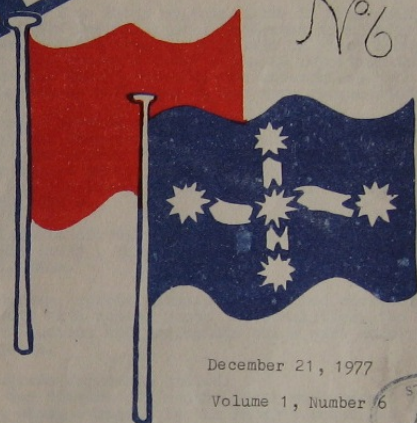


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Write to Red Eureka Movement, C/- Sylvia Collins
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red eureka movement

INTERNATIONAL REPORT
SPANISH MARXIST - LENINISTS HOLD SECOND CONGRESS

The Communist Party of Spain (M-L), which has been in existence for thirteen years, held its second congress from June 23 to June 26.

The Party's newspaper "Vanguardia Obrera", reported that 300 delegates took part in the Congress. 64 per cent of the delegates were proletarian, 28 per cent were women and the average age of the delegates was 28.

The delegates came from Party organisations in Andalusia, Aragon, Asturia, old and new Castille, etc. Delegates from Party organisations operating among Spanish emigrants in other European countries were also present. Party cells in important industrial centres such as the Madrid construction enterprises, the transport and mines of Barcelona and other cities were represented.

A group of veteran leaders from the old Spanish Republican Army were present at the Congress. These comrades included some of the founders of the famous 5th regiment, guerilla leaders decorated for their active participation in the war against fascism and partisans who continued the armed struggle against the Franco regime into the 1950's.

Four Party militants executed by the Franco regime were proclaimed Heroes of the Party. These were comrades S. Markos, X. Alonso, H. Bravo and K. Sans.

During the congress, special commissions worked out resolutions dealing with work with women, youth, nationalities, the rural areas, the trade unions and propaganda which were endorsed by the Congress delegates.

One of the Congress documents stated:

"Our congress was convened 18 months after we launched the slogan "Intensify the class struggle in the Party's ranks and "Promote the proletarianisation of our ranks and leading organs". In the course of this struggle, our Party, its members and cadres at all levels have unleashed a devastating offensive against the appearance of rightist tendencies, against all those who glossed over and confused the unchangeable principle that the class struggle is the driving force of history.

"This struggle has strengthened our Party and our ranks have been purged....."

"The newly elected Central Committee has been greatly strengthened because the industrial proletariat and labouring peasantry now constitute its overwhelming majority".

GENERAL RESOLUTION

The Report on the Work of the Central Committee, delivered by comrade Raul Marko and the General Resolution were enthusiastically adopted. The resolution expressed full approval of the Party's line of denouncing and attacking all those forces operating within the peoples ranks who advocated reconciliation with the monarcho-fascist enemy. In this regard, the main representative of the enemy is the Carrillo-Ibaruri clique (the so-called Spanish Communist Party).

The resolution confirmed the Party's full support for all the forces, organisations and committees which have united in the Anti-fascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front (FRAP). FRAP is the revolutionary unity which the Spanish proletariat and people are forging and is essential for victory in the peoples revolution.

The resolution supported the Republican Convention which for more than a year has been the standard bearer of Spanish republican unity against the monarcho-fascists and imperialism, for the republic, national independence, self-determination of the oppressed nationalities and social progress.

....continued over page..

The second Congress analysed the great importance of the Workers' Assemblies and supports the call for a congress of Workers' Assemblies as a means to strengthen the unity of the working masses in the revolutionary trade unionist movement, to isolate the counter-revolutionary and anti-working class line of the yellow trade unions, to prevent the realisation of the 'social contract' and to fight head on the 'stabilisation plan' of the monarcho-fascist government.

The congress decided on measures to boost revolutionary work among the rural day-labourers and poor peasants and to further support the peasant struggles against the monopolies, the big landowners and imperialism.

The congress emphasised the need to step up the struggle for national independence. This means to throw out U.S. imperialism while increasing vigilance against Soviet social-imperialist expansion. The Soviet social-imperialists are leaving no stone unturned to penetrate the Iberian peninsula.

Pointing to the increase in the mass strike movement and other militant struggles, the Congress called on the Spanish working people to arm themselves in defence against the fascist gangs and the armed assassins working for the monopoly capitalists. The Congress pledged the Party to strive to turn this call into reality.

In conclusion, the Congress expressed its determination to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the international sphere against the deformations and attacks of the old and new opportunism.

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THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Part one and a half
(See Rebel 3)

Some favourable comments have been received on part 1 of this article because it does attempt to give some practical guidance on particular problems that arise on the job, for example, problems that arise in mass work and the problem of pessimism. There has been too much arbitrary 'theoretical' pronouncement in the past and too little concrete, practical guidance.

However, the author would like to make some self critical comments about part 1 in the light of constructive criticism that has been made. There are 2 main points:

1. The article does not draw a clear distinction between the role of the working class and the role of communists and the communist party.

E.g. "Individuals in the party must show by their deeds that they serve the working class" (p.2) and "We can learn from each other but the working class must lead and practice is primary". (p.5)

These statements are true but they do not go far enough. The formulation is too narrow and tends to emphasise working class background as the most important thing. The working class is the leading class but genuine communists come from a variety of class backgrounds. It is an urgent political task in Australia to do more effective political work in the heart of the working class (in the factories, job sites and working class suburbs). But communists must work amongst all classes and master different types of political work. E.g., exposures on things like the Omega military base, the danger from Soviet social imperialism and a host of other issues. Detailed study and research (and down to earth practical exposures in workers' language) on these matters has to be done by communists too. "Marx said the proletariat must not only emancipate itself but all mankind. If it cannot emancipate all mankind, then the proletariat itself will not be able to achieve final emancipation." (from, Mao Unrehearsed, p 260-261)

Both petty bourgeois intellectualism and worker sectarianism are wrong and should be opposed.

2. The article is not helpful to intellectuals and tends to negate their role.

E.g. "there is the problem of those in the leadership who concentrate mainly on writing and theoretical work keeping 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..." (p. 1)
"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..." (p. 5)

Again these remarks are correct as far as they go and they are directly applicable to some comrades at the moment who have become divorced from the people and class struggle.

But the above remarks need to be qualified. Difficulties are emphasised and intellectuals are not really encouraged. In reality many intellectuals have overcome these difficulties. In reality all genuine Marxist-Leninists are working class intellectuals. In a footnote in 'What Is To Be Done?' Lenin said: "This does not mean, of course, that the workers have not part in creating such an ideology (socialism). They take part, however, not as workers but as socialist theoreticians....in other words, they take part only when they are able and to the extent that they are able, more or less, to acquire the knowledge of their age and develop that knowledge. But in order that working men may succeed in this more often, every effort must be made to raise the level of the consciousness of the workers in general...only a few (bad) intellectuals believe that it is enough for workers to be told a few things about factory conditions and to have repeated to them over and over again what has long been known." (p. 40-41)

We don't quote Lenin just to 'prove' a point and end discussion. But when we think of workers who strive to become communists in our experience what Lenin says is correct.

The article tends to suggest that the only reliable leaders are those communists on the factory floor who acquire Marxist-Leninism. In this respect the article bows to worker sectarianism and equates this with starting from realities. We must start from realities. Generally this article does this. But one simple reality it ignores is that many progressive intellectuals (communists and non-communists) are playing a very positive role in the Australian revolution. Because some intellectuals have drifted from Marxism-Leninism into blind faith it certainly does not follow that the intellectuals should be ignored or neglected. Workers chauvinism divides the people and is anti-communist, as is petty bourgeois intellectualism and abstract waffle.

(Part 2 of "The Leading Role of the Working Class" is in preparation and will be published in 1978)

Gino Trimboli

NOTE: The article "Studying Inflation" in The Rebel No 4 should have been dated 5th April, 1976. Some sentences in the excerpt from Marx were printed wrongly. These should have read as follows:

"A general fall of commodity-prices may be expressed as a rise in the value of money relative to all other commodities, and, on the other hand, a general rise of prices may be defined as a fall in the relative value of money. Either of these statements describes the phenomenon but does not explain it."

Also the word "opposite" should have read "opposite".

The following article, written 31st July 1976 repeats an excerpt from the same work.

Incidentally, when these two articles were submitted to another publication in August 1976, the reply was not only that they were completely anti-Marxist (naturally), but also 1) that Marx does not discuss inflation etc in his "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy" (sic) and; 2) that the very quotations used to claim that Marx disagreed with the "excessive printing of banknotes" theory confirm that he agreed with it.

As anybody not completely blinded by their own arrogance can see: 1) The suggestion was to study Marx's 1859 work, "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" not the posthumously published Introduction to that work (see "Studying Inflation") and;

2) The excerpt quotes Ricardo's theory of "currency inflation" in order to ridicule it. One has to be very far from Marxism, as well as pretty oblivious, to think one's own ridiculous theories are Marx's, and not to even notice the sarcasm when it is pointed out. Talk of the "only Marxist" etc from such people does not sit well. It would be better to discuss (or even just rave on about), some issues actually in dispute, rather than continue erecting, and 'brilliantly' destroying Aunt Sally's about "socialized relations of production" or what have you.

INFLATION AND PAPER MONEY

31/7/76

A popular theory holds that inflation is due to the excessive printing of banknotes.

This theory was refuted by Marx a long time ago, in his "Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy" and in the third volume of "Capital".

It is true that the state can issue unlimited quantities of paper money, which will then depreciate because they cannot

escape from circulation and are out of proportion to the gold that would have been required for circulation.

This has been the cause of many paper money inflations, such as Weimar Germany, Kuomintang China, and Russia during the period of "War Communism". It is usually a result of state bankruptcy.

But banknotes, as used in Australia and most other advanced capitalist countries, are not the same as "paper money". They are a form of credit money, and cannot normally be forced arbitrarily into circulation.

It is true that Australian banknotes are not directly convertible into gold, but they are nevertheless internationally convertible and based on credit.

As a matter of fact banknotes circulate only a small part of the commodities bought and sold in Australia - mainly a portion of that small part purchased by workers in retail trade. A large part of consumer goods are circulated by cheques and credit cards, while of course banknotes are hardly used in wholesale trade and the circulation of means of production at all.

According to the Reserve Bank statistical bulletin (available free and well worth having), banknotes and coins to a value of 2.73 billion dollars were in circulation in May 1976. But there were 6.8 million dollars current deposits in trading banks, 8.72 billion other deposits with trading banks and 14.31 billions of dollars in deposits with savings banks, giving a total "volume of money(M3)" of 32.55 billion dollars - about 12 times the amount of notes and coin.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics Banking and Currency bulletin, cheques totalling 6.15 thousand billion dollars were written on trading bank accounts each week in June 1972. At that time only 1.32 billion worth of banknotes were in circulation. To handle the same volume of circulation as the cheques, each banknote would have to change hands more than four and a half thousand times weekly!

From the forties till about 1968, Australia was on "gold exchange standard", in which our currency could be exchanged for U.S. dollars at a fixed rate, and hence for gold at 35 U.S. dollars an ounce.

Nevertheless, prices rose steadily during this period, and at times quite rapidly. The amount of gold that had to be exchanged for most commodities increased - not just the amount of paper.

Then came the international monetary disarray, with suspension of the U.S. dollar's convertibility to gold, speculation in gold, and forced withholding of most of the world's gold supplies (Government monetary Holdings), from the market, in this period the price of gold climbed rapidly to nearly 200 U.S. dollars. This gave credence to theories that inflation was merely a paper money phenomenon, since the prices of most commodities were actually falling in terms of gold.

Recently gold prices have been rapidly falling, a little more than half their previous highest levels. Yet only a small part of the IMF's gold reserves have been sold, leaving most of the world's gold still held in monetary reserves and the price kept artificially high. Thus once again commodity prices have been

rising rapidly, not just in terms of paper currencies, but also in terms of gold. And they seem likely to continue to do so for a period.

All this may seem a very narrow and technical issue, but it has wider importance.

If inflation is merely due to Government's monetary policies, then the Government need only change its monetary policies and all will be well.

In fact, as Marx points out:

"The most common and conspicuous phenomenon accompanying commercial crises is a sudden fall in the general level of commodity prices occurring after a prolonged general rise of prices..... Whether the task set is to explain the periodic rise in the general level of prices alternating with a general fall, or the same task is said to be to explain the alternating fall and rise in the relative value of money with that of commodities - the different terminology has just as little effect on the task itself as a translation of the terms from German into English would have. What is the cause of the general fall in commodity-prices which occurs periodically? It is the periodical y occurring rise in the relative value of money. What on the other hand is the cause of the recurrent general rise in commodity prices? It is the recurrent fall in the relative value of money. It would be just as correct to say that the recurrent rise and fall of prices is brought about by their recurrent rise and fall..... Prices therefore rise and fall periodically (according to Ricardo - ed.), because periodically there is too much or too little money in circulation... But continued investigation of the history of prices compelled Tooke to recognise that the direct correlation between prices and the quantity of currency presupposed by this theory is purely imaginary, that increases or decreases in the amount of currency when the value of the previous metals remains constant are always the consequence, never the cause of price variations, that altogether the circulation of money is merely a secondary movement and that in addition to serving as medium of circulation, money performs various other functions in the real process of production...." (Contribution to the Critique of political Economy, 1857. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1970, pp182-6)

Thus the present prolonged rise in prices is a preliminary to a commercial crisis and sudden fall in prices. This is a very different picture to that usually presented of rising prices as a permanent feature of capitalism today. The present economic difficulties are only a preliminary to crisis and we should be preparing people for the catastrophe that is yet to come.

It is no use expressing indignation against Governments for printing money, or against monopolies for raising prices "arbitrarily". Capitalism is governed by certain laws which are independent of man's will. Its crises are determined by the operation of those laws, not by the evil activities of bad men. To abolish crises we have to abolish capitalism, which requires a scientific understanding of it. Misdirected indignation does not help.

ALAN WARD 31/7/1976

.....cont. over page..

BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS = THE BIG CHARACTER POSTER

MAO TSS-TUNG AUGUST 5, 1966

On August 5, 1966 came the Big Character Poster "Bombard The Headquarters", which was one of Mao Tse-tung's contributions to the Cultural Revolution. It blew the lid off, exposing to the nation the struggle between the two lines which had raged unknown to it for so long.

This poster read as follows:

China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and the Commentator's article on it in Jenmin Jihpao (People's Daily) are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great Cultural Revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their heads and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation of 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was "left" in form but right in essence, shouldn't this prompt one to deep thought.

(Quoted from: Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University by William Hinton P. 79-80)

WITHOUT COMMENT

29/11/77

(Excerpts from the Hsinhua News Bulletin, Hong Kong)

112311 -- "People's Daily" articles discuss payment for labour and profits in socialist society.

Peking, November 23, 1977 (Hsinhua) -- Fallacies spread by the gang of four about the forms of payment for labour and profits under socialism are refuted in two articles carried in yesterday's "People's Daily".

An article written by Chao Lu-kuan hits out at Wang Hung-wen's absurdity: "the practices of piece-work and time-rate wages and bonuses, far from showing concern for the people's well-being, are the grossest insults to the working class." Entitled "Refute the fallacies of the gang of four on the forms of payment for labour", it is summarized below.

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is a socialist principle, a conclusion clearly affirmed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. But Wang Hung-wen and his cohorts tried to negate this principle by writing off all forms of remuneration for labour under socialism on the pretext that they bore some similarities to wages under capitalism.

To implement this principle correctly it is imperative to put politics in command while using material incentives and to rely mainly on political incentives while making material incentives subsidiary. Moreover, there must be appropriate forms of remuneration for labour.

In present-day China, the principle of distribution according to work is effected through work points, wages, subsidies and allowances and other forms. These diverse forms stem from the existence of the two types of public ownership of the means of production, the different technical standards and levels of management in various departments and units and the different technical processes and varying tax on the workers' physical and mental labour in various trades.

The time-rate wage system is a widely applicable form of remuneration. The piece-work system, though applicable to a narrower scope, is nevertheless suited to certain trades under certain conditions. Use of necessary material rewards in given circumstances and within certain limits can make up for the weaknesses for the basic forms of payment for labour and help the implementation of the principle of distribution according to work.

In order to make this principle really effective, it is essential to do a good job of ideological and political work whatever form of remuneration for labour is used. We should implement the socialist economic policy on the one hand and carry out education in communist ideology on the other. This is the dialectical-materialist approach we should take at the present stage.

The second article, "On profits under socialism", by economist Hsu Ti-hsin, focuses on the necessity of a socialist enterprise yielding profits for the purpose of accumulating funds for the state and of developing the socialist economy at high speed. Economist Hsu stresses

17/11/77

T I T O ' S T R A V E L S

by "revisionist"

the essential differences between profits under socialism and those under capitalism and the revisionist practice of "putting profits in command"....

..... (24/11/77 pp7-8. Remainder of the item summarizes the second article and is not reprinted here.)

111948 -- Comrade Keng Piao gives banquet in honour of delegation of Yugoslav Trade Union Federation

Peking, November 19, 1977 (Hsinhua) -- Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, gave a banquet here this evening in honour of the delegation of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation led by Comrade Milutin Baltic...

Addressing the banquet, Comrade Keng Piao said, "Today, the workers and other people of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Comrade Tito and the Yugoslav League of Communists, have achieved tremendous successes both in building their own country, in fighting to defend its sovereignty and independence and in initiating and developing the movement for non-alignment and supporting the people of all other countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We rejoice at and admire the revolutionary spirit of the fraternal workers and other people of Yugoslavia as well as every success they have achieved..."

..."Comrade Tito's recent visit to China and the talks between Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Tito have brought the relations of the two countries into a new stage of development...The current visit to China of the delegation of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation led by Comrade Milutin Baltic is yet another contribution to the friendly relations between the workers and other peoples of China and Yugoslavia..."

In his speech at the banquet, Comrade Baltic said: "Our delegation arrived here shortly after President Tito's visit to China and his talks with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Their talks have opened up prospects for the development of all-round cooperation between our two countries. We are now both striving to build socialism in our own countries. This will promote better mutual understanding between us."

Comrade Baltic said: "During the 10 days or so we have spent in your friendly country, we have acquainted ourselves with the efforts made by Chinese working class and the rest of the people to carry out the resolutions of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the report by respected Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. We sincerely wish the Chinese people complete success in the struggle to build socialism..."

..... (20/11/77 pp31-2.)

From "The Rebel!" No 6, published by the Red Eureka Movement, 17 The Ridge, Blackburn, Vic 3130. Subscriptions to "The Rebel!" and "Study Notes" 20 cents per copy, plus postage.

Recently, Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito visited China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as the Soviet Union and some other capitalist countries.

Tito has taken a firm stand against Soviet imperialist bullying and it is appropriate that he should be warmly welcomed, with all due pomp and ceremony, in socialist countries.

China and Albania are the only countries in the world that have taken a completely uncompromising position against Soviet social-imperialism and branded it clearly as a superpower threatening the world's people. Yugoslavia has not taken such a stand, and neither have some countries that may be considered socialist. Nevertheless, under Tito's leadership, Yugoslavia has firmly defended its independence, and that is to be welcomed.

Tito was also one of the anti-fascist leaders in the second world war. It is appropriate to praise him for this just as it is appropriate to praise De Gaulle for the same anti-fascist stand.

Under Tito's leadership, Yugoslavia has advanced from a backward agrarian country to a relatively advanced industrial-agrarian country. That also calls for praise.

But Tito was never a Communist and it is quite wrong to refer to him as having been the leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the anti-fascist war. Yugoslavia is a capitalist country and Tito is a revisionist. No confusion should be created about that.

Tito is President of a party that calls itself the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and of a state that calls itself the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. What they call themselves is a matter for them, and others have no choice but to use the titles given. In shaking hands with Tito, one does not have to call him a counter-revolutionary at the same time. Nevertheless, he is a counter-revolutionary and one doesn't have to call him "comrade" either.

Reporting Tito as calling someone "comrade", or reprinting a communique in which this endearment is freely exchanged, is necessary only as a kite flying exercise to prepare

public opinion. The ambiguity is not accidental, it is deliberate. Now things have gone to the point where on November 11 a Yugoslav revisionist is officially referred to as "Comrade". The ambiguity could be ignored. This cannot be.

There may be some countries that are still socialist even though their leaders could hardly be called Marxist-Leninist in a fit. In the interests of unity against imperialism and social-imperialism, some concessions may be made in party to party relations with the leaders of such countries, or in remaining silent about revisionist policies pursued, for the time being.

Yugoslavia is not such a case. The exposure of capitalism in Yugoslavia was an important part of the struggle against modern revisionism in the 1960s. There can be no party to party relations with revisionists, except by fellow revisionists, in a situation like this.

Turning a backward agrarian country into a modernized industrial-agrarian or even advanced industrial country has never been enough to qualify as a "comrade". Historically this task has often been accomplished by the bourgeoisie. Only those who want to follow the Yugoslav road of "modernizing" through capitalism instead of socialism might want to create confusion on this point.

Any enemy of our enemies is our friend. That includes Tito. That doesn't mean our allies are comrades. Tito is not our comrade and neither for that matter are his comrades.

THE MALE CHAUVINIST PIG AND THE REVOLUTION (Written by a man)

My experience has been that sexism in personal relationships is one of the most difficult areas to serve the people (and to see yourself as others see you).

Capitalist society corrupts men in a very deep way in their attitudes to women. Some of my actions in the past (and they still continue) were very selfish and individualistic showing no regard for the feelings of others. The battle still goes on today.

I had a good personal/sexual relationship with a woman several years ago. But I felt that she was not politically advanced enough. I used to lapse into moody and irritable long silences because I felt she could not understand my "great thoughts".

What a stuck up, arrogant pig I was! (and am?). Eventually I told her that we would have to split up because I knew another woman who was politically more advanced. This was my real thinking but I probably just said that we were incompatible, had a personality clash or some such other Freudian rubbish. She was very upset. No doubt she couldn't understand such selfishness coming from someone who fervently claimed to "serve the people". Actually she was politically active and involved but after this experience with a "heavy" she dropped out from organised politics.

So I set up house with my "politically more advanced" comrade. I worked in a big factory and we were going to serve the people together. But our idyllic dream world was soon shattered. I did not show much feeling or consideration for my comrades feelings. She had a few political and personal problems but I did not encourage her. I expected her to act like a "correct" heavy all the time. Personal problems were diversionary to political work I thought.

She was not prepared to confront and help me either or to struggle hard to save the relationship. There was a lot of idealism involved on both sides. Our thinking was: Read and study the correct books and literature; integrate ourselves with the working class (all we did was rub shoulders with the workers) and we are revolutionaries.

But it was all in our heads and not in our hearts. We didn't learn to love the people, share weild and woe with them or to struggle with them. We thought that we were clean and pure and that the people were dirty, contaminated with bourgeois thoughts. We were "heroes with no place to display our prowess" (Mao, "Talk at the Yenan Forum on Lit. and Art"). We knew something was drastically wrong but couldn't understand it or talk about it.

This time she left me. My male ego was shattered. I became depressed and pessimistic. I had been building castles in the air for some time now and they crashed down around my ears. In retrospect I suppose I was lucky to learn how it felt to be rejected in the same way that I had rejected another. Quite a few male egos I know could do with just such a busting!

I ran off the rails for a while but found my way back to doing active political work. Fortunately there were a few comrades around who I could go and talk to. Not many though. Some on the left are too busy doing political work to help people with problems! Others just lack the experience and so can't help much.

My present personal situation is much better (knock on my head). We both have some experience with selfish or patronising behaviour in personal life and can steer clear of some of the pitfalls.

I still find my thinking is influenced by elitism ("I am important"). For example, I think that I am politically more advanced, doing important earth shattering work, and my partner should fit in with this without question. Fortunately she DOES question it and gets angry and forces me to listen. Since I have started to listen I have discovered that I have a lot to learn in all facets of life from her.

On occasions I still behave like a pig. I told her once that I had to go to an important meeting which was secret. She blew up and demanded an explanation. I didn't attempt any patient explanation on the need for security, the nature of the State, the experience of other countries etc. in a down to earth way. I took the easy way, lost my temper and said lump it or leave it. Its very easy for the man to throw his weight around like this. Especially where there are kids involved its much harder for the woman.

In our society its extremely easy to treat people like commodities - throw them away when you're finished with them. By striving to reject this thinking in every part of our life we can create a really revolutionary fighting unity between men and women to take over Australia from the bludgers so that the people run it.

I hope younger comrades can learn from my bad past behaviour and avoid the same pitfalls (and teach me about the new ones).

M.C. Pig

by A. Scum

Vanguard of December 1, 1977⁺ has another pronouncement against "r-r-revolutionaries". In keeping with the rapid decline and increasing insignificance of this "handful" since they were last shoved on their way to Hell, the latest pronouncement on refusing to take part in a debating society runs to two full pages.

Any resemblance between our views, and those attributed to these "renegades" (whatever happened to "riff-raff"?), is entirely coincidental. Nevertheless, we have reason to believe the article is supposed to refer to us, so a considered reply will be prepared for the next Rebel!

In the meantime we urge readers to carefully compare the views and practice attributed to us, with our known past and present practice, and our real views, as stated in our publications.

We have been able to find only one statement in the article that more or less accurately reflects our views. We do believe that the leadership of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) "gives no lead to struggle; its newspaper and journal contain no guidance and merely record or comment on events". We also agree that this assertion "must be examined" and that "It is nothing to get excited about".

Readers may form their own opinion as to whether this assertion has been properly examined and replied to, and whether or not the party leadership has become "excited" about it. Our own opinion, based on a careful, although somewhat incredulous examination of the article, is that they have not only become over excited, but are tending towards blind panic and desperate hysteria.

We hope our supporters will restrain themselves from:

- Attacking the struggle for Australia's independence and socialism and saying the struggle should be (only) for socialism. This confuses our opponents in AIM who have only just managed to convince themselves that we are wrong for supporting independence and socialism when we should only talk about independence.

- Asserting that Australia is already socialist and that therefore there is no need to struggle for socialism.

- Saying "the development of monopoly only assists socialism; don't struggle, let it go on".

- Bitterly resisting the struggle to identify the Soviet social-imperialists as the more dangerous of the two superpowers and asserting that this is all rubbish.

- Wanting "as Marx said", to reduce the workers "to one level of broken wretches".

- "Confronting the state power" right now. Everyone out in the streets, arms in hand.

- Abusing the workers for not being militant enough.

Etc, etc etc.

These and similar ultra-right views of ours, like those

of the "gang of four", are all deep secrets which we only whisper to each other in dark corners. It is very embarrassing to have our real views defined for us and dragged into the light of day by Vanguard. It frustrates our plot to confuse and mislead honest people, and to divert them from revolutionary work, by asking them to read what we pretend to be saying in the six issues of Rebel! out so far and other publications.

We especially ask our supporters not to have anything "proclaimed from the rooftops". With such an absurd line, even whispering it secretly makes it a wonder why everybody hasn't seen through us long ago and why we are still a problem and apparently an increasing one.

Besides, there is an acute shortage of rooftop space from which to proclaim at the moment, and we shall have to wait our turn.

As for the articles references to former students suffering from "nostalgia", "Guevarism" and "refusal to do systematic, patient day to day work", we hope this will not unduly upset our more loud-mouthed and offensive opponents within AIM. While many will see a greater resemblance to our opponents behaviour, attitudes and history than to our own, we are sure the irony was quite unintentional.

Finally the assertion that we have excluded ourselves from the Party by our own actions is exactly as truthfull as the rest. We have not left the Party, nor have Party Central Committee members left the Central Committee. Neither have we been expelled, nor has any party organization purported to expel us, nor has any party leader notified any individual that they are supposed to be expelled. We remain Party members and Central Committee members. In the history of the international communist movement, it is party "leaders" who consider themselves above the party program and constitution who generally find themselves outside the party in the end. The Party is bigger than any individuals who take it upon themselves to classify others as "renegades" or "genuinely confused", and the Party Program and Constitution are stronger than any thugs. No proclamations from on high can change that.

1+ "Under a Standard Vanguard Headline Too Long and Boring to Repeat" pp2-3.

ARE YOU A

R-R-(RIFF-RAFF)REVOLUTIONARY.

"World-wide riff-raff who pretended to be revolutionaries have emerged around the gang of four. This is a bad thing. It is also a good thing. It clears the rubbish from the revolutionary movement and thereby strengthens it. It enables the proletarian (sic) revolutionaries to shove this scum away. They are certain to go to hell. They should be helped along the way."

--November 17, 1977, page 3.

ACCORDING TO THE POCKET OXFORD DICTIONARY:

riff-raff, n. The rabble, disreputable people.

rabble, n. Disorderly crowd, mob; the lower part of the populace.

In capitalist society, the "lower part of the populace" is the proletariat.

MAO TSETUNG ON THE RIFF-RAFF.

"The right-wing of the Kuomintang says, 'The peasant movement is a movement of the riff-raff, of the lazy peasants.' This view is current in Changsha. When I was in the countryside, I heard the gentry say, 'It is all right to set up peasant associations, but the people now running them are no good. They ought to be replaced!' This opinion comes to the same thing as what the right-wingers are saying; according to both it is all right to have a peasant movement (the movement is already in being and no-one dare say otherwise), but they say that the people running it are no good and they particularly hate those in charge of the associations at the lower levels, calling them 'riff-raff'. In short, all those whom the gentry had despised, those whom they had trodden into the dirt, people with no place in society, people with no right to speak, have now audaciously lifted up their heads. They have not only lifted up their heads, but taken power into their hands. They are now running the township peasant associations (at the lowest level), which they have turned into something fierce and formidable. They have raised their rough, work-soiled hands and laid them on the gentry. They tether the evil gentry with ropes, crown them with tall paper hats and parade them through the villages... Not a day passes but they drum some harsh, pitiless words of denunciation into the gentry's ears. They are issuing orders and are running everything. Those who used to rank lowest now rank above everybody else; and so this is called 'turning things upside down'.

"VANGUARDS OF THE REVOLUTION

"Where there are two opposite approaches to things and people, two opposite views emerge. 'It's terrible!' and 'It's fine!', 'riff-raff' and 'vanguards of the revolution' -- here are apt examples."
-- Selected Works, vol. 1, pp. 29-30.

RIFF-RAFF OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT THE GENTRY!

YOU HAVE A REVOLUTION TO WIN!

published by the Red Eureka Movement, 17 The Ridge, Blackburn, Vic. 27/11/77.

"Any political trend that passes socialism over in silence is radically opposed to the Social-Democratic programme."

LENIN ON SOCIALISM

23/11/77

During the 1905 Russian revolution, a bourgeois-democratic revolution against the Tsarist autocracy and for a democratic republic, a "Russian Liberation Union" was formed, with a "Workers' Union" to organize the workers for an armed uprising. The Russian Liberation Union was "an association of all who desire the transfer of power from the autocracy to the people by means of the armed uprising and through the convocation of a Constituent Assembly". Its emphasis on the working class, and on actual revolution, made its character far in advance of some proposals for the "Independence Movement" in Australia today, despite the fact that the Russian revolution was then at a stage (bourgeois democratic) far lower than Australia's today.

It is especially interesting therefore, to study Lenin's views on this sort of movement. The following excerpts are taken from "A New Revolutionary Workers' Association" (Collected Works, Vol 8, p499). The whole article should be studied, and will be reprinted shortly.

"These elements are simply revolutionary and simply democratic because association with the one definite class which has cut loose from the ruling bourgeoisie, viz.; the proletariat, is alien to them. By fighting for freedom without close connection with the proletarian struggle for socialism, they play a role that objectively amounts to promoting the interests of the bourgeoisie. They who serve the cause of freedom in general without serving the specific cause of proletarian utilisation of this freedom, the cause of turning this freedom to account in the proletarian struggle for socialism, are, in the final analysis, plainly and simply, fighters for the interests of the bourgeoisie. We do not in the least belittle the heroism of these people. We certainly do not belittle their tremendous role in the struggle for freedom. But we do not cease to maintain with the utmost emphasis that their activity does not yet in the least guarantee that the fruits of victory, the fruits of freedom, will be utilised in the interests of the proletariat, of socialism..."

"...Actually the just plain revolutionaries, the just plain democrats are no more than the vanguard of the bourgeois-democratic movement, and sometimes merely its auxiliary force, even its cannon fodder."

"...For the worker to abandon differences on questions of principle with the bourgeoisie, alongside which he is fighting the autocracy, is tantamount to abandoning socialism, to abandoning the idea of socialism, and the preparatory work for socialism. For the worker, in short, it means abandoning the idea of his economic emancipation, the emancipation of the working people from poverty and oppression. All over the world the bourgeoisie struggled for freedom, which it won largely with the hands of the workers, only thereafter to launch a furious struggle against socialism. Therefore, the appeal to sink differences is a bourgeois appeal..."