

# STRUGGLE

A MARXIST APPROACH TO AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

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## Super-size My Pay

### Mobilise to End Youth Rates and Demand \$12 Minimum Now

In the face of widespread demands for an end to age poverty, the Clark regime's cobbled coalition has said it wants to raise the minimum wage to \$12.00 per hour by the end of 2008 if 'economic conditions permit'. But 2008 is too late for low paid and minimum wage workers - there is already a low wage crisis despite recent growth in the economy and record corporate profits.

The Unite union reports that tens of thousands of workers live on the current minimum wage of \$9.50 an hour for those 18 and older and \$7.60 an hour for 16 and 17 year olds. There is no minimum wage for those 15 and under.

Compare that to Australia where the minimum wage is \$NZ13.85, nearly 50% higher than in New Zealand. The irony of all the National Party's electoral claims about disparity with Australian wage rates is that the wage growth in Australia came about because of Federal Wage orders for the lowest paid workers - higher paid workers got wage increases to maintain relativities. Yet these are exactly the policies that John Key is now attacking as damaging to the economy.

According to the SuperSizeMyPay.com campaign site: Despite once having one of the highest standards of living in OECD countries, New Zealand now has one of the highest rates of low pay, child poverty and income inequality

- Real wages dropped in New Zealand by 6.5% between 1980-2001 whilst

they rose by 28.8% in Australia, 39.5% in Canada, 46.9% in UK and 68.2% in Finland.

- During the same two decades corporate profits went from 34% of GDP to 46%. Wages as a share of GDP fell from 57% to 42%.
- Australian average wages are 30% higher than NZ now when they were the same as NZ twenty years ago

Poverty-wages are increasing the gap between rich and poor and increasing other social inequalities. The majority of low paid and minimum wage workers are women, Maori, pacific nation peoples, disabled, youth, students and new migrants.

#### WORKING FOR FAMILIES IS NOT THE ANSWER

The Government has recognised that the wages for many are too low. Its solution is to provide taxpayer-funded top-ups for wages to people with families through its working for families package. This is no more than a subsidy to business, allowing it to pay wages that are not acceptable if it was all that the worker got. In effect the Government is picking up a chunk of the wage bill - but only for some workers. Those with families get top-ups, others get nothing.

Working for Families de-couples income from work the impact being that the general taxpayers replace part of the wages paid by the employer. In effect, Working for Families is a state-controlled and managed welfare



system for the large foreign and local corporations. They are the major beneficiaries of a scheme that crudely shackles wage earners to a business friendly state.

#### LOW PAY = LOW PRODUCTIVITY

Any delay in increasing the minimum wage sends the message that New Zealand country can continue to be a low-wage low-productivity country. We cannot. Low wages produce a whole lot of low-paying jobs, with little incentive to look at increasing productivity per worker, either through training *continues overleaf...*

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# Air NZ Workers: Now the Fight is On!

Workers have sensibly rejected a union-collaborative effort to slash their jobs, wages and conditions – now they need to make the fight a political one and throw off the yoke of their class collaborationist union bosses.

Rather than confront the Government (which owns 82% of the company) over Air NZ plans to shut-down its heavy engineering aircraft repair operations, unions turned to an anti-union accounting firm to come up with a cost-saving scheme at the expense of workers' conditions.

The Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union (EPMU) and the Aviation and Marine Engineers Association (AMEA) put up a plan that would save only half of the 600 jobs that would be lost if the engineering work was outsourced off-shore.

Not only would more than 300 jobs disappear, the workers who remain would have to take a major wage cut and yet still be expected to do the same or even more work.

Instead of making concessions, the unions should be waging a campaign to force the Government, to take full control of the airline and ensure the engineering repair facilities are kept open. Yet instead of taking this fight to the Government – led by the Labour party that the EPMU spent hundreds of thousands of members dues helping to get elected - the union wants its own members to pay even more, through their own labour, towards Air NZ's massive profits.

We agree with Alliance Party co-leader Len Richards who says the unions 'buckled under to the blackmail of the company'. Air New Zealand is cynically using the threat of a complete closure of the repair workshops to extract 'voluntary' concessions from the workers.

Instead of fighting, the unions hired Michael Stiassny of the accountancy firm Ferrier Hodgson who has come up with a plan that will mean far-reaching changes in work conditions in the hope that enough money can be saved to convince the company to save 300 engineers' jobs.

Stiassny is no workers' champion. He specialises in company restructuring and insolvency. He chairs the Board of the lines company Vector and Auckland's corporatised water company, Metrowater. He also holds directorships in a number of other companies including Metlifecare, a major

player in the aged care industry currently under attack in a corporate takeover bid by the Australian McQuarrie Bank.

Stiassny told the NZ Herald it was "phenomenal" and an "amazing surprise", to see "how far the [union] delegates and members have moved on labour reform". It is "unusual", he crowed, "to see a union make those ... deliverables" and Air NZ should take advantage of these concessions. This has been the rhetoric dominating the media – followed by cries of outrage that 'a small group' of workers have now shafted the deal by refusing to take cuts to their hard-fought-for wages and conditions.

Andrew Little, the national secretary of the EPMU, has embraced the accountants' anti-worker plan. He sees it as 'a viable alternative', but in selling workers' conditions in return for an unenforceable undertaking that some jobs will be saved, Little and the unions are playing right into the company's hands.

Only a few days before the presentation of the union concessions to Air NZ, the company said that even a 25 per cent cut in labour costs for the engineers would not be enough to save their jobs. Air NZ said

## COVER STORY CONT.

or investment. As the CPA minimum programme published for the election pointed out: the only way to increase productivity is to force it on employers, and wean them off their dependence on low wages by requiring wage increases in advance of inflation. Even Treasury has noted that because workers are cheaper in New Zealand than Australia, New Zealand bosses under-invest in capital and lower productivity results.

Even the rabidly capitalist flag-waving Dominion Post accepts there is no place for youth rates. 'No one would argue', it wrote at the beginning of February, 'that women should be paid less than men for doing the same job, and it is equally absurd to accept that a 16-year-old should get less than a 19-year-old just because of his birth date'.

Raising the minimum wage to \$12 immediately, removing youth rates, giving secure hours and other minimum entitlements would be a first step towards reclaiming the entitlements workers lost under the Employment Contracts Act and challenging the poverty and inequality capitalist control imposes on working class New Zealanders.

Building a community-wide solidarity cam-

only across-the-board concessions from all 2100 engineering workers could see some of the heavy engineering jobs saved. Air NZ management said even changes in shift patterns, removal of penal rates and an 'hours bank' to manage the work load would not be cheaper than outsourcing. Air NZ is going to outsource all the jobs it wanted to in the first place, and is seeking 'savings' (read increase exploitation and extraction of surplus value) from those who remain – with no jobs saved at all.

The loss of our country's heavy aircraft repair capacity would be a major blow to our strategically important transport infrastructure. The Labour-led government must be forced to act in the interests of the people who elected it and protect the 600 jobs at risk while ensuring New Zealand continues to have a viable national airline.

**NATIONALISE AIR NEW ZEALAND NOW! WORKERS, THROW-OFF THE SHACKLES OF YOUR UNION BOSSES! THESE WORKSHOPS ARE ASSETS OWNED BY THE PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND. OCCUPY TO KEEP THEM OURS!**

campaign around the fast food industry can help these workers win a contract for these demands. It will also build the confidence of low paid and minimum wage workers and be a first step toward winning \$12 minimum wage for all New Zealanders.

As Communists we must build the united front against the ruling regime at local and national levels. We must win over tactical allies. The Communist Party seeks to form alliances that would lead to more favorable conditions for the revolutionary movement and advance the interests of the broad masses of the people

As the people of Aotearoa increasingly mobilize, the Communist Party conducts propaganda to make them aware that fundamental changes in society will only be achieved with the complete victory of the socialist peoples revolution that will overthrow the entire reactionary and puppet state and system and establish a genuine revolutionary government and system. All throughout this process, the people must continuously wield the weapon of militant struggle. They must broadly and actively immerse themselves in economic, political and social issues.

# Imperialism is the Enemy: for Muslims and Communists

## ISLAMOPHOBIA: A WEAPON OF DIVISION

Islamophobia is a relatively recent development. It first surfaced as a concept in the midst of the Iranian revolution, when Islam emerged as a potent force against imperialism. It was used then by the imperialists to condemn the actions of the Iranian people in their 1979 revolution against the US controlled Shah Monarchy. It surfaced alongside such wonderful and 'helpful' (for imperialism) concepts as 'Islamic-Fundamentalism' and like the latter, rose into common currency in the imperialist world following the events of September 2001.

All progressive people, including people involved in the anti-war movement, and especially people who consider themselves revolutionaries or Marxists, should be clear about these bigoted sentiments and concepts. They serve only as instruments of division amongst working and oppressed people, and they are not at all helpful in approaching and confronting the very real problems that political Islam confronts us with as a dominant political tendency in the Middle East, the Malayan archipelago, and other oppressed regions in the world.

## PROTESTS AGAINST CARTOONS?

According to the CIA Factbook there are currently around 1.6 billion Muslims in the world. The average income in Muslim countries is \$1,000 a year, a fifth of that for the rest of the world. In nineteen of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference's (OIC) 57 member countries, half of the adult population is illiterate.

By all accounts, the protests against the cartoons humiliating and ridiculing the Prophet Mohammad have been most enthusiastic and militant in those nations that have been crushed most brutally under the boot of imperialism. Palestine,



Afghanistan, two of the poorest nations in the world, two of those most brutalized by imperialist war and occupation and the staging grounds of some of the biggest and strongest condemnations of the comics.

Why the comics? Why, if they are so brutalized by imperialism, are there not mass protests against imperialism in the streets of Kabul and Jerusalem? Are the protests simply being manipulated by local demagogues; steering the angers of the oppressed masses back under their cloaks of the opium of the people?

Clearly some reactionary regimes are using the cartoon episode to rally the masses under their flags and corral them safely in their mosques, but the important dynamics of this struggle reveals that even this offers us a way forward against imperialism. These protests are an expression of a mass anti-imperialist sentiment. A stunted, limited, deformed and perhaps mostly unconscious anti-imperialist sentiment - yes. but an anti-imperialist sentiment all the same. If we fail to see this then we miss the most important subjective factor of the struggle of oppressed people in the Middle East.

Within the overall attacks on the people of the Middle East there are a number of components:

1. Military attacks (Which have been the subject of news reports and antiwar demonstrations for years now.)
2. Economic attacks (Implemented through neo-colonial puppet governments and manipulation by the World Bank and IMF for years before the current era of war and occupation, and since the occupations through neo-Liberal privatization plots to steal the wealth of the lands that have been pounded with thousand pound bombs.)
3. Political attacks (Part and parcel of the first and second sorts of attacks, but also used in the build-up and political preparation for the first and second sorts of attacks, as currently notable in the political attacks on Iran, Venezuela, and Cuba by the US, EU and the whole cabal of imperialism.)
4. Cultural attacks (People in Aotearoa should be familiar with these sorts of attacks as these have been the primary weapon used against Maori for the last hundred and fifty years or so).

The racist and imperialist cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad are a cultural attack on Muslim people. A people who have been stolen from, killed, tortured, starved, bombed, and occupied. What does the poor Afghan have left but the dignity of being Afghan and the moral strength of being a child of Mohammad? Standing on this last hope, the Afghan, the Palestinian, the Iraqi, stands in defense of their Prophet.

## "FREEDOM OF SPEECH," THE "WAR ON TERROR," AND US VS. THEM

We have have faced an hysterical argument in every corner of the bourgeois

media since the protests first surfaced: "Freedom of speech!" they cry. You would think that there was such a thing. Prominent pro-war ideologue, Christopher Hitchens screams about "[The] international Muslim pogrom against the free press" while he wraps himself in the pages of the Washington Post-Newsweek corporation. "Dissident" (in the style of the Cuban "dissidents") Muslim Irshad Manji lectures from her podium on Fox News, flanked by Bill O'Reilly. "Let the cartoons fly," she proclaims. in the name of "Free Speech."

Karl Marx famously wrote that the governing ideas of any epoch are the ideas of the ruling class. Of course, "freedom of speech" - our hallowed right - exists also within that framework. In practice, this "freedom" is as hollow as any others under bourgeois "democracy" and rests upon the most fragile of foundations: the relative stability of capitalism.

History has already measured the shockingly low melting point of the right of "Freedom of Speech" and "Freedom of Expression". When the bourgeoisie's control over the working class is shaken, it considers its social contract (constitution) and all its subjects' democratic rights void. Perhaps our liberal journalists think that something has qualitatively changed since the press of the Peoples Voice was smashed by the police in 1939 (and the editors gaoled), or since the attacks on those supporting the watersiders in 1951, or the agent provocateurs during the Springbok Tours, the wire tapping against Maori organisations, the spies invading Aziz Chaudrey's house...

On February 8th, George Bush joined Jack Straw in "condemning" the cartoons, since... the US believes in "tolerance," but he said, "we reject violence as a way to express discontent with what may be printed in a free press." And then Condoleezza Rice added, "Iran and Syria have gone out of their way to inflame senti-

ments and to use this to their own purposes. And the world ought to call them on it."

Or, as Ephraim Zuroff, Director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center office in Jerusalem, clarified for us "[The violent rallies are] the typical Islamic response to anything that they perceive as an insult or a threat."

In an article published February 6th, Robert Fisk wrote about the selective character of freedom of speech, "In other words, while we claim that Muslims must be good secularists when it comes to free speech—or cheap cartoons—we can worry about adherents to our own precious religion just as much. I also enjoyed the pompous claims of European statesmen that they cannot control free speech or newspapers. This is also nonsense. Had that cartoon of the Prophet shown instead a chief rabbi with a bomb-shaped hat, we would have had "anti-Semitism" screamed into our ears—and rightly so—just as we often hear the Israelis complain about anti-Semitic cartoons in Egyptian newspapers."

"But if we must write the truth!" the sage replies. "We must not discriminate!"

The truth? There is no space in the bourgeois media for the truth. The voices of the majority of the people of the world are expelled from the newspapers and television and radio stations of the world because our voices reflect our interests, and the "Truth" is created by the great lie-factories owned and operated by those with interests that irreconcilably contradict the interests of us regular folk. That is the truth. The truth is that the world is being ravaged by the dying forces of imperialism - and Hegel was right. there is only one truth. Dominance over the big-T-official-"Truth" and suppression of the Hegel's truth is what led the US to banish al-Jazeera from Iraq and replace them with "al- Huda" (which coincidentally, or

ironically, translates into "The One", as in Hegel's "One Truth"), a media corporation operated out of the US with Donald Rumsfeld as executive director. Control of the "Truth" is a reflection of the balance of power in the world, and delivery of this power is the job of our "Freedom of Speech" loving liberal journalists.

It is a further \_expression of the balance of forces in the world today that our "Freedom of Speech" loving friends' horror at the exercise of the freedom of \_expression of oppressed people (the protests) is what compels their "principled" defense of "Freedom of Speech" for imperialism and its newspapers. These producers and translators of the governing ideology of the imperialist war machine reach out to oppressed people with their pens only to cut out our tongues, and with their papers only to suffocate us beneath the sheer mass of their "popular opinion."

When the house sets the rules, the house always wins. That is why it is so important that we carry on our fight outside of the house, lobbing in attacks through the windows the same way Afghans attacked the Danish embassy this week. Bourgeois control of the media means that we have made and must make our own. It also means that freedom of \_expression for oppressed people comes in different forms than imperialist freedom of \_expression. They distribute racist cartoons by the hundreds of millions of drafts and defend their wars and occupations over billions of dollars of airwaves. We are left with the hard work of hand distributing fliers and newspapers and organizing street demonstrations, strikes and actions. In turn, they attack us for our crude methods; and in turn we must escalate our effective use of our crude methods.

### WHY THE "TRUTH" MATTERS

The anti-Mohammad cartoons are a strike against Muslims as oppressed people - it is impossible to understand the reaction to the comics without this understand-

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ing. Muslims are no strangers to insults and humiliation, and these are not the first comics to attack them as oppressed people. But on top of the racism, bombs, guns, tanks, ridicule, slander, occupation, theft, and daily humiliation at the hands of imperialism comes these comics - the worst and most extreme anti-Islam cartoons ever published - a blow at the pride of every Muslim individually, and at Muslims as a whole community. Do you want to see what the collective frustration and anger of 1.6 billion people looks like?

These cartoons are an instrument of division, calculated to drive a wedge into the Muslim world - between the fictitious "Good Muslim" / "Bad Muslim." The "extremist" and the "moderate." The depths of imperialist scheming is to be found here. For the aim of dividing Muslims into "Good" and "Bad" is not even for Muslims themselves. It is not possible to convince a man whose nephew was shot by a US soldier that his brother is a "Bad" Muslim for planting a roadside bomb. He is not a "terrorist" or an "extremist" - he is a human being.

The target audience of the "Good" Muslim / "Bad" Muslim portrait is working and oppressed people who are not Muslim. Imperialists are pulling hard to divide the oppressed people of the "West" from oppressed people of the "East." The cartoon is not only a reflection of Islamophobia, it means to enflame Islamophobia, just as the coverage of the anti-cartoon protests and all the heroic "Free Speech" talk means to do. The "Good" Muslim, of course, is one that accepts and supports the imperialist domination of the Middle East, keeps their "personal preferences" (like Allah) confined to their home, thinks that there's a "time and a place" and "peaceful, legal channels" for protest, learns English and aims to "start a business" someday. The "Bad" Muslim is anyone who looks like they might be from the Middle East and fights for the rights, lives and dignity of oppressed people against imperialism. Probably they're angry. Best to stay away from people like that. Right?

As the imperialist crisis of controlling its "conquests" continues and grows, this imperialist agenda of division take a more and more important strategic role. Nearly three years of occupation in Iraq and four and a half years in Afghanistan have brought only suffering to the people of these occupied nations and a series of greater or lesser quagmires for imperialism. Just when the imperialists had hoped that they had gained some ground in the demoralization of the Palestinian libera-

tion movement, Hamas was democratically elected to control of the PA. This sign of shifting dynamics in this struggle indicates the resolution of the majority of Palestinians to continue their liberation struggle in resolute opposition to imperialism.

Along with the quagmire of occupation has come a growing awareness of the injustice of these occupations amongst working, poor and oppressed people within imperialist countries themselves. And from this awareness comes a growing opposition and the threat of an effective opposition. The question rises from the sinking sands of Iraq and Afghanistan and finds voice on the lips of millions gathered around the water coolers and lunch rooms in every imperialist country.

With this trick of slander, racism, and Islamophobia the imperialists hope to trigger deep fear, resentment, and animosity against Muslims in the minds and hearts of the working class in the imperialist countries. Overnight, all their mediums of delivery are armed to deliver their payload all at once. The doctor's needles pierce us as CNN, TVNZ, TV3, the Dominion Post and the Christchurch Press shoot to hit us with a heavy enough dose of racism and Islamophobia to reverse the course of the anti-war consciousness that threatens to grow like a magnificent rainbow across the whole spectrum of the working class. All at once, they hope, the people who yesterday were asking questions about the war will be asking instead, "All this over a cartoon? Those Muslims are crazy."

Islamophobia plays a deeply reactionary role. If imperialist propaganda is able to convince revolutionaries in Latin America, "Look. Iraq, Afghanistan, this is a Muslim problem, it's not worth your trouble." then the anti-occupation fighters in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine will be abandoned to their existing and inadequate leaderships - sheltered from the potential experience, influence, sympathy and solidarity of the revolutionary movements in Latin America.

### ISLAM AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Wherever Islam is fighting against imperialism, it is a progressive force - and while this is one of our problems, it is not our greatest problem. Wherever Islam is fighting against imperialism, 'The Left' must join with Muslims in this fight. The alternative is to abstain from the fight against imperialism and in the best case scenario; this abstention would result in the victory of Islam. and the worst case? The victory

of imperialism.

The potentials for mobilizing the Muslim community as part of the working and oppressed class in Aotearoa against imperialism will be seen through a strong unity in action between Muslims and the anti-war movement. Islamophobia cuts an unbridgeable chasm between "The Left" or the anti-war movement and this important community. If the anti-war movement is so paralyzed with Islamophobia that it is not able to outreach and work together with the Muslim community locally, then how can it expect to work in an international context with the strongest anti-war/anti-occupation forces in the world?

On the specific question of the Islamophobic cartoons, the anti-war movement, and all progressive, working class and "Leftist" forces has a special obligation to help to turn the shame and fear that many Muslims are undoubtedly feeling into an experience that they can gain confidence from. We are not be in the business of refusing support to sections of the working and oppressed classes against imperialism. To the contrary, we need to follow the examples set by Fidel and Chavez and turn towards the Muslim community with renewed and active solidarity, support their righteous rage against the Islamophobic cartoons racist attack, and defend them - as oppressed people - against imperialism and capitalism, the shared enemy of all oppressed people. If we refuse this duty, then we will be abandoning our historical post as the champions of the oppressed and, repeating the gravest sectarian and opportunist mistakes of the Left in history.

Islamophobia is a tool of division between workers and it has no place in the 'Left'.

For the unity of the oppressed people of the world against the oppressor. Take a clear line against Islamophobia, and a clear line in defense of oppressed people against imperialism.

History's penalties for those who do otherwise will be insurmountable.

# Being Pakeha Now (in 2006)

*Contributed.*

In the census to be conducted in a few weeks time Pakeha New Zealanders are again to be denied the opportunity to declare that identity and in doing so assert our claim for our desire to be part of a decolonised Aotearoa. It is the political nature of the 'Pakeha' identifier that has led to its exclusion from the last two censuses, despite its inclusion before then, and regardless of a NZ Herald/Digipoll survey (of over 7500 respondents) in 2001 in which 49% of those surveyed referred to themselves as Pakeha. In fact, in the census this year, as an attempt to promote an alternative, racist, identity amongst non-Maori, Pakeha are to be encouraged to think of themselves as 'kiwi' despite that being the name of a flightless bird.

In contrast to Pakeha, 'Kiwi' is reflective and representative of the Brash-like claim that 'we are all one people' and that there is some transposed European-ness that has somehow taken root in New Zealand without anything more than token reference to Maori. 'European' makes no sense to those millions of New Zealanders who have never been to Europe, or those who have but found it a completely alien space, and there has been a developing move from the settler-state to develop an alternative. 'Kiwi' allows a local-sounding alternative with none of the political statement contained in white New Zealanders defining themselves in relation to Maori - to be Pakeha means to understand that Maori are the first New Zealanders, that Maori have rights associated with that 'firts-ness' (indigeneity) and stands in opposition to the colonial-settler-state; in looking towards a decolonised and better future.

It is this latter branch to the Pakeha identity that the state is seeking to head off. First, through the census it is denying the identifier. After struggle by decolonisation activists, 'Pakeha' was added to the census questionnaire in 1996 but removed in 2001. In 2001 Pakeha who ticked an 'other' box and

write in 'Pakeha' were recorded and reported as having said they were 'European'. Although the 2006 census will not have a 'Kiwi' box to tick the statisticians have announced that they will separately report those who write 'kiwi' or 'New Zealander' in the other category - although will continue to refuse to publish the number of those anti-colonials who identify as 'Pakeha'.

## PAKEHA AND DECOLONISATION

As te Tiriti activist Mike Smith says: 'not all non-Maori are Pakeha, there are some tests to be passed'. For him 'Pakeha are those kids who grew up down the street, whom we played rugby with, who chased our sisters... or if they were girls we chased them. Pakeha are those people who speak a sort of pidgen language comprised of English and Maori words, and who have acceptance in the Maori community.

As Joce Brown wrote nearly twenty years ago in the Republican magazine 'the settler population can really be seen in two ways. We are agents of colonialism, the people who imposed colonialism on the Maori, but also its victims. For as we develop a sense of belonging to this country and a desire to be independent from the colonial base, we are temporarily a people without a definite identity'. Pakeha then is a term that defines people who are here and in the process of rejecting the colonial baggage that went with being European. As Ranganui Walker put it 'Use of the word Pakeha is part of the process by which the descendents of European colonialists achieve a New Zealand identity'. Leaving unsaid the obvious corollary: not identifying as Pakeha means being trapped in some other heritage, in particular continuing to have the baggage of a colonial mentality towards Maori.

## NOT INDIGENOUS

While to be Pakeha means belonging in New Zealand and longing for its decolonisation, it does not mean to be indigenous. For if Pakeha are to be indigenous then we are to be cut off from our history as the descend-

ants and inheritors of the privileges of the colonisers of Aotearoa. We are not 'born again' New Zealanders, disowning our parents and imagining ourselves adopted . . .

In the context where we are encouraged to be either a transplanted European culture or an 'indigenous' culture without a colonial past, it's little wonder that Pakeha New Zealand struggles with the question of identity, seeking to create cultural icons of gumboots, black singlets, pavlova, kiwifruit and the buzzy bee toy. Ane Mikaere noted in the 2003 Bruce Jesson lecture that when travelling overseas, white New Zealanders leap forward to perform bastardised versions of the haka and "Pökarekare Ana", and adorn themselves with Maori pendants in an attempt to identify themselves as New Zealanders: when in Aotearoa it is often those same people who decry any assertion of Maori language and culture as a threat to their identity. Their cultural insecurity appears to know no bounds.

Bruce Jesson saw a connection between these shaky cultural foundations and the status of coloniser:

*'New Zealand had such a shallow culture', he wrote, 'that most New Zealanders knew little about their country's history. Amnesia is not a recent development, but is part of the colonial condition.'*

Such sentiments reveal the sizable burden of guilt that many Pakeha carry about the means by which they have come to occupy their present position of power and privilege.

## PAKEHA IS NOT MAORI

To be Pakeha is not a desire to be Maori. An engagement with Maori only makes one even more self-conscious of cultural difference. Yet the only way of understanding what it means to be Pakeha in New Zealand is in dialogue with Maori. And it is only through understanding who we are that we can start to understand the cultural processes in New Zealand that we are part of.

Pakeha are the products of an invading culture. Brash can bluster all he likes about the limits to which he can be made to apologise for the sins of his ancestors; Mallard can appeal to Maori to trust him; Michael King can insist that the colonisers did not simply take without giving anything in return; these claims mask a sense of underlying unease, of unresolved guilt pervades their words. Beneath the colonial surface is guilt, guilt which manifests itself as denial, self-justification, defensiveness and, incredibly enough, a sense of victimhood.

**WHICH WAY FORWARD?**

The prospect of being forever locked into the roles of oppressor and oppressed must surely be as unfulfilling for non-Maori as it is frustrating for Maori. The foreshore debacle has provided a timely reminder of the ease with which the Crown slips into its time-honoured pattern of threats and coercion, taking for the colonial-state yet again to the role of oppressor. It's not a role that Pakeha relish and no Pakeha need to wallow in guilt. All of us, Maori and Pakeha hope for a better world for our children and grandchildren. If the key to creating that better world does not lie in forgetting our past, where does it lie?

For Maori partly it is about process. It is never possible for manuhiri or manene to take upon themselves the status of tangata whenua. An outsider may be incorporated into the tangata whenua group, be allocated land and other rights and may even have their place within the community cemented by marriage and children. But ultimately, it is for the tangata whenua to determine the way in which they view the outsider in their midst.

Crucial to the acceptance of manene or manuhiri in the domain of an iwi or hapū is their compliance with the tikananga of the tangata whenua: the outsider is granted such status and rights as the tangata whenua determine. Central to the resolution of a wrong-doing is the commitment of the wrong-doer's whanau to submit themselves to the measures taken against them by the wronged party.

For Pakeha to gain legitimacy here, we must place our trust in Maori, not the other way around. They must accept that it is for the tangata whenua to determine their status in this land, and to do so in accordance with tikanga Maori. This will involve sorting out a

process of negotiation which is driven by the principles underpinning tikanga, a process which Pakeha do not control. There is no doubt that many - even those who oppose the colonial project and identify as Pakeha - will find this challenging. Giving up such control requires a leap of faith, yet nothing less will suffice if we want to gain a genuine sense of belonging, the sense of identity that until now has proven so elusive.

In 1986 Ray Nairn wrote of the need to get Pakeha to "name the fears they have about relinquishing control", and looked to a time "when we can come as two peoples: Maori and Pakeha, tangata whenua and manuhiri, to negotiate a basis for our society". Of course,

pride is up to those who take up the moniker 'Pakeha'. All that is required is a leap of faith.

**FROM THE PROGRAMME OF THE CPA**

The struggle for self-determination by Maori is a struggle for democratic rights denied by capitalism, and which shakes it to the core because settler capitalism in Aotearoa is based on stolen land. We must demand full redress and reparation for all grievances stemming from unjust acts committed by the government, and the right to sovereignty and nationhood on the basis of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Declaration of Independence.

The Maori struggle for self-determina-



there are Pakeha individuals who have discovered that the sky does not fall if they negotiate their personal relationships with Maori on such a basis. While that in itself is cause for optimism, do not to settle for building positive relationships with Maori on a personal level only. Use those experiences constructively, and bring about the mindshift required amongst settler society as a whole - from coloniser to Pakeha and from their to post-coloniality.

Perhaps it is Mike Grimshaw who best addressed the question of Pakeha identity when earlier this year he observed: "I am a Pakeha because I live in a Maori country". When you think about it, there is nowhere else in the world that one can be Pakeha. Whether the term remains forever linked to the shameful role of oppressor or whether it can become a positive source of identity and

tion can develop as a mass struggle for power only if collaborationist tribal leaders are isolated and defeated. We must establish new democratic political, economic, social and cultural institutions to strengthen the fighting ability of the movement.

We must strengthen the strategic alliance by winning support amongst workers for the equal social, cultural and educational rights for Maori in all areas and fighting against white chauvinism in all its forms.

The Communist Party must expand vigorously among Maori to ensure the tasks of uniting and leading the movements of their people and of opposing narrow interests are carried out.

# Denmark Has Lost Its Innocence

*Excerpted from a statement released by Sven Tarp, International Relations Secretary, Communist Party of Denmark Marxist-Leninist*

"Something is rotten in the state of Denmark," Shakespeare wrote in his famous Hamlet some four centuries ago. The events that have taken place during the last weeks and months show that Shakespeare's words have gained new actuality. We who live in Denmark can confirm that everything is not as it ought to be.

According to the modern myth already created, it all started in my home town, the city of Aarhus, on September 30 last year when the national newspaper with regional name, Jyllands Posten (The Jutland Post), published 12 cartoons that presented an offensive, stereotypical image of Mohammed.

The official reason for printing the cartoons was, according to the editor-in-chief, to challenge the way freedom of speech is practised in Denmark as it is allegedly being restricted due to a growing Muslim influence. Before publishing the cartoons, they were shown to a series of experts who explained that they most certainly would provoke anger among Muslims who would feel offended by the way their prophet was portrayed. So, the printing of the cartoons was from the very beginning planned as a malicious provocation.

## OFFICIAL AND REAL MOTIVES

It is always difficult to guess the personal motives of those who take inappropriate decisions. And these motives are, indeed, of little interest. What is important is the historical context in which the decisions are taken and the role generally played by the decision-makers. From that point of view, it is easy to conclude that the publication of the cartoons is part of a national agenda promoted by the Danish ruling circles with a double purpose:

- to divide the Danish working class into nationals and foreigners, Christians and Muslims, in order to weaken its resist-

ance to the brutal imposition of neo-liberal policies at a very specific moment where the Danish economy is momentarily one of the most thriving within the general framework of a crisis-ridden capitalist world economy;

- to weaken - by creating an artificial image of the Muslim world as an enemy - the growing demand among the Danish people that Danish troops should be withdrawn from Iraq where they are taking part in the illegal occupation headed by U.S. imperialism.

From the very beginning, the whole issue has been treated with a mixture

of arrogance and stupidity, both by the editors of Jyllands Posten and by the Danish government. It soon became clear that the Muslim peoples did feel offended. The Muslim society in Denmark, in early October, organized demonstrations and called on the newspaper to apologize for the publication. This was refused with the false pretext of defending freedom of speech.

It was only when the national agenda



turned into an international crisis of unprecedented dimensions that the government and the newspaper decided to take action. But even then, their arrogance prevented them from saving what could be saved. The editor of Jyllands Posten, for example, apologized to Muslims because they felt offended, but he did not apologize for publishing the offensive cartoons, because such an apology, according to him, would be a violation of his freedom of speech! In this way, the apology was not enough to end the protests and neither was the appearance of the Danish Prime Minister on Arab and Muslim television channels where he didn't deliver the message expected from him.

On October 19, ambassadors from 11 Muslim countries requested a meeting with the Danish government in order to discuss the cartoons. In a very arrogant manner, the rightist government of Anders Fogh Rasmussen refused to meet the ambassadors for a discussion that might have prevented subsequent events.

In an action unheard of in the history of Danish diplomacy, 22 former Dan-

**A REACTIONARY NEWSPAPER**  
Jyllands Posten is one of Denmark's largest newspapers with a long tradition of rightist policy. In the 1930s, it was

infamous for defending pro-Nazi positions. After the Second World War, it turned completely pro-NATO. During the war in Vietnam, it was a loyal ally of U.S. imperialism. Today, it is an arduous defender of the Zionist state of Israel and the imperialist occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan as well as the growing pressure on Iran, Syria and other independent countries.

Jyllands Posten is considered the unofficial organ of expression of the Liberal Party of Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen. As such, it is not an innocent player in the present crisis. Its defence of freedom of speech is nothing but hypocritical.

During the last years, Jyllands Posten has transformed itself into a national platform of the most rabid attacks against communists and other progressive people. Even the most idiotic anti-communist professor has free access to its columns. The freedom of speech practised by the newspaper is used to distort, silence and criminalize communist and progressive ideas. The way the former socialist countries in Europe and the Danish communists who were active during the Cold War are portrayed is just as insulting as the 12 cartoons.

According to legend, the Danish national flag, Dannebrog, fell ready-made down from the sky in the year 1219 during the battle of Lyndanisse where the Danish crusaders fought to Christianize the pagan Estonians. Eight hundred years later, Jyllands Posten and the ruling Danish bourgeoisie is presenting freedom of speech as a sacred, absolutist principle that, in a similar way, fell ready-made down from the sky in its present narrow-minded and intolerant Danish version.

For the Danish communists, freedom of speech is a beautiful principle that takes its concrete form according to the concrete historical context and the social class that practises it. It is a necessity for the free development of individual human beings and their participation in the democratic processes of modern society. But it cannot be accepted as an unlimited right of the ruling class to insult other people and cause tension, violence, war and destruction. Freedom of speech should always be subordinated to ethics and the rules of civilized behaviour among peoples and nations.

**A REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT**

The extent of the anti-Danish protests that have swept all over the Muslim

world during the last weeks has taken the Danish public by surprise. Very few expected that something like this could ever happen. For years the Danish people have been indoctrinated with the belief that they lived in the best of all worlds; that they themselves were so very tolerant and everybody else, especially the Muslim peoples, intolerant; that their country was well-respected and their government well-intentioned and generous; that the Danish troops in Afghanistan and Iraq did a fine and humanitarian job and were well-received by the local people, etc.

This lie has survived and taken root because the Danish press, in spite of its own claim to be liberal and broad-minded, has turned into one of the most controlled and regimented in Europe. This control also explains why the Danish people haven't seen what has been in the pipeline for several years.

Denmark, that 20 years ago was known for its social democratic welfare system, its humanitarian assistance to the third world and its footnote policy that offered certain resistance to the most aggressive plans of NATO and U.S. imperialism, has little by little been transformed into a very reactionary country. At the international level, this has expressed itself in Denmark's subordination to U.S. imperialism and its participation in the aggressive wars against Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq. At the same time, Danish foreign "aid" is being still more conditioned by the acceptance of neo-liberal and pro-imperialist positions.

And at the national level, the so-called "anti-terror" legislation, the attempts to criminalize the communists and the still more intolerant tone in the debate on immigration are just some of the expressions of a reactionary state that several times has been censured by the UN, the Council of Europe and Amnesty International for its violation of human rights.

Now the Danish people are paying the price for the stupid actions of its arrogant and reactionary ruling class. Even the journalists who have been telling lies for years have, like Hitler in 1941, been caught in their own lies. They apparently believed what they wrote and said and are now just as surprised as the majority of the people. But instead of being critical of themselves and their role, they are now looking for scapegoats. And they have found these among some local Muslim imams who, admittedly, have engaged in contradic-

tions and manipulations in order to promote their own agenda.

In this situation, the arrogant answer of the government is to make a distinction between "good" and "bad" Muslims and to promote a national organization of the "good ones" while at the same time ignoring or slandering the "bad ones." This may solve a concrete problem in the concrete situation where the government is desperately trying to get some allies among Muslims, but in the long run it most certainly will add fuel to the fire.

**POSITION OF DANISH COMMUNISTS**

The Communist Party of Denmark ML, which together with other communist forces is preparing the founding of a New Communist Party at a Unification Congress in November, is taking active part in the present class struggle and battle of ideas. Our main line of activity is the struggle for the unity of the working class and the mobilization of the local and national trade union movement against the dividing policy of the ruling bourgeoisie. At the same time, we demand that the editors of Jyllands Posten should make a clear-cut apology for printing the cartoons and that the government should follow up in such a way that it becomes absolutely clear that it repudiates the provocation.

Our party is also active in the preparation for the big anti-war demonstrations on March 18, which will take place under the broad banner of withdrawing the troops from Iraq. At the same time, we are stepping up our solidarity with the Iraqi resistance movement and the Palestinian people while we are condemning the imperialist pressure and threats against Iran, Syria and other independent countries. We believe that the present crisis should be used to strengthen the anti-imperialist movement of solidarity with the oppressed peoples all over the world.

Finally, we wish to say to our Muslim brothers and sisters that at the end of day we have the same enemies, world imperialism headed by the Bush administration, and that we should unite in a broad international front in order to fight this enemy number one of humanity.

# Marxism and the Labour Movement

The late 18th and early 19th centuries was a time of immense social change – not just political revolution but the dawn of the industrial revolution.

In the mid-19th century, from around 1840 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels penned a series of books that reflected on this change, developed a theory for explaining social change and political revolution, and drew up a programme for action that became enormously influential among the working class worldwide.

One of the key insights of Marxism was to identify political revolutions as rooted in wide struggles for power among social classes. On this basis the revolutions above can be distinguished. The earlier ones are revolutions led by the rising capitalist class against feudalism. The later ones reflect the growth of the working class with the industrial revolution. They express the working class struggle for power against the new capitalist rulers.

Not only did they develop a theory for working class liberation, but they were leading activists in some of the first attempts at working class revolutions in Europe, founders of the Communist League in 1847 and the International Workingman's Association or First Internationale in 1864. You can imagine the terror amongst the ruling classes struck by the emergence of these organisations among workers, who were viewed as little different from animals. Newspaper commentaries of the time are full of alarmist warnings about the "reds".

The influence of Marxism, and the fear and loathing by which it is perceived by the powerful, stems from its systematic attention to the unanswered questions of the foremost minds of humanity. Far from being the isolated philosophy of a sect, Marxism, engages with the central problems of philosophy, political economy and sociology, and provides theoretical and practical advances on traditional thinking.

Marxism, then, is a direct and critical successor to humanity's best thinking in the 19th century. The height of philosophy at this time was found in Germany, with the

work of Kant and Hegel. The most developed political economy was that of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. And the most advanced sociology or socialism as it was known was found in France, among theorists such as St Simon and Fourier. Marx and Engels engaged critically with each.

These are the three sources and, at the same time, the component parts of Marxism. Let's briefly review each of these.

## PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of Marxism is materialism.

This philosophy emerged in France in the struggle against feudalism. Against religious superstition, materialism asserted natural science and logic.

Marx did not simply adopt the materialism of the nineteenth century, he enriched it, drawing from German classical philosophy of the time. The major development was integrating materialism with the German concept of dialectics.

Dialectics is a means of conceiving the world in change. Simple or mechanical materialism has a one-sided view of the world; a mechanical view; for every effect there is an external cause; things are or they are not. Newtonian physics is a prime example.

Dialectical materialism sees the world in constant change; things are and they are not. Eg. Heraclitus' river; knowledge is consequently relative. Modern physics, Einstein's theory of relativity, quantum physics etc. utilises a dialectical view (Einstein was a socialist incidentally).

Marx further extended philosophy by developing a materialist approach to the study of human society. Against chaotic and arbitrary accounts of society as the product of heroic individuals, god's will, or chance Marx argued that society is systematically organised around the predominant productive forces, and develops systematically over time.

Just as a person's knowledge reflects nature, which exists independently of the

person, so a person's social knowledge (values, philosophy, religion, political outlook) reflects the nature of the productive or economic system. Thus contemporary politics, the political system and parties, full of superficiality and with little room for participation by workers, reflects the capitalist nature of the economy.

Marxist philosophy, then, represents a much more complete form of materialism. Drawing from the most advanced capitalist thinking and extending it, Marxist philosophy has provided particularly powerful tools of knowledge.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY

Having identified the economic system as central to social organisation, Marx devoted most of his attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, capitalist society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo laid the foundations of the labour theory of value. Marx extended their work. He argued that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time spent on its production.

Where the capitalist economists saw a relation of things (the exchange of one commodity for another), Marx revealed a relation among people. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie by which individual producers are bound through the market. Money signifies that this tie is becoming closer and closer, inseparably binding the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signifies a further development of this tie: people's labour power becomes a commodity. The wage-worker sells labour power to the owner of the land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker uses one part of the labour day to cover living expenses (wages), while the other part of the day the worker toils without remuneration, creating surplus value for the capitalist. This is the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The theory of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labour of the worker, presses on the worker by ruining the small producers and creating an army of unemployed. The advantages of large-scale production is very clear in industry. Huge firms with worldwide operations dominate [Fortune 500]. In agriculture too, large-scale capitalist agriculture drives out peasant and small family producers.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labour and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social as hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a systematic economic organism. Yet the product of this collective labour is appropriated by a handful of capitalists.

In this situation, economic crises grow ever-greater; the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population.

While increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system at the same time creates the great power of united labour. Marx traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production. He foresaw ever-greater confrontations between capital and labour, only resolvable by the ultimate triumph of labour.

### **SOCIALISM**

When feudalism was overthrown, and "free" capitalist society emerged, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Various socialist doctrines immediately began to rise as a reflection of and protest against this oppression. But early socialism was utopian socialism. It criticised capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it indulged in fancies of a better order and endeavoured to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

However, utopian socialism could not point the real way out. It had not explained the essence of wage-slavery under capitalism; it did not examine the process of social development; it did not identify a social force capable of creating a new society. These were developments that Marx and Engels provided.

It was the stormy revolutions everywhere

in Europe, and especially in France, accompanying the fall of feudalism, that ever more clearly revealed the struggle of classes as the basis and the motive force of the whole development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life and death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx consists in the fact that he was able before anybody else to draw from this and apply consistently the deduction that world history revolves around class struggle.

Marx and Engels repeatedly exposed the way people fell victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learned to discover the interests of some class behind the moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises.

They argued that the supporters of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realise that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is maintained by the forces of some ruling classes.

They insisted that there is only one way of smashing the resistance of these classes, and that is to find in the very society which surrounds us, the forces capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new. The task of socialists was not to concoct utopian schemes but to enlighten and organise these forces for this struggle.

### **TRANSFORM TRADE UNIONS INTO CLASS-STRUGGLE UNIONS**

We must promote the strike movement and make it so widespread and intense to demonstrate to the entire people that the monopoly capitalists are weak and rotten to the core. We must promote the economic strikes and transform them into political strikes and political demonstrations.

Transforming unions into fighting organisations requires the isolation and defeat of class collaborationist trade union leaders, by uniting left and centre unionists in economic and political struggles. It is aided by winning democratic reforms within unions and in the creation of industrial rather than craft-based unions. Class struggle unions must form fighting federations to coordinated militant activity. To transform economic struggles into political struggles there must be ceaseless politicisation of the issues of the day, both domestic and international.

We must establish new unions among unorganised workers by carrying out social investigation, providing political education, organising workers around majority demands, and consolidating workers into unions in the course of fighting for these demands.

To forge the strategic alliance, communists strive to win workers to oppose all forms of racism and sexism, including upholding and fighting for the just demands of the oppressed for self-determination. Only in this way will the oppressed see that communists and Pakeha and male workers have no unity with the white and male capitalist class.

Revolutionary pakeha and male workers have the responsibility of opposing racism and sexism among workers and winning support for the oppressed. Revolutionaries among oppressed workers have the tasks of uniting and leading the movements of their people and opposing narrow interests.

These tasks require the conscious organisation that can only be provided by the Communist Party. The Communist Party must expand in workplaces and unions in the course of the struggle if the unions to become fighting organisations of the working class. At every stage the most advanced elements from among the revolutionary activists must be drawn into the party.

**Do you want to  
contribute to Struggle?**

*All submissions welcome.*

**Send submissions to: PO Box 6724, Wellington.**

# New Mao Biography: Hysterical Right-wing Rant

The words of Mao Zedong, "To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing" must be among his most valuable. It alters one's conception of struggle, and encapsulates perhaps more succinctly than any other of his sayings, the profoundly dialectical character of his thinking and strategy. It was this quality that allowed Mao to exploit the contradictions among the enemy, to "overcome all difficulties," and to turn defeat into victory over and over again. But it was not the losses and suffering that such attacks brought that Mao was referring to—what he called the "bitter sacrifice" that revolution required, though he was always determined to turn it into "bold resolve" ("Shaoshan Revisited," in *Poems*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1976, 36). The reason that to be attacked was a "good," and not a "bad" thing, was that it meant that the revolutionary forces were hurting the enemy, were a challenge to their control, and were successfully carrying out the struggle. Otherwise, why would those opposed to the revolution even bother to attack? The less restraint such enemies showed, the more it revealed their own weaknesses and blinded them to reality. "It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work" ("To Be Attacked by the Enemy is Not a Bad Thing But a Good Thing", May 26, 1939). The more strongly the revolutionaries were attacked, therefore, the higher the measure of the success that they must be having, in order to cause such a response from their enemies. Moreover, a blind thrashing out by those opposing the revolution, guided only by hatred, would cause them to make serious errors and discredit them in the eyes of the people.

Mao: The Unknown Story by Jung Chang and Jon Halliday reflects these words of Mao Zedong. It is not scholarship but hysterical right-wing rant. Its purpose is

to demonize Mao Zedong and destroy his reputation, pure and simple. Even more they are trying to undermine the very sense of an alternative to the current disaster of a world we live in - and to deny all of the incredible successes of the Chinese revolution. The narrative Chang and Halliday employ is that Mao was evil from the day he was born - and committed evil upon evil until the day he died. Chang and Halliday reconstruct and fabricate history to make their desired case that a scheming and blood-thirsty opportunist hijacked an entire people and country.

To turn this from a bad thing into a good thing we must seize the opportunity to make the reader beware. Chang and Halliday are telling unabashed lies. 'Mao: The Unknown Story' plays fast and loose with facts, offers far-fetched theories based not on careful investigation but unrelenting hatred of Mao, and twists reality to fit an anticommunist agenda. Its message is that the Chinese revolution was not really necessary, and that great revolutionary leaders like Mao are in fact power-crazed tyrants and perpetrators of towering crimes. This book is a brief against revolution and revolutionary leaders. If you swallowed the justifying arguments about "weapons of mass destruction," you'll adore this book.

## **WAS A REVOLUTION NEEDED?**

The authors paint a picture of a revolution based on manipulation and terror. They whitewash the incredible misery and suffering of the old society, and the fact that for more than a century China had been beaten down and dominated by the imperialist powers of the West and Japan. They deny that tens and hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants and workers could possibly take up the revolutionary cause as their own. The masses of people have no agency in the company of Chang and Halliday - they are but pawns and putty.

You would not learn from this book that pre-revolutionary China was a society

where arranged marriages and footbinding were widespread social practices. Or that four million people died each year of infectious and parasitic diseases. Or that in a city like Shanghai, young women workers were locked in textile factories at night, and one out of five persons was an opium addict. You wouldn't know that the revolution in power rapidly transformed these social conditions. The Marriage Law of 1950, one of the first decrees of the new People's Republic, established marriage by mutual consent and the right to divorce, and outlawed the sale of children and infanticide.

## **MAO AS REVOLUTIONARY THEORIST AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADER**

In this aspect the book really does border on the absurd. The authors are consumed with such venom for Mao that they cannot - in all 630 pages - bring themselves to engage with Mao's writings and speeches themselves. 'Mao: The Unknown Story' doesn't address Mao the writer, thinker or speaker at all! For Chang and Halliday, Mao's ideas are simply hypocritical and manipulative means to attain personal domination.

In fact, Mao analyzed the nature of Chinese society and developed programs and policies that spoke to the real material and social contradictions of Chinese society; and Mao brought forth a vision of moving society beyond exploitation and social divisions. It is not the personal Mao but the lessons left in his writings and notes from his speeches that inspire revolutions in Nepal, India and the Philippines and that are referred to by Chavez and Morales. He inspired and motivated great numbers of people in China and around the world. It is this that the authors find so reprehensible.

## **SHODDY METHODS AND SENSATIONISTIC CLAIMS**

The authors bask in the glow of a vast arsenal of references and sources - memoirs, hitherto inaccessible archives, interviews - and ten years of research.

Boasting more than 125 pages of notes and sources...what the book says must be true - right? No, this is a snow job, and the relationship between claim and supporting evidence is shoddy beyond belief.

### DADU BRIDGE

The famous battle at the Dadu River Bridge during the Long March is now declared (pp. 152-55) to be a hoax, a self-serving myth invented by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. The authors claim that "there was no battle" and "no Nationalist [Kuomintang] troops at the bridge." They cite as a substantiating source the Kuomintang (KMT) archives. The KMT, which set world standards in corruption, and which suffered defeat at the hands of the Communist Party-led forces, is not exactly the most reliable source. Still, these archives contain useful historiographic materials—but, lo and behold, other scholars who have studied the KMT archives say they do not at all support the Chang/Halliday rewrite of history. Okay, but the authors furnish what they consider to be additional evidence, and key to this are the recollections of a "sprightly 93-year old" local woman they say they met in 1997! The Melbourne Age sent a journalist to the same village when the book was published - the local villagers said that no one from their village had ever lived to be 93, and that a now eighty year old - ten at the time of the battle - remembered the incident vividly. This quality of scholarship would be laughable in any other discipline. But somehow you can get away with this when it comes to Mao and the Chinese Revolution.

### EDUCATION

Listen to this gem about Mao's view on education (p. 438): "Mao's approach was not to raise the general standard of education in society as a whole, but to focus on a small elite, predominantly in science and other 'useful' subjects, and leave the rest of the population to be illiterate or semi-literate slave laborers." If that were the case, how can you explain the fact that China's literacy rate vaulted from 15 percent in 1949 to close to 80 percent by Mao's death? Or that educational resources were vastly expanded in the rural areas during the Cultural Revolution, leading to rise in middle-school enrollment from 15 to 58 million? Or that with the huge opening up of educational opportunities through the Cultural Revolution, worker and peasant students became the great majority of China's university enrollment by the early 1970s.

### PATRIOTISM

Chang and Halliday seek to challenge the accepted view that 'the CCP were more patriotic and keener to fight Japan than the nationalists', which they say is an example of 'history rewritten' and 'completely untrue'. They support this assertion with a nit-picking analysis of the difference between the CCP slogans "Down with the Nationalists", but merely "oppose Japanese Imperialism". But before considering the facts of the case, it is worth asking who it was that so deceived us. 'Chiang Kai-shek had adopted a policy of non-resistance in the face of the Japanese seizure of Manchuria and increasing encroachments on China proper', according to one account, 'and had concentrated instead on trying to annihilate the Communists'. Who is the author? Jung Chang, in *Wild Swans*, the best-ever-selling family memoir. To support this earlier claim, Chang quotes



Chiang Kai-shek's maxim, 'the Japanese are a disease of the skin, the Communists are a disease of the heart'.

### A NEW INTERPRETATION

Indeed Mao: The Unknown Story flatly contradicts *Wild Swans* throughout. One revelation in *Unknown Story* is that Mao engineered Chiang Kai-shek's abduction by his junior Chang Hsueh-lang in 1936. But in *Wild Swans* Chiang was 'partly saved by the Communists'. Perhaps *Unknown Story* is intended to correct the 'completely untrue' claims made in *Wild Swans*, and put the 10 million readers of this best-ever-selling non-fiction paperback right. But there are no indications that Jung Chang is correcting her earlier assertions in the text or footnotes. And, on the back page

cover of *Unknown Story*, not corrections of, but 'praise for *Wild Swans*'.

It is not just the earlier *Wild Swans* that contradicts the argument in *Unknown Story* that the nationalists took on the Japanese occupiers, or the many other sources, but the facts presented in *Unknown Story* itself. Just 20 pages on, Chang and Halliday tell us that Chiang Kai-shek 'mobilised half a million troops'. To fight the Japanese? No. 'He had agreed a truce with the Japanese, acquiescing to their seizure of parts of north China, in addition to Manchuria, and this freed him to concentrate his strength on fighting the reds', they write approvingly (all the time condemning Mao for fighting Chiang, not the Japanese). When evidence of Communist opposition to Japan is unavoidable, Chang and Halliday insist that it was an exception, as in the July 1940 campaign

against supply lines in northern China to relieve besieged Chongqing, which cost the Eighth Route Army 90,000 men. When Chiang Kai-shek slaughters the Communist New Fourth Army in 1941, Chang and Halliday want it both ways: minimising the atrocity, but also blaming Mao for betraying his rival commander Xiang Ying.

It is not the facts that are new, so much as the interpretation that Chang and Halliday put on them. Even the interpretation is not that new, repeating much of the argument put by the US right, the Taiwanese government created by the Kuomintang's retreat to that island, and more latterly by the increasing number of mainland Chinese critics of Mao.

**THE CHINESE REVOLUTION ON THE SCALES OF HISTORY**

The Chinese revolution was a turning point in the history of the 20th century. As Mao said in 1949, "the Chinese people have stood up." They stood up to feudal landlords, the Japanese invaders, the U.S.-financed KMT army, and foreign powers. Despite the authors' outrageous claims, it was Mao who led in developing a military strategy to surround the cities from the countryside. He led in the development of a socialist society marked by the creative energy and initiative of those who had previously been treated as no more than a pair of hands.

This was a revolution that brought enormous social and economic progress to the great majority of people. Life expectancy more than doubled, from 32 years in 1949 to 65 years in 1975. China under Mao achieved what the U.S. has proven incapable of coming close to: a universal and egalitarian health care system. Industry grew by more than 10 percent a year during the Cultural Revolution. And by the early 1970s, China had solved its historic food problem. This revolution saved untold numbers of lives.

The Cultural Revolution, far from being Mao's "Great Purge," was a "revolution within the revolution." It was a broad movement and upheaval aimed at preventing a new privileged class from taking power and turning China back in time: to a sweatshop paradise riddled with corruption and inequality.

**WHAT'S AT STAKE?**

Basically two things. First, the truth of Mao and the Chinese revolution--what this revolution was about, what Mao stood for and did, and what the Chinese people accomplished. Second, the question of humanity's future: can we put an end to the horrific exploitation, oppression, and inequality of the world as it is, and radically transform it--or is this the only world possible? 'Mao: The Unknown Story' is character assassina-

issue now is whether the Chinese people, together with those of the entire world, will again turn back toward the road to socialist revolution. A full and fair evaluation of the record of Mao can only aid in reopening that question and pointing to a positive answer. In this sense, being attacked by Chang and Halliday is "not a bad thing but a good thing." But this will only be the case if those who support the socialist revolution not only in China but worldwide,



tion with a reactionary moral writ large: dreams of radical and revolutionary change are doomed; long live the status quo.

Thus the crucial point here is not the rehabilitation or the dismissal of a single leader, however central he was to the past revolutionary struggle. The critical

embrace the new opportunity that is offered to them by the publication of this book, to raise again the goals that Mao advanced, and that he spent his entire life struggling to achieve, and renew their dedication to the struggle of the global working classes that he helped to lead, and that is as necessary today as when he was alive.

**China Diary with Paul White**

PAUL WHITE for *Morning Star*

**MARXISM GIVEN A FRESH BOOST**

President Hu Jintao spent the lunar New Year holidays last month in Yan'an, known as the "cradle of the Chinese revolution."

His visit and his call for a renewal of the "Yan'an spirit" were significant, because they come hard on the heels of a drive by the Communist Party of China (CPC) to get back to the basics of Marxism after many years of drifting in an ideological limbo euphemistically described as "pragmatism."

The Institute of Marxism was set up under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on December 26 - the anniver-

sary of the birth of Mao Zedong.

It is part of President Hu's Project on the Foundation and Establishment of Marxism.

According to Outlook magazine, the propaganda dept of the CPC is in charge of the day-to-day affairs of the project, which has 300 researchers and a budget for the next 10 years of about £12 million.

Some 20 conferences have already been held on the subject and the project results will be publicised every three years.

A core element of the project is new translations of standard Marxist works to be distributed to schools and among the general public.

State Translation Bureau spokesman Yang Jinhai said: "A lot of the problems which have cropped up in the past two decades of the reform and opening-up period were caused by faulty comprehension of the science of Marxism."

He blamed poorly translated Western versions of Marxist works for confusion over, for instance, how to handle China's private sector and neglect of the interests of the peasants.

The project indicates Hu's determination that the income and opportunity inequalities which have reached a worrying stage in China will be addressed with a socialist consciousness.

# Homeland Security Let New Orleans Down: Katrina Survivors Still Face Hardship

by *LeiLani Dowell for Workers World*

While Congressional and Senate investigations expose the bungling of federal and local authorities in the immediate aftermath of Katrina, current-day negligence has led to more despair -and resistance-by Katrina survivors.

The draft of a report by an all-Republican committee on Feb. 12 called the government response to Katrina a "national failure... of initiative." The draft notes predictions about the storm that went unheeded for up to 24 hours, the lack of preparation to evacuate people from the area, and the dismissal of a report that a major levee had been breached. The draft goes on to say that "At every level—individual, corporate, philanthropic and governmental—we failed to meet the challenge that was Katrina. In this cautionary tale, all the little pigs built houses of straw."

Meanwhile, Senate hearings on the same issue continue. On Feb. 10, fired and disgraced former FEMA head Michael Brown testified. The New York Times reports, "Mr. Brown said that he told a senior White House official early on of the New Orleans flooding, and that the administration was too focused on terrorism to respond properly to natural disasters." And on Feb. 15, Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff faced the committee. Senators questioned, among other things, why he decided to travel to Atlanta to attend a conference unrelated to Katrina the day after the storm struck.

What is conspicuously absent from media reports about these two investigations is inquiry into current neglect. In response to the draft report, a White House spokesperson told the New York Times that "President Bush was now focused on the future." However, this does not seem to translate to relief for Katrina survivors. On Feb. 7 about 4,500 survivors across the country were told to evacuate their hotel rooms because the Federal Emergency Management Agency would no longer be paying for their hotel stays. The rest—occupants of at least 20,000 hotel rooms, according to the Associated Press, were given extensions of only one to three weeks. A judge on Feb. 13 upheld FEMA's decision to drop survivors from the program.

Protests were held across the country to denounce the evictions. In New York survivors, with the support of legal advocates and solidarity activists, have won a reprieve on their eviction from hotels in the city. Using a city law stating that legal evictions must be done through court proceedings and by court order, 17 families at the Radisson won an indefinite stay on their eviction. Armed with that victory, activists on Feb. 13 went to hotels across the city to distribute legal fact sheets to let survivors know their rights, while legal aid lawyers filed the same motion won at the Radisson to extend to all the hotels.

While evictions continue across the country, leaving many with no place to go, FEMA trailers continue to sit unused. Activists with the People's Hurricane Relief Fund (PHRF) rallied on Feb. 12 at a FEMA trailer site on a lot in the New Orleans' Eighth Ward, where approximately 100 such uninhabited trailers reside. The rally was to demand that the trailers be made immediately available to all those facing eviction. According to the group's press release, "The trailers are apparently hooked up to power and have plumbing, but are not being used to provide much-needed shelter for the 10,000-plus New Orleans residents that have come back to rebuild their homes and their lives."

In Hope, Ark., FEMA placed 10,770 of its brand-new, completely furnished trailers at an airport that was once a military base. The trailers remain empty. FEMA not only intends to keep these trailers there, but is planning to lay down a 290-acre gravel bed beneath them, at a cost of \$6 million, according to the Feb. 10 Los Angeles Times.

Under the Stafford Act, FEMA is required to provide local transitional housing and rental assistance to the survivor's workplace for eighteen months after a disaster. The Times article quotes FEMA spokesperson Nicol Andrews, who says that part of the blame for the distant location of the trailers lies with the fact that "only eight of Louisiana's 64 parishes have welcomed them."

The will of local officials to carry forward with the gentrification of the region - denying the poorest, mostly Black survivors the resources and support to return - is also reflected in the upcoming elections

in New Orleans, now scheduled for April 22 although many residents have not yet been able to return. The Washington D.C.-based Advancement Project filed a lawsuit that says the election plan, which plans to use some form of absentee voting to reach evacuees, will in effect freeze many Black voters out of the process.

The Associated Press notes that, "The most striking aspect of the race is the number of prominent white business leaders and politicians who have jumped into the fray. Incumbent Mayor Ray Nagin remains the only Black candidate among more than half a dozen hopefuls." The last white mayor in the city completed his term in 1978.

The AP article quotes New Orleans political analyst Silas Lee, who says, "Everything reflects the effects of Hurricane Katrina on the demographics of the city... [T]hat impacted how many white candidates perceive their political fortunes."

Groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Policy Alliance, which is comprised of leaders from a number of national Black organizations, have also issued calls against the election and threatened to hold demonstrations and take further legal action.

Meanwhile, those stuck in the prison-industrial complex in New Orleans will be incarcerated for even longer without a trial. A district judge suspended all the cases in his section on Feb. 10, citing a lack of public defenders, on which 80 percent of all criminal defendants in the city rely. The Times-Picayune says that other judges are expected to take similar action, and therefore "More than 3,500 pre-Katrina defendants and about 1,000 defendants arrested since the storm could be thrown in limbo."

Lorraine Ervin, a returning New Orleans resident, summed up the sentiment and resolve of many Katrina survivors in the press release from PHRF: "We are refugees in our own country. Where are our tax dollars that we've paid all of our lives? Why can \$60 billion dollars go toward war in Iraq? There is no way we should be here [in the U.S.] begging... I will fight for my rights."

# 450,000 NGOs in Russia: U.S. Finances Opposition

by Sara Flounders for Workers World

A struggle is developing in Russia over legislation regulating non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that is due to go into effect in April.

The new law was passed by both houses of the Russian legislature, called the Duma, and signed by President Vladimir Putin on Jan. 10. Resistance to it has opened a window on the level of Western and especially U.S. intervention in Russia today.

Under the new law, foreign organizations and groups receiving funding from outside Russia have to register with the government. Russian officials say the legislation is necessary to combat the hundreds of millions of dollars flowing from foreign governments to organizations in the country.

An original version of the law was toned down under an intense campaign of pressure from the NGOs themselves and from the U.S. government. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice pressured Putin, expressing concern for "democracy." The legislation was on the agenda at the recent G-8 meeting.

The law imposes restrictions on the financing, registration and activities of NGOs. This term originally meant any non-profit, voluntary, civic, humanitarian, health, human rights, service or environmental organization. Now a huge number of organizations that claim to be non-governmental, but rely on the U.S. and other major imperialist countries and on big corporations for their funds, operate in Russia and in many countries around the world. They dispense aid, set policy and intervene in political life based on the political agenda and economic interests of the funders.

The sheer number of organizations described as NGOs and the number receiving foreign funding is staggering. Since 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union, hundreds of thousands of NGOs have sprung up in Russia. Members of the Russian Duma say over 450,000 NGOs operate in Russia today. The Yale Center for the Study of Globalization puts the number even

higher, saying that "There are at least 600,000 registered non-governmental, non-commercial organizations operating in Russia. At least as many may be working in the country without official registration."

Duma deputy Alexei Ostrovsky, a co-author of the new law, estimates up to a quarter of Russian NGOs receive money from abroad. These include environmental groups, human rights monitors and consumer advocates.

President Putin, in supporting the legislation, said: "Whether these organizations want it or not, they become an instrument in the hands of foreign states that use them to achieve their own political objectives. This situation is unacceptable. This law is designed to prevent interference in Russia's internal political life by foreign countries and create transparent conditions for the financing of nongovernmental organizations."

## THE CROSS FOLLOWED THE GUN

When the European capitalist nations first established colonies around the world, the cross followed the gun. Thousands of missionaries were an integral part of the machinery of conquest and subjugation.

Establishing a colonial administration meant reorganizing society and the ownership of property in a way that benefited the colonizers. It involved schools, training and political orientation for those among the local elite who would become collaborators. Religious conversion helped to pacify a whole section of the population, and paved the way for some to become loyal and fervent servants of the new power structure.

Today in Russia, not just religious organizations have been flooding into the region. The primary role of proselytizing capitalist values is played by "human rights" NGOs.

In response to these new restrictions, the volume of political pressure and protests from Washington has been turned up. But it is sheer hypocrisy. Regulations that are far more restrictive and intrusive monitor organizations in the U.S.

Any individual or organization here that accepts money from a foreign country must register with the U.S. government under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Charitable donations are a matter of public record. Imagine Russia, China, Cuba, North Korea or Iran pumping millions of dollars into political organizations in the U.S. Even U.S. allies such as Britain, France, Germany or Japan cannot secretly fund political organizations within the U.S.

Alexei Pankin, writing in the Jan. 25 issue of the magazine *Russia Profile*, described his relation with two NGOs. "I ran a USAID-funded three-year program supporting Russian media, with a total budget of \$10.5 million, and a Soros Foundation program supporting Russian media with an annual budget of \$1.8 million. The number of supervisors, bosses, inspectors and advisers who I had to deal with (or had to deal with me) defies belief. I am sure there were intelligence officers among them."

Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB), successor of the KGB, on Jan. 23 accused four British diplomats of spying. It said it had caught one of them "red-handed" channeling funds to several Russian nongovernmental organizations. London denied misconduct, saying it openly funded NGOs in Russia.

Significant foreign funding comes directly from U.S. sources, such as the quasi-governmental National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and from the European Union's Tacis Program. Millions of dollars in funding originates with foundations that represent the interests of the wealthy elite, such as the Ford, MacArthur, Carnegie, Rockefeller and Soros organizations.

## REGIME CHANGE IN GEORGIA, UKRAINE AND KYRGYZSTAN

The role of U.S.-funded NGOs in trying to impose "regime change" in Cuba, Venezuela, Chile, Nicaragua and Haiti is increasingly understood. The role of these same subversive organizations in Eastern Europe and the countries that made up the former Soviet Union is less well known, even though they operate

on an even larger scale there.

Russia's FSB security service chief, Nikolai Patrushev, recently blamed foreign-funded NGOs for fomenting coups in the post-Soviet states of Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan.

The active and open role that foreign-funded NGOs played in the overturn of these three governments is what is setting off alarm bells in Moscow. The imperialist media fondly call these coups "velvet revolutions" and sometimes "color revolutions" for the colors chosen by the opposition forces.

Ironically, the political leaders who were overthrown—especially Eduard Shevardnadze in Georgia and Leonid Kuchma in Ukraine—had in the past been the U.S.-chosen candidates. Both had carried out policies that brought their governments into the U.S. orbit. They had pushed for joining NATO's "Partnership for Peace." Both had agreed to send troops to Iraq.

Yet both politicians were unceremoniously thrown out when they were not totally compliant with U.S. corporate demands. Both of their replacements—Mikheil Saakashvili in Georgia and Viktor Yushchenko in Ukraine—had served in the governments of their predecessors.

Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said after attending Yushchenko's inauguration as president of Ukraine on Jan 23, 2005, that he was "proud to have been associated with both events"—in Georgia and Ukraine.

Much insight into U.S. plans for the future and evaluations of past interventions can actually be found on the web sites of the foundations behind these regime changes.

#### **40,000 NGOS IN UKRAINE**

In an article on the World Bank's website entitled: "Civil Society Development in Ukraine and the Orange Revolution," Vira Nanivska, director of the International Center for Policy Studies in Ukraine, brags: "Today some 40,000 NGOs in Ukraine involve 12 percent of the population—and these organizations have been a key active force in the Orange Revolution." (www.worldbank.org)

She describes how international consultants, policy experts and technical assistants work in coordination to change legislation, develop interest groups, set up media centers and develop protest movements. NGOs affect legislation,

train civil servants, establish community councils and business associations, and push to revise the state budget in their own interests.

Young people and student organizations are drawn in through campaigns around HIV/AIDS, protection of minority rights and fighting child abandonment. The whole aim of this web of projects, she explains, is to prevent any "backsliding towards the old regime" and to push for "Euro-integration," meaning integrating into international and European organizations like NATO and the World Bank.

The overturn of socialist ownership and the breakup of the Soviet Union is a process that did not end in 1991. Shaping the laws on property, the rights of foreign capital, justifying the expropriation and privatizing of the socially owned resources, industry and services for individual profit, dismembering social programs, shaping the media, education and culture, and undermining any assertions of sovereignty are a much longer process.

These funds have an even greater impact in a region where the centralized socialist planning that once guaranteed pensions, full employment, free health care, free education and subsidized housing is gone. Its brutal dismembering has affected millions of people, leaving them intensely angry with the leaders who betrayed them.

#### **FUNDING YOUTH MOVEMENTS**

A significant part of the U.S. corporate funding is to create youth movements. The Soros Foundation, USAID and the NED together funded the Serbian youth group Otpor. Young people were provided specialized training and seminars in Budapest, Hungary, along with t-shirts, stickers, posters, office rent and a newspaper, as part of the successful campaign to overturn the Milosevic government in Serbia.

In Georgia, the Soros Foundation budgeted \$4.6 million for the youth group Kmara, which became a primary weapon against the government. In Ukraine, Soros budgeted \$7 million for the youth group Pora.

The opendemocracy.net web site is funded by the Ford and Rockefeller foundations. An article there by Sreeram Chaulia analyzes the role of U.S.-funded NGOs from Georgia to Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine. The blurb for it is provocative, saying that "new forms of youthful, tech-savvy mass mobilization are impelling

regime change from below. But is the phenomenon as benign as it appears? Are the movements who inspire the 'color revolutions' catalysts or saboteurs?"

The author is not criticizing these NGOs; he is evaluating their effectiveness in implementing "regime change." A few of his observations give insight into how these political organizations operate as just another weapon in the U.S. arsenal.

"Sabotage can suffice in some countries while full-scale military offensives may be needed in others," Chaulia says.

"These three revolutions—the 'rose revolution' in Georgia (November 2003-January 2004), the 'orange revolution' in Ukraine (January 2005) and the 'tulip revolution' in Kyrgyzstan (April 2005)—each followed a near-identical trajectory; all were spearheaded by the American democratization [International NGOs] working at the behest of the U.S. foreign policy establishment. ... Rarely has the U.S. promoted human rights and democracy in a region when they did not suit its grander foreign-policy objectives. ... Ingos heavily dependent on U.S. finances have been found to be consciously or subconsciously extending U.S. governmental interests. ...

"NED's first president, Allen Weinstein, admitted openly that 'a lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA. ... NED was conceived as a quasi-governmental foundation that funneled U.S. government funding through Ingos like the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), and Freedom House. ...

"The U.S. Embassy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, worked closely with NGOs like Freedom House and the Soros Foundation—supplying generators, printing presses and money to keep the protests boiling until President Akayev fled. Information about where protesters should gather and what they should bring was spread through State Department-funded radio and TV stations."

Today's new and developing anti-war movement needs an understanding of the many forms of U.S. intervention, along with the chaos and instability that it breeds. This will build anti-imperialist awareness and strengthen the growing global demand of "U.S. out now!"

# 'State of Emergency' in Philippines Demonstrates Regimes Panic

Republic of the Philippines President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo is in a state of panic. With the prospect of her regime's ouster getting more proximate in the months ahead, Arroyo is resorting to every means in its arsenal of dirty tricks to prevent its downfall.

Desperately holding on to authority, Arroyo is unleashing fascist attacks on both the traditional and progressive opposition. In the countrysides and cities, Arroyo's minions of fascist generals are responsible for the murders of leaders and members of legal democratic mass organizations.

Arroyo placates the US imperialist by kowtowing to the latter's demands for more areas to be covered by the Balikatan exercises to make the Philippines a staging ground for the bogus "war on terror."

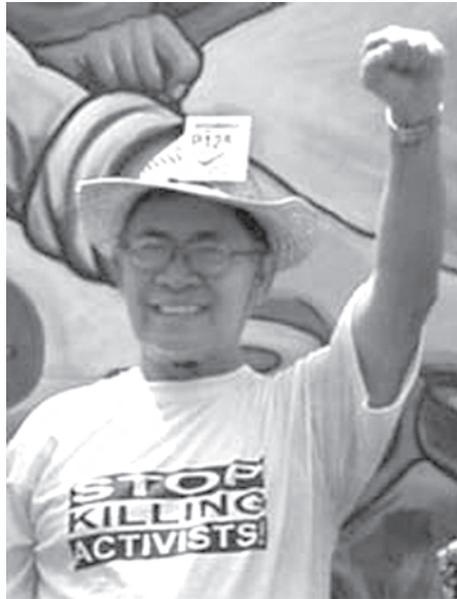
But this dictator will fail and will fall sooner or later. It is now fully isolated from the broad masses of the people. It is able to hold on to power only because of the support of US imperialism, a faction of big business and financial elite, paid hacks in the reactionary parliament and of corrupt generals. To know where she gets her support, you only have to look at the pathetic sight of the same politicians and generals trooping to Malacañang whenever massive protest actions stun the Arroyo presidency.

History, legitimacy and reason are unquestionably on the side of the Filipino people. This latest Arroyo declaration will further inflame them, giving added impetus to sustained defiance and intensified resistance. In the end, the weight of the people's mass movement and the revolutionary armed struggle will crush this dictatorship.

Struggle and the Communist Party of Aotearoa endorse the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa's call for the New Zealand government to join us in condemning, in the strongest terms possible, the declaration of a State of Emergency by Philippines President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

This latest desperate move by the President to cling to power in the face of a tide of popular protest arising from the blatant electoral fraud that was used to steal the 2004 Presidential election.

It harks back to the 1972-86 reign of terror



that the Philippine people endured when the murderous tyrant, Ferdinand Marcos, imposed martial law. The greatest irony is that this State of Emergency has been imposed during the 20th anniversary celebrations of Marcos' overthrow by the world famous People Power.

There are other troubling throwbacks to the Marcos dictatorship. One of the first people to be arrested on Friday was Representative Crispin Beltran, who became well-known to New Zealanders when the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa toured him through the country in 1999, in his capacity as a national trade union leader. He is being held on a 1985 charge i.e. one that dates from the martial law period.

The Arroyo regime is now a full-blown open dictatorship. In one clean sweep, Dictator Arroyo has completely done away with bourgeois-democratic pretenses and shall henceforth rule only through the coercive apparatus of the state: armed forces, police, jails and militarist decrees.

The "state of national emergency" is a familiar fascist tool cloaked in legal-political-military gobbledygook condemned even by bourgeois-constitutionalists and lawyers. This aims to quash through brute force any and all forms of opposition to the hated regime. It displays the ruthless and naked use of the reactionary state's armed forces against the people.

The real malevolent objective of Arroyo in issuing the proclamation is to suppress

the people's assemblies in the nationwide anniversary celebration of the events of 22-25 February 1986 that resulted in the overthrow of Marcos. She is terribly afraid that the people's mass actions critical of her rotten and hated regime would encourage her own military and police forces to withdraw support from her.

Indeed, she has undertaken so-called preemptive actions by ordering the arrest of military and police officers suspected of opposing her regime and revoking rally permits nationwide and ordering the violent dispersal of people in peaceful assembly. The proclamation and its immediate consequences demonstrate that Arroyo is tyrannizing the people and even her own military and police officers whom she suspects of siding with the people.

Proclamation 1017 is a tyrannical act of desperation by an utterly isolated usurper of authority and her small coterie. It maliciously misrepresents the movement of the people and the broad united front as a mere conspiracy of the so-called extremes of the Left and the Right. It proves that Arroyo will go to any length, including the bloody suppression of the people and her opponents.

The root causes of the whole ongoing Philippine crisis are massive poverty, inequality, institutionalised State violence and corruption. The New Zealand Government could play a constructive role in the affairs of this near neighbour is by offering our expertise in brokering peace agreements. The Philippines desperately needs peace and social justice. The last thing it needs is a reversion to a military dictatorship as a discredited and desperate President tries to cling to power. At this time of crisis, the Philippine people need all the help they can get.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines has declared that among the opposition parties, the legal forces of the national democratic movement and the ranks of retired and active anti-Arroyo military and police officers in the broad united front there is a growing common desire to form a transition council that can negotiate a just and lasting peace with the NDFP. The New Zealand government should offer to host and facilitate such talks as would be necessary to allow for a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, socially just, progressive and peaceful.

# Rewi Alley, 1897 - 1987

Jung Chang's 'biography' of Mao Zedong (reviewed earlier in this issue) is far from the only attempt to take from the masses a revolutionary symbol.

In October 2002 - appropriately on the day celebrated as Taiwan's 'national' day - a University of Canterbury academic Anne-Marie Brady published a scurrilous attack on Rewi Alley. In it she claimed that Alley's political decisions were dominated by his alleged homosexuality and that he had been a pawn of the Communist Party of China in spreading their 'propaganda' in exchange for a steady diet of vulnerable young men.

The truth is significantly different.

Rewi Alley was born in Springfield, Canterbury in 1897. His father, a schoolmaster, and his mother, who was active in the temperance and women's rights movements installed in him respect for hard work, discipline, a desire for education, and a willingness to challenge authority. He was christened Rewi out of the family's respect for Ngati Maniapoto leader and anti-colonial fighter Rewi Maniapoto. His academic record was indifferent and Rewi felt overshadowed by his siblings who became All Blacks, university lecturers and founders of the playcentre movement. In March 1917 he volunteered for war service. He was wounded during combat in France and gained the Military Medal. In France he met members of the Chinese Armed Forces who were also fighting the German-led coalition and an interest in China was born. On returning to New Zealand he joined a companion, Jack Stevens, in an unsuccessful six-year attempt to break in, and then farm, hill and bush country at Moeawatea, inland from Waverley, Taranaki. These were hard physical experiences that endowed Alley with stamina and resilience.

Following his curiosity he first went to China in 1927, intending to visit but ultimately staying for the rest of his life. He worked in Shanghai, as a fire officer and then as a municipal factory inspector. While there he saw the deplorable conditions that Chinese workers faced under imperialism and the incompetent corrupt rule of the KMT. Alley formed close friendships with other anti-imperialists in Shanghai, such as the Americans Edgar Snow, Anna Louise Strong and Agnes Smedley, and drew close to the revolutionary forces.

Although as a foreigner in Shanghai Alley would normally have been insulated from the realities the Chinese faced; his job, and the fact that he spent his holidays involved in

flood and famine relief work, provided him with direct experience of the poverty and hardship sustained by the Chinese peasantry. He began to directly support the revolution: allowing his house to be used for a radio transmitter and transporting comrades using the safety of his car. Alley traveled widely throughout China, gaining the experience that



made his working knowledge of the country unique among foreigners. He then became heavily involved in establishing the Industrial Co-operative Movement (Indusco).

In 1942 Alley's relations with the KMT government deteriorated, resulting in his dismissal from Indusco and in 1944 the school he had established at Shuangshipu was relocated 688 miles north-west to Shandan in Gansu province, on the edge of Gobi desert and not very close to anything else. However, following the principles of his mentor, Joseph Bailie, Alley encouraged the Shandan school to grow through its tenets of 'create and analyse' and a daily routine of shared work and study designed to install self-discipline, teamwork, and co-operation between industry and agriculture.

Because of his progressive politics, the New Zealand government used its propaganda organs to divide public opinion in New Zealand regarding Alley's activities, and from 1950 anti-communist rhetoric meant that attitudes hardened towards him - especially when he publicly identified himself with opposition to American policy in the Korean War and revealed American use of biological warfare against Chinese and Korean civilians. As the Cold War deepened, the man many New Zealanders had admired, through such widely publicised ventures as the shipment of local sheep to China, was denied newspa-

per coverage. Brady's book reflects this Cold War mentality, and cloaks behind a veneer of scholarly apparatus the fact that there is no evidence whatsoever that Alley engaged in any inappropriate sexual activity at all.

During the period after China was liberated Alley became increasingly immersed in writing about China, pamphleteering, writing and translating poetry. Alley described his role as 'interpreting China to the world' and became known internationally as he described China's developmental projects, the creative harnessing of the full potential of the Chinese masses, and its peaceful diplomacy during the building of socialism. It is clear from his records and interviews with those close to him that Alley believed in the revolutionary project that he assisted through his work, there was no gun to his head since there was no need for one. He devoted his life to the Chinese revolution because he supported it.

Alley undertook tours of New Zealand in 1960, 1965 and 1971 - in all he met with hundreds of students and workers even though the first two drew no coverage in the capitalist media. In part this was because during them he openly admitted his membership of the New Zealand Communist Party. Still, the tide was shifting and in 1972 Victoria University of Wellington awarded him an honorary doctorate in literature. The PRC also granted him honorary citizenship, and his residence there was a pilgrimage point for thousands of visiting New Zealanders, especially after diplomatic relations were established in Dec 1972.

Although sometimes projected as a willing propagandist for the Chinese party-state (by the Right and the Ultra-left), Alley was anything but, always criticising policies he disagreed with, albeit in private. His role as promoter of the Chinese revolution and the anti-communist environment dominating the English-speaking world for which he wrote naturally tempered his ability to do so openly. Yet his private papers reveal, like many others of China's foreign friends who joined the Chinese revolution in the 1930s and 40s, someone deeply skeptical of the market reforms now known as 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'.

On 27 December 1987 at Beijing, Rewi Alley died. His handwritten will asked for his ashes to be scattered over the Shandan countryside - 'please no special trip, just the next time someone is going out there. It's just one more soldier passing on'. Ever humble he completely undersold himself. Alley was a genuine hero.

# Strive to Unite!

**Ka Kohi Te Toe Ka Whai Te Marama Tanga**

*(through the sharing of knowledge, enlightenment will follow)*

Struggle is published quarterly representing the viewpoint of the Organisation for Marxist Unity. Struggle aims to provide a Marxist analysis of class struggle, politics and economy of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The immediate task is to encourage working people and all possible forces to unite in a Patriotic and Democratic United Front led by the working class to remove the stranglehold of foreign monopoly capitalists and their local agents, by establishing a People's Democratic State System. This stage of the advance to Socialism is determined by the objectively exist-

ing class contradictions, classes and laws of social development. The more comprehensive the competition of this stage, the more favourable will be the situation for the further advance to a socialist society.

Struggle emphasises the necessity of studying the history of class struggle in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the stand-point of the revolutionary working class science of Marxism-Leninism, in which the writing of Mao Zedong have made a major contribution. Struggle works for the building of a Communist Party based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism,

a party that develops its strategy, tactics and methods corresponding to the needs of the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand by concrete analysis: a party free from doctrinaire Marxism, sectarianism and the influence of social democracy, a party whose members are committed to serving the people.

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