THE REBEL

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We stand for active ideological struggle".

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

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

The Red Eureka Movement is also publishing "Study Notes" as reference material. Both Study Notes and The Rebel can be obtained by filling in the order form below and sending 5/- to 22 Hoya Crescent, Frankston, 3199.

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The Rebel

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NUMBER 1

Revolution and Revisionism

By Alan Ward

June 11th, 1977
(re-written from March 29th, 1977)

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


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

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

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

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

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

Communists, Marxist-Leninists, must never look at things the same way as bourgeois nationalists. There is a revolutionary movement
in Australia, not just an independence movement. Nor is it enough to speak of a movement for independence and socialism or to refer to a "struggle" for revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Our whole conception of revolution and our class consciousness, our whole concept of the working class's role in the revolution, must be revolutionary and our ideas must be revolutionary. It is not just a "struggle" for independence, it is the whole working class's role in the revolution to overthrow the ruling class government and establish the working class's power in Australia.

Making revolution is not the same as "stemming" that independence will only be won through struggle. It is not a propaganda problem. The people are doing all the work. The revolutionary issues are being actively raised. The people are doing all the work. The question is not whether revolution will take place in Australia, but how. The question is not whether the people will win, but how. The question is not whether revolution will be achieved, but how. The question is not whether the people will win, but how. The question is not whether revolution will be achieved, but how. The question is not whether the people will win, but how. The question is not whether revolution will be achieved, but how.

Of course, the word "dictatorship of the proletariat" is not a synonym for revolution. It is not a synonym for revolution. It is not a synonym for revolution. It is not a synonym for revolution. It is not a synonym for revolution. It is not a synonym for revolution.

There is really a very broad and deep revolutionary movement in Australia. Opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But in 1968 and 1969 this opposition was more widespread. The opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But in 1968 and 1969 this opposition was more widespread. The opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But in 1968 and 1969 this opposition was more widespread. The opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But in 1968 and 1969 this opposition was more widespread. The opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But in 1968 and 1969 this opposition was more widespread. The opposition to the multinationals and struggle for independence is an important part of it. But in 1968 and 1969 this opposition was more widespread.
strengthened accordingly. It must be a vigorous vanguard organization leading the class struggle. It must have a proper internal party life. There must be proper internal party life, and the party must be organized. Proper organization is to strengthen the party and organize it. It must prevent the enemy disrupting it, not to disorganize and defeat the party as though enemy "white terror" had been successful.

At all stages of the class struggle, the people are vigorously contending and challenging the power of the state. Even the slightest reform movement involves a question of power — will the ruling class have its way, or will the people have theirs? The revolutionary party must lead the struggle to victory, and lead the overall movement to victory of the revolution — armed overthrow of the capitalist state. It needs revolutionary ideology — Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It must be really practical in working with the working class, with fighting branches organized in the workplaces, not just "contactas." It must build a real united front and prepare for building a real people's army (not just "marching armies" or "struggling occasionally."). It must lead the united front to take power in the factories and the people's government, not just to struggle. It must publish its program of theoretical research to serve the revolution, not just show how "correct" it is. It must be organized nationally.

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

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

There is a developing economic crisis in Australia with mass unemployment and inflation. The ruling class is in disarray, working class and other sections of the society are looking for leadership. The revolutionary left cannot just create a revolutionary workers' and youth movement, but it should already be leading the advanced sections. It should be the main opposition and all political power in Australia should revolve around that struggle for power.

The objective conditions do exist for it. To a certain extent it is happening already, with the Eureka Flag still standing in the way. Revolutionaries cannot just say they do not want it, or prevent others doing it. They must lead the masses to do what they want. The party must be the vanguard, the party must be in the vanguard. Revisionism is not a dominant trend, but it can be played.
The correct attitude towards superpower contention seems to be a separate issue. But in essence it is a question of strategy or not starting from the needs of the Australian revolution. The "Marxists" who left out the revolution always produced peculiar results.

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

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

None of this is intended as hostile criticism. It is honest to revisionists, not to the party. Nearly一切 criticism under the guise of "emphasising the positive" is itself a reflection of revisionism. The positive is not positive and must be condemned. The negative is negative and must be fought. The two should never be mixed together with "on the one hand but on the other hand". Sharp criticism, sharp polemics will not hinder unity in the long run. Covering up contradictions with personal abuse and slander will only heighten the contradictions between the classes because the contradictions exist anyway and must be fought out consciously and politically.

If there is anything wrong then there is doubt of others will point it out and nil or sharply as appears necessary to them. But let it be done openly and directly.

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Communists and we therefore stand for independence and socialism. This implies that we struggle within the united front for liberation. We must be fighting for acceptance of our socialist position, and its victory over the anti-imperialist movement, and its ability to organize and unite the mass against the people's action against the bourgeoisie, farm, anti-imperialism, and the people's ability to organize the people's movement against the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces, and so on. In the case of the October Revolution, however, this is not the case. It is not the case where the leadership of the people is the leading force in the movement against the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces.

The Communist Party must be fully committed to the people's movement against the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces. This is a good thing, because a Communist Party without a revolutionary programme is a dead party. Thus there will always be contradictions in the Communist Party - there are contradictions in everything. That is a good thing, because a Communist Party without contradictions is a dead party. Thus there will always be a need for the ideological struggle and the purification of the Communist Party.

Heaven, the Art of War and the Art of Peace: A Comprehensive Treatise on Strategic and Military Thought in the Ancient World

By Barry Dawson.
REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

A Marxist-Leninist party is a vigorous vanguard organization leading the people in the class struggle. Every party can ever lead the Australian revolution to victory over the class enemy unless it has a vigorous and healthy internal life.

Party years ago Comrade Kyo Ikeda said: "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for the revolutionary organisations in the interest of our party. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up the weapon." (Selected Works Vol. 2, Page 31).

The obstacle to active ideological struggle is the very thing the ideological struggle must be waged against - revisionism. What happens to revisionist styles of work triumph within the Marxist-Leninist party has been dramatically described by Comrade Enver Hoxha: "Any misinterpretation, any merely formal implementation of these (inner party) norms has serious consequences, withers the inner life of the party and stifles revolutionary drive of the communists, power the development of bureaucracy in and degeneration of the party. Hence lies one of the sources of the great tragedy that befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In that country today (although the party norms still bear the label "communist") they are used as levers for the subjection of the party and to carry out the will of the revisionist clique in power. Democratic centralism has been turned into bureaucratic centralism through which the dictatorship of the ruling group of the new Soviet bourgeoisie is imposed upon the party. Criticism and self-criticism have been transformed into weapons to attack and discriminate against the representatives of the revisionist line. Conscious discipline has been replaced by blind submission to bureaucratic authorities. The communist class and the party members have yielded their place to the bourgeois morality of the revisionists, the servility and the hypocrites." (Report to the 8th Congress, p.198).

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

PARTICIPATION IN PARTY POLICY

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

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

And in 1971 comrade Enver Hoxha elaborated on the same problem:

"Democracy in the party has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulation and implementation of the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people. The open criticism, shortcomings and self-criticism of his own weaknesses, understand and implement. This way, democracy serves the strengthening of the party, the education and training of the communists, the consolidation of the organisations and the solidarity of the party ranks on the basis of the fundamental principles of its structure and functioning - democratic centralism. Democracy is strengthening through debates, the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting forward and overcoming of contradictions. The struggle of opinions along correct lines is not an expression of the lack of unity but, on the contrary, an effective means for strengthening it."

Martin Connell
Red Milan.

If there were any attempt to obscure the principal task of the party or to shift the target on to secondary contradictions, it would...
WHO'S AFRAID OF READING THE MISING LINES?

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

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

"In the sphere of organisation, ensure democracy under centralised guidance. It should be done on the following lines:
(1) The leading bodies of the party must give a clear line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centres of leadership.
(2) The higher bodies must be familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the life of the masses so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance.
(3) The Party organisation at any level should make causal decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.
(4) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party rank and file.
(5) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on methods of carrying them out."

The higher bodies should be completely familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the revolutionary movement, and the leadership does not make decisions which are communicated to the lower ranks as facts accepted without giving them the opportunity to raise objections. Dissatisfaction and disagreements are discussed in a calm and principled way, rather than adopting the revisionist line of shifting discussion and striving for unprincipled unity. We must make sure that people want to hear both sides - not to give them equal weight, but to decide which is the correct line.

On this question Mao Tse-Tung has said:

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

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

This willingness of Marxists-Leninists to struggle to win unity can be seen when the Chinese Communists exposed the revisionism of Kruschev & Co. One of the first things they did was to make all the relevant Soviet documents available for all to read and see their position raked over the coals.

"People's Daily" in an editorial on 27/4/1964 explained:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liberate our thinking and oppose blind faith.

Daryl Nelson