the Law and police, famous politicians, generals, kings and the Westminster Parliamentary system of government. An example is the lauding of Winston Churchill as the saviour of the world during World War II (1939-45). They almost never learn that the Socialist Soviet Union under the leadership of J Stalin, broke the back of the Fascist German Army, while the other "allies" fought on battle fronts to save their own empires. As Mao Tsetung said, they sat on the mountain top to watch the tigers fight.. The result is that few students today know anything about WW11 or Stalingrad. What they do know is that Churchill was a good person and Stalin was no good. Education is a transmission belt for bourgeois distortions. Children are only educated to serve the particular needs of industry and commerce. Individual teachers have little scope above fulfilling the set curriculum. This system of misinformation is back up by the mass media.

Universities are not places of investigation and learning. They carry on the same traditions as education for the younger Australians. The few scholars who do write are often closely supervised. In the sciences, universities are closely tied to industry. A very low percentage of working class students attend Australian universities, as the fees are high.

The Trade Unions, the largest mass organisation of workers, representing about 40% of workers, are frequently connected with bourgeois political parties. In Australia, with the Australian Labor Party (ALP).

The theory and practice of the ALP and other parliamentary parties, is to serve imperialism. This includes support for imperialist war ( both the leaders of the Liberal and ALP supported the US attack on Iraq); and imperialist expansion into the oppressed nations; support for the US controlled United Nations; support for pacifist peace marches at home and "peace" negotiations and deals abroad. Social democracy (ALP) support the 'rationalisation' of the economy, class peace, peace in industry, (the 1980's Accord on wages was a naked example. Big government, big unions, big business, sat together to ' make Australia more competitive in overseas markets'). The result was the loss of wages and conditions for workers. This deal was forged by the ALP Prime Minister and backed up by the revisionists parading themselves as Marxists.

The ALP and so-called 'left' factions who support imperialism, pretend to conduct industrial struggles, but, in fact, lead these struggles into safe channels to protect the property of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state machine..

Theoretically these political parties, often using Marxist terms, hide the contradictions in capitalist society; they constantly blame unemployment on the parliamentary opposition never on the capitalist system. They preach the ideas of a benevolent capitalism which will transform itself; they replace revolution with evolution; they preach co-operation with the bourgeoisie. They support the slogans of "the lucky country" and "the clever country". These slogans re-enforce feelings of superiority towards other people which is thinly disguised racism.

## THE PROLETARIAT.

In place of the class struggle, they substitute the theory of liberal philanthropic ideas and substitute the use of violence to overthrow imperialism with nationalism and chauvinism and for an independent Australia within the imperialist system.

These ideas and tendencies exist in the ranks of the leadership of trade unions and petty bourgeois occupations and also penetrate down into the ranks of rank and file workers.

The economic conditions of workers among the semi-skilled, the unskilled, youth women and migrants, is such that the scales are falling from their eyes. Daily they are faced with low wages, poverty, unemployment, part-time and casual work, rising rents and homelessness. Australia has one of the highest suicide rate in the world and two million poor. So much for the slogan, "the lucky country". It is a lie.

These are the masses that Lenin called on revolutionaries to go deeper among the people who are less corrupted by the system. This section of the masses has long been abandoned by the bourgeoisized section: they are, potentially more ready to develop proletarian class consciousness. The real proletarian masses are at the bottom of society, they do not have a stake in the system, and they will more readily identify with the oppressed throughout the world. Crumbs from the imperialist's super profits do not fall on the unemployed, the homeless and those workers who toil for a pittance in intolerable working conditions.

The Revolutionary Communist Party will find that these masses understand that the so-called 'leadership' in the labor movement are more concerned with defending their own privileged position than defending the wages and conditions of all workers: they will understand the meaning of opportunism and revisionism.

The only Marxist line in the labor movement is to explain to the masses the necessity of breaking with opportunism and to educate them for revolution. The masses at the bottom of society already know they have no future in the system of capital and they yearn for change.

The Revolutionary Communist Party upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in theory and practice. It is their duty to build revolutionary organization among the masses; the final aim is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

### Myth.

One of the most persistent myths about Australia is that it is a classless society. Visitors, when asked, often exclaim about the absence of obvious class divisions. This is a myth and it is fostered by the endless surveys taken by magazines, polls, and investigations conducted over many years.

Another myth is that Australia is an egalitarian society. This is not so. There have always been rigid class divisions, right from the beginning of white settlement with convicts and overseers, the land owners and those who worked for them. The myth of equality for all citizens was part of the myth of the bush worker glorified by early writers and painters.

The Australian worker, the skilled and the unskilled have always been at the bottom end of wages, home ownership, education levels. Their wages have been buttressed with the arbitration system which replaced the Courts for industrial action in the main, overtime payments, and a basic wage. The profits gained from overseas investments have allowed the ruling class to create an upper section of the workers better off from the rank and file of the trade unions. Lenin called these people the bourgeois section of the working class and the seat of opportunism.

Another persistent myth is the belief that Australians are all equal because they are able to vote in the elections. Linked with this is the fairy story that no one group actually owns Australia, rather it is a system where lots of groups compete with one another for power during the elections.

The ruling class in Australia own the means of production, distribution and exchange and this class is in control of the State machine: the police, the armed forces, the Courts, judiciary, the prisons, They rule over the working class who have nothing to sell but their labour power: their ability to work or go hungry. The ruling class with its concentration of ownership in commerce, industry, the land, and finance capital run the country. The parliament is not the ruling body, this institution, including the political parties do what they are told to do.

It is another myth to think that a number of working class candidates can win seats in the parliament and introduce legislation to ban all capitalists and bring in socialism. Karl Marx, said more than 100 years ago, after the Paris Commune, that the working class cannot lay hold of the bourgeois state machine and use it for their own benefit. He said, the old state machine must be smashed; that is, overthrown and replaced with a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another myth is that education in Australia is equal. Most children are educated in the State system. A system which has always been impoverished. The 1990's has seen hundreds of state schools closed and sold off along with thousands of education workers sacked or offered a package to leave the industry. At the same time, there has been an expansion of the private and church system of schools, most of whom receive state aid. The state system was secular, free and compulsory (1872 Education Act), but this has been gradually eroded. Religion is playing a growing part in education in Australia.

Education is an important part of the ideological tools of the ruling class. Education passes down to the young the culture of the rulers of society. History, now fast disappearing in schools and universities, is the history of the ruling class. Great Kings and Queens, great battles of the British imperial armies, the great benefits of British colonialism to the oppressed of the Empire, the heroic deeds of soldiers in the many wars, along with racial hatred of the people of different nations who dare to resist. This imperial history fosters national chauvinism, 'we are the best', we are the 'clever country'.

Recently there has been a boost to the propaganda surrounding World War 1 (1914-18) as the few survivors, now aged 100, are paraded and feted. Children are encouraged to wave flags and honour the dead. They are not told that WW1 was a struggle between German and English imperialism for control of the world.

It is interesting to note that WW2 (1939-45) is left well alone because the USSR, then a socialist country, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin, were the only country to defeat the German fascists on the ground and drive them back to Germany. The Soviet people lost almost 25 million people to do this heroic deed: but hardly any one under 40 knows anything about it.

Linked with education, the mass media is another ideological arm of the ruling class. The mass media: newspapers, magazines, TV, radio foster, beauty, violence, male chauvinism, sexism, national chauvinism and imperial propaganda.

Mao Tsetung said, The prevailing ideas in any society are those of the ruling class.

The nature of the 'news' is to praise the armies on the side of reaction and revile the fighters for independence and national liberation. Any leader of a nation who dares to stand up to US imperialism and the New World Order, is demonised and often their country is bombed or invaded. e.g. Somalia, Grenada, Panama, Iraq, and others.

The 'news' portrays the starving people in the world, as mismanaged, stupid, hopeless, etc., but never is their condition put at the feet of the imperialist exploitation of the present and the past. Along with these images of

destitution are the calls of hundreds of Non-government agencies asking for money to save a particular child from poverty. Millions of dollars are donated for this purpose. This shows that the people want to do something and shows their lack of knowledge as to the real cause. The truth is that the billions of people who suffer cannot be delivered until imperialism is defeated and swept from the stage of history.

These reactionary ideas are beamed day and night and, for the most part, are widely accepted.

Another fairy tale is the the Australian Government gives millions of dollars in 'aid' to help the various overseas governments in distress. Nothing is further from the truth. Imperial Australia is tied to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations: all imperial organisations. Aid is given; but it is tied to a particular project which will return a tidy profit to the giver, whether the 'aid' is for roads and other infrastructure, the army, the government. If the 'aid' is food, then the giver hopes to win the 'hearts and minds' of the population.

The only solution is, the end of the imperialist system by the people themselves.

We have to cast aside all illusions about the social system under which we live and prepare for revolutionary struggle

## CAST AWAY ILLUSIONS. MYTHS AND FAIRY STORIES.

Yet another myth is that the feminist movement will win lasting liberation for women. Many groups calling themselves feminist, and there is a great variety of groups and organisations, call for the liberation of women. Many are anti-man and anti establishment. It is true that women are denied equality with men in many areas. Women work in the most menial jobs for the lowest pay and women are among the poorest in the society. That is except the indigenous people.

The feminist movement generally is petty-bourgeois. They are concerned with climbing into positions of power which have always been the province of men. This is a legitimate struggle. However, the social system remains the same whether the corporation, the political party, the education institution, or even the prime ministership is run by a woman or a man. The glaring example was the election of Mrs Thatcher in Great Britain. Women should always defend their rights in any society, but what we want is the end of imperialism and the birth of socialism.

The women in Peru play a large part in the People's War and the founding of the People's Democratic Republic of Peru, being consolidated in the countryside and throughout the whole country.

All revolutionary movements now and in the past have had the full participation of revolutionary women. Indeed, no revolution can win without the full participation of women.

It is a fundamental tenet of marxism that all social life and all political problems are first and foremost rooted in classes and in class conflict; not in age, colour, sex, religion or nationality. The exploitation of the working class, men and women, lies in the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Half the work force in Australia are women. Outside the public service they do not receive equal pay, child care is expensive and in short supply, and women have to shoulder two jobs, the home and industry. In addition deserted wives and single parent families, mainly women, generally live on pensions and in poverty. Women suffer daily humiliation from capitalism. The prevailing culture of capitalism is pornographic and violent films, the exploitation of women's bodies for profitable advertising. This justifies low wages, and menial work, sexual harassment and it is not an accident that violence against women in Australia, committed mostly within the family, is high by world standards. Women suffer discrimination in education, housing, and in the law.

Although the feminist movement has done much to bring to public notice the double exploitation of women, this movement tends to direct the struggle into reformist channels and away from the source of the exploitation: the capitalist system. The just demands of women cannot be guaranteed other than through socialist revolution and there cannot be a socialist revolution unless women join in the struggle to transform society. All throughout history, and today, women are in the forefront of the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism: in Peru, in Nepal and where ever the masses are making history.

After the revolution and the seizure of power in the USSR and in People's China, all laws discriminating against women were overthrown and replaced by laws based on equality, inside the family and society. Networks of creches, schools, kindergartens, kitchens, laundries, removed household drudgery from men and women who care for children and children became a social responsibility and not individual as it is under capitalism. Prostitution was abolished and no woman was forced to sell her body in order to live.

Although the socialist China and the USSR collapsed; it was not the collapse of socialism, but of revisionism: the seizure of power by the capitalist roaders who had wormed their way into the Communist Party. The great experiences made under socialism are there as 'our experience'. We will learn from them and make sure we do it better next time.

The science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is alive and well in the world. It will become a living force all over the world and for men and women in Australia.

# WOMEN OF CHINA



## Arbitration.

Trade Unions arose in the 1850's. Two main factors delayed the formation of Trade unions, one was the lack of free political institutions in colonial Australia and the convict assignment system, where convicts were assigned to servitude to the few merchants, manufacturers and pastoralists who were the employing class at the time. In 1840, the assignment- convict system to New South Wales was discontinued and the economic and class relationships became capitalist.

In 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria and NSW. Gold enriched the colonial working class. Among the immigrants were French socialists, German and Italian republicans, Irish rebels and English chartists who came to join the gold rush. The struggle of the miners against the reactionary Victorian government and the licence system culminated in the Eureka Stockade when soldiers and police were dispatched from Melbourne to put down the rebellion. At dawn, on December 3, 1854, the stockade was stormed, leaving five soldiers and between twenty and thirty miners dead. Although the revolt was crushed, Victoria began to change.

In 1856 Victoria pioneered the way to the secret ballot, in 1857 manhood suffrage was won (not adopted in England until 1872) and out went the licence system. and by 1858, the 8 hour day was recognised as the standard working day.

As the trade unions expanded, Trades and Labor Councils were set up in the different colonies to co-ordinate activities. In 1879 the Inter-colonial Trade Union Congress was held starting the move to meet annually. The Union movement was strong both in numbers and organisation, but it lacked direction. Lenin informs us,

"Isolated from socialism, the labor movement becomes petty and inevitably become bourgeois; in conducting only the economic struggle, the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties and runs counter to the great slogan: The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves"

The main slogan raised by the unions was, "Defence and not defiance"

Another factor which fostered the growth of opportunism in the Australian Labor movement was the advent of compulsory arbitration early in the 1900's. The idea was put up by the employers after the strikes of the 1890's and the rapid growth of numbers joining unions. The Arbitration Court became one of the chief mediums through which concessions were made by Capital to Labor. There was born a faith in Arbitration rather than in the fighting spirit of union members. This idea prevails today.

The establishment of the Arbitration Court gave impetus to the formation of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). The purpose of the Arbitration Court was to prevent strikes and lock-outs; making them an offence under the Act, and the might of the State is to enforce peace between the parties in dispute, "in the interests of the public!" Compulsory arbitration assisted the ruling class to corrupt the main body of the Australian working class leaders. These persons were given well paid jobs on boards and commissions. it raised them to positions of privilege and converted them into willing servants. Arbitration became another way of creating and maintaining in the ranks of the working class a body of "labor lieutenants of capitalism".

However, not all of the working class were taken in by this trick of compulsory arbitration, opposition was led by the Communist Party.

The Australian Labor Party formed after the 1890's strikes escaped major criticism from the rank and file of the labour movement, until the Conscription battles. It took the war (1914-18) crisis to reveal that the ALP was completely dominated by bourgeois ideology and utterly subservient to the Australian ruling class.



# THE CHARACTER AND TASKS OF COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN AUSTRALIA

Australia is an imperialist country. It is an Australian monopoly-capitalist ruling class that holds state power in Australia. We reject the view that US (or any other foreign) imperialism is the principal target of communist revolution in Australia. We reject any fight for Australian "independence".

Australia is one of the handful of rich oppressor countries, and has been ever since the era of imperialism. From imperialist infancy at the turn of the century, Australia grew into an imperialist country in its own right. Australian imperialism has always manoeuvred for its own interests through close alliances with the larger imperialists. That these alliances have been unequal doesn't mean Australia is "oppressed" by the US or other major imperialists.

Wealth and privilege in Australia was built upon the dispossession of the indigenous peoples. It was built up through: the parasitic relations Australia has with oppressed countries; the privileged inter-imperialist relations Australia maintains in the West; and, the exploitation of proletarian, especially immigrant proletarian, labour at home.

***"The correct internationalist desire to fight against  
US imperialism must not obscure the truth  
that it is Australia's imperialist interests  
that commits it to enforcing the West's rule  
from Africa to Asia to the Middle East."***

With a slice of the world economy and affairs in its hands, Australian imperialism exploits its own neo-colonial empire in the South West Pacific. The Australian ruling class has major imperialist aspirations in South East Asia. For it is here that Australian expansionism is directed, and where Australia's military offensives of counter-revolution and inter-imperialist rivalry over colonies and neo-colonies are directed.

Unlike other regions of the world, Australia tends to be quickly drawn into political and military involvement in South East Asia. The Australian imperialists (governments and businesses alike) arrogantly regard SE Asia (and to a lesser extent the SW Pacific) as their backyard. With a history of revolutionary struggles directly confronting Australian imperialism, Australia's "backyard" has the

potential to significantly and favourably condition the emergence of revolutionary possibilities in Australia.

The correct internationalist desire to fight against US imperialism must not obscure the truth that it is Australia's imperialist interests that commit it to enforcing the West's rule from Africa to Asia to the Middle East. Revolutionary defeatism is the answer to the unjust wars the Australian imperialists fight.

Our righteous opposition to the imperialist world order, old and 'new', must be directed toward bringing down 'our own' ruling class.

### FORCES FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN AUSTRALIA

Who are the forces for communist revolution in Australia? Who are allies that the proletariat has to win over?

#### **"Lower and Deeper to the Real Masses"**

Although the economic crisis and depression which has gripped Australia has inflicted greater hardships on broader sections of the working class, this has not eliminated the "split in the working class" that Lenin described as characteristic of imperialism and which he considered pivotal to making revolution in imperialist countries.

There is within Australia a sharp contradiction between the labour aristocracy, and a significant strata of the working class, including its industrial reserve army — the unemployed. Composed mainly of immigrants from the oppressed countries, women, youth and indigenous people, it is this impoverished strata which is most like the classic propertyless proletariat with nothing to lose but its chains.

***"Lenin emphasised that if we are to remain genuine communists, we must 'go down lower and deeper to the real masses'."***

The labour aristocracy on the other hand has become an ally and beneficiary of the imperialist Australian bourgeoisie's participation in the super-exploitation of the oppressed nations and peoples. The bourgeoisie of an imperialist power economically bribes the upper strata of 'its' workers. "The political institutions of modern capitalism — press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc.— have created political privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops," said Lenin. The labour aristocracy, whose political expression is in the top union bodies like the ACTU, is the social base for the ruling class politics of chauvinism, aggression and war.

In between these two sections of the workers is the majority of the somewhat better-off workers, politically flabby from a long period of relative prosperity, who are not ordinarily in a revolutionary mood.

Lenin emphasised that if we are to remain genuine communists, we must "go down *lower* and *deeper* to the real masses. That is the whole meaning and the

whole content of the struggle against opportunism.” These oppressed proletarians have the least stake in the existing system. These proletarians on the bottom of society are objectively — and are most likely to identify themselves as — the downtrodden of this system. It is these real masses which are most readily able to identify with the oppressed throughout the world.

This real *proletarian* section of the working class includes large masses of workers in factories, including the highly unionised workplaces, and is not reducible to the unemployed and immigrant workers as some have suggested.

***“the struggle between the revolutionary  
proletarians led by the communist party and the  
reactionary labour aristocracy under the banner of  
the imperialists”***

Revolution is “not so much a struggle of the people against the government as *a struggle between two sections of the people*”. Lenin also said that this is complex and is not as simple as two armies lining up: one for socialism and one against.

The fight for the allegiance of the majority of workers as they are propelled into motion by deepening crisis, will be an important element in the struggle between the revolutionary proletariat and masses led by the Communist Party and the reactionary labour aristocracy under the banner of the imperialists.

Just before making this point about going “lower and deeper to the real masses”, Lenin made it clear that, “Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution.”

It would be very hard to successfully complete an insurrection and revolutionary war without a majority of the bourgeoisified workers—as well as other sections of the people like the petit-bourgeoisie (the middle classes)—coming over to the communists at some point. Even sections of the labour aristocracy can probably be neutralised and some won over. But all this depends on a reliable base. And this is where the importance of the “real masses” (the nothing-to-lose proletariat) referred to by Lenin comes in.

**Support the Struggle of Australia’s  
Indigenous Peoples for Genuine Self-Determination!**

The Aboriginal tribes, which took to guerrilla warfare against the Australian colonial-settler state in the 19th century, were militarily defeated and subsequently bore the brunt of the white invasion. But Indigenous resistance has continued.

The same tribes, which were the most combative in the 19th century, have become the base for Aboriginal revolutionary nationalism. One sees a heritage of resistance in the role the Wiradjuri and Kamilaroi of NSW played in the militant struggle around the Aboriginal Tent Embassy and various struggles against police brutality and for land rights.

Even though Aboriginal people constitute a tiny proportion of the Australian population, in some rural towns they are in a majority and in some urban centres there are areas where they are in significant numbers.

What is the relationship between the struggle of Australia's indigenous people to end their oppression and other struggles against the system? How can this all be brought together to build a revolutionary movement that can really bring down this system?

Australia's Indigenous peoples are not merely subject to racist discrimination. Our Koori and Murri sisters and brothers are subject to *national oppression*. Land theft, denial of democratic rights, violent police repression, genocidal attacks upon their cultures, languages and families, exploitation as members of the working class, with permanently high unemployment, the poorest paid jobs, the worst housing, the worst health care and notoriously high arrest and imprisonment rates—all this and more is daily life for the masses of indigenous people in Australia. And it is these conditions which can only, and must be, uprooted with revolution.

Land remains the central question for most indigenous tribes. The issue of land continues to give rise to struggle and will certainly do so in the future in the context of civil war. The borders of Australia and its States and Territories are not sacred to the revolutionary people in this country—forged as they were through robbery by the ruling class and the blood of the indigenous peoples.

The authentic communists (Marxist-Leninist-Maoists) support the indigenous peoples right to genuine self-determination, up to and including secession. Communists favour and encourage the revolutionary unity of all oppressed peoples. At the same time, the communists and class-conscious masses must actively support the Indigenous Peoples right to live on their own autonomous tribal lands, according to their own tribal laws and customs—in united revolutionary struggle now -- and in the future proletarian socialist state.

Upholding the just struggles and national rights of the Indigenous Peoples for genuine self-determination is one of the key cornerstones around which the unity of the revolutionary people is to be built. At the same time, communists patiently explain to the indigenous proletarians that their real interests lie in fighting alongside proletarians the world over for communism.

### **Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!**

There are chains on women from the day they are born. Chains which are a built-in part of Australian imperialism. In recent times there has been an international offensive to tighten these chains. In Australia the cutting edge of this

war on women remains the heightened climate of violence against women: assault, rape and murder; domestic violence; restrictions on reproductive freedom; sexual harassment; job discrimination; homelessness and poverty.

The fight to break the chains of women's oppression is linked to the fight against ALL forms of oppression. The more powerful the struggle against the attacks on women, the more powerful and stronger will be the fighting capacity of all oppressed people, in all the battles against the system.

***“Some men talk and act like our oppressed sisters are property. This weakens the unity of the oppressed... Men must rise up in revolutionary struggle alongside women in a spirit of equality”***

As long as women are in chains, the working and oppressed people can never break the power of this system. This is why the fight to break the chains of women's oppression must be a key and strategic part of the *whole* revolutionary movement in Australia. This is not a solely woman's issue. Women *and men* have to fight on this front.

There is deep anger at the way women are forced to live—where women can't walk the streets without fear, where the legal system is stacked against women, where inequality and discrimination stand as powerful barriers in every aspect of life, where even fathers, husbands and other loved ones become enforcers of enslavement.

There is tremendous potential and power to this fury. This is a big reason the bourgeoisie try so hard to keep women subordinate and under control. The bourgeoisie fears the fury of women because they are the guardians of a brutal system. But for our people—the class of proletarians worldwide—the fury of women is a powerful strength.

Among the people there is struggle over whether the “fury of women” is a good thing. Some men see the rage of women as threatening. They don't like being criticised for their role in helping keep women down. They don't want to give up the male-dominator privileges and role models this system gives them. This is clearly wrong — it is the ideology and practice of the oppressor.

Some men talk and act like women are property. This weakens the unity of the oppressed. This helps the system oppress the people. It isn't possible to break ALL the chains of oppression except one. Men cannot say they want to be free of oppression *and* wish to keep the oppression of women by men. Men must rise up in revolutionary struggle alongside women in a spirit of equality.

A few new laws or court cases will not liberate the masses of women. Creating ‘alternative lifestyles’ inside the system will not liberate them. Getting themselves an education and a career in big business or the public service will not liberate women. The appointment of more women judges, or the election of more women into parliament will not liberate women.

Why is this so? Because the oppression of women is built into the very structure of any society divided into classes of rich and poor. Modern world society is based on bourgeois property, on the rule of the rich owning classes, and on having most people in the world slaving to make the minority rich. Patriarchy—the system of male domination—arose with the division of most societies into rich and poor, thousands of years ago. Ever since then, every oppressive social system features the oppression of women. The liberation of the masses of women cannot happen without the overthrow of class society. The liberation of women requires the oppressed classes rising up in armed, communist-led revolution.

### PROLETARIANS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Lenin has taught us that proletarian internationalism means, “working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *such, and only such, a struggle* and such a line in *every* country without exception.”

***“communists must approach their revolutionary work not from the perspective 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’...”***

Lenin stressed that communists must approach their revolutionary work not from the perspective 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. That is what internationalism means, and that is the duty of the internationalist, of the revolutionary worker, of the genuine Socialist.”

Proletarian internationalism demands that the interests of the revolutionary struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Australia must be infused with proletarian internationalism. This necessarily involves resurrecting basic principles of proletarian internationalism long buried under an avalanche of revisionist distortion.

Revolutionary communists in Australia must adopt the sort of attitude the Russian communists assumed. As Lenin said regarding the Brest-Litovsk Treaty that the Bolsheviks concluded to get out of World War I: **“we had to go against patriotism. We said that if you are a socialist you must sacrifice all your patriotic feelings to the international revolution, which is inevitable, and although it is not here yet you must believe in it if you are an internationalist.”**

Mao Tsetung posed the question: "Can a communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot?" Mao correctly and explicitly answered that in the *colonial, oppressed* countries, "he not only can be but must be." Mao counterposed this with the position of the Communists in Japan and Germany who, "are defeatists with regard to the wars being waged by their countries." As Mao added, only in the wars of national liberation fought by the oppressed countries can patriotism be applied internationalism.

Mao Tsetung explicitly upheld the Leninist distinction between the two kinds of countries (capital/imperialist oppressor, and colonial/semi-colonial oppressed) and always emphasised that the path and stages of revolution in the capitalist/imperialist countries is directly proletarian-socialist and hence quite different from that of the oppressed countries like China where the New-Democratic revolution precedes, and lays the basis for the uninterrupted socialist revolution.

***"the banner of the Australian nation must be  
opposed, not idealised and upheld"***

In the past, the communists saw themselves as entering struggles and waging revolution as the best defenders of the Australian national interest. It was the case with the former CPA and with the CPA(ML) position of "socialist revolution through the stage of anti-imperialist revolution" which was underwritten with the notion of "working class Australian patriotism". Such patriotic views and positions were and are dangerously wrong.

The banner of the Australian nation must be opposed, not idealised and upheld. 'Defending the national interest' must be shown to be imperialist talk for defending *their* exploitation and expansion, instead of looking for a 'better' 'more just' way to defend it.

In imperialist countries, even in the lesser, 'wanna-be big' imperialists like Australia, upholding the 'best interests of the nation' can lead the communists to nowhere other than falling into siding with one's own bourgeoisie, especially when war approaches. This is so, even if on the surface, this 'proletarian nationalist' banner is raised in competition with the imperialists and reactionaries.

In times of international crisis and conflict between Australia and other countries, the temptation to give communism in Australia a 'broader appeal' by dressing it up in the 'real, best interests of Australia' develops into a very powerful force.

At times like that the communists must put into effect the Maoist principle of *going against the tide* and oppose imperialist chauvinism and patriotism. The workers and oppressed masses in Australia must have their eyes firmly fixed on the red flag, on their internationalist *class* interests.

***“it is important to struggle for the regroupment of the genuine communists throughout the world”***

Because the revolution in Australia must serve the world revolution it is important to struggle for the regroupment of the genuine communists throughout the world to achieve the founding of a new communist international.

Through the process of unity—struggle—unity, the Maoist forces throughout the world are growing, both in strength and in ideological and political unity. We support the development and the strengthening of true Communist Parties and their unity in a revived international communist movement guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Reconstituting the Communist International on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a complex and difficult task in which the world's communists must persevere in order for us to struggle jointly for the international proletariat to set itself free, and liberate all of humanity.

**REVOLUTIONARY WORK IN NON-REVOLUTIONARY TIMES**

How can a UNITED FRONT, a *mass* revolutionary movement, be built that can go over to insurrection and civil war when favourable conditions emerge?

Even when the objective conditions do not yet exist for the armed struggle of the masses, communists must carry out the necessary work in preparation for the emergence of such conditions.

A revolutionary movement capable of can't grow spontaneously out of the day-to-day struggles of the workers. Communists must divert the spontaneous movement of the masses away from a narrow struggle over the conditions and sale of labour power.

Whilst the Maoist movement of the 1960s and 1970s in Australia upheld the necessity of mass armed proletarian revolution and opposed the strategy of a peaceful transition to socialism it carried forward the former Communist Party's approach to "revolutionary" work—an approach based more upon the negative experiences of some of the Western communist parties during the 1930s than on the October Road forged by the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership.

The genuine communists reject making the centre of their work the day-to-day struggles of the workers and battling with the revisionists and bourgeois trade union officials for the leadership of these struggles. Experience shows that worship of the "average worker" and the preoccupation with the economic struggle leads to little in terms of actually winning workers to a *revolutionary* position and to the communist party, but does have a corrosive effect on the communists.

The task of revolutionary communists in these “peaceful” times is to prepare for the rare historical moments when revolutionary transformations are possible. To do this it is necessary to bring political consciousness to the workers



from outside their immediate experience, above all through political exposure and analysis of all the major events in society.

Therefore, the Revolutionary Communist Party must be armed with a regularly appearing communist press. The press must be built as the collective propagandist, agitator and organiser of the party.

As crucial as agitation and propaganda are, they are not enough. Only through class struggle, especially political and revolutionary struggle, can the masses fully develop their revolutionary consciousness and fighting capacity.

A *political* strike by the workers protesting a police killing or against Australian backing of counter-revolution in South-East Asia or the South Pacific, even if limited in extent, would be worth a hundred rallies against privatisation or strikes for a wage increase. Such political struggle would train the masses of workers as the vanguard fighters of the oppressed in the broadest definition. In this way workers can come to understand their historic role in systematically attacking all the inequalities of capitalist society, overthrowing the bourgeoisie and seizing political power.

Genuine communists in Australia must not blur the distinction between the mass communist movement necessary for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and the building and strengthening of a communist nucleus in a non-revolutionary period.

It is only possible to develop a large mass "communist" or "socialist" movement in imperialist countries in non-revolutionary times on a non-revolutionary (no matter how "militantly" reformist) basis. (Isn't that exactly what we see when we look at the "socialist" groups who strive to place themselves at the head of various reformist campaigns by tailing behind those campaigns' reformist politics?)

***"the transition to a mass revolutionary movement from a communist nucleus is not a process of gradually accumulating forces, but more one of uneven development around crises and revolutionary upsurges"***

Certainly, the bulk of the Russian working class did support the Bolsheviks at the time of the October Revolution. But this did not mean that Lenin had geared revolutionary work to the level of the average worker, that he attempted to build a mass party in the non-revolutionary preparatory period, or that he believed that the economic struggle was the most appropriate way of bringing workers forward to the revolutionary position. On the contrary—as we pointed out earlier—Lenin conducted a very stubborn struggle against these deviations, deviations, which were quite common among the Comintern parties and which, became articles of faith in the Australian communist movement.

If there is to be a genuine Communist Party and revolutionary movement in Australia today it is going to be necessarily small. The reason is simple:- there are only going to be a small number of people, in a 'lucky country' like this, who are going to follow a *revolutionary* communist line in non-revolutionary times.

What has to be grasped is that the transition to a mass revolutionary movement from a communist nucleus is not a process of gradually accumulating forces, but more one of uneven development around crises and revolutionary upsurges. The Communist Party's central task is not to be a big party with some "influence". Revolutionary communists aim to lead the masses in winning, in seizing power.

Lenin's analysis of the split in the working class and the need for communists to "go down lower and deeper to the real masses", informs the question of what exactly is revolutionary work in non-revolutionary times. Revolutionary work now, means bringing home the liberating, partisan ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the proletariat and all the oppressed.

***"We must promote revolutionary struggle... there is an inter-connection with this and our overall role in this period of preparation for Peoples War — the creation of revolutionary public opinion"***

What we are preparing for now is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. We must promote struggle, especially revolutionary struggle. And there is an inter-connection with this and our overall role in this period of preparation for Peoples War — the creation of revolutionary public opinion.

We learn from the Maoist experience in China: "Our revolution began with Marxist-Leninist propaganda, which served to create new public opinion in favour of revolution," said Mao. How else but with agitation and propaganda can the hatred provoked by life under the imperialist system be further aroused against the ruling class? Is there any other way than by communist agitation and propaganda to arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the vanguard party's line on communist revolution in Australia?

Speaking of the Russian experience, Stalin observed that, "A whole generation of the revolutionary proletariat was reared by *Pravda*". With all this in mind it is easy to see why Lenin described "systematic, all-round propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle" as "the chief and permanent task" of communists.

Reconstituting the Communist Party of Australia, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, will be a small start on the hard but glorious road of forging a genuine proletarian vanguard capable, when conditions emerge, of leading the masses in People's War against the reactionary state power of Australian imperialism. Forging the Communist Party of Australia into a genuine proletarian vanguard is intimately connected to the masses actually fighting the system *now*.