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¡ GUERRA POPULAR HASTA EL COMUNISMO !

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM.

Capitalism, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, can only remain in power when the working class is split. If the working class is united the rulers would not be able to hold out for long.

Capitalism, to survive needs a social base outside its own ranks, a strata which do not belong to them socially, but who will anchor their rule among the people. This role is given to social democracy. In Australia this is the Australian Labor party (ALP). Social democracy becomes a political force, and drags into its orbit the organised working class, paralysing their revolutionary energy and binds them to the bourgeois state.

The main body of the organised working class is the trade unions and thanks to them the social democrats remain. Workers outside the unions and social democracy unity do not enjoy the wages and conditions of the elite. They suffer unemployment, and the fluctuating market. When the crisis of capitalism wipes out the 'reforms' of increased wages, this raises the danger of the working class and its allies going over to the communists.

Therefore, finance capital, must find another method to split the workers. fascism. Known as national socialism in the 1930's in Germany.

This requires a new set up. Social democracy needs parliament and liberal parliamentary constitutions which are only acceptable to the outright capitalists as long as the working class is controlled and split by the social democrats, this set up suits the monopoly capitalists. If the working class begins to turn to communism, the ruling class will ditch social democracy and parliament and create an alternative.

Social democracy and fascism have similar functions. They are both gravediggers of the system of unions, ALP, parliament and instead of leading the masses to socialism as they both proclaim, lead them to the outright rule of finance capital. Thus, providing another mass base and support for its rule. Social democracy bases its self on the upper strata of the industrial workers and the fascists on the declassed elements and backward workers. Both have a sprinkling of the petit-bourgeoisie. Both serve the capitalists, both split the workers movement, both oppose the communists and proletarian revolution. They differ only in method.

Fascism shatters the class organisation of the workers and wipes out the gains made over years.

Social democracy undermines from within the militant struggle and revolutionary sentiments of the workers.

Fascism to be fully realised, requires a totalitarian terrorist state and ideology.

Fascism operates by coercion and deception.

Social democrats use deception and the coercion of internal methods of discipline on those who speak up or get too militant.

They differ only in method.

There are other traitors and servers of capitalism in the ranks of the proletarians. These are the revisionists who worm their way into the communist party. They revise Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) and strive to make the communist party acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie. The most notable revisionists were Krushchev and notorious Deng of China. They prepared the way for the collapse of socialism.

So what's the answer? Study the classics of MLM and make a clear class analysis of who is friend and who is enemy. Build a strong Revolutionary Communist Party. We have a world to win.



Apply M-L-M,
principally Maoism!

HOUSING/CAPITALISM

Homelessness and Poverty are par for the course under Capitalism, as housing, like all other issues confronting us under Capitalism, is a class issue.

Housing policy changes have already been politically motivated, designed in the interest of the business class, certainly they have never been in the interests of working people.

Right now we see massive changes occurring in the provision of Government housing, with changes under the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (C.S.H.A) leading to the most dramatic and draconian changes since the C.S.H.A. was first introduced after World War 2. And at the forefront of these changes is the Victorian Government, led by it's minister for homelessness, Anne Henderson, who makes no pretenses about her visions for Welfare housing.

Since Henderson accepted her portfolio, she at the behest of her ideological advisers embarked on a campaign to silence any opposition to her agenda. Unlike her predecessors, be they Lib-Lab or Lab-Lib there is no facade of consultation with tenant groups or their representative groups. Her sole meeting with representatives of tenant groups lasted half an hour in which she described the groups as "whingers". There is no desire to visit Government housing estates and properties even for P. R. reasons, such is her disdain for people renting from the Office of Housing.

To help effectively implement her ideological agenda, she has decided to discard the funding for the states 46 public tenant groups and 18 regional housing councils, replacing them with nine regional service providers. These positions are open to be tendered for with emphasis on the successful tenderer

having a Corporate structure, thus eliminating any chance small Community based incorporated organisations have of winning the tender. As I write (6/97) the favoured options for the Government are the tamecat Tenants Union of Victoria or one of the large church based groups like the Salvation Army or the Jesuit Social Services. Once the tender is awarded to one of these groups the Dept is able to go carte blanche.

Well what are the changes, where do we start. Rents for tenants will increase from 20% to 23% a 15% increase, with new tenants having their rent going

up from the current 20% to 25%, a 25% increase. To combine with this new tenants will no longer receive tenure for life instead it will be only 3-5 years. The Office of Housing will also seek only to provide housing to the "homeless, disabled, aged and infirm, being on a low income will no longer qualify someone for welfare housing. Combine this with sell off of rental stock, an inability, of the Office of Housing to abide by their legal requirements to perform maintenance as specified by the Residential Tenancies Act and the new rental arrears policy introduced (quite appropriately) on April 1st 1997, without wishing to delve into the specifics of this policy, it is designed to tighten the screws on tenants, who for whatever reason, are in rental arrears. As it stands 37% of people renting from the Office of Housing in the Broadmeadows area are in arrears ranging from \$5 to \$2,500 dollars, many of whom are now facing pending eviction.

To Governments of all hues the solution to the housing crisis is the private rental market. Well how realistic is this in Victoria? Let's look at some statistics. The current private rental vacancy rate is 1.9%, there are over 86,000 households unable to afford private rental housing and as of 1/7/96 there were 61,763 households waiting for Government housing. Other statistics from emergency housing agencies show there were 30,000 requests in Victoria and 104,000 requests Australia wide unmet in the period 9/96 -3/97. So much for the lucky Country.

The reality is this system has never and will never be able to grant people the right to adequate housing. As a temporary measure it is important in light of these current attacks that there is a unity amongst tenants to fight to maintain what gains they have accomplished over the last 40 years and not to return to the bad old days of "the Commission". In the long term it is important we educate working people to discard their illusions that capitalism can deliver and work toward building a new society based on collectivism and co-operation, not greed and profits.

Rent increase warning

by TRENT EVANS

PUBLIC housing rent increases and changes to overdue rent collection will force people out of home and on to the street, a local public housing group has warned.

Outer Eastern Regional Housing Council spokeswoman Heather Baker said a draft public housing rental arrears policy "lacked compassion".

Changes in the policy, expected to be adopted this month, include:

- Rent increases from 20 per cent of income to 23 per cent for existing tenants and 25 per cent for new tenants.
- Three or five-year leases for new tenants, including review of eligibility near the end of the leases.
- Competitive tendering for tenant group services.
- Tightening eligibility criteria.
- Separate waiting lists for the homeless, frail aged, and people with disabilities, people liv-

ing in overcrowded conditions and people "with a low income only".

"The document initially creates a positive picture, when things are really not," Ms Baker said.

"The whole idea of the policy is to downsize the public housing situation. What they are really trying to do, and they have been for 12 months, is to get working families out of public housing by making it too hard for them to be eligible.

"People will be asked to leave the system if their income exceeds the new limits, despite being told when they were given a house it was for a lifetime.

"The bureaucrats who work these things out aren't the ones who are trying to live on a Department of Social Security income. How can they justify their thoughts without experiencing it?"

Ms Baker said the future for some public housing tenants looked bleak.

"It's definitely going to force people out of

their homes and into the private rental market," she said.

The private rental market is already experiencing a shortage of houses and any increase in the number of people in the private market would see rents rise forcing low-income earners into a "black hole", according to local real estate agents.

Maroondah Accommodation Services chairwoman Catherine Taylor said many low-income families were living in caravans because the private rental market was out of reach. She agreed any increase in the number of former public housing tenants looking for houses in the private sector would be "disastrous".

"They're at crisis point already, with indefinite public housing waiting lists and skyrocketing rents," she said.

Housing Minister Anne Henderson said the reforms would not mean low-income earners would be denied of public housing but would make the system fairer.

RURAL AUSTRALIA.

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

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

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

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

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

Historically Australia has relied on agricultural producers. No longer does Australia ride on the sheep's back.

Up to the end of the 1950's between 80-95% of export earnings were regularly contributed by agriculture. By 1986 this had fallen to 35%. Agriculture's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has declined from 25% in the 1940's to just 5% in 1986 and rural employment has declined during the same period from 14% to less than 5%. Farm production has fallen from \$4 billion in the 80's to \$2 billion currently.

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

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

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

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

This means that rural land is being transferred away from the farmer and local community to the urban capitalist.

The result is that job opportunities for youth and professionals dries up. There is a growing gap between the rich and the destitute as the poorer farmers with crushing debts leave the land.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'The streets of our country are in turmoil, the universities are filled with students rioting and rebelling; communists are seeking to destroy our country . . . we need *law and order* . . . yes . . . without *law and order* the republic will fall. Elect us and we shall restore *law and order*.'

ADOLF HITLER,
Hamburg, 1932.

CANBERRA PROTEST AGAINST THE RACIST 'ONE NATION' PARTY.

About 1500 people demonstrated; a good cross section . . . workers, students, young and the not so young, black, white and Asian and a noticeable presence of unemployed youth.

Pauline Hanson and the 'One Nation' try to dissociate themselves from the Nazis; the KKK and the Far right. At the demonstration some youth shone a huge fractured swastika on the National Press Club to symbolically make the connection.

Within minutes of some eggs landing on police and 'One Nationers' (this was the lead item on the ABC Radio AM program) half a dozen cops moved into the midst of the protesters. Fortunately, they were recognized by the locals, exposed and denounced. They skulked off.

Overall, the demonstration did not seem to be led by any political group. As usual, the Trots hoist their banners in the midst of mass struggle and try to claim credit for the presence of people standing near them.

Everywhere the 'One Nation' party meets, the people turn out to demonstrate. Police usually outnumber the demonstrators. A few people have tried to ask questions at these meetings, but as soon as they open their mouth, they are thrown out. Dr Jim Cairns past deputy Prime Minister was no exception.

The 'One Nation' party receives a very large press

. This party attacks migrants, Aborigines, wants compulsory military training, and only Christians to be allowed in to Australia because OZ is a Christian country ! These views are taken up in the Federal parliament. One Senator declared that migrants were ;"being offered the opportunity to ride on the backs of battlers from the day they arrive"

While most politicians try to distance themselves from the xenophobia of the Hanson clique , her policy is not very different from racist policies which have always existed in Australia. especially the laws governing the indigenous people.

The idea that Pauline Hanson's party will look after the interests of all the Australian people is an impossibility. All parties say they are looking after all our interests. We live under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the ruling class and the proletariat cannot be reconciled.

The "national interests" of the bourgeoisie are not those of the proletariat. Do the masses make decisions to sell of the country? Throw workers on the scrap heap? Commit troops to Vietnam, Korea, Iraq, and possibly to Bougainville? The workers live here , work here, but it is not our country and it will not be our country until we rule it. Then, the dictatorship of the proletariat, can rule the country in the interests of the vast majority when the existing social conditions have been overthrown. Those who now own the means of production will be deprived of their property.

As Karl Marx said, " let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains."

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

MAO TSE TUNG

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THE MORIBUND BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

Political processes, even more so, the development of revolutions, have as fundamental factors the internal matters, which are specific events and interactions generated throughout history.

However the international situation is also important, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries such as Peru, where the decisions and interests of the imperialist metropolis have a great impact.

Therefore, it is important to analyze the internal factors of the country linked with factors resulting from the global interest of imperialism, especially Yankee Imperialism, and the remnants of Revisionism. This explains the need for revolutionary processes to consider both the internal and external factors, and develop a correct political line and ideology. This will be the basis for a clear strategy and favorable tactics. We have in our country, the best example of a genuine revolution in the People's War, led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), which goes on undefeated.

The same happens with those political collectives originated or inspired by imperialism and the revisionist ideology inherited from social imperialism. For them, the external factors (the interests of imperialist powers) have more relevance than the internal factors in the country. In the case of Peru, this explains the political behavior of the so-called "legal left" as a whole, including MRTA's armed revisionism that sings the tune of imperialism, as do the political sects representing the lyrics of the U.S. and the big bourgeoisie: Cambio 90, AP, APRA, PPC, UPP, etc.

THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM

The analysis of the following points is important to understand the restoration of capitalism in China and the former USSR:

1. Restoration and counter restoration is the contradiction that solves the transit from a social state to another, such as from capitalism to socialism. While capitalism took two centuries to struggle with the old feudal system, from the first bourgeois republic in 1609 in Britain, then in Holland to the generalized triumph of capitalism, with the heroic French Revolution in 1789 and well into the 19th Century. Socialism in 74 years has confronted an unprecedented bourgeois reactionary assault that restored the dominion of the bourgeoisie in countries until then called socialists. Furthermore, today the imperialist powers and their theoretical apologists are screaming to "finish off" China, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam and other symbols of past victorious democratic revolutions and builders of socialism.

2. The capitalist restoration in no way means eternal joy for the bourgeoisie. Just as the anti-feudal bourgeois revolutions in the beginning of capitalism, the current bourgeois machinations are strident intermittent maneuvers.

They are essentially feeble in representing and incarnating the historical countercurrent of the laws that rule social development.

3. Since 1917, the revolutionary processes led by their respective Communist parties, led to the conquest of power and the construction of socialism in more than 31 countries in this century. During that time, many counterrevolutionary acts schemed and financed by imperialism and the defeated bourgeoisie, took place. Their goal has always been to restore the bourgeois dictatorship under social democratic or fascist politics.

However, it was revisionism that first betrayed the construction of socialism and denied the validity of Marxism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was abandoned, the leadership became bourgeois such as in China and the USSR, and several dependent countries remained semicolonial under the rule of Soviet Social-Imperialism, which was an epitome of capitalist restoration.

4. The technological development and capitalist accumulation, which is blown as "proof of the goodness of capitalism and the defeat of socialism," is cheap bourgeois propaganda trying to conceal that all the riches accumulated by society are produced by the sweat and blood of those exploited, by the super exploitation of the workers, today under the labels of "modernization," "globalization," and "liberalism." Under socialism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, accumulation did not have the character of private appropriation until the revisionist deviation enabled the defeated bourgeoisie to gradually regain its economic power, and reconquer political power, as it had occurred in the USSR from 1956 to 1991.

5. The "new era of peace" propagated by imperialism, and upheld by revisionists everywhere as a disguise for their treachery and capitulation, is a complete farce. Petty revisionists in Latin America, for example, make ridiculous claims that "war had become obsolete," "the United Nations is our guarantor of peace," "humanity is poised to enter an unprecedented era of peace and civilized international relations," and "socialism through ballots not bullets," and other nonsense. To begin with, history has proven over and over again, that imperialism is unable to find peaceful solutions to its contradictions. Lenin's view of imperialism as inherently aggressive, bellicose, piratical, predatory, is even more truthful today. Imperialist military presence and aggression is present almost everywhere in the world.

If so far there is no world war it is not because the nature of imperialism has changed. It is because political forces capable of counterposing and inhibiting its war lust, has arisen. In the past, its contradictions with social imperialism and its nuclear capabilities had inhibited to launch it. Today it can be opposed with World People's War, because revolution is the main political tendency in today's world. Imperialism cannot launch a war without self-destructing at the same time.

6. The "universal human values" and "human rights"

democracy survives.

The PCP said, economically, Perestroika represented the liquidation of the planned economy by the State, yielding to "free competition," and "supply and demand" of the market, determined not by social needs, but by the consumers' buying power. Thus, the corporate structure in the ex-USSR is centered in private enterprise. The owners determine the type of production and merchandise sent to the markets, including costs and profits chosen by themselves or foreign investors.

Politically and ideologically, Perestroika has formally "canceled" the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party, and called for the development of the productive forces, rather than the deepening of the class struggle.

In Marxist terms, the myth of "unity" displaced the law of contradiction. In addition, the revolutionary history was cynically denied. It began by repeating classic imperialist slander such as "serious deviations of Lenin,"

and let us not say more about the "thousands of murders perpetrated by Stalin."

Similarly, this has happened in China following the death of President Mao, and the coup d'etat led by the renegade Deng and his accomplices who are now in power.

In order to debunk those who try to link socialism and bourgeois democracy, the PCP stated that "socialism is not, in and by itself, a democracy for all". Socialism is the democracy of the people, fundamentally of workers and peasants. It is the democratic option of the people in transit to Communism, at which point we can talk about democracy for all. Meanwhile, in a class society only democracy for a "given class" is possible.

In sum, the essence of the ideological make up of modern revisionism must be crushed along with the moribund bourgeois ideas of imperialism. Imperialism and revisionism are two sides of the same coin.

Peru People's Movement (MPP) 2



AUSTRALIAN TROOPS TO BOUGAINVILLE ?

According to the Melbourne Age 21/8/'97, Australian troops and police may be deployed to Bougainville as part of a United Nations peace mission. The Papua New Guinea Prime Minister has endorsed the 'peace' plan that includes a 'neutral' force and the demilitarisation of the island after the PNG troops withdraw. The possible use of Australian troops for any job on Bougainville including logistics support is sensitive because of the decade old animosity among Bougainville rebels towards Australia.

The Bougainville revolutionary Army blame Australian interests for provoking the late 1980 rebellion against the giant Panguna copper mine and for providing military support, including helicopter gunships, for the PNG Defence Force in use against them.

Australian imperialism is at war with the people of E Timor, Bougainville and Papua New Guinea. Although the struggle in each country is different, the bottom line is, that all three are oppressed nations struggling for independence, and in all three Australian imperialism plays a part in their oppression.

Papua New Guinea was a colonial possession of Australia and since its nominal independence, Australia has backrolled the PNG designs on Bougainville.

Revolutionary communists do not support any intervention, either by "neutral" Australia or the blood thirsty United Nations in Bougainville.

The people of Bougainville fight a just war for self determination and we support them.

The Australian imperialists fight an unjust war against an oppressed people.

If we are really a supporter of the of self determination struggle of the people of E Timor, Bougainville etc., our political position is not only calling on the Australian government to keep out of Bougainville and cease bankrolling counter-revolution.

If Australia does go to war in Bougainville against our class brothers and sisters we must call for the defeat of Australian imperialism.

IT was 7.10am on Saturday when police officers who patrol the Sydney beachside suburb of Bondi were alerted to a man walking along the sand apparently armed with a knife.

It could have ended as yet another routine call, with the man being persuaded to peacefully hand over the weapon. Instead, the distressed man reportedly ignored calls to drop the knife and 20 minutes later was fatally shot in the chest. He was a French national who had lived in Australia for several years and was estranged from his wife.

It became not only the latest incident to blacken the name of Australia's most famous beach overseas, following the death of English tourist Brian Hagland last year, but the third fatal shooting by NSW police this year.

As police and NSW State Coroner Derrick Hand began to investigate the weekend shooting, a 34-year-old man lay critically ill in Sydney's Royal Prince Alfred Hospital after being shot six weeks ago by police called to a domestic dispute at Bourke in outback NSW. Officers were confronted by the man, who also was armed with a knife and who walked towards the officers and refused their pleas to stop.

In similar circumstances to those facing police on Saturday, a 20-year-old man in Orange, NSW, was fatally shot in April. Wielding two large kitchen knives, the man lunged at an officer following a siege. A month earlier, NSW police shot dead an armed robber, Bradley Middlemiss, 36, after he allegedly confronted two officers with a .45 calibre pistol.

In Victoria, police have shot dead 26 people since 1988. Yet again, the shooting at the weekend has raised the question:

Why do police have to shoot to kill? Why



Surrounded:
police confront
the man on
Bondi beach

shoot-to-kill

CHINA AND AUSTRALIA ADOPTIONS.

According to the Melbourne Age 31/7/'97, overseas adoptions will receive automatic legal recognition across Australia. This is designed to pave the way for Australian to adopt unwanted and orphaned babies from China. Negotiations between the two governments have been going on for 6 years. The outstanding issue is whether the children adopted by Australians would be granted only permanent resident status and not immediate Australian citizenship.

If the revisionists need any proof that China is not a socialist country, this is it.
The People's Republic of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung said..

Youth.

"The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning.. Our hope is placed on you..... The world belongs to you. China's future belongs to you."

THE VICTORIAN GOVERNMENT'S SUICIDE PREVENTION TASK FORCE

The Task Force recommendations, widely praised by politicians, community groups and medical experts, was criticised by a local general practitioner. He said, that the task force recommendations urged doctors to develop expertise and confidence in dealing with young people as they are often the first point of contact for those feeling depressed.

The doctor said, they didn't have the time to detect the subtle indicators of depression nor did they have any power to remove a person from a dangerous environment; hospital beds and half-way houses were scarce and the health system was in deep crisis. The government does nothing to tell our kids life is worth while; so their self esteem will go up. He said, he was unable to get his patients into a hospital or any psychiatric support because, under the Mental Health Act, he/she suffers no illness. He summed up.. it's nobby land!

The capitalist system is in deep crisis. Unemployment among youth is as high as 70% in some areas. Any number of task force reports only tinker at the edges of the problem of youth suicide. Capitalism has nothing to offer. Revolution is the answer.

General Schwarzkopf in Sydney.

"Stormin' Norman the Commander of the UN forces in the Gulf war (and the next US President) visited Sydney to speak at the sell-out World Masters of Business seminar before an audience of 10,000 business executives who paid for the cheap seats \$250.00 netting the General \$130.00 for a one hour lecture.

During the Seminar, the general was asked, Why he did not order a continuation of Operation Desert Storm and finish the job on the evil Saddam? The General said, "Please do not misunderstand me, I would have loved to go to Baghdad, find Saddam Hussein and, after a fair trial of course, jerked the crick of his neck with a rope. But the simple fact is there was not one military leader, not one member of the press that thought Saddam Hussein could possibly survive the terrible defeat he had just suffered. We also had no intelligence on the ground (in Iraq) I think if we had gone in there we never would have found him"

Outside the seminar, a demonstration took place. The Australian 8/8/'97 described the demonstrators as "a gaggle of scruffy peaceniks". They carried banners branding the General "Baby killer", "Butcher of Baghdad" The incident caused a "security scare" and the general was whisked off to his hotel.

The theme of the general's address was, 'the true challenge of leadership was in getting people to do willingly what they would not ordinarily want to do.'

If the general wins the next election and he becomes the chieftain of Yankee Imperialism, his training in Iraq, Vietnam and Grenada, his three bronze and three silver stars for courage will fit him for the job.

He's going to need all these bravery gongs, the people of the world are on the move and the days of these butchers are numbered.

Long Live the Victory of the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat!

— In Commemoration of the Centenary of the Paris Commune

by the editorial departments of the "People's Daily", the "Red Flag" and the
"Liberation Army Daily"

Peking, March 17 (Hsinhua) 1971

Long Live the Victory of the Dictatorship of The Proletariat!

— In Commemoration of the Centenary of the Paris Commune

by the editorial departments of the "People's Daily", the "Red Flag"
and the "Liberation Army Daily"

I. The Principles of the Paris Commune Are Eternal

March 18 this year marks the centenary of the Paris Commune. Full of profound feelings of proletarian internationalism, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people under the teaching of their great leader Chairman Mao warmly celebrate this great "festival of the proletariat" together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world.

One hundred years ago the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of Paris in France staged a heroic armed uprising and founded the Paris Commune. This was the first proletarian regime in the history of mankind, the first great attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune abolished the army and police of the reactionary bourgeois government and replaced them with the armed people; the gun was in the hands of the working class.

The Paris Commune broke the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus enslaving the people, founded the working class's own government, adopted a series of policies to safeguard the interests of the working people and organized the masses to take an active part in running the state.

In the fight to found and defend the proletarian regime, the heroes of the Paris Commune displayed extraordinary revolutionary initiative, soaring revolutionary enthusiasm and self-sacrificing heroism, winning the admiration of the revolutionary people generation after generation.

Although the Paris Commune failed as a result of the military onslaught and bloody suppression carried out by butcher Thiers in league with Bismarck, its historical contributions are indelible. As Marx said: The glorious movement of March 18 was "the dawn of the great social revolution which will liberate mankind from the regime of classes for ever."²

While the battle was still raging in a Paris darkened by the smoke of gunfire, Marx declared: "But even if the Commune is crushed, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles

of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed; they will declare themselves again and again until the working class achieves its liberation."³

What are the revolutionary principles that Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the proletariat, summed up on the basis of the practice of the Paris Commune?

In a word, "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes."⁴ The proletariat must use revolutionary violence to "break" and "smash"⁵ the old state machinery and carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat.⁶

In expounding this principle, Marx stressed: The first premiss of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is an army of the proletariat. The working class must win the right to its emancipation on the battlefield."⁷ Only by relying on revolutionary armed force can the proletariat overthrow the rule of reactionary classes and go on to fulfil its whole historical mission.

Marx also said: The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will "be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."⁸

As Lenin said: "One of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state" is "the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (as Marx and Engels began to call it after the Paris Commune)".⁹ To persist in revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to maintain the bourgeois state machine and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat—this has been the focus of repeated struggles between Marxism on the one hand and revisionism, reformism, anarchism and all kinds of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology on the other, the focus of repeated struggles between the two lines in the international communist movement for the past hundred years. It is precisely on this fundamental question of the dictatorship of the proletariat that all revisionism, from the revision-

ism of the Second International to modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, has completely betrayed Marxism.

A century's history has proved to the full that the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is invincible.

Forty-six years after the Paris Commune uprising, the proletariat of Russia, led by the great Lenin, won victory in the October Socialist Revolution through armed uprising, opening up a new world era of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Lenin said: On the path of breaking the old state machine, the Paris Commune "took the first world-historical step. . . . The Soviet Government took the second."¹⁰

Seventy-eight years after the Paris Commune uprising, the Chinese people, led by the great leader Chairman Mao, won victory in the revolution. Chairman Mao blazed a trail in establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally taking the cities. He led the Chinese people through protracted revolutionary wars in overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, in breaking the old state machine and bringing about in China the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since then Chairman Mao has led and is leading the Chinese people in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing triumphantly along the socialist road.

Fighting bravely, advancing wave upon wave and supporting and encouraging each other in the past century, the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world have

been promoting the socialist revolution and the national democratic revolution and have won most brilliant victories. As Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "This is the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory."¹¹ The cause of the Paris Commune is spreading far and wide at a higher stage in the new historical conditions. The world has undergone an earth-shaking change.

In commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels, with jubilant revolutionary feeling, told the European working class: "Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated, lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: Vive la Commune!"¹² Today, the flames of the revolutionary torch raised by the Paris Commune are ablaze throughout the world, and the days of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction are numbered. In celebrating the centenary of the Paris Commune at such a time, the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people the world over have all the more reason to shout with unbounded confidence: Long live the Commune! Long live the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

In commemorating the Paris Commune, we should study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, learn from historical experience, criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, adhere to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, and unite with the people of the world to win still greater victories.

II. It Is of the Utmost Importance for the Revolutionary People to Take Hold of the Gun

The historical experience of the Paris Commune has fully demonstrated that taking hold of revolutionary arms is of the utmost importance to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Explaining the experience of the Paris Commune, Lenin referred to Engels' important thesis that the workers emerged with arms from every revolution in France and that, therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. On this conclusion of Engels, Lenin commented: "The essence of the matter—also, by the way, on the question of the state (*has the oppressed class arms?*)—is here remarkably well grasped."¹³

The Paris Commune was born in the fierce struggle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution. The 72 days of the Paris Commune were 72 days of armed uprising, armed struggle and armed defence. The very fact that the proletariat of Paris had taken hold of the gun struck the greatest terror into the hearts of the bourgeois reactionaries. And a fatal error of the Paris Commune lay precisely in the fact that it showed excessive magnanimity towards counter-revolution and did not march on Versailles immediately, thus giving Thiers a breathing space to muster his reactionary forces for an onslaught on revolutionary Paris. As Engels said: "Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?"¹⁴

Comrade Mao Tsetung has concisely summed up the tremendous importance of armed struggle and the people's army and advanced the celebrated thesis "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."¹⁵ He points out: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."¹⁶

Violent revolution is the universal principle of proletarian revolution. A Marxist-Leninist party must adhere to this universal principle and apply it to the concrete practice of its own country. Historical experience shows that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the oppressed people of a country and the seizure of victory in their revolution are accomplished invariably by the power of the gun; they are accomplished under the leadership of a proletarian party, by acting in accordance with that country's specific conditions, by gradually building up the people's armed forces and fighting a people's war on the basis of arousing the broad masses to action, and by waging repeated struggles against the imperialists and reactionaries. This is true of the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the revolutions of Albania, Viet Nam, Korea and other countries, and there is no exception.

On the other hand, a proletarian party suffers setbacks in the revolution if it fails to go in for or gives up revolutionary armed force, and there have been serious lessons: some parties failed to take hold of the gun and were helpless in the face of

sudden attacks by imperialism and its lackeys and of counter-revolutionary suppression and as a result millions of revolutionary people were massacred. In some cases where the revolutionary people had already taken up arms and their armed forces had grown considerably, certain parties handed over the people's armed forces and forfeited the fruits of the revolution because they sought official posts in bourgeois governments or were duped by the reactionaries.

In the past decades, many Communist Parties have participated in elections and parliaments, but none has set up a dictatorship of the proletariat by such means. Even if a Communist Party should win a majority in parliament or participate in the government, this would not mean any change in the character of bourgeois political power, still less the smashing of the old state machine. The reactionary ruling classes can proclaim the election null and void, dissolve the parliament or directly use violence to kick out the Communist Party. If a proletarian party does no mass work, rejects armed struggle and makes a fetish of parliamentary elections, it will only lull the masses and corrupt itself. The bourgeoisie buys over a Communist Party through parliamentary elections and turns it into a revisionist party, a party of the bourgeoisie—are such cases rare in history?

The proletariat must use the gun to seize political power and must use the gun to defend it. The people's army under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party is the bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat and among the various factors for preventing the restoration of capitalism it is the main one. Having a people's army armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the proletariat can deal with any complicated situation in the domestic or international class struggle and safeguard the proletarian state.

The contemporary liberation movement of the oppressed nations is an important component part and a great ally of the proletarian world revolution. The national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are related to each other and at the same time distinct from each other; they represent two different stages and are different in character. However, to win complete victory in the national democratic revolution, it is likewise necessary to get prepared for a trial of armed strength

III. Revolution Is the Cause of the Masses in Their Millions

The historical experience of the Paris Commune tells us that to be victorious in the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat it is imperative to rely on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses in their millions and give full play to their great power as the makers of history. Lenin said: **"The autocracy cannot be abolished without the revolutionary action of class-conscious millions, without a great surge of mass heroism, readiness and ability on their part to 'storm heaven', as Marx put it when speaking of the Paris workers at the time of the Commune."**¹⁹

Marx, the great teacher of the proletariat, highly valued the revolutionary initiative of the masses of the people and set us a brilliant example of the correct attitude to adopt towards the

with the imperialists and reactionaries. For the oppressed nations, it is likewise most important to take hold of the gun.

Since World War II, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States have incessantly launched wars of aggression and resorted ever more frequently to such means as military intervention, armed subversion and invasion by mercenary troops to suppress the countries and people that are fighting for or have already gained independence. Incomplete statistics show that U.S. imperialism has engineered and launched armed intervention and armed aggression on more than 50 occasions in the past 25 years. As for U.S.-engineered armed subversion, examples are too numerous to be counted. Therefore, in order to win liberation and safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and effectively combat aggression and subversion by imperialism and its lackeys, all the oppressed nations must have their own anti-imperialist armed forces and be prepared at all times to counter wars of aggression with revolutionary wars. The war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of the three countries of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia has set a brilliant example to the oppressed nations and people all over the world. The struggles against aggression and subversion waged by the people of many other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America have likewise provided valuable experience.

In his solemn statement **"People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!"**, Chairman Mao points out: **"A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."**¹⁷

As Comrade Lin Biao says, **"People's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys."**¹⁸ The proletariat and the oppressed people and nations the world over will all change from being unarmed and unskilled in warfare to taking up arms and being skilled in warfare. U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys will eventually be burned to ashes in the fiery flames of the people's war they themselves have kindled.

revolutionary mass movement.

In the autumn of 1870, prior to the founding of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the conditions were not ripe for an uprising by the French workers. But when the proletariat of Paris did rise in revolt with heaven-storming revolutionary heroism in March 1871, Marx, regarding himself as a participant, promptly and firmly supported and helped this proletarian revolution. Although he perceived the mistakes of the Commune and foresaw its defeat, Marx considered the revolution the most glorious exploit of the French working class. For he regarded this movement **"as a historic experience of enormous importance, as a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, as a practical step that was more important than hundreds of pro-**

grammes and arguments."²⁰ In a letter to L. Kugelmann at that time, Marx expressed his fervent praise: "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!" "History has no like example of like greatness!"²¹ Lenin saw in this letter a gulf between the proletarian revolutionaries and the opportunists and hoped that it would be "hung in the home . . . of every literate Russian worker."²²

Contrary to the Marxists, all the opportunists and old and new revisionists oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and they inevitably have a mortal fear of and bitter hatred for the masses, and they deride, curse and sabotage the revolutionary mass movement. When the Russian armed uprising of December 1905 failed, Plekhanov stood aloof and accused the masses, saying: "They should not have taken to arms". Lenin indignantly criticized Plekhanov's aristocratic attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement and denounced him as an infamous Russian renegade from Marxism. Lenin pointed out that without the "general rehearsal" of 1905, victory in the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible.

In 1959, when our great teacher Chairman Mao denounced the Peng Teh-huai Right-opportunist anti-Party clique for slandering and opposing the revolutionary mass movement, he sharply told these anti-Marxist renegades:

"Please look and see how Marx and Lenin commented on the Paris Commune, and Lenin on the Russian revolution!" "Do you see how Lenin criticized the renegade Plekhanov and those 'bourgeois gentlemen and their hangers-on', 'the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them'? If not, will you please have a look?"²³ Chairman Mao used this historical experience as a profound lesson to educate the whole Party and urged our Party members and cadres to follow the example of Marx and Lenin and take a correct attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement.

"Revolution is the main trend in the world today."²⁴ All round the globe, the people are thundering: Down with the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! The strategic rear areas of imperialism have become frontlines in the anti-imperialist struggle. The victorious development of the war of the three peoples of Indochina against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has pushed the world-wide anti-U.S. struggle to a new high. The struggle against the doctrine of the hegemony of the two super-powers is gaining momentum. The national liberation movement in Asia and Africa is shooting forward as violently as a raging fire. The struggle of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is daily surging ahead. The Palestinian and other Arab people are continuing their advance in the fight against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors. Revolutionary mass movements on an unprecedented scale have broken out in North America, Europe and Oceania. The workers, students, black people and other minority peoples in the United States are daily awakening and rising in a revolutionary storm against the reac-

tionary rule of the Nixon government and its policy of aggression. In Latin America, the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, the long-suppressed anti-U.S. fury in the hearts of the people has now burst forth, and a new situation has emerged characterized by joint struggle for the defence of their national interests and state sovereignty. The revolutionary struggle of the people in certain East European countries against social-imperialism is in the ascendant. The spring thunder of revolution is sounding even in hitherto relatively quiescent areas. Reacting on and encouraging each other, these struggles have merged into the powerful torrent of the world people's revolutionary movement.

In the face of the present great revolutionary movement, every revolutionary party and every revolutionary will have to make a choice. To march at the head of the masses and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and all revolutionaries must warmly support the revolutionary actions of the masses, firmly march at the head of the mass movement and lead the masses forward.

The political parties of the proletariat and all revolutionaries "ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle."²⁵ They must share weal and woe with the masses, modestly learn from them, be their willing pupils, be good at discovering their revolutionary initiative and draw wisdom and strengthen from them. Only by plunging into the mighty storm of the mass movement can a political party of the proletariat temper itself and grow in maturity. And only through the practice of the masses in class struggle can a correct programme or line be formulated, developed, tested and carried out.

The mainstream of the revolutionary mass movement is always good and always conforms to the development of society. In the mass movement various trends of thought exert their influence, various factions emerge and various kinds of people take part. This is only natural. Nothing on earth is absolutely pure. Through their practice in struggle and repeated comparison, the broad masses of the people will eventually distinguish between what is correct and what is erroneous; they will eventually cast aside revisionism and all that is erroneous and accept and grasp the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism. A proletarian party must go deep among the masses and work patiently, painstakingly and for a long time, so as constantly to raise their political consciousness and lead the mass movement forward along the correct road.

The question of the first importance for the revolution is to distinguish between enemies and friends, to unite with our real friends and attack our real enemies. The development of the revolutionary mass movement calls for the constant strengthening of unity within the revolutionary forces and the smashing of the plots to split and sabotage hatched by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. The people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population—the workers, peasants, students and all those who refuse to be oppressed by imperialism—invariably want to make revolution. In order to defeat U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs, it is imperative to form a broad united front,

unite with all forces that can be united, the enemy excepted, and carry out arduous struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party."²⁶ We must rely on the masses and launch mass movements when we fight for political power. We must likewise rely on the masses, launch mass movements and adhere to the mass

line in all our work when we engage in the socialist revolution and socialist construction after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty."²⁷

IV. It Is Essential to Have a Genuine Marxist-Leninist Party

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels explicitly stated: "In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes."²⁸ This is a condition indispensable to seizing victory in the proletarian revolution, establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and realizing the ultimate goal of abolishing classes.

The fundamental cause of the failure of the Paris Commune was that, owing to the historical conditions, Marxism had not yet achieved a dominant position in the workers' movement and a proletarian revolutionary party with Marxism as its guiding thought had not yet come into being. On the other hand, Blanquism and Proudhonism which were then dominant in the Paris Commune could not possibly lead the proletarian revolution to victory.

Historical experience shows that where a very favourable revolutionary situation and revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of the masses exist, it is still necessary to have a strong core of leadership of the proletariat, that is, "a revolutionary party . . . built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style."²⁹ Only such a party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses in defeating imperialism and its running dogs and winning victory in the revolution.

A revolutionary situation appeared in many countries at the time of World War I. However, since almost all the political parties of the Second International had degenerated into revisionist, social-chauvinist parties, it was out of the question for them to lead the proletariat in seizing political power. Only in Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin, was the great October Socialist Revolution crowned with success.

During and after World War II, the revolution triumphed in China thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader; in some other countries, also under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist Parties, the revolution was victorious or protracted revolutionary struggles were persevered in; but in other countries, the revolution failed because the opportunist, revisionist line had got the upper hand in the Parties.

For world revolution the situation today is better than ever before. The objective situation urgently demands strong leadership by genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, and the building of proletarian revolutionary parties which completely break with the revisionist line, which are consolidated ideologically, politically and

organizationally and which have a broad mass character.

To be able to lead the revolution, it is of fundamental importance for a proletarian party to take Marxism-Leninism as its guiding thought, integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country, and formulate and implement a correct line suited to the conditions of that country. With a correct line, a weak force can grow strong, armed forces can be built up from scratch, and political power can be attained. With an erroneous line, the revolution will suffer setbacks and the gains already won will be forfeited.

In leading the Chinese people's revolution through protracted struggles, Comrade Mao Tsetung repeatedly pointed out: "As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution"³⁰ and "It has been the consistent ideological principle of our Party to closely integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution."³¹

Comrade Mao Tsetung further expounded this fundamental principle in his important inscription written for Japanese worker friends: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution."³²

A proletarian party should, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to carry out deep-going investigations and study of the class relations in society, make concrete analyses of the present conditions and the history of its own country and the characteristics of the revolution in that country, and solve the theoretical and practical problems of the revolution independently. It is necessary to learn from international experience, which, however, should not be copied mechanically; a proletarian party should creatively develop its own experience in the light of the realities of its own country. Only thus can it guide the revolution to victory and contribute to the cause of the proletarian world revolution.

To keep on integrating theory with practice, a proletarian party must maintain close ties with the masses, go deep among them and adopt the method of leadership, "from the masses, to the masses"³³ so that the Party's correct line and principles can be translated into mass action. At the same time it should be good at summing up experience and lessons, carry out criticism and self-criticism, persist in doing what is right and correct what

is wrong in the interests of the people, and find out the laws of development through practice in struggle and then use them to guide the practical struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung says: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."³⁴ To ensure that its political line is correct and its organization consolidated, a proletarian party must conduct uncompromising struggles against opportunism and revisionism of every description, against the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement, is a protracted one. For more than a decade, the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and all the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world have together waged a resolute ideological, theoretical and political struggle against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and have won great victories. But the struggle is by no means over. To keep on promoting the proletarian world revolution, the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary people in various countries

have an important task to fulfil, namely, to continue criticizing modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and carry this struggle through to the end.

The ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes have long dominated society. The bourgeoisie invariably does its utmost to influence, corrupt and "corrode" the Communist Party ideologically by every means and through every channel, whether in developed capitalist countries or in economically backward countries; whether the status of the Communist Party is legal or not; whether before the seizure of political power by the proletariat or after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If a proletarian party fails to wage resolute struggles against the inroads of bourgeois ideology, it cannot possibly maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and will turn into an appendage of the bourgeoisie and its political parties. The proletarian party can bring its fighting strength into play and achieve victory in the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat only by using Marxism-Leninism as its weapon of criticism and sticking to class struggle in the realm of ideology to defeat the reactionary bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook.

V. The Modern Revisionists Are Renegades From the Revolutionary Principles of the Paris Commune

At the time when the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world are marking the grand centenary of the Paris Commune, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is putting on an act, talking glibly about "loyalty to the principles of the Commune"³⁵ and making itself up as the successor to the Paris Commune. It has no sense of shame at all.

What right have the Soviet revisionist renegades to talk about the Paris Commune? It is these renegades who have usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, and as a result the Soviet state founded by Lenin and defended by Stalin has changed its political colour. It is they who have turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and put social-imperialism and social-fascism into force. This is gross betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune.

From Khrushchov to Brezhnev, all have tried to mask their dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as the "state of the whole people". Khrushchov used to say that the Soviet Union had been "transformed . . . into a state of the whole people."³⁶ Now Brezhnev and his ilk say that theirs is a "Soviet socialist state of the whole people"³⁷ and that what they practise is "Soviet democracy". All this is humbug.

The Soviet, a great creation of the Russian proletariat, embodied the fact that the working people were masters in their own house, and it was a glorious title. However, the name "Soviet", like the name "Communist Party", can be used by Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, by Marxist-Leninists or revisionists. What is decisive is not the name but the essence, not the form but the content. In the Soviet Union today, the name "Soviet" has not changed, nor has the name of the state, but the class con-

tent has changed completely. With its leadership usurped by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Soviet state is no longer an instrument with which the proletariat suppresses the bourgeoisie, but has become a tool with which the restored bourgeoisie suppresses the proletariat. The Soviet revisionist renegades have turned the Soviet Union into a paradise for a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists of a new type, a prison for the millions of working people. This is the whole content of what they call a "Soviet socialist state of the whole people" and "Soviet democracy". It is by no means the fact that "the state of the whole people is a direct continuation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat",³⁸ but rather that Brezhnev's line is a "direct continuation" of Khrushchov's line. This is essentially why Brezhnev and his like are clinging desperately to the slogan of the "state of the whole people".

Their frenzied opposition to violent proletarian revolution is another concentrated expression of the betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Brezhnev and his company clamorously demand of "the leaders of the proletariat to reduce violence to the minimum at every stage of the struggle and employ milder forms of compulsion"; they bleat that "armed struggle and civil war are accompanied by colossal sacrifices and sufferings on the part of the masses of the people, by destruction of the productive forces, and by the annihilation of the best revolutionary cadres". To find a pretext for their fallacy of "peaceful transition", this group of renegades wantonly distort history, even preaching that the Paris Commune was "initially" an "almost completely bloodless revolution".³⁹

The revolution of the Paris Commune was from beginning to

end a life-and-death fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle of violence between revolution and counter-revolution. In less than six months before the Paris Commune uprising, the people of Paris had staged two armed uprisings, and both were bloodily suppressed by the reactionaries. And in the battles following the uprising, tens of thousands of workers and other working people laid down their lives. How can this revolution be described as an "initially" "almost completely bloodless revolution"? Marx pointed out: **"Working men's Paris, with its commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."**⁴⁰ The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has now come out into the open and is playing the part of the priests saying prayers for the exterminators. This is a monstrous insult to the martyrs of the Paris Commune!

The Soviet revisionist renegades try in a hundred and one ways to justify counter-revolutionary violence, but they curse revolutionary violence with clenched teeth. Under the rule of violence by imperialism and the reactionaries, the working people suffer unending pain and large numbers of them die every day, every hour. It is precisely to put an end to this man-eating system so as to free the people from exploitation and enslavement that the oppressed people carry out violent revolution. But the Soviet revisionist renegades level so many criminal charges against the revolutionary armed forces and their revolutionary wars, making allegations about the "sufferings of the people", the "annihilation of cadres" and "destruction of the productive forces", and so on and so forth. Doesn't this logic of theirs mean that the first law under heaven is for the imperialists and reactionaries to oppress and massacre the people, whereas it is a hellish crime for the revolutionary people to take up arms and rise in resistance?

The Soviet revisionist renegades want the people of all countries to reduce revolutionary violence "to the minimum", but they themselves keep on increasing counter-revolutionary violence to the maximum. Indifferent to the life or death of Soviet people, Brezhnev and his gang are going all out for militarism and the arms race, spending more and more rubles on more and more planes, guns, warships, guided missiles and nuclear weapons. It is by means of this monstrous apparatus of violence that these new tsars oppress the broad masses at home and maintain their colonial rule abroad, trying to bring a number of countries under their control. It is this apparatus of violence that they are using as capital for bargaining with U.S. imperialism, pushing power politics and dividing spheres of influence.

VI. Persist in Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Strive for Still Greater Victories

Historical experience since the Paris Commune, and especially since the October Revolution, shows that the capture of political power by the proletariat is not the end but the beginning of the socialist revolution. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, it is neces-

The Soviet revisionist renegades want the revolutionary people to employ "milder forms of compulsion" against counter-revolution, while they themselves use the most savage and brutal means to deal with the revolutionary people.

May we ask:

Is it a "milder" form when you send large numbers of armed troops and police to suppress the people of different nationalities in your country?

Is it a "milder" form when you station large numbers of troops in some East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic to impose a tight control over them, and even carry out the military occupation in Czechoslovakia, driving tanks into Prague?

And is it a "milder" form when you engage in military expansion everywhere and insidiously conduct all manner of subversive activities against other countries?

What the Soviet revisionist renegades have done fully shows that they not only oppose violent revolution but use violence to oppose revolution. They put on benevolent airs, but actually they are **"the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing."**⁴¹

And there is a Miyamoto revisionist clique in Japan, which, too, zealously opposes violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and urges that it is "necessary to make every effort"⁴² to take the parliamentary road. Racking their brains, they allege that according to the dictionary the word "violence" means "brute force" or "lawless force", and the people should not make such a revolution.⁴³ They also say that some people are "frightened" by the phrase—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which is a "very inappropriate" translation, and it is necessary to "make a really accurate translation" in the future.⁴⁴ In order to maintain U.S. imperialist and Japanese militarist violence and to oppose the Japanese people making revolution, the Miyamoto clique even seeks help from the dictionary, falls back on semantics and juggles with words. How modern revisionism has degenerated ideologically!

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: **"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will."**⁴⁵ Khrushchov, the arch-representative of modern revisionism, has long been swept into the rubbish heap of history. Novotny and Gomulka, who followed Khrushchov's revisionist line, have also toppled in their turn. There can be no doubt that whoever runs counter to the laws of history, betrays the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune and turns traitor to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat will come to no good end.

sary to carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

The world proletarian revolutionary movement has gone through twists and turns on its road forward. When capitalism was being restored in the homeland of the October Revolution, for a time it seemed doubtful whether the revolutionary prin-

ciples of the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were still valid. The imperialists and reactionaries were beside themselves with joy. They thought: Since the Soviet Union has changed through "peaceful evolution", won't it be possible to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in China in the same way? But, the salvoes of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself have destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and exploded the imperialists' and modern revisionists' fond dream of restoring capitalism in China.

Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the positive and negative aspects of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and solved, in theory and practice, the most important question of our time—the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Thus he has made a great new contribution to Marxism-Leninism and charted our course for carrying the proletarian revolution triumphantly to the end. In China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line are being integrated more and more deeply with the revolutionary practice of the people in their hundreds of millions to become the greatest force in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this period, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle still focuses on the question of political power. The defeated class will still struggle; these people are still around and this class still exists. They will invariably seek their agents within the Communist Party for the purpose of restoring capitalism. Therefore, the proletariat must not only guard against enemies like Thiers and Bismarck who overthrew the revolutionary political power by force of arms; it must in particular guard against such careerists and schemers as Khrushchov and Brezhnev who usurped Party and state leadership from within. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, the proletariat must carry out the socialist revolution not only on the economic front, but also on the political front and ideological and cultural front and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. It is essential to enable the Party members, the cadres and the masses to grasp the sharpest weapon, Marxism-Leninism, and to distinguish between the correct and erroneous lines, between genuine and sham Marxism, and between materialism and idealism, so as to ensure that our Party and state will always advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao says: "The final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."⁴⁶

The revolutionary movement of the proletariat is always international in character. Therefore, the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat calls for the realization of the great slogans: "Working men of all countries, unite!"⁴⁷ and "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!"⁴⁸ The proletariat of the capitalist countries should support the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the people of the colonies and semi-colonies should support that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries, and the people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help the people who are still fighting for liberation. This is the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution. The revolutionary cause of the Chinese people is closely bound up with that of the other peoples of the world. We always regard the revolutionary struggles of the people of other countries as our own and as helping the Chinese people. We should learn from other revolutionary peoples, firmly support their struggles and fulfil our bounden duty. We should carry forward the proletarian internationalist spirit, further strengthen our militant unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, and strengthen our militant unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world for the seizure of still greater victories.

A hundred years ago, Marx said of the Paris Commune: "Whatever . . . its fate at Paris, it will make le tour du monde."⁴⁹ This great prediction of Marx's is more and more becoming a glorious reality. Reviewing the past and looking into the future, we declare with increasing conviction: the final destruction of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction is inevitable, and so is the complete emancipation of the proletariat, the oppressed people and the oppressed nations!

The "Internationale" written by Eugene Pottier, the poet of the Paris Commune, is today reverberating through the world. "No more tradition's chain shall bind us". "We shall be all". "Let each stand in his place; the internationale shall be the human race!" Let the imperialists, social-imperialists and all reactionaries tremble in the great storm of the world people's revolution! "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."⁵⁰

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