THE REBEL!

Volume 1, Number 2.
August 1977

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+ Draft provisional programme of the Communist Party of Australia M-L
+ Wages and unemployment
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+ Veterans are not foolproof

red eureka movement
"The Rebel" has received a number of comments on the first issue, mostly verbal and we would like to thank readers for taking the time to offer criticisms and suggestions aimed at improving the publication.

We are starting a letters section in the "Rebel" to encourage readers to send in short comments and suggestions. All correspondence will be either published or answered privately (if the author is known). This is a matter of principle and the time required will simply have to be made available.

One criticism is that we did not live up to our call for lively material which gives direct practical leadership to struggle. We hope that writers can correct this failure in future. The tendency to write in a bad style (arising from bad politics) must be vigorously fought. We must try to eradicate the journalistic, sectarian style of writing and use the language of the Australian people.

This is part of our campaign against the idea that 'Marxism-Leninism is too complicated for the Australian people and all they can understand is independence'. Our position is that we wholeheartedly support and are an active part of the struggle for Australian independence and that Marxist-Leninist ideas and leadership are necessary to win it. In reply to some people's questions, it is not true that we think that everyone in the independence movement must be a communist nor is it true that our policy is that the blue ensign flag must be replaced by a red one. (We don't think the colour is important).

What is important is that communists should openly and fearlessly advocate Marxist-Leninist ideas within the independence movement and we shall continue to do so.

Thanks also to the person who suggested that articles be double-spaced to make reading and note-taking easier. Could people submitting articles in the form of typed stencils please take this into consideration?

The criticism of "The Rebel" has been very encouraging. Please keep it up in accordance with the advice from Mao which we published in the last issue....

"Once started, a journal must be run conscientiously and well. This is the responsibility of the editors as well as the staff. It is very important for the readers to send in suggestions and write brief letters and articles indicating what they like and dislike, for this is the only way to make the journal a success." (Introducing the Communist Party, Selected Works, Vol.2)

The Red Uruka Movement also publishes "Starts Notes". Both the "Rebel" and "Starts Notes" can be obtained by writing to

A.F.U., c/o 22 Mary Street, Frankston, Vic. 3199
UNITED ON THE BASIS OF THE PARTY PROGRAM

Martin Connell.

"Without a programme it is impossible for the party to be a real or effective political organism. It always holds a line through each and every turn of events. Without a programme, the current political moment and giving exact answers to the 'rushed problems' of the present, it is possible to have a small group of theoreticians, but not an operative political unit. "V.I. Lenin 18/10/11.

The current General Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) was published in final draft form in "Australasian Communist" No.71. It lays down the general line of the party until the next Party Congress.

It is a communist duty to carry out the general line of the Party Programme in all his/her work and to jealously defend it against all attempts to negate it, alter it or sweep it under the carpet. The only body empowered to change any part of the Programme is the highest organ of the Party - the Party Congress.

THE IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE:

What is the immediate objective of the Party? Is it to 'win independence from the two super-powers'? Or is it the 'establishment of a socialist republic'?

The Party Programme gives the clear answer:

The first stage and the immediate objective is the complete independence of Australia from imperialism and the establishment of revolutionary anti-imperialist people's democratic dictatorship.

This will not be achieved merely through 'mass struggle' or other spontaneous concepts but can only be won by determined revolutionary struggle.

Quite clearly, what we strive for is not merely 'defending and extending independence' or 'profundely extending independence', but a revolutionary democracy of power by one class from another class. This is the immediate objective of the Party Programme.

THE UNITED FRONT.

"The main political task of the Party is the organization of the broadest united front of revolutionary classes to establish the remnants of colonialism and to establish imperialism to achieve national independence. Within the united front the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) maintains its independence and initiative; a policy of principled unity in struggle against the Australian people's enemy and principled independence in carrying out the Party's programme."

The question of principled unity and principled independence is crucial to the conduct of communists in their work in united fronts. Their task is to fight for the implementation of the Party Programme and unity is conditional on the independence of the communists to do so."

And in 1902, Lenin clearly pointed out in "What is to Be Done?":

"...an essential condition for such an alliance (with the bourgeoisie) must be the full opportunity for the Socialists to reveal to the people...

...contd..."
to the working class that its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie. (P.I.L., edition 19)

The Party Programme states that the working class must lead the united front, and it is obvious that only a class conscious proletariat with socialist consciousness can actually lead the revolution to victory. A group such as "no section" or "class interest should be able to dominate the broad movement" obviously runs counter to the Party Programme.

In "What Is To Be Done?", Lenin explained exactly what happens if communists fall for erroneous positions like this:

"...the Bolsheviks and 'critical' trend to which the majority of the 'Socialist-Maximalist' turned, deprived the Socialist of this opportunity (outlined in the previous quotation) and corrupted socialist consciousness by vilifying Kautsky by advocating the very theory that social antagonisms were being toned down, by declaring the idea of the social revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat to be absurd, by reducing the working class movement and the class struggle to narrow trade unionism and to 'socialist' struggle for petty, gradual reforms. This was treason to bourgeois democracy by denying Socialism's right to independence and, consequently, of its right to existence; in practice it meant striving to convert the working class movement from a movement into a campaign of the bourgeoisie."

It can be seen from this how important it is for communists to maintain the Party's independence and initiative, as demanded in the Programme. A communist is a communist first and above all a democrat first and a communist second, third or fourth.

**THE AIM OF THE REVOLUTION**

The General Programme states that the aim of the revolution in its current anti-imperialist stage is "the imperialism. Bourgeoisie and their collaborators who dominate us. The imperialist enemies are notably U.S., Imperialism, French imperialism, and Soviet imperialism."

U.S.-imperialism is the most aggressively entrenched and the most aggressive of all. Obviously, the main thrust of Communists is to drive imperialism out of Russia, to overthrow imperialism, and to overthrow imperialism, to overthrow imperialism.

There is no talk of "special relationships" here.

The Party Programme is a programme for action for all the workers of the world. It must be applied resolutely, boldly, and in all places. All attacks on it must be fought, no matter where they come from.
Draft Provisional
General Programme
Of Communist Party
Of Australia M-L

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) is the political party of the Australian proletariat.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) takes Marxian-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has as its ultimate aim the classless society of Communism. In order to achieve this aim the Party has a programme of continuing revolution by stages. The first stage and the immediate objective is the complete independence of Australia from imperialism and the establishment of revolutionary anti-imperialist people’s democratic dictatorship. Winning independence from imperialism is an essential and first component of socialist revolution in Australia and indirect independence can only be won by determined revolutionary struggle. The anti-imperialist character of this dictatorship consists of national independence from imperialist domination. The democratic character of this dictatorship consists of genuine democracy, in the people’s ownership of the means of communication (press, radio, television, mails, streets, etc.) in the people’s ownership of the key sectors of industry and the means of distribution; in the expropriation and redistribution of the land of the foreign monopolies and their collaborators; in the expropriation of the means of production and distribution owned by the imperialists and their collaborators; in the strict supervision of the production and distribution of Australia’s natural resources and in adequate living standards for all useful people.

This new democracy must be defended by a people’s army and a people’s militia. Fundamental to the programme of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is the policy of arming the people in effect and securing the expulsion of imperialism from Australia.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has the task of integrating Marxian-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought with the actual conditions in Australia. The main political task of the Party is the organisation of the broadest united front of revolutionary classes to abolish the remnants of colonialism and to abolish imperialism to achieve national independence. Within the united front, the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) maintains its independence and initiates a policy of principled unity in struggle against the Australian people’s enemies and principled independence in carry
ing out the Party’s programme. The united front isolates
the Australian people’s enemies (the imperialist bourge-
ioise and their local collaborators) who dominate Aus-
tralia and organises a people’s army under the leadership
of the Party to destroy them.

The proletariat is the leading force in this struggle,
for it is the class most directly attached to the most ad-
vanced means of production, the largest, the best or-
ganised and the most oppressed. That is to say, the most
thoroughly revolutionary force. Thus the Communist
Party of Australia (M-L) strives to unite the working
class, working farmers, the middle class, small business-
men, professional people and intellectuals and the pat-
riotic bourgeoisie, to form a united front against im-
ergalism under the leadership of the working class.

This united front is directed against the imperialist
and social-imperialist enemies of Australia. These ene-
emies, notably U.S. imperialism, British imperialism, Jap-
nese imperialism, and Soviet social imperialism aim to dom-
inate and exploit Australia and the Australian people.
British imperialism tries to retain its hold on Australia.
Soviet imperialism is trying to expand its imperialist
presence in Australia. As the present time U.S.
imperialism is the most aggressively entrenched, but
the menace of Soviet social imperialism grows.

With this understanding in mind, we draw the conclu-
sion that the struggle for the world domination of the
proletariat is the struggle for the liberation of the
working class and the unity of the proletariat from all
capitalist, imperialist and colonial oppression. This
struggle is the basis of the world domination schemes of U.S.,
imperialism and Soviet social imperialism to overthrow
imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

In accordance with its proletarian internationalist
line the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) strives for
united action of the Australian proletariat with the op-
pressed people of Asia and Oceania in their struggles
for independence and freedom from imperialism.

The Party fights without let-up to abolish the
system of exploitation of man by man over the globe so
that all mankind will be emancipated.

Members of the Communist Party of Australia
(M-L) must be honest, open and straightforward, must
study hard and practice Marxism-Leninism and not rev-
olutionism. Must press for principled unity, must carefully
distinguish friends from enemies and handle contradic-
tions appropriately, must be irreproachable in their daily
lives, integrating theory with practice and must maintain
close ties with the masses and practice criticism and
self-criticism. Members of the Communist Party of
Australia (M-L) who dedicate their lives to the struggle
for the unity, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and
surmount every difficulty to win victory.
WAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

Recently, the Australian Government has come out openly that its economic policy is to achieve a reduction in the real wages of Australian workers. This policy is not new, but it is now official.

At the last national wage case, "plausible indexation" was introduced, which meant that everyone receiving more than the average weekly earnings was not awarded proportionate compensation for the increase in consumer prices. The real wages of these better paid workers (more than one-third of the total workforce) were successfully reduced.

Of course, this means that the average real wage has also been reduced. So if plausible indexation is applied again, a lower figure for average weekly earnings (a real zero) will be used and an even larger proportion of the workforce will have their real wages cut.

If this process was repeated a few times, with a reasonably rapid rate of inflation, it would not be long before a zero was on the annual wage. Hence it would not end up with everyone on the minimum, because the average level would be reduced each time.

But this is not rapid enough, so the Government has called on the Arbitration Commission to impose even more savage cuts in real wages. "Partial indexation" - wages, which simply means a cut in real wages across the board. In order to make the Government appear "moderate", the employers demand a complete wage freeze - even deeper cuts across the board. These proposals would not only reduce everyone to the minimum wage, but also more rapidly, but also would reduce the minimum wage itself.

It's all about the utter lack of supporting "wage indexation". From prospecting real wages, it has opened the way to savage attacks on them. The ACTU has been reduced to merely arguing about these deep, the cuts should be. Only the most nominal opposition to the principal of some cuts to real wages has been expressed. In reality, they support a reduction in real wages and in the general standards of living.

This should not come as a great surprise. In Britain, the Labour Government, on the proposal of the Trades Union Congress (equivalent to ACTU) introduced an even more vicious attack on real wages in August 1975.

With consumer prices rising at 25% annually, the Labour Government introduced a law restricting pay rises to no more than 25%, which was approximately 10% of average weekly earnings.

It was made illegal to grant pay increases greater than this amount. Private firms which did so were penalised by freezing prices (as much as "price control") to Government enterprises (which are the largest employers in Britain as in Australia), were simply prohibited from granting increases larger than 25%.

The official aim of this policy, supported by the trades' unions, was to achieve a cut of at least 10% in real wages. The purpose, again, totally declared and supported by the trades' unions, was to achieve an equivalent increase in company profits.

A pamphlet issued by the Government to all households said: "A great many people will have to suffer some cuts in living standards. The sacrifice called for will not be easy. But the rewards from rapid fall in inflation will be everybody, and upon the way to a resurgence of economic growth and a return to full employment. The Government believes that the nation - realising the grim alternatives - will accept the sacrifices and play its part in the fight against inflation with courage and determination."

Truly a wonderful "Labour" Government.

The role of the "illiberal" trade unions was to insist that the full 25% should be paid, since Government policy was that "this was a maximum", and many employers wished to pay less.

The "left wing" of the Labour Party supported this legislation, and also supported massive cuts in social welfare and other Government spending. They called this the "Red Flame of Socialist Courage".

Needless to say, Britain's economic problems have not been solved, but the essence is the same. A softening up process has begun with wage indexation and "voluntary restraint". In Britain this was called the "so-called social con act or social con trick". Real wage falls and unemployment rose while this was going on, but it was only a preliminary to the much more savage attacks now in force.

The British trade unions were able to support the social contract and the 25% limit because most working people are willing to make sacrifices temporarily in order to restore full employment and a resumption of economic growth later on.

No doubt Australian trade unions will be able to do the same.

But the policy has failed in Britain and it will fail here.

The then British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, explained the policy of wage restraint as follows:

"One man's pay rise is not only another man's price rise; it might also cost him his own job - or his neighbours job."

This despite the fact that British wages and living standards have always been low and declining relative to European, Australian, and other capitalist countries.

Exactly the same argument has been used in Australia, both by the former Labor Government and by the present Liberal-Country Party Government. It will be heard more and more.

The argument sounds perfectly plausible. If workers are cheaper, then the capitalists will buy more of them. If workers become expensive, then there will be unemployment.

This is perfectly true, and it is no use denying it. There really is a developing economic crisis in which companies are restricting employment because they are not making enough profits. No recovery from this is possible until companies companies are able to make more profits, and that also means not until real wages have been reduced. It is non-consumer lead recovery.

Capitalism is production for profit and you cannot increase profits by paying workers more so that they can buy more.

But although true, the argument is the wrong way round. Under capitalism it is not the level of wages that determines the level of unemployment, but the level of unemployment that determines the level of wages.

Labor power is a commodity like any other. Its price fluctuates around its value in accordance with the law of demand and supply.

If there is full employment and a strong demand for labor by businesses wishing to expand in order to make more profits, then wages will rise. This is not the result of capitalist generosity: view of their high profits,
but a result of the increased competition for labor. If there is a slackening
in the accumulation of capital, and a reduced demand for labor because
it is unprofitable to employ workers, then unemployment will grow and
wages (real wages) will fall. In appearance the rise in real wages
depends on the militancy of workers in their trade union struggles. This
is partly true to some extent.

But in essence the strength and weakness of workers and employers in
wage disputes depends on the demand for and supply of labour. Trade
unions are strong and militant when there is full employment and they
are much weaker when unemployment is increasing. They cannot be
otherwise within the capitalist system in which their function is to regu-
late the sale and labor power on the most favorable terms feasible.

Policies of "wage restraint", even when backed by legislation cannot
fundamentally alter the situation. By disregarding the trade unions, wages
can be made a little lower than they would be otherwise.

But if there is not enough "enough" unemployment (supply of labor power), and
"too much" accumulation (demand for labor power), then the employers
will bid up wages (the prices of labor power), whether the workers ask
for more or not. Efforts to "stimulate the economy" mean increased
accumulation, and will therefore tend to force up wages.

Although real wages have begun to decline in Australia, they have not
decreased "enough" for a "healthy" recovery of the capitalist economy. No
decision of the Arbitration Commission and no truculence by the trade
union leaders can ever make them decline enough (although they
probably have been asked to work an official declared rate of pay).

Thus it is completely hypocritical to speak of wage restraint as an alterna-
tive to unemployment. On the contrary unemployment is the only mech-
nism capitalism has to enforce reductions in real wages.

The aim of "wage restraint" or "wage indexing" is simply to action
people up and demoralize them so that they will accept increased
unemployment, which will really enforce substantial reductions in real wages.

There are only two ways out of the capitalist economic crisis. One is
to actually have the crisis, which would be worse than the last depression
in the 1930's. Then real wages would certainly be forced down, sur-
plus capital would be destroyed and forces would be set in motion which
would lead to a new boom... and a new depression (possibly aided by a war).
So far all the major capitalist countries have been steering their own capi-
 talist ship to avoid such a crisis. They know that the 1970's are not the 1930's, and
are taking only steps to postpone the crisis - but time may have run out.
The crisis of overproduction cannot be resolved until it has been allowed to actually break out.

The other way out is revolution.

No third way. The rich cannot be made to pay. They do not produce
anything so they have nothing to pay except the products
of their labor. The rich must be overthrown.

ALAN WARD

WOMEN AND THE AUSTRALIAN REVOLUTION

There has been a lot of discussion recently centering around what
topic women's organizations should play in the Australian revolution,
and whether, in fact, there is a need for a women's organization.

Many people appear to have confused ideas about the work of Marxist-Leninist
and women's liberation organizations. It has been said that there is currently no need to fight manifestations of
reaction inside a women's organization, for these are divisive and
will cause splits in the movement, and that women must achieve lib-
eration by struggling for rights on the national-industrial plane. In addition,
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a rewarding. The step-bystep roles of both men and women will change as attitudes are reshuffled and women will begin to win equality, but do we jump from capitalism to this new system where women have equality with men?

The struggle for women's emancipation ISN'T limited to the principle man - procreational dictatorship -- for one without the other is impossible. (Note: The procreational cannot achieve complete liberty until we have complete liberty for women.)

So men must struggle to overcome their oppression by struggling for freedom. To simply raise the slogan of "emancipation" is to offer a woman nothing and in fact it does not even begin to address the problem of genuine independence and society. Independence, without a revolutionary change in the social structure, offers nothing for the working class or for women. Capitalism is challenged, but the leading role of big working classes is not mentioned. How can one step on this socialist society and therefore must be fought, but what independence really is must be clearly explained.

In the struggle for women's emancipation, we must be guided by the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) throughout.

The first step of the Australian involvement in the present political revolution is the anti-capitalist, national democratic stage which will lead to the independence of the women and men and the whole society. This anti-capitalist, national democratic stage involves the unity in struggle of all Australian anti-capitalists of the society, in struggle with the interests of the working class, and the working class with the interests of the society. This anti-capitalist, national democratic stage involves the unity in struggle of all Australian anti-capitalists of the society, in struggle with the interests of the working class, and the working class with the interests of the society.

Women are suffering under the oppression and impairments imposed by the bourgeoisie to keep women from the struggle. They are being used to control the women's consciousness, to maintain their oppression, and to suppress their revolutionary consciousness.

The party must have organs -- working groups, commissions, specific purposes of raising the united masses of women, bringing them into contact with the party and helping them to understand them. It is not enough only to understand women, they must be taught to understand women, to base our struggle on the masses of women, to fight for the liberation of women, and to help them in their struggle.

We must have our own group to organize. This is not appropriate to be called "women's liberation," it is a countrywide women's liberation organization.

Women's liberation is a struggle with the struggle of women. All women must participate in this struggle. All women must be organized. All women must be united. All women must be equal.

We must be guided by the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) throughout all stages of our struggle.

The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a spontaneous thing.
A powerful instrument used by the Bolshevik Party to strengthen its organizational basis and to spread its influence among the workers was the Bolshevik daily newspaper Pravda (Truth), published in St. Petersburg. It was founded in June 1912 by a group of Bolsheviks under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, in response to the formation of a rival daily, Iskra, by the Mensheviks. Pravda's main task was to help organize mass labor organizations simultaneously with the work of the more radical sector of the revolutionary movement. Its first issue appeared on April 25, 1912.

In view of the appearance of Pravda, the Bolsheviks already had a weekly newspaper Pravda (Truth), intended for advanced workers. This newspaper, however, had not yet developed into a propagandist organ, and its influence among the workers was limited. In 1913, Pravda became a daily newspaper, designated for the broadest circle of the working class, Pravda's influence among the workers was strengthened. It became a major instrument of the Bolsheviks in their struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

Pravda played an exceptionally important part at this period. It gained support among the rank and file of the working class. Because of incessant police persecution, fines, and confiscation of issues due to the publication of articles and books by the leaders of the opposition, Pravda could exist only with the active support of tens of thousands of advanced workers. Pravda was able to pay the fine only thanks to large collections made among the workers. Not infrequently, considerable portions of confiscated issues of Pravda nevertheless found their way into the hands of readers, because the more active workers would buy the printing proof at night and carry away bundles of newspapers.

The Tsarist government suppressed Pravda eight times in the space of two and a half years. But each time, with the support of the workers, it reappeared under a new name or in a similar form, e.g., Pravda (For Truth), Pravda (Honest Truth).

While the average circulation of Pravda was 40,000 copies per day, the circulation of tapping, the Hanseatic daily, did not exceed 15,000 or 16,000.

The workers regarded Pravda as their own newspaper; they had great confidence in its editors, passing from hand to hand, it was read by workers conscious of their class interests, who transmitted it to other workers.

What did Pravda write about? Every issue contained dozens of letters from workers describing their plight, the hideous exploitation and the variegated cases of the workers' oppression and hunger. The newspaper was filled with reports of strikes at factories, mills, and shops; with statements of the demands of the workers; reports of the meetings of factory councils; reports of the meetings of the workers' unions. The newspaper was filled with the demands of the workers for better working conditions, higher wages, and social justice.

On one occasion, thousands of rubles were collected for the strike fund of the Darny factories. The majority of the workers received the money on the same day. Pravda was a valiant voice of the workers' struggle for justice.

The workers created a variety of political events, to every victory or defeat, by dealing with the workers' daily life. The newspaper Pravda was a conscious instrument of the workers' struggle. It had to be transmitted to the workers. This was the only way to keep the workers informed. It was a tool for the workers to understand the unity of interests of all workers.

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The Bolsheviks at that time were called “militantists.” A whole generation of the revolutionary proletariat was raised by Pravda, the paper which subsequently became the October Socialist Revolution. Pravda was packed by tens and hundreds of thousands of workers. During the rise of the revolutionary movement (1912-14) the solid foundation was laid of a new Bolshevik Party, a foundation which no persecution by tsarists could destroy during the imperialist war.

“The Pravda of 1912 was the laying of the cornerstone of the victory of Bolshevism in 1917.” (Stalin)

**Vorworts are not code-word. (Some notes on Flekhmanov)**

- George Melamed

Georgi Valentinovich Flekhnov (1896-1918) is correctly regarded as the father of Russian Marxism.

He founded the first Russian Marxist group, the “Commune of Labour” group in April 1905. Flekhnov wrote the Flekhnov’s group in April 1905:

“First of all I repeat to you that I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which firmly and without equivocation endorses the great economic and historical theories of Marx and has decisively broken with all the anarchist and more or less Mongolian traditions of its predecessor – that Marx himself would have been equally proud of this had he lived a little longer. It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia.”

(Georgi Melamed “Selected Correspondence” Progress Publishers, 1965, pp. 393-394)

At the time when Flekhnov formed the “Commune of Labour” group, the most firmly entrenched and unflinching revolutionary activity in Russia was that of the Dzerzhinski (coalition) who were opponents of Marx. Flekhnov himself had been a Bolshevik before he embraced Marxism.

The first book of the “Commune of Labour” group was the dissemination of the basic teachings of Marx and Engels on scientific socialism. They translated into Russian works such as “The Communist Manifesto,” “Capital,” “Labour and Capital,” and “Socialism: Utopian and Scientific” printed them abroad and secretly circulated them inside Russia. This was an important and necessary task in developing Russian Marxism and in combating the petty-bourgeois ideology of the Dzerzhinski.

Engels had written a number of articles which explained the basic principles of Marxism and repudiated the Dzerzhinski philosophy. Among these were “Socialism and the Religious Struggle,” “Our Difference” and “On the Development of the Domestic View of History.” Engels was favorably impressed with “Our Difference” and Lenin noted that “Engels in 1905, attempted to get a whole generation of Russian Marxists” (quoted in the History of the C.L.R. (U), p.12).

In a letter to some Bulgarian socialists in June 1905, Engels spoke of socialists who were the terrorists and threats of Russian Marxism by countering the terrorist activities of the Russian and French revolutionaries. It has been given me great pleasure to see the Flekhnov works translated into Bulgarian. “Selected Correspondence” p.458.

By the turn of the century, it could be said of Flekhnov that he was a veteran Marxist leader who had made significant contributions to the development of Russian Marxism – contributions that could not be neglected. It would have been fairly accurate, although probably myopic, to say that the name of G.V. Flekhnov was synonymous with revolution in Russia.

Unglucklicher Fall, the story of G.V. Flekhnov did not end on this revolutionary note. By the time of the 1905 revolution the father of Russian Marxism had become one of the principal revisionist leaders of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party who took the stand of the liberal bourgeoisie and opposed the leadership of the proletariat.

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while the Russian proletariat was engaged in an organized uprising against the tsarist autocracy, workingclass leaders and bolsheviks stood on the sidelines condemning the workers for taking up arms "prematurely" and accusing the bolsheviks of frightening the bourgeois upper classes into the arms of the counter-revolution through their resolute actions.

Lenin replied to these arguments:

"In order that it may be consistently carried to its conclusion, our democratic revolution must rely on such forces as are capable of paralyzing the inevitable inconsistency of the bourgeoisie, i.e., capable of turning it to its own side against the revolution." (Quoted in History of the C.R.W.U. (a) 1900; and he commented on bolshevik's revisionist theory: "The social-liberal, moderate bourgeois is carrying both Bolshevists and Mensheviks shoulder high, driving them to the streets, advertising their writings for the services they are rendering them in the struggle against the proletariat". (Collected works, vol. 10, p. 473).

G.V. Plekhanov remained a Menshevik revisionist until his death in 1920. As a long-suffering servant to the Russian proletariat and Marxism is a historical fact which Lenin said Stalin frequently acknowledged. After a number of decades as a Marxist is certainly not any foolproof insurance policy against desertion. At some later date, attempts to put forward the idea that veteran Marxists are somehow infallible purely on the basis of their past contributions is certainly an idealist approach to blind faith which should be rejected in such cases.

People who do put forward this idea try to present themselves as being loyal and efficient, being the veterans concerned. They think that being a veteran is the same as being a communist. In reality, to support a comradeship of political line and resolve whether it is right or wrong is liberalism and betrayal of the revolutionary movement and the cause concerned. True loyalty to the revolutionary cause is to support and defend your comrades. It requires that you honestly criticize their mistakes (as well as your own) while supporting their good points with the object of strengthening the revolutionary movement.\n
If we can learn anything from the example of G.V. Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, it must surely be that the only way to measure a policy is whether or not it furthers the interests of the proletariat, not on the past record of the author of the policy.