

THE REBEL

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EDITORIAL

"The Rebel" is published by the Red Eureka Movement to assist in developing a revolutionary Communist understanding of problems of the Australian and world revolution.

It is not a party organ and will not be presenting a unified view. All articles are signed (using pseudonyms) and represent the views of the individual or group signing them.

We know that our views are still relatively immature and lack coherence. But we are seeking the revolutionary path and claim no monopoly on the truth.

We want lively contributions that really have something to say. Mao Tse-Tung was not a "conservative Communist". He was a radical, a revolutionary. He did not "uphold", he fought. We follow him.

At present our policy is to carry only positive statements and not polemics. Contributions will be edited to ensure this and will be referred back to the author if she or he is known.

Australia's revolution needs a revolutionary theory as a guide to action. Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought is that guide. We need to know who our enemies and friends are, how to fight and how to win. All contributions should aim to solve the actual, concrete problems of the Australian revolution and give direct, practical leadership in struggle.

"We stand for active ideological struggle"

We encourage readers to send both contributions and criticisms in an effort to improve this journal. As Mao Tse-Tung said in 'Introducing the Chinese Worker' (Vol. 2, Selected Works.)

"Once started, a journal must be run conscientiously and well. This is the responsibility of the readers as well as of the staff. It is very important for the readers to send in suggestions and write brief letters and articles indicating what they like and what they dislike, for this is the only way to make the journal a success."

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(Note: Contents is printed in the order it is received)

REVOLUTION AND REVISIONISM

by Alan Ward

June 11th, 1977

(re-written from March 28th, 1977)

"We must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out: Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle. During the discussions on the revision of the Party Constitution, many comrades, reviewing the Party's history and their own experiences, held that this was most important in the two-line struggle within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, there were several occasions when wrong lines held sway in our Party. In the later period of the democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution, when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao has been predominant, there have also been lessons in that certain wrong lines or wrong views were taken as correct for a time by many people and supported as such. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against those errors and won out. When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine."

(Wang Hung-wen, "Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution", adopted unanimously at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

Revisionism means to strip Marxism of its revolutionary essence. The two-line struggle is not just something that goes on in China, or that happened in Australia in the early 1960s. It is on all the time, because the pressures for and against revolution are present always.

The revolutionary party cannot just be "correct". It has to actually lead the revolution. That must be what its all about. Its Marxism-Leninism can have no other purpose.

Blind faith is always useless. Blind faith in revisionism elsewhere forces us to think about this question and begin swimming more vigorously against the tide. This article is to help others to do so, and in the hope that they in turn will help to correct the errors in the writer's own thinking.

There is in Australia today a very broad and deep movement for independence. It is a part of the Australian revolution whose first stage is to overthrow imperialist domination and establish a new, Democratic Australia, and which will go on to build socialism and communism. The Australian revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. The independence movement is not just a movement to "kick out the multinationals" and establish a Government no longer subservient to them. It aims to take over from the multinationals and have the ordinary people re-organize the whole of society in their own interests. A fundamental change in the social system, a revolution, is involved. It can only be achieved by force of arms. It must be led by the working class and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party.

Naturally the bourgeois nationalists do not see it that way. There are sections of the Labor Party for example, who genuinely oppose imperialist domination and strive for independence. They also claim to advocate socialism. But they are not revolutionaries. We unite with them, but we are opposed to them too.

Communists, Marxist-Leninists, must never look at things the same way as bourgeois nationalists. There is a revolutionary movement

in Australia, not just an independence movement. Nor is it enough to speak of a movement for independence, revolution and proletarianism (in words) armed struggle, revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Our whole conception must be revolutionary and our actions even more so. It is not just a "movement" for "independence". It is a revolution to overthrow the ruling class Government and establish the working class in power.

Making revolution is not the same as "stressing" that independence will only be won through "struggle". It is not a propaganda question but a matter of actually challenging the authorities for power. The people are doing that all the time. The revolutionary party must take the lead in the day to day challenges for power, and direct them into the overall struggle for power, the revolution. Recognition of the class struggle, even fervent "calls" for struggle, is not yet Marxism. We stand for more than that. We stand for the revolutionary seizure of power by the workers and working people. We stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of course the words "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "revolution" featured in propaganda will not solve the problem. It is not a propaganda problem. Our whole work, all our activities, including theoretical work and party building, must be directed to achieving the Australian revolution. That must be fundamental to all our thinking and all our doing. It is an ideological question. Not the abstract ideological "self-cultivation" promoted by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Confucius, which sounds good but tells you "how to be a good Communist" without actually making revolution. It involves the real ideology that people show by what they do. We must never think and act as just part of an "independence movement", even though we must work with people who do.

There really is a very broad and deep revolutionary movement in Australia. Opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But it goes much deeper. All the institutions, culture, customs and habits of the old society are being questioned and rebelled against. Preparations for building the new have begun. One can see this in peoples' attitudes to their daily work, in the education system, the women's movement, alternative culture and lifestyles, the innumerable "community" organizations that have been flourishing, and so forth. It all involves the struggle for power at one level or another. A revolutionary line must be put forward on all these and other questions. It involves far more than calling for greater militancy in trade union struggles or publishing "revelations" of profit figures.

What people want is fundamental social change - revolution. Not just national independence or a curb on monopoly profits. Of course most of those who are rebelling are not yet fully conscious of what they are rebelling against and what they are fighting for, nor how to win, so there are all sorts of diversions. Correct revolutionary leadership can defeat the diversions and make everything flow into the broadest united front against the superpowers and for independence.

Opposition to the two superpowers is not a kind of sectarian badge by which we separate ourselves off from other progressive people. It is a point of unity. Especially our emphasis on opposition to Soviet imperialism makes it possible to bring many more into the united front than if we just one-sidedly attacked the United States.

The Chinese Communists are models in uniting all forces that can be united, especially in the third world, and also in the second, no matter how reactionary these forces are on some matters, or how little they are prepared to struggle against either of the superpowers, so long as they are prepared to take some positive stand. They never demand that others sign on the dotted line that "Soviet social-imperialism is the number 1 enemy and U.S. imperialism the number 2". Still less do they refuse to unite with

anybody unless they will use exactly the same words.

The Russians have negligible support in Australia. All but a tiny handful agree that they are an aggressive imperialist superpower (whether or not they use these terms). We must use this widespread opinion to unite everyone against them. We must never allow our stand to be used to unite others against us on the diversionary question of which superpower is number 1 enemy, when they fundamentally agree with us and are prepared to unite with us against both. Certainly Chairman Mao never did this. He always brought all positive factors into play, while making his own views perfectly clear.

Our task is to lead the workers and working people, as well as other sections, to make revolution. We have to defeat the superpowers, overthrow the state power of the bourgeoisie, and establish that of the workers.

In all the many struggles going on we must work for the ordinary people of Australia to take over and run Australia for themselves. That is what proletarian dictatorship is all about. We don't just "demand" that the present bosses run Australia a little (or even a lot) better for us.

Fundamentally, proletarian dictatorship is what independence is all about too. It involves the ordinary people of Australia, led by the workers, taking over and running Australia for themselves. That is independence, that is proletarian dictatorship. It is the first step in socialist revolution. Communists must help those active in the independence movement to see it that way. We must never leave independence as an abstract concept that could just mean a republic, or a less subservient bourgeois Government, or whatever. It means revolution, and we should say it means revolution.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"

The revolution had reached a "stage" in 1848 where that could be said in the Communist Manifesto. History has not moved backwards since then.

Flowing from a revolutionary concept of "independence" is the need for a genuine united front of all forces that can be united. A party that is leading a revolution naturally wants to rely on the left, gather around the middle and unite everyone against the right. The alternative would be a sectarian and ineffectual style of work, a banding together of left bloc supporters who pretend to be just advocates of independence, but by their phinness exclude all non-left bloc people from their "broad" activity.

There is an idea that the independence movement (consisting of left bloc people who support the Communist Party) should just propagate independence, while the party (consisting of who?) should propagate socialism and communism. It is really rather incredible. Our job is to lead the fight, not "propagate" (peddle) a line. We cannot afford to be sectarian (and "broad" at the same time) because it obstructs us from winning that fight, and aids the enemy. The problem is not solved by pretending not to be Communists and imagining that therefore we must be the united front.

The revolutionary party must actually and concretely lead the fight. It must be an organized whole that takes decisions and implements them. It cannot be just a newspaper, still less a newspaper that deliberately limits its readership and just analyses and praises various struggles without really being part of them. The party has increasingly widespread support. Its organization must be

strengthened accordingly. It must be a vigorous vanguard organization leading the class struggle. It must have a proper internal party life. There must be both democracy and centralism. Proper security is to strengthen the party and prevent the enemy disrupting it, not to disorganize the party as though enemy "white terror" had been successful.

At all sorts of levels, the people are vigorously confronting and challenging the power of the state. Even the mildest reform movement involves a question of power - will the ruling class have its way, or will the people have theirs? The revolutionary party must lead these various struggles to victory, and lead the overall movement to victory of the revolution - armed overthrow of the capitalist state. It needs revolutionary ideology - Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It must be really based in the working class, with fighting branches organized in the workplaces, not just "contacts". It must build a real united front and prepare for building a real people's army (not just "mentioned" armed struggle occasionally). It must lead the united front to take power and become the people's government, not just to "struggle". It must publish its newspaper and theoretical organ to serve the revolution, not just to show how "correct" it is. It must be organized nationally.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) has made a very good start to becoming such a revolutionary party, a party capable of leading a revolution. But that does not mean that it is there yet, the party is still in its infancy or childhood. Self-praise in party publications only makes success less likely. We should continue to stress that we are all only striving for Marxism-Leninism, that we can still learn, and that we have no monopoly on the truth.

Even with the quite deep break that was made with revisionism on questions of peaceful transition, trade union politics and so forth, it is still necessary to make the advance concrete rather than abstract and to continue opposing tendencies to "uphold" and "propagate" revolution rather than actually lead a revolution.

There is a developing economic crisis in Australia with mass unemployment and inflation. The ruling class is in disarray. US imperialism is disintegrating. A world war is brewing. The working class and other sections are looking for leadership. A revolutionary party cannot just create a revolutionary situation. But it should already be leading the advanced workers to actively challenge the Fraser Government for power. It should be the main opposition and all political life in Australia should revolve around that struggle for power.

The objective conditions do exist for it. To a certain extent it is happening already, with the Eureka flag becoming the symbol of opposition. But something, revisionism still stands in the way. Revolutionaries cannot just expose this and announce that, while advocating struggle. They must concretely lead huge mass movements (like the Moratorium), as well as smaller ones, all aimed at forcing the authorities to do this, or prevent them doing that. Always presenting the alternative of the people taking over and doing it themselves. There have been some magnificent struggles that have been like this. The party must be geared for it. Its leaders must lead.

There is such a revolutionary opposition growing in Australia. Marxist-Leninists are in the thick of many good struggles, and this is reflected in contributions to Vanguard. Revisionism is not a dominant trend, but it certainly exists and must be fought.

By breaking with the old revisionist party, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) did an immense service in liberating rebelliousness, which helped unleash the upsurge in the late 1960s. At that time Mao Tsetung's ideas were taken as the theoretical basis guiding our thinking and classical Marxist-Leninist works were studied regularly and systematically. Blind faith was rejected. Sacred cows were rejected. There was sharp political analysis and struggle for a correct line. As a result of promoting rebellion, the party gained greatly in strength and influence. But now we are entering another period of revolutionary upsurge, and the party must be prepared for it.

Perhaps it is scarcely avoidable that in becoming in some ways a dominant trend among progressive people, there is also pressure to become more of an establishment trend and less of a revolutionary one. At any rate there has definitely been pressure not to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought so seriously, not to think through and struggle over all political ideas, and to just follow blindly.

With so many people "agreeing" with Marxism-Leninism and using Marxist-Leninist terms, it has become much easier for non-revolutionary ideas to be smuggled in because they are expressed in the same language. It has become correspondingly harder for people to advance their own thinking, when they are not openly confronted with other ideologies, but the other ideologies are expressed in "Marxist-Leninist" terms. Revisionism, Trotskyism, Guevarism, reformism etc etc have not disappeared, but we may not be fighting them so consistently and sometimes may not even recognize them. Another aspect is that in an atmosphere of blind faith it is easier for real enemies, who can learn off the correct phrases well, to worm their way in.

It is never too late to struggle against revisionism. But it has to be fought and the only way to do that is to grasp its essence - the negation of revolution.

Take for example the theoretical analysis of the principal contradiction in Australian society. Soviet imperialism is certainly the most dangerous superpower, and the principal source of a new world war. Internationally, it is the main enemy. It has also started to sink its claws into Australia. The broadest possible united front should be developed against it.

But Soviet imperialism does not hold state power in Australia, so how can it possibly be the main target of revolution in Australia? Certainly Chairman Mao has never advanced such a strange proposition in China. He has always maintained that the principal contradiction in China is the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. No appeal to China's foreign policy can justify taking an opposite view here.

How could the contention between the superpowers determine everything that happens in Australia, any more than it does in China? It is the external condition that profoundly influences developments here, but no amount of superpower contention will turn a stone into a chicken. Vanguard has done quite a good job in exposing superpower contention and its influence. The internal contradiction must be grasped if we want to change things here and not just comment on them.

A Marxist-Leninist party develops its class analysis and its theory in order to guide its revolutionary struggle. It wants to know who its friends and enemies are and how to win. We can never win by mechanically applying an analysis of the international situation to the domestic scene.

REVISIONISM.

The correct attitude towards superpower contention seems to be a separate issue. But in essence it is a question of starting or not starting from the needs of the Australian revolution. The "Marxism" that leaves out the revolution always produces peculiar results.

Or take the economic crisis. Slogans that can really mobilize the people are required. Arbitrary slogans not based on a scientific analysis and the development of capitalism and its crises must be put forward in opposition to petty bourgeois socialism. Serious study of Marxist political economy and its application to Australia is required. To lead a revolution in Australia we need to know just what is happening in the economic crisis so that correct slogans that will really lead to mass action can be advanced. We cannot be satisfied with ineffectual propaganda that just denounces the monopolists and endlessly repeats that capitalism is very bad indeed.

So on all questions - the need for proper party organization, proper leadership of concrete struggles, for a real united front, the problem of blind faith, trade union politics, the importance of studying Mao Tse Tung and so on - it all comes back to the central question of making revolution or failing to do so. Challenging the ruling class for power or failing to do so. Marxism or revisionism.

None of this is intended as hostile criticism. It is hostile to revisionism, not to the party. Mealy mouthed criticism under the guise of "emphasizing the positive" is itself a reflection of revisionism. The positive is positive and must be defended. The negative is negative and must be fought. The two should never be mixed up together with "on the one hand but on the other hand". Sharp criticism, sharp polemics will not hinder unity in the long run. Covering up contradictions with soothing "all sided" waffle, just like covering up contradictions with personal abuse and slander, will certainly cause splits, because the contradictions exist anyway and have to be fought out consciously and politically.

If what is said here is wrong then no doubt others will point the errors out as mildly or sharply as appears necessary to them. But let it be done openly and directly.

Throughout Australia, lots and lots of people are becoming involved in a whole host of struggles directed against the ruling class (e.g. protection of the environment; and the struggle against Newport; anti-uranium mining; for a better education system; OCR; etc.). They are spontaneously identifying imperialism as the enemy and fighting it.

What is the role of a Communist Party in such a time? - To be in with these people, leading these struggles and raising the political level of the people involved in them. The Communist Party must be directing these struggles so that they actually challenge the holders of state power; so that they can be part of a whole revolutionary movement aimed at seizing state power (e.g. A campaign to actually prevent the construction of an Omega base, rather than just expose its 'true nature', would bring people in direct confrontation with the U.S. imperialists who hold state power in Australia).

The organs of the Communist Party must provide the revolutionaries who read and promote them with actual guidance in struggle. They must contain some summing up of people's experiences in struggle (that means learning from both positive victories and mistakes that are made); analysis of real conditions in Australia and the tasks ahead of us (for instance there is a great need at the moment for a correct analysis of the relationship between superpower contention and the internal contradiction in Australia). In other words, some leadership.

There is a need to always foster and promote a rebellious spirit. A spirit of boldly uniting with people of differing views around the common goal of kicking the imperialists out of this country. In doing this we must take up struggles that we intend to actually win. In particular, we must constantly remind revolutionaries of Comrade Mao Tse Tung's exhortations to:

"Dare to struggle, dare to win", and

"It is right to rebel against reactionaries"

and ensure that revolution does not just become a matter of merely saying the right things.

We must remember that revisionism is the main danger in the working class movement. In giving leadership then, the Communist Party must constantly keep in people's minds the need to remain vigilant against the dangers of revisionism within our movement. As Lenin wisely pointed out:

"...the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."

(Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism.)

Revisionism strips Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary essence and it can take numerous forms within the revolutionary movement.

Revisionism is a danger to our revolutionary work in boldly arousing people and uniting with them in struggle. It can cause people to talk of an independence movement that is broad, whilst going round in sectarian groups alienating anyone who might not fully agree with their position. We have had experience in the past of groups that are so busy running around in left bloc circles, gossiping about those who disagree with them, that events have just passed them by.

Revisionism obscures the question of actually seizing state power. It puts into the background the issue of raising in a mass way the idea of armed struggle, and the people as a whole organizing to defend themselves from fascist attack. This is very important at a time when the working people are under real attack and the fascist Fraser is pushing the reinstatement of penal powers and attempting to introduce more and more fascist measures.

Revisionism can lead people to submerge themselves in the 'united front' and not push for the acceptance of their position. We are

Communists and we therefore stand for independence and socialism. This implies that we struggle within the united front for leadership, we must be fighting for acceptance of our socialist position within the anti-imperialist movement, and its victory over the bourgeois nation-list position of republicanism (we don't just want a republic. We want a republic where imperialism has no place and the mass of the people own the factories, farms, media, etc. as expressed in the program of the CPA(ML)). Revisionism, however, strives for unprincipled unity; the papering over of divisions and the clouding, if not hiding, of our communist position.

The Communist Party must be a body full of life and rebellion, where revisionism cannot develop and thrive. Of course there will always be contradictions in the Communist Party - there is contradiction in everything. That is a good thing, because a Communist Party without contradictions is a dead party. Thus there will always be a need for active ideological struggle and the purging of bourgeois elements. As Comrade Mao Tse Tung pointed out:

"We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon."

(Combat Liberalism)

We must defeat revisionism that saps our rebellious spirit and makes us so frightened of making mistakes that we do nothing. It is easy to just observe events and comment on them. There's no risk of being wrong because you don't do anything. We must do lots and learn from the mistakes that we make.

Revisionism will be defeated and imperialism overthrown. Socialism will be established in Australia. Of this there is no doubt. But there will be many defeats and zig-zags on the way. "The road is tortuous, the future is bright" sums up the reality of the situation. We must fight to actually seize state power and we must fight wrong tendencies in the revolutionary movement. It is never too late to take up the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and to correct our own mistaken ideas.

By Barry Dawson.

IS SUPERPOWER CONTENTION THE KEY LINK?

There are many contradictions in Australia today. There is the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie, between the pro-U.S. compradors and the pro-Soviet compradors, between the farmers and the compradors, between the farmers and the proletariat, and so on. External to Australia there are also many contradictions which influence our internal contradictions. There is the contradiction between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, between the Socialist countries and imperialism, contradictions amongst the European imperialist bourgeoisies, contradictions between the bourgeois governments of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and imperialism, contradictions amongst these bourgeois governments, contradictions between the people of these countries and the imperialists and bourgeois governments.

For the Australian revolution, there is only one principal contradiction at any given time, and that contradiction plays the leading role. It is the task of Communists to discover the principal contradiction and grasp it firmly. Once this is achieved all problems can be solved and the secondary contradictions will be seen and tackled in a correct perspective.

What then is the principal contradiction in Australia today? No Communist would deny that internal contradictions are always primary. External contradictions provide conditions which influence the internal struggle. Australia is a developed capitalist country. According to Marxism, the primary contradiction is between the mode of production and the appropriation of the products of labour. This expresses itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This contradiction is the primary contradiction throughout the history of capitalist society and also remains the primary contradiction after the proletariat seizes state power, and for as long as bourgeois right continues to exist in the economic base and superstructure of socialist society.

The development of capitalism to its imperialist stage does not alter this fundamental contradiction at all - it merely intensifies it. What imperialism does, is create new contradictions, such as the contradiction between monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisies, the contradiction between various imperialist bourgeoisies etc. Therefore, imperialism provides the proletariat with the possibility of exploiting new contradictions involving different classes in order to win temporary allies at particular stages in its struggle to resolve the primary contradiction.

Who holds state power in Australia? Certainly the proletariat does not. Neither do the petty-bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie holds state power. What section of the bourgeoisie has the decisive control over that state power? Quite clearly the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie and its Australian compradors control state power.

What is the primary task of capitalist state power? Except in times of actual armed invasion, the primary task is always to suppress the proletariat and to stop the primary contradiction from being resolved.

It should therefore be obvious that the task of the proletariat is to seize that state power and destroy it, replacing it with its own state power. Therefore, the number one task of the Australian revolution is to overthrow U.S. imperialist state power. Obviously, if the Soviet imperialists throw the U.S. out of Australia and take over the state power, our principal task will be to overthrow them. But that would be speculation on the future.

If there were any attempt to obscure the principal task or to shift the target on to secondary contradictions, it would only assist the bourgeoisie. That section of the bourgeoisie which is in contradiction to the proletariat is sometimes forced to unite with the proletariat against the common enemy, but it tries by every means at its disposal to keep the proletariat from realising its historic mission, because it knows very well that that historic mission means its destruction as a class.

But the bourgeoisie is also aware that its traditional forms of leadership, such as the Labour Party and the trade unions are rapidly losing credibility amongst the proletariat. Modern revisionism, which pushes the demands of the bourgeoisie in the name of Communism is its most desperate weapon. Revisionism is merely the bourgeoisie attempting to exercise leadership over the revolution and divert it for its own economic, political and ideological interests.

Martin Connell
Rose Wilson.

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

A Marxist-Leninist party is a vigorous vanguard organisation leading the fight against the class enemy.

No party can ever lead the Australian revolution to victory over the class enemy unless it has a vigorous and healthy internal life.

Forty years ago Comrade Mao Tsetung said: "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the party and the revolutionary organisations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up the weapon". (Selected Works Vol. 2 Page 31)

The obstacle to active ideological struggle is the very thing the ideological struggle must be waged against - revisionism. What happens if revisionist styles of work triumph within the Marxist-Leninist party has been graphically described by Comrade Enver Hoxha: "Any misinterpretation, any merely formal implementation of these (inner party) norms has serious consequences, withers the inner life of the party, stifles the revolutionary drive of the communists, paves the way in the development of bureaucracy in and degeneration of the party. Herein lies one of the sources of the great tragedy which befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In that country today, although the party norms still bear the label 'communist', they are used as levers for the subjection of the party and to carry out the will of the revisionist clique in power. Democratic centralism has been turned into bureaucratic centralism through which the dictate of the ruling group of the new Soviet bourgeoisie is imposed upon the party. Criticism and self criticism have been transformed into weapons to attack and discriminate against the opponents of the revisionist line, conscious discipline has been replaced by blind submission to bureaucratic authorities. The communist ethics of the party member has yielded its place to the bourgeois morality of the careerists, the servile and the hypocrites." (Report to the 6th Congress, p. 198)

The strengthening of inner-party life is a crucial question of the two line struggle which should concern all revolutionaries - inside and outside the party.

PARTICIPATION IN PARTY POLICY

Back in 1923, comrade Stalin very clearly stated the case for inner party democracy. He said:

"...the activity of the mass of the Party membership must be increased; all questions of interest to the membership in so far as they can be openly discussed must be submitted to it for open discussion, and the possibility ensured of free criticism of all proposals made by the different Party bodies. Only in this way will it be possible to convert Party discipline into really conscious, really iron discipline; only in this way will it be possible to increase the political, economical and cultural experience of the mass of the Party members; only in this way will it be possible to create the conditions necessary to enable the Party membership, step by step, to promote new active workers, new leaders, from its ranks." (On the Opposition, pp. 20-21)

And in 1971 comrade Enver Hoxha elaborated on the same problem: "Democracy in the party has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulation and implementing the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people, openly criticise shortcomings, and make self-criticisms of his own weaknesses. Understood and implemented in this way, democracy serves the strengthening of the party, the education and tempering of the communists, the enlightenment of the organisations and the solidarity of the party ranks on the basis of the fundamental principles of its structure and functioning - democratic centralism.

"Democracy is strengthening through debates, the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting forward and overcoming of contradictions. The struggle of opinions along correct lines is not an expression of the lack of unity but, on the contrary, is an effective means for strengthening it.

Where there is lack of debate, where there is 'peace' and 'harmony' there is stagnation, and the democracy and unity have a formal character. Fear of debate is not a characteristic of the communists but a feature of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucrats who want no troubles or worries." (Report to the 6th. Congress, pp 194-5)

We should firmly grasp this point. It is revisionism which fears debate, fears criticism and attempts to throttle active inner-party life.

SHARP CRITICISM IS EXCELLENT

Revisionism often manifests itself through intimidation or cold-shouldering of communists who dare to criticise people "in authority". Comrade Enver Hoxha raised this problem at the Second Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania in 1962:

"It is evident," he said, "that many times at meetings, when someone dares to make open criticism of a leading cadre or somebody else, the person criticised, or perhaps some crony of his, rises and cuts short the person making the criticism, saying 'Let's hear the comrade say something about himself first, why did he do this or that, and then he may criticise others'. Such an impermissible and condemnable intervention is one of the methods of suppressing criticism. Not only does the critic lose his bearings, but other comrades, too, who want to go more deeply into the criticism, hesitate... it is not in the least communist for the main culprits to seek to minimise the mistake and distract the attention of the meeting by demanding that others, too, make self criticism. These are tricks aimed at clouding the issues." (Selected Works, Vol. 2 p.227).

It is important that communists should not be intimidated by such revisionist practices because the dangers which intimidation breeds are very serious:

"If there is fear of a person who occupies a high position, in that case we are not on the road of the party, and petty-bourgeois views, opportunism, servility, nepotism, career seeking, favouritism, fear and so on, all the evils alien to communists, are bound to breed in our midst." (ibid. p.226).

Another revisionist attitude towards criticism of 'leading people' is to put forward the fallacy that veto on leading cadres, because of their vast contribution are above reproach and invariably correct. This abuse of respect and authority was also sharply criticised by comrade Hoxha:

"Criticism must be severe against anyone who commits mistakes, be he in a high or low position, a veteran or a novice in the Party; it must be particularly severe against those in high positions and veterans in the Party who continue to make mistakes." (ibid. p.226)

The revisionist notion of criticism and self-criticism is one of stifling the ideological content and shifting the target. Comrade Hoxha described this kind of 'criticism' very well:

"...they seek to each meeting into a place where everybody begins every time with confession, and that's as far as it goes. Thus 'work has not been done, and we are all partly to blame for this, some more, others less, and so we leave no wiser than we came'." (ibid pp 227-228)

Have'n't we all experienced this kind of deadening revisionist poison at one time or another? It is a dangerous corosive which needs to be resolutely exposed wherever it exists and swept out of the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

It is the bounden duty of all communists to constantly sharpen the weapon of ideological struggle and use it to do battle with blind faith and unprincipled unity. Blindly following changes in policy has nothing in common with revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

Revisionism will always exist within the Marxist-Leninist part. Sometimes it will even appear to be strong and well entrenched. But as long as we dare to go against revisionist tides and battle things out, the Party will grow in strength, experience and maturity.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest exponent and developer of Marxist-Leninism in our era, summed up the need for inner-party democracy in these words:

"The extension of democracy in the Party should be seen as an essential step in its consolidation and development, and as an important weapon enabling it to be most active in the great struggle, to prove equal to its tasks, create fresh strength and surmount the difficulties of the war." (Selected Readings, no. 150-151)

WHO'S AFRAID OF READING THE WRONG LINE ?

Democratic centralism is the weapon of all Marxist-Leninist parties.

Comrade Mao Tse-Tung commented in his article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas In The Party" that:

"In the sphere of organisation, ensure democracy under centralised guidance. It should be done on the following lines:

(1) The leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centres of leadership.

(2) The higher bodies must be familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the life of the masses so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance.

(3) No Party organisation at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.

(4) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the party rank and file.

(5) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on methods of carrying them out.

The higher bodies should be completely familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the revolutionary movement generally. The leadership does not make decisions which are communicated to the lower ranks as faits accomplis without giving them the opportunity to raise objections. Dissatisfactions and disagreements are discussed in a full and principled way, rather than adopting the revisionist line of stifling discussion and striving for unprincipled unity. Rather than succumb to blind faith, people want to hear both sides - not to give them equal weight, but to decide which is the correct line.

On this question Mao Tse-Tung has said:

"We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organisations in the interests of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and revolutionary organisations." (Combat Liberalism)

This willingness of Marxist-Leninists to struggle to win can be seen when the Chinese Communists exposed the revisionism of Krushov & Co. One of the first things they did was to publish all the relevant Soviet documents for all to read and see their position nakedly exposed. "People's Daily" in an editorial on 27/4/1964 explained:

"Today, this newspaper is ungrudgingly devoting a large amount of space to the full texts of the three anti-Chinese documents published by the leaders of the CPSU on April 3, with the important parts printed in block letters to help our readers

study them. The anti-Chinese parts of Kruschov's speeches will also be published in full....Once again we advise our party members, cadres and people, and also Communists, revolutionaries and people the world over not to lose patience, but to read through these materials despite their offensive smell and their prolixity. We should fully utilize these materials as negative examples in order to gain a clearer understanding of the ugly features of revisionism and heighten our revolutionary consciousness. We must not lightly throw away these materials.

We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU a question, although we are not without knowledge of the answer. We have published your anti-Chinese documents and speeches in full and shall continue to publish your documents, speeches and articles against China, but do you dare publish our eight comments on your Open Letter? We are sure you dare not. In his struggle against Trotsky, Stalin dared to publish Trotsky's statements because truth was on Stalin's side. We are not afraid of publishing all your materials, because truth is on our side. You dare not publish our materials which you stigmatize as 'neo-Trotskyism', because you are afraid of the truth, because you are afraid of the daylight, and because you are afraid that the masses of people will see through you."

MARKISM-LENINISM DOES NOT STIFLE INNER PARTY DISCUSSION
AND STRUGGLE, IT DOES NOT SUPPRESS MATERIAL.

MARKISM-LENINISM DOES STAND FOR 'ACTIVE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE.'

Barry Dawson
Helen Johnson

THE PARTY MUST LEAD.

* Throughout Australia, lots and lots of people are becoming involved in a whole host of struggles directed against the ruling class (e.g., protection of the environment, anti-uranium mining, for a better education system, alternate media, etc.). They are spontaneously identifying imperialism as the enemy and fighting it.

What is the role of a communist party in such a time? - To be in with these people, leading these struggles and raising the political level of the people involved in them. The communist party must be directing these struggles as they actually challenge the holders of state power, so that they can be part of a whole revolutionary movement aimed at seizing state power.

* It is not enough simply for revolutionaries to report on these struggles through their press.

In analysing capitalism it is not enough to settle for showing that capitalist and imperialist corporations are operated by a number of interlocking directorships (any liberal bourgeois economist will tell us that much). Nor is it enough to show that imperialist corporations are making profits. This information can be gained every day in the business pages of the capitalist press.

There are many revolutionaries who read Marxist-Leninist material looking for actual guidance in struggle. They don't want mutual patting on the back. They require material that sums up people's experience in struggle, gives analyses of real conditions in Australia and the tasks ahead of us. It is important that we do not see 'revolution' as merely being a matter of saying the right things.

Making revolution is a lifelong commitment for all of one's hours. Revisionism will be defeated and imperialism overthrown. Socialism will be established in Australia. Of this there is no doubt. But there will be many defeats and zig-zags on the way. "The road is tortuous, the future is bright" sums up the reality of the situation. We must fight to actually seize state power and we must fight wrong tendencies in the revolutionary movement. It is never too late to take up the struggle against revisionism and to correct our own mistaken ideas.

Liberate our thinking and oppose blind faith.

Daryl Nelson