

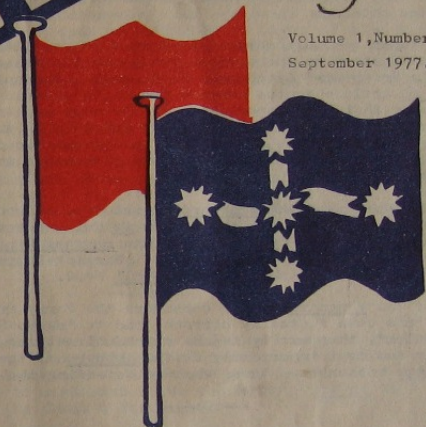
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
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red eureka movement



EDITORIAL.

We would like to draw our readers' attention to the August 25th edition of the newspaper Vanguard (vol. 14, No.32). Two articles in particular attempt to reply to articles published in the last Rebel! (No. 2)

"Spurious 'Theories' To Save Capitalism Must Be Combated" (page 3) attempts to reply to the article by comrade A. Ward entitled "Wages and Unemployment". The Editorial Board apologises for not printing the date this article was written at. It was July 1976. We ask our readers to study both these articles closely.

"Super Revolutionaries Aid Soviet Imperialism" (page 1) is a commentary on the article "Unite on the Basis of the Party's Programme" by comrade M. Connell. The author of the Vanguard article quotes comrade Connell's article (innaccurately) as saying that U.S. imperialism is the most aggressively entrenched imperialism in Australia and goes on to say; "The statement is not even factually correct because British imperialism has been the most deeply entrenched imperialism in Australia."

The author of the Vanguard article is, of course, entitled to his/her opinion. But the author is fully aware that comrade Connell was quoting directly from the current General Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), which was also published in The Rebel! No.2.

If the Vanguard writer considers the Party Programme to be "not even factually correct" and to "serve Soviet social-imperialism", then surely he/she should direct the criticism firstly and most importantly at the authors of the Party Programme rather than those who are defending the Programme.

---oOo---

"Marxist-Leninists Against Zionism".

A leaflet with the above authorisation is being circulated. The leaflet purports to oppose Zionism, to oppose the alleged failure of China to oppose Zionism, to support Mao Tsetung, the Cultural Revolution and Chiang Ching, and to oppose Hua Kuo-feng. It is headed "Who Supports Zionism? Demand a Genuine Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought Stand!" and it concludes, "Demand now that the Hua Kuo-feng (sic) clique oppose Zionism!"

The conclusion alone is a dead give away. The authorisation should have been "Socialist Labor League (M-L)" or "Spartacus League (M-L)". Whoever heard of Marxist-Leninists making a "demand" that their opponents adopt a correct stand?

China's stand on Zionism is well known and appreciated by all anti-Zionists. To the best of our knowledge, there has been no change in that stand in the past year. Nor is there anything in the leaflet to show that there has been such a change. Clearly the leaflet is really an opportunist attempt to use an attack on Hua Kuo-feng to attack the policies of Mao Tsetung.

Either that, or it is an attempt to discredit the supporters of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution. At any rate, the leaflet has nothing to do with the Red Eureka Movement and we know nothing about it.

But we do know that it uses the same type-face and the same "poison pen" anonymous style as a leaflet circulated in 1974 headed "N. Gallagher: Marxist-Leninist or Opportunist?" which we are told comes from Vic and Vida Little's group.

What the Red Eureka Movement has to say about Hua Kuo-feng we have said privately. If we have something to say publicly, we will put our name to it.

When we have something to say about an individual, we say it in the appropriate way and sign our names to it individually or collectively. Our opponents know this well and have found our open and above-board style of work difficult to cope with. That is precisely why they spread a rumour that we are involved in this "poison pen" leaflet, (and other documents and letters allegedly "circulating" which we have never seen).

Any publication coming from the Red Eureka Movement will have our name and address on it. Anything from an individual associated with us will also have a name on it, or people will be informed who wrote it in an appropriate way.

It would be nice if those who like spreading rumours or making insinuations about where we stand or what we are doing, could be open and above-board too. But of course, that is too much to expect.

---oOo---

We would like to thank the comrades concerned for their correspondence, contributions and donations. A number of articles and letters have been held over for the next Rebel!. We don't want to make each issue too bulky. Rebel! No.4 should be out in about a fortnight.

If you wish to be put on the mailing list for Rebel! and our political retrieval journal Study Notes, please write to:

17 The Ridge,
Blackburn
Victoria, 3130 Australia.

Donations to cover costs, contributions and criticisms are welcome.

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LONG LIVE MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

(Marking the first anniversary of the death of Mao)

Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Although he is dead, his contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice will certainly live forever.

In the last decade of his life he played an outstanding role in leading mass revolutionary movements aimed at exposing and overthrowing the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping.

Mao Tsetung's analyses and grasp of two-line struggles within the Communist Party is of particular importance for revolutionaries the world over. Back in July 1966, Mao wrote in a letter to his wife Chiang Ching:

"Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out."

The same month, Mao wrote his famous big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" which was the signal for the nation-wide Red Guard counterattack against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi. The Party Central Committee Circular of May 16, 1966 and the famous Sixteen Point Decision of the Central Committee of August 1966, two documents of great impact during the initial stages of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were both drafted under Mao Tsetung's personal supervision. They clearly stated that the target of the revolution were those top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The task of the revolutionary rebels was to seize power from them and the task of the People's Liberation Army was to support the Left.

Actually, as far back as 1964, Mao Tsetung had pointed out:

"The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other."

He went on to say:

"Those leading cadres who have taken the capitalist road have turned or are turning into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the Socialist Education Movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit."

After the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1969, Mao Tsetung pointed out:

"Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories -- I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority -- leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists or the masses of workers."

It wasn't long before the second bourgeois headquarters of Lin Biao and Chen Po-ta jumped out for a trial of strength with Mao Tsetung's proletarian headquarters. By 1971, the Lin Biao clique, which was being systematically exposed and attacked under the leadership of Mao, grew desperate. Lin Biao had "Outline of Project 571" drafted. This was the bourgeois's blueprint for a counter-revolutionary coup and included plans for the assassination of Mao Tsetung, and the capture of his closest collaborators.

Their plans disintegrated and ended in total defeat. Just before Lin Biao's ill-fated attempt to escape to the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung once more reminded people of the protracted nature of two-line struggle:

"We have been singing the Internationale for fifty years, yet on ten occasions, certain people inside our Party tried to split it. (The 10th was Lin Biao) As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do."

Ten victories over the bourgeois line in the Party had certainly not lulled Mao Tsetung into a false sense of security. He launched the Campaign to Criticise Lin Biao and Condemn and followed this up with the Campaign to Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. At the end of 1974 he pointed out:

"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

Speaking of the socialist system, Mao Tsetung said:

"In a word, China is a socialist country. Before Liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed."

"Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."

The Campaign to Restrict Bourgeois Right gathered momentum throughout 1975 and was greatly boosted by the publication of Yao Wen-yuan's "On the Social Basis of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique" and Chang Chun-chiao's "On Exercising All-round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie". The bourgeoisie was thrown into a panic by this mass movement, so their new chief representative, Teng Hsiao-ping, hastily dished up the key link programme of "taking the three directives as the key link". He put Mao's directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a par with a directive on increasing production and a directive about stability and unity. This was aimed at negating Mao Tsetung's continual call to "take class struggle as the key link".

Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist programme served as a rallying call to the bourgeois and revisionists all over China. Anyone with a grudge against or a score to settle with the Cultural Revolution was encouraged by Teng to attack the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary rebels. This became known as the Right Deviationist Wind to Reverse the Correct Verdicts of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Teng Hsiao-ping followed this up with his notorious "General Programme" which attempted to restore the old revisionist rules and regulations in industry, and put profit in command. It also deliberately distorted the essence of Lin Biao's ultra-rightist line by describing it as "ultra-left" and using this as a cover to attack the Marxists. Mao reacted strongly to the "three directives" and the "general programme". He said:

"What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

The Campaign against the Right Deviationist Wind, initiated at Tsinghua University, soon spread across the nation. Mao pointed out:

"The question involved in Tsinghua is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle."

Out of desperation, Teng Hsiao-ping engineered the counter-revolutionary incident at Tien an men Square in April 1976. The riot, which viciously attacked Mao Tsetung, Chiang Ching and others ended in a fiasco for Teng. On Mao's initiative, he was removed from all posts. Mao said of him immediately prior to the riot:

"He knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism. He represents the bourgeoisie. He said he would 'never reverse the verdict'. It can't be counted on."

It was during the counterattack against the Right Deviationist Wind that Mao, referring to Teng Hsiao-ping and others like him, said:

With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticising bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

This statement constitutes a real advance of Marxism-Leninism and clearly points out that after the system of ownership and relations of production have been, in the main, socialised, the principal target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie within the Communist Party itself -- the new bourgeoisie class.

That this Party bourgeoisie has the possibility of seizing Party and State power and stage a capitalist restoration has been constantly stressed by Mao Tsetung. But he also stressed that if such a restoration occurred, it would not last many years.

Back in 1966 in his letter to Chiang Ching, Mao Tsetung predicted:

"If the Rightists stage an anti-communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90% of the population... The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: The future is bright; the road is tortuous."

The best way we in Australia can commemorate Mao Tsetung is to heighten our study of Mao Tsetung Thought and actually apply his method to the problems of the Australian revolution and the two-line struggle in the Australian Party.

--Gavin McGann.

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THE STATE IS NOT BANKRUPT

By Allan Ward

28/7/76.

According to the Fraser Government, excessive Government spending, especially on social welfare programmes, is the main cause of inflation and all other economic ills.

The 'monetarist' economists argue that the level of prices is determined by the level of money supply. By running a budget deficit, the state puts too much money into circulation and so causes inflation.

Let's look at the facts.

In the financial year 1974-75 Government income from direct and indirect taxes and profits from public enterprises was 18.81 billion dollars.

Government expenditure on current account, which includes interest payments, subsidies and private capital grants, as well as ordinary Government spending and welfare payments, was \$15.1 billion.

The result was a surplus on current account of \$3 billion. The largest surplus ever.

Australians paid \$3 billion more in taxes etc than what it cost to run the Government and pay interest on its past borrowings.

Turning to the capital account, we find a gross fixed capital expenditure by Government authorities of \$5.36 billion. This includes new investments in water supply and sewerage, electricity and gas, railways, telecommunications, housing, schools, roads, hospitals etc. These are all capital investments, not just "Government expenditure".

\$3 billion of this was financed out of the surplus (ie profit) made from ordinary Government operations, while the remaining \$2.36 billion is a "deficit" financed by borrowing. In other words, the Government reinvested \$3 billion of its own profits and borrowed more than \$2 billion of the profits made in the private sector, for purposes of expanded capital accumulation.

This accumulation of fixed capital assets by the Government represented more than one third of the gross capital accumulation in the entire Australian economy.

As Engels says: "The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit..."
(Socialism: Utopian & Scientific)

In Australia, some 37% of civilian employees are employed by the Government (mainly State and local authorities). Only a small part of these are involved in the actual state apparatus -- "public administration" and defence. The bulk are productive workers producing surplus value for capital.

Thus the state is not forced to borrow money and run a deficit because it is bankrupt. On the contrary, it has a huge surplus.

If the Government wished to "balance the budget" it could do so very simply by cutting back on its capital accumulation. This would solve the problem of inflation alright -- it would spark off a massive crisis and depression (which will eventually happen anyway).

The Soviet Union has for a long time been spreading the "theory" that inflation and crisis are due to excessive military spending, which for some unstated reason, inevitably has to be financed by deficits. In fact, Australian defence expenditure for 1974-75 was only about \$1.4 billion, and obviously has nothing to do with it. The \$3 billion surplus was after defence had been paid for.

The state is not bankrupt. Capitalism itself is bankrupt.

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COMMUNISM, FASCISM AND NATIONALISM

September 3, 1977.

by "A r-r-revolutionary"

At the Australian Independence Movement meeting in Melbourne on August 28th, one speaker compared a purely nationalist program for independence, to the programs of fascist parties. He pointed out that fascists also include demagogic phrases against "big business" and especially international finance ("the multi-nationals") and said it was crucial to include references to socialism, or at least opposition to anti-working class forces, in order to distinguish the AIM program from fascism.

This is not correct. Most fascist parties also include references to socialism, and claim to represent the working class. There is even social-fascism which expresses fascism in the name of Communism. Hitler's party was the "German National Socialist Workers' Party" and Brezhnev's is the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union".

Fascism does rely on reactionary nationalism and racism. But the main point is that behind the demagogic phrases, whether about the fatherland, the revolution or the workers, lies the open terroristic dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie.

Progressive nationalism, as expressed in the AIM program, is quite a different matter from reactionary nationalism. Just as reformism is quite a different matter from die-hard conservatism. Both of course represent a bourgeois viewpoint. As Communists we support progressive bourgeois nationalism and unite with it against reactionary nationalism.

AIM is a progressive organization opposed to imperialism and Communists can work with it and join it. The point about AIM's purely nationalist program is not that this is fascist, but that it is not socialist. Communists have to draw a clear line of demarcation from it and fight (in appropriate ways) for their own program at all times and in every organization.

A Communist can certainly never be a patriot first and a Communist second. Neither can a Communist believe that "no sectional class interest should be able to dominate the broad movement". That such views can even be expressed shows how far revisionism has developed.

But neither can a Communist even be a Communist first and a patriot second, any more than one can be a Communist first and a revisionist second. Our patriotism is applied internationalism.

it is part of our Communism, and can never be an expression of nationalism. Just as our fight for reforms is part of making revolution, not an expression of reformism.

"On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism, and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive."

("The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement", FLP Peking 1965, p17)

If this applies to the "oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America", then it certainly applies to an advanced capitalist country like Australia. The whole of the polemic against modern revisionism in the 1960s is well worth re-studying in the light of current controversies. History always repeats itself twice, the first time as a tragedy and the second time as a farce!

Lenin put it well in his 1914 article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians":

"What a lot of talk, argument and vociferation there is nowadays about nationality and the fatherland!... - all have effusive praise for the liberty and independence of their respective countries, the grandeur of the principle of national independence. Here one cannot tell where the venal eulogist of the butcher Nicholas Romanov or of the brutal oppressors of Negroes and Indians ends, and where the common philistine, who from sheer stupidity or spinelessness drifts with the stream, begins. Nor is that distinction important. We see before us an extensive and very deep ideological trend, whose origins are closely interwoven with the interests of the landowners and capitalists of the dominant nations."

"Is a sense of national pride alien to us, Great-Russian class-conscious proletarians? Certainly not! We love our language and our country, and we are doing our very utmost to raise her toiling masses (i.e., nine-tenths of her population) to the level of a democratic and socialist consciousness..."

"We are full of national pride because the Great-Russian nation too, has created a revolutionary class, because it, too has proved capable of providing mankind with great models of the struggle for freedom and socialism, and not only with great pogroms, rows of gallows, dungeons, great famines and great servility to priests, tears, landowners and capitalists..."

"And, full of a sense of national pride, we Great-Russian workers want, come what may, a free and independent, a democratic, republican and proud Great Russia, one that will base its relations with its neighbours on the human principle of equality, and not on the feudalist principle of privilege which is so degrading to a great nation. Just because we want that, we say: it is impossible, in the twentieth century and in Europe (even in the far east of Europe), to "defend the fatherland" otherwise than by using every revolutionary means to combat the monarchy, the landowners and capitalists of one's own fatherland, i.e., the worst enemies of our country..."

"The interests of the Great Russians' national pride (understood, not in the slavish sense) coincide with the socialist interests of the Great-Russian (and all other) proletarians."

(Collected Works, Vol 21, pp102-106, Moscow, 1964)

If Lenin, in a backward agrarian country with a semi-feudal autocracy and a mainly peasant population, could link national pride to socialism more than half a century ago, and could stand against the "philistine, who from sheer stupidity or spinelessness drifts with the stream" then how dare "Leninists" separate socialism from the independence movement in an advanced capitalist country like Australia?

We are filled with national pride because the Australian nation too, has created a revolutionary class, because it too has provided mankind with great models of the struggle for freedom and socialism. We are proud of the Eureka flag and the democratic tradition it represents, and we are proud that it is being raised again.

But our pride is as socialists, as Communists and internationalists. Not as democrats and nationalists. Our class is the working class and our flag is the red flag. We will never surrender it to any other.

Those who try to separate socialism from the independence movement, in the epoch of world proletarian socialist revolution, could not be Communists even in a very backward Third World country that had practically no proletariat. To take this stand in an advanced capitalist country where the proletariat is the largest class and the main force as well as the leading force, one has to be very far from Communism indeed. They may genuinely want to be Communists, and may be very good people, but they will have to shake off the influence of this line if they are to be Communists. And you cannot be a non-Communist in AIM and a Communist somewhere else (or some other time, in the future).

Communists will work with others in national movements, but always for Communism, never for nationalism. This is a question of principle, quite separate from any issue of tactics in the United Front.

AIM is not the United Front in Australia, nor even a united front (who in it represents the forces equivalent to Chiang Kai-shek?). It is a (small) mass organization led by people who aspire to be Communists and most of whose members are the same. There is no use talking about what AIM "ought" to be or the "concept" of AIM. We must start from what it is.

The old revisionist "Communist" Party made a practice of creating "front" organizations like the Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament or the Union of Australian Women. In the name of "tactics" and "broadness" they

adopted watered down programs in these "mass" organizations, the idea being to attract others. In fact they were extremely narrow and sectarian organizations that alienated and repelled others. The masses don't like fakes and the real mass movement went on right outside these "mass" organizations.

But they gave Communists the opportunity to act in practice as pacifists and reformists even while loudly proclaiming their "Communism" and using it as a shield to protect their pacifism and reformism from criticism. In fact their "Communism" was confined to activities of the "Communist" Party and never taken out to the masses. It was a fake. In this way the Communist Party was liquidated.

In the peace movement, revisionists like Sam Goldbloom and Bernie Taft were notorious for their talk of "super revolutionaries" and "r-r-revolutionaries" (Taft's favourite phrase from Lenin) and their claim to "know the catechism". They always advocated their right wing line in the name of "broadness" and insisted that the Communist Party would take care of the more advanced slogans and that it was therefore inappropriate for the "mass" organization to do so. It is one thing for people in the broad movement who do not approve of Communism, to favour a watered down program. It is another thing for people who aspire towards Communism to do it because of confusion over the role of the Party and its relation to the mass movement. That is already less natural and more dangerous. But when the role of alleged "leaders" of the Communist Party is always to vote against the more advanced program, always to hold the movement back and never to push it forward, only to mention socialism and revolution in order to explain why others should not mention it, then that is something else again. It ends up in revisionism.

Revolutionaries brushed all this aside with contempt, and built an anti-war movement much stronger and with a much broader mass base, because it was solidly grounded on anti-imperialist, not pacifist, politics. That is how a real broad united front against the Vietnam war, the Moratorium campaign, came about. Revolutionaries kept their independence and initiative before as well as after the broader united front was established (a genuine united front including people much further to the right than Jim Cairns, as well as that future Deputy Prime Minister himself, all united against the war but bitterly divided on strategy, tactics and ultimate goals).

Of course all this is "living in the past" according to some. But then isn't the idea that you can't struggle for a revolutionary line until a "broad" front has been created, a lot further back in the past?

The independence movement in Australia is far wider than AIM and similar organizations. The way to build strong, genuinely broad mass organizations for independence is not by watering down our line in the hope that masses will come and join us (because that is what AIM "ought" to be, and the "concept" of AIM), but by taking our line of revolutionary independence and socialism out to the masses and fighting for it.

With a correct line (and a more appropriate name), AIM can play an important role in placing a revolutionary perspective before the various mass movements, like the Uranium protests etc, that form part of the broad independence movement, and can help lead them in a correct direction. Far from being an obstacle to mass support, a revolutionary and socialist line will win much greater mass support.

With a wrong line, AIM will inevitably collapse and die, just as the old revisionist "mass" organizations collapsed and died and just as the Worker-Student Alliance did.

With a correct line, AIM can help the Communist Party in fighting for the Australian revolution, by providing a particular form of organization suitable for a particular section of people, just as WSA once did, when its line was basically correct. It can also help build fighting working class organizations in the workplaces.

With a wrong line, it can help liquidate the Communist Party and provide a cover for that liquidation, as well as dragging revolutionaries into a still narrower left bloc, away from the mass work they ought to be doing.

The wrong line in AIM is not one of eulogizing the reactionary nationalism of imperialism and its collaborators. It is not fascist. But it is hard to tell where that ends, "and where the common philistine, who from sheer stupidity or spinelessness drifts with the stream, begins."

Communists will fight in AIM, as everywhere else, for a revolutionary line and against bourgeois nationalism. They will unite, in AIM as well as everywhere else (except within the Communist Party) with bourgeois nationalists who genuinely fight against imperialism.

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Marx and Engels stated clearly in the "Communist Manifesto" that the proletariat (the class of modern wage labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live) is the leading revolutionary class:

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The main conflict and arena of struggle around this idea in progressive circles arises from intellectuals. For example, some would think or argue that the working class is too slow to mobilise itself on the uranium issue. The students, intellectuals and Christians initiated action here and seem to be more vocal and articulate. The workers are slower to move and seem to tail behind the intellectual elements. These observations do arise from direct experience. The same trend was noted in the Australian struggle against the war in Indo China. In terms of numbers the working class did take its time to mobilise itself. But when it did, its influence was quickly decisive; the troops were withdrawn and conscription ended.

Understanding working class leadership is more than a question of direct empirical experience (e.g. on the uranium issue). Also it is more than a question of blind faith in the Marxist-Leninist classics. It is imperative to oppose the tendencies towards dogmatism and empiricism. We have to study political theory and we have to apply that study to our social practice in Australia in a living way. We have to have to study and observe the working class in Australia.

"Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; theory alone can solve the problem of essence." (On Practice). Negation of theoretical study is wrong. "But Marxism emphasises the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action." (On Practice). All theories originate from practice and in turn serve practice. This is a constant, never ending process.

Within the Party too there is a struggle for working class leadership. Progressive petty bourgeois intellectuals who study Marxist Leninist theory and who believe themselves that they are firmly on the working class road can easily dominate because of their superior skills in talking and writing. There is a struggle between those who regard practice as primary and those who regard theory as primary. "The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings, but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion for truth." (On Practice). There is the problem of those in the leadership who concentrate mainly on writing and theoretical workkeeping firmly in touch with social practice. There is a problem that they may only keep in touch with advanced people and forget about the middle and backward. There is a problem of workers and those in the thick of class struggle to sum up their experience so that these correct ideas are put in the forefront for comrades to learn from. There is a constant problem of writing theory and practice and putting practice in the primary position.

"The goal is: The environment may change, the fine qualities as ordinary labouring people do not change; the level of theoretical knowledge is raised, the style of integrating theory with practice does not change, working ability is

improved, the modest and prudent attitude does not change." ('Strive to Build a Socialist University of Science and Engineering' by the Workers' and PLA Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Team at Tsinghua University)

Observing the Working Class

The working class is the leading class. Is this true in the light of our direct experience with the working class? In general we observe that the working class leads in the following attributes (compared with other classes and strata):

- + Generosity. They are familiar with trouble and hardship and will help others out who really need it.
- + Frankness. They are more inclined to say what they think than other classes.
- + Confrontation. The working class is more willing to confront the class enemy and people who exploit them than are other classes and strata. It is less inclined to tolerate hypocrisy and bullshit.
- + Practicality. The working class puts manual labour in its proper perspective, understands the true value of manual labour and is less inclined to separate it from mental labour than other classes. There is a strong trend in other classes and strata to despise manual labour and those who perform it.
- + Discipline. Life disciplines the working class. It has to be disciplined because of the heavy load put on it. It is more reliable in keeping its word than other classes.
- + Perseverance. The working class keeps battling against hardship and seldom thinks of giving up the battle although they have it harder.

None of these are magical qualities. All arise from conditions of life of the working class. The working class is oppressed in the sweatshops, driven by the line or foreman and most importantly are in the best position to do something about it. They produce all the wealth in our society and they work socially together often concentrated in huge numbers.

Other groups may be as oppressed or more oppressed than the working class, e.g. lumpens, pensioners, those who can't work are thrown on the scrapheap by the plunders. But the working class is at the point of production and so is in the position to hit the capitalists where it hurts most.

To lead the revolution against the class enemy the working class has to organise. The proletarian party is the advanced detachment of the working class. (Stalin: Foundations of Leninism). The party serves the working class and the people. Individuals in the party must show by their deeds that they serve the working class.

Avoid a One Sided View of the Working Class

The working class has a positive and negative side. Historically the working class is invincible and it will emancipate itself and all other classes to achieve communism eventually, by a process of continuous revolution by stages. But we want to talk about the present and integrate our theory with the present.

Occasionally we meet or hear or read about individual communists or workers whose positive attributes, service

to the people, are so great and their negative side so insignificant that they become individuals worthy of emulation. But the pressures from capitalist society and the pressures from the bourgeoisie in socialist society (e.g. bourgeois right, the force of habit) are very great. Especially in capitalist society these individuals are few and far between. But their existence gives us great confidence in what people can become and of the ultimate victory of communism.

What should be our attitude to the negative features of the working class? We should discuss them, try to understand the social causes and wage an appropriate militant and protracted fight against the negative in order to build the positive.

It is wrong to emphasise the negative or throw up the negative without attempting to explain it or without attempting to correct false impressions about the working class that it might create. This is what the bourgeois media does.

It is wrong to ignore the negative or pretend it doesn't exist. To mention only the positive amounts to an unrealistic glorification of the working class. This may appear to be correct but it is brittle in essence because it won't convince anyone but the converted. And in time when the "converted" discover that their social practice with the working class does not tally with the "theory" they may become disillusioned and turn away from the Marxist-Leninist working class road. To ignore the negative is a form of dogmatism ("correct" theory divorced from practice).

Engles On the Working Class

In "The Conditions of the Working Class in England" (1845) Engles talks honestly and frankly about the positive and negative sides of the private and public character of the worker. For example, the section on "Results" or the section on "Irish Immigration". Engles does not hesitate to talk about the drunkenness, sexual irregularities, brutality and disregard for the rights of property while discussing the unfavourable side of the working class. What emerges from Engles' all sided analysis is an enormous confidence in the future of the working class based on an understanding of its behaviour and the social causes for it. If we used Engles as a model of how to go about investigating the working class in Australia we would vastly improve our political effectiveness and improve the penetration of our political line.

Develop Proletarian Revolutionary Optimism

It is often said that "there is no room for any mood of pessimism". Why do people become pessimistic and how do we overcome it?

This is a matter of the contradiction between theory and practice in the present development of the Australian revolution. If the theory suggests that the Australian workers are more advanced than they actually are in reality then those who are influenced by this theory will naturally become pessimistic. If they grasp the theory in a hard, dogmatic way and confuse the historical role of the working class with the present day reality in a literal sense then this will lead to acute problems. These dogmatists may behave as follows:

a. Dogmatism and commandism in the workplace (an idealistic world outlook). Seeing oneself as an important leader, issuing orders and instructions before making a proper investigation. Not really listening to the wishes of the people. The people talk, it goes in the dogmatists ear, but their mind is far away performing noble deeds for the people. When the people don't follow this self appointed leader he/she develops an attitude of contempt for the people.

b. Pessimism and despair. When the idealist observes that the working class does not fit into the narrow theoretical conception they have of them (we are all forced to face reality sooner or later) they can easily lapse into pessimism and despair (or they may resort to individual heroics, even terrorism, fighting on behalf of the people rather than with them).

The common thing is for the dogmatist to vacillate from one mood to the other. They may take on the airs of a great commander one day and lapse into moody despair the next.

The important thing is to recognise the cause of these problems. Either our political theory is not advanced enough (an example of this would be ignoring the negative) it is not close enough to the people and their real needs but is written in an academic, intellectual manner, or we can take the best of political theory and worship it, regarding it as more important or standing apart from social practice.

Mao has written brilliant works on the need for working class leadership, on the need to get close to the people, on the need to remould one's world outlook - to see the workers as clean and the petty bourgeois intellectuals as dirty. Mao has said many things can't be learned from books but we have to get out in society and actually investigate things for ourselves. E.g. "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" (1942) and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" (1957).

Again it requires more than reading these books. We need to grasp these truths firmly and actually put them into practice not just acknowledge them in a general sense as correct, or that these problems can be solved quickly or painlessly.

Pessimism is quite common. On the surface this feeling may come from experience. But quite likely this is the experience of the self centred petty bourgeois, frustrated that things don't fit their narrow preconceived ideas. Rejection of one's most favourite ideas and conceptions (e.g. that the workers agree in their words or their deeds with socialism), sometimes a vigorous rejection can be a painful experience. These people need to discover and learn from the real working class - warts and all, and accept them. For those who write or talk in an academic way that has no penetration to the workers will it do them harm to say - "Stop writing this waffle for a while. Go out amongst the people and learn from them!". If the intellectuals do this then they will be starting on the path (a tortuous path) of understanding working class leadership. Then their political study will really start to mean something.

The petty bourgeois "revolutionary" optimist has blind faith in the working class. They support it because it is the correct thing to do "theoretically". In some circles it is fashionable to wave the flag (Eureka) and

praise the working class. But do these people really know the working class? Some people may even rub shoulders with the workers every day but not bother to make deep investigation about their life, conditions etc. They may work in a factory but go home to a left-bloc household. They make few worker friends. They only befriend the politically advanced. They are secretly ashamed of the "backward" workers or frightened that their "progressive" friends won't be able to talk with them.

Only a correct basic attitude - serving the people and not yourself; the people are the real heroes while we ourselves are often foolish and stupid - can solve these problems. This correct basic attitude is the most important thing. Everything else flows from it.

Part of petty bourgeois, shallow optimism is individualism, self-praise and bourgeois leadership (elitism). Rather than working with and struggling with workers these people are self ordained leaders. They chase leadership. They haven't got real faith in the working class and don't believe that individual leaders will develop off the factory floor.

This can easily lead to trade unionism. The trade union provides for formal positions (shop stewards etc.) that gives the "leader" some of the authority that he/she craves for. It can be beneficial to take trade union positions. But in doing so there should be full awareness ideologically and full commitment to developing progressive workers on the shop floor.

Proletarian optimism is based fair, square on reality and a correct estimate of the relationship between ourselves and the revolution. We exist to serve the revolution, so we too are targets of it. We fear neither hardship nor death. If we die, will the revolution stop? Some people are so self important they seem to think so. Self importance, pretentiousness, arrogance in ourselves are targets of the revolution. The oppressed are struggling every day. We can struggle with them, learn from them and depending on how much we know, teach them.

Are we prepared to do whatever is required - including making real sacrifices - to serve the people? That is to do what the people want not what we subjectively suppose they want. Lenin pointed out the terrible danger of the force of habit, the force of inertia - doing what we are used to doing because it is comfortable.

For a person of intellectual training it is comfortable writing articles (academic articles?), stay within intellectual circles (probably the left bloc) and give impressive speeches at meetings. But the same person may be a fish out of water when it comes to practical work (simply working with their hands) or forming good friendships with the politically middle and backward workers.

And the opposite problems may apply for comrades of working class background.

We can learn from each other, but the working class must lead and practice is primary. Workers from the factory floor must be actively trained for leadership.

Like anything else proletarian optimism can be learnt... but only in part from books. Of course it requires great courage to be a revolutionary. Genuine revolutionaries make up a minority in all societies in the world today. By correct leadership the minority can win mass support and lead the revolution to victory. All the time the state machine and bourgeois ideology is trying to get at the revolutionaries. If deception fails they use force. What is the source of great personal courage? The source can only be the people. If we are with the people then we can feel confident in our actions (even if in a numerical minority), we can take a militant class stand, fearlessly confront the class enemy because we understand the situation, our role in it and have the support of the progressive people. If we have real faith in the people it shows and the people will return that faith.

Mass Work and Problems on the Job

By actually listening (and not just listening to what we want to hear - that is wishful thinking) to our fellow workers we come across quite a variety of backward political ideas. As well as listening and acting upon the many advanced ideas that come up on the shop floor we have to take full consideration of the backward ideas. If we don't then we will drift into a left bloc. We will set ourselves too small a task. It is very wrong to classify politically backward workers as right wingers or to ignore them.

1. Some workers have attitudes of apathy, cynicism, disillusionment, helplessness, pessimism about changing the wrongs in society. Some can see the wrongs in some depth but don't believe that others can (individualism). Others can see divisions between workers on the job and are pessimistic about ever overcoming them.

Frequently there is grave suspicion of anyone who seems actively involved in politics or the union (particularly if they don't seem to talk about much else. There is resistance to being manipulated or led up the garden path by a "shit stirrer".

The social democratic (ALP) and revisionist (CPA, SPA) parties play a very damaging role here. Bitter experience of the ALP and trade union leaders has taught workers by direct experience that these "working class leaders" are dishonest, manipulative, undemocratic, selfish and they collaborate with the boss. Basic working class principles such as honesty, unity, solidarity are undermined by this traitor leadership. Bad experience with ALP leadership (for example) can lead to a deep lasting suspicion of all potential leaders.

Why? Because clear and definite lessons are not necessarily drawn from experience and the idea still lingers (from fellow workers, the media and force of habit) that the ALP is a workers party.

2. Some workers express narrow and selfish attitudes. They may be prepared to struggle when they see something tangible in it for themselves. But when effort is required to help other workers they lose interest. Why? Considered overall it is in its effects on the working people that capitalism literally forces people to put themselves first. This is a matter of analysing the bourgeois dictatorship and how it operates in more depth.

Some workers have a small businessmen outlook. They have

been or want to become a capitalist themselves. These people will want the company to make a big profit because that will guarantee their job security.

It is fairly natural for workers who accept the permanence of the capitalist system (the vast majority do not challenge this "natural" bourgeois assumption) to want to achieve a little independence and self reliance in it. Fairly natural, but generally not possible.

A small minority of workers decide to throw their lot in with management (crawl arses and brown tongues or blue eyed boys). This can be a common attitude among workers in 'privileged' positions, e.g. foreman, leading hands, relief operators etc. It is valuable to try to discover contradictions between these 'privileged' workers and exploit them.

3. Many workers accept to varying degrees attitudes that are actively pushed and fostered by the ruling class into the working class. Racist attitudes (e.g. "the wogs will scab on us if we take action"), bad attitudes to women ("a woman's place is in the home; if there are sackings it should be the women who go first"), dislike for workers on the other shift, another plant or another section (lack of communication in the factory fosters this), division between tradesmen and production workers.

Experience shows that these attitudes are usually not deeply held amongst the majority. When the 'different' groups struggle around a common issue and these attitudes are actively combated then they can appear to vanish overnight (only to reappear at a later date).

4. Some workers suffer from a colonial mentality, e.g. "we need foreign help to develop Australia". They lack confidence that the Australian people can do it themselves. This ridiculous idea can be combatted by example (doing it now, little things and big things), common sense and looking at our history to see what we have done.

5. Many workers suffer from anti socialist and anti communist ideas. This idea comes mainly from the constant barrage from the media. Also most workers describe the USSR as a communist country and often for good reason dislike what they see as "communism" or SPA or CPA officials ("you are just a number with no real democratic rights"; "no opportunity for individual initiative" etc.). Eventually many workers will come to discover that the thing they have been told to hate is what they themselves are. To encourage this we have to encourage and not go quiet on the workers sentiment for socialism and communism. There has to be some discretion about this but certainly we have to be honest to the people about our ideas and certainly we should not fear the red ragers label. The "cold war" mentality is still very strong. The left bloc is a reflection of it and promoted fear of being labelled a red. We have to actively break from this. Fear should not be in command, boldness should be in command. The best medicine to combat anti communism is when workers see that someone who is called a "commo" is not a monster but genuinely serves the people.

6. Workers may appear to be uninterested in politics. We must have real faith and confidence in the workers not some mechanical belief that they will follow "correct line" leadership, now or in the future. This can reflect itself in our attitude and conception of politics and the workers attitude and conception. Real politics is class struggle and so involves everybody. But the workers conception of politics (and sometimes

ours?) may be one learnt from the bourgeoisie - that heroes make history or that politics is parliamentary politics involving only a privileged stratum and not the masses on a day to day basis. So frequently we discover that some workers are not interested in "politics". Obviously it is bad to respond by shoving "politics" ("correct line" or not) down their throats. Equally bad is to think that they are not worth talking to. It is also bad to be not very good at talking to this type of worker. It may be understandable (particularly if we have spent some time living in the left bloc) but it is very bad to be aware of this error and not to take steps to correct it. How? Practice!!

These are some of the "backward" political ideas found in the working class. Only by clearly and openly identifying these ideas can we make a proper start to systematically combatting them. To just ignore these ideas acts as a break on the role of the vanguard elements (those who are politically conscious and active) in the task of political and ideological development of the working class. It means that we will set ourselves a wrong task or too small a task. It does not disparage the working class to truthfully admit that these ideas do exist. The working class is a vulnerable class. Just as many individual workers are defenceless against industrial accidents that maim and cripple workers for life, the working class has limited defences (under a bourgeois dictatorship) against the incursion of ruling class ideas and propaganda into its consciousness - through the media, through the political parties like the ALP and revisionists (false friends). To further develop its own class consciousness, unity, solidarity and determination to fight - building on positive achievements - is the best defence against bourgeois rule. Patient and persistent mass work is a constant requirement in conducting this campaign.

In individual workers we often find a combination of politically backward and politically advanced ideas. There is nothing surprising in this. One divides into two. The advanced and backward exist together everywhere without exception (including within the party).

Unity

Unity is strength. When workers are united in struggle against the boss and basic mass consciousness develops: "my fellow worker is my friend" and "the boss is my enemy" then we have achieved a great deal and can go on and achieve more. A very important task of advanced workers is to take the lead in encouraging and building unity amongst all types of workers. This means getting away from the conventional "militant" image (in some respects). It means spending time, being patient with the "backward". To build unity in struggle that will stand up to the boss and all his dirty tricks, including the usual union sellout, is no small feat. For the working class to organise and to defend what it has at the moment (in the face of increasing attacks) is no small feat.

There seems to have been a greater emphasis on these questions in the early days of building the CPA (ML). A classic like "Some Ideological Questions" can be restudied today to great advantage.

How do we set about to overcome the problems on these jobs (listed above) so that unity in struggle against the boss occurs? To answer this we have to look at our

experience. There are 2 factors:

(1) Backward attitudes by workers may not be deeply held, often they are learnt more from the media than from life. Life is stronger, experience is stronger. No worker has only backward ideas. There is advanced and backward in everything and in certain circumstances (e.g. an act of bastardy from the boss) one can transform into the other.

(2) Backward attitudes are deeply held by the boss, especially the imperialists. On occasions the multinational boss will lie, cheat, break his own laws and procedures, display incredible arrogance, bribe, blackmail, sack workers etc. And these things often come out into the open.

In these circumstances the workers will unite in action against the Company. The politically advanced, middle and backward will unite. The situation arises where the consciously politically advanced - though numerically in a minority - can exert a decisive influence by correct leadership - and bring new people into the leadership. Initially the workers may take action such as strike, overtime ban or work to rule.

But this sort of unity will be generally short lived. It will last while the Company remains intransigent. When the Company backs off and grants a few little concessions then the politically backward back off and the middle wavers. It is important to recognise this when it happens, otherwise the "advanced" (especially if they are affected by dogmatism) if they still charge forward "bull at a gate" will very quickly become isolated, allowing the Company to counter attack (e.g. sack one of the leaders).

Trade Union Politics v. Class Struggle

And here lies the importance of consciously striving to introduce more advanced anti imperialist and socialist politics into the workplace. Only when the masses grasp this politics - class struggle - will we achieve a higher form of unity, a longer lasting unity.....

(To be continued)...

Gino Trimboli

(This indictment of Teng Hsiao-Ping is extracted from an article written by a veteran cadre last year. Apparently and unaccountably he seems to have changed his views on Teng and other matters since then).

Teng Hsiao-Ping was Liu Shao-Chi's deputy. Along with Liu Teng was criticised by the masses in the cultural revolution. He admitted that he had committed the crime of pushing the revisionist line to restore capitalism and vowed: "I'll mend my ways" and "I'll never reverse the verdict". (The verdict referred to the achievements of the cultural revolution in seeing that the working class occupied leading positions in the superstructure of society. More about the superstructure later).

But not long after Teng resumed work he threw off his disguise, formulated a program and began to prepare public opinion for an organized and planned attack on the party with the spearhead directed at Chairman Mao. He put forward the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link and opposes the setting up of revolutionary leading bodies of three-in-one combination. (This means committees comprising the young, middle-aged and veteran).

He also tried to reverse decisions regarding education. He wanted to put an end to allowing the sons and daughters of peasants, workers and soldiers entering universities. He clung to the conception that the higher education institutions must be elitist. This is the capitalist outlook.

Teng Hsiao-ping lasted less time than Lin Piao which once again is indicative of the rising political consciousness of the great mass of the Chinese people. In the course of the Cultural Revolution hundreds of millions of Chinese people have studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought on an extensive scale and in a deep-going way. Their study has not just been an academic exercise. It has been linked directly with problems arising from the development of the Cultural Revolution itself. The Cultural Revolution has become a class-room.

Now we will pass to discussing the Cultural Revolution in a more general way. We will see that China is putting into practice the advice of the founders of the Communist movement, Marx and Engels. Foreign commentators with little understanding of how social progress is achieved often write lurid stories about the disorder and disarray of Chinese society. Nothing of course is further from the truth.

These commentators see struggle as disorder. Of course there is disorder in a sense, but the disorder is not collapse. It is disorder that is well understood by the Chinese people, a disorder that leads to a higher stage of order. Engels long ago pointed out: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." Marxism, Lenin said "has had to fight forever step forward in the course of its life." Chairman Mao teaches: "History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle." (Combatting erroneous, non-proletarian ideas).

In Australia today there is great social disorder. Many people who could not be called communist or even sympathisers of communism openly talk about the pending collapse of capitalism. But within this disorder there is developing and growing the order of the ordinary people. They make and fight for demands which correct the disorder of the capitalist class. This will continue. The Chinese understand how history develops. They know that struggle there would be no development.

THE THEORY OF THE TRAITOR CLASS

At present there is a truly remarkable "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism being peddled in various publications called the theory of the traitor class. It seems to have made its appearance at about the same time as that other "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism - taking super-power contention as the "key link".

What exactly is this "traitor-class" which now appears to play such a decisive role in Australia? Unfortunately we cannot discover the answer by referring to the current General Programme of the C.P.A. (M-L). In the section on friends and enemies the traitor class doesn't rate a mention. Are we to assume that it is an entirely new class which has only recently arrived on the stage of history?

We have been told (although not in the Party Programme of course) that "the essence of the traitor class is national betrayal". We can only conclude from this oft-repeated statement that this "traitor class" must be a brand new class because the history of the world has never yet revealed a class whose essence was national betrayal. Up till now the essence of all classes has been their relationship to the means of production and distribution.

The Party Programme does talk about collaborators of the imperialist bourgeoisie and classifies them correctly as enemies of the revolution. But collaborators come from all classes and strata and have never been known to constitute a separate social class.

And this "traitor class" can't mean the Australian monopoly capitalists because they are an integral part of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the world imperialist system whose essence is the ownership of the means of production and the expropriation of surplus value created by the proletariat.

Perhaps this term "traitor-class" is really a new expression for compradors? That seems a likely possibility but let's be sure what a comprador is before we jump to a hasty conclusion. According to a footnote in comrade Mao Tsetung's article "Analysis of the classes in Chinese society":

"A comprador in the original sense of the word was the Chinese manager or the senior Chinese employee in a foreign commercial establishment. The compradors served foreign economic interests and had close connection with imperialism and foreign capital"
(Selected Works, v1, p19)

Aha! It seems we might be finally getting somewhere. But wait! Let's first see what Mao had to say about the Chinese compradors. He pointed out in the introduction to his article that...

"To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and their respective attitudes towards the revolution!" (ibid p13, emphasis added)

Note that he says "the revolution", not "the nation".

He pointed out that the compradors are "wholly appendages of the international bourgeoisie, depending upon imperialism for their survival and growth". He says "their existence is utterly incompatible with the aims of the Chinese revolution." Why? Is it because their essence is national betrayal? No. It is they represent the "most reactionary relations of production in China and hinder the development of her productive forces."

So whoever the "traitor class" may actually be it seems obvious that their essence can't be "national betrayal". Fuzzy and unscientific bourgeois nationalist concepts and catch-phrases are no substitute for Marxist-Leninist class analysis.

So what is the reason for inventing this new and thoroughly groundless theory. I suggest that it is designed to be a very profound sounding justification for the totally erroneous argument that the Soviet social-imperialist bourgeoisie are about to step into the Australian shoes of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie in an exactly similar way that the U.S. took them over from the British imperialist bourgeoisie.

This rather astounding argument will be dealt with in a future article in The Rebel.

BY MARTIN CONNELL