

N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW

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CPNZ Message to the South Viet Nam Liberation Front

The following message was sent last month to the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party by the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

THE National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand on behalf of all members of the Party and other activists against US imperialism, hails the great victory of the Vietnamese people in driving out the US aggressors and their puppets.

We recall the confident words of Ho Chi Minh in 1968 that "the entire Vietnamese people will resolutely resist and defeat the US aggressors so as to liberate the south, defend the north and advance towards peaceful national reunification."

Ho Chi Minh explained why this was so when he said "Our people are very heroic. Our line is most correct. We have justice on our side. We are inspired by an unbending will and determination to fight and win. We have the invincible force of the unity of our entire people and enjoy the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind."

Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the great Viet Nam Workers' Party, was applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the revolution in Viet Nam. This Marxist-Leninist approach not only provided a clear foresight of inevitable victory, it provided the line and spirit of struggle that enabled the north to defend itself and maintain itself as a strong rear for the south.

Ho Chi Minh correctly described the great war of resistance as being in the interests of the oppressed peoples and progressive mankind. It helped expose the nature of imperialism to thousands of New Zealand people and thereby helped organise active struggle against imperialism in a way that not only helped the heroic Vietnamese people but also the New Zealand people and people in struggle everywhere.

That struggle still continues because the wounded imperialist tiger has not retired from his foul goal of world domination.

But the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has ensured that imperialism is weaker and that the future for the world's people is brighter. The Vietnamese people are now able to concentrate their unbending will and determination on national reconstruction and reunification.

As Ho Chi Minh said in his Testament on May 10, 1969, "the American invaders defeated, we will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful."

The Vietnamese people have given the international working class movement and all progressive people a wonderful cause for celebration this May Day. We pledge ourselves to renew our struggle against our common enemy as the most fitting way to celebrate the great victory of the Vietnamese people.

(Signed), V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary, on behalf of the National Committee of the CPNZ.

Greetings to the Communist Party of Indonesia on its 55th Anniversary

THE following message of greetings has been sent to the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) on the occasion of its 55th Anniversary on May 23, 1975, by V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary, on behalf of the National Committee, Communist Party of New Zealand:

The National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, on behalf of all members, greets the Central Committee and all members of the Communist Party of Indonesia on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the PKI on May 23 this year.

Our two parties are brothers, united by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's teachings, by proletarian internationalism and by close geographical ties. We also both recognise the common foes of imperialism and social-imperialism in their collaboration with the vile Suharto regime and reactionaries in New Zealand and elsewhere.

The Suharto regime, actively aided by US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and New Zealand's junior imperialists, are desperately trying to turn back the irresistible tide of the Indonesian people's liberation and revolution. As part of this unholy alliance, the New Zealand ruling class is exporting capital to exploit Indonesian resources and labour, providing military training and aid and giving political comfort. We are proud to record that when Suharto visited this country in February 1972, the Communist Party was in the forefront of those demonstrating against the regime and any assistance for it.

We have full confidence that the efforts of the reactionaries and revisionists will all fail against the powerful tide of people's

struggle under Marxist-Leninist leadership.

We know that the PKI has a glorious record of struggle right from its birth. We recall the valiant PKI-led revolt against Dutch colonial rule in 1926-27, the underground struggle against Japanese occupation during World War Two and the August 1945 Revolution against the Dutch imperialists aided by Japanese remnants and the British and Australian forces.

The PKI has helped us towards practising correct Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism. The PKI has contributed greatly to the world movement with its September 1966 "Self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI". This self-criticism showed how revisionist theories, by renouncing armed working class struggle in favour of top level parliamentary collaboration between 1951 and 1965, paved the way for the fascist terror of 1965-66 and the following decade of fascist rule and oppression.

This helped us overcome similar tendencies. We note that the agents of Soviet revisionism are still peddling their drug of "peaceful parliamentary transition" through the bogus "Marxist-Leninist Group of the PKI" just as they still do here through the Socialist Unity Party and other non-Marxist opportunist splinter groups.

But the application of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's Teachings to the concrete practice of the Indonesian Revolution — in both the "Self-criticism" and the 1967 "Programme for People's Democracy in Indonesia" — are powerful weapons against further deception and betrayal of the Indonesian people and people in struggle everywhere.

With imperialism and revisionism in crisis and exposure throughout the world, with revolution being the main trend in the world today, the situation is very favourable for all people's struggle. The tremendous difficulties facing the PKI and Indonesian people will crumble before the powerful tide of people's armed struggle.

This is the lesson from the people's victories in Indochina. It is the lesson being proved in Indonesia right now.

With confidence in the outcome of this struggle we salute the PKI on its 55th anniversary and pledge our fraternal support in our common cause.

Long live the PKI!

Success to the Indonesian people's struggle!

Only Practical Activity Can Test Correct Policy and Organisation

This and the article, "Marxism and Anarchism," taken from previous issues of the "People's Voice", are reprinted in the "Communist Review" because of their special importance in relation to the current struggle to develop the revolutionary line, outlook and style of work and also to build the only revolutionary workers' Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party of New Zealand.

STALIN has pointed out, and we have repeated in several recent articles, that passing resolutions is not enough to develop revolutionary politics and organisation. To leave things at that stage is to leave it "all in the mind". It means adopting a purely academic, barren, intellectual approach to problems divorced from activity. As such it can lead to grave errors because nothing is confirmed in practice. It is a form of idealism because it regards thought as primary and the thoughts of the thinker as infallible. It is dangerous because it produces sectarian and opportunist errors of judgment and can provide fertile ground for revisionist ideas. By divorcing its practitioners from the reality of the people, this idealist approach constantly produces arrogant bureaucracy — and then, in an equally idealist attempt to cure the situation, produces ultra-democracy and anarchy. Neither aspect of this idealism produces the correct revolutionary leadership qualities required in all Communists.

Mao Tsetung has pointed out that correct ideas do not drop from the sky any more than they are inborn.

They come from three kinds of social practice alone — from the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.

Theories and policies arise from practical experience in social practice. The correctness or falseness of these theories and policies can only be tested by applying them in social practice. There is no other way. Debate can't do it. Thinking can't do it.

ORGANISATION

There must be investigation in social practice. There must be collective examination of the investigation and the lessons from it. The resulting policies must be tested in social practice to determine their correctness.

The organisational plans to serve these policies is likewise

tested and shaped by social practice.

Mao makes all this quite clear in his brief work "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" In his longer work "On Practice" he points out that the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics — its service of the working class and its practicality in stressing that theory depends on practice, is based on practice and serves practice.

All correct ideas come from direct experience but because it is impossible for everyone to have every experience most of it is indirect (the direct experience of others conveyed in the written or spoken word). This is why a collective has greater opportunity of arriving at correct ideas — it is a harvesting of many direct and indirect experiences.

CHANGE

However, everything is in a state of continuous development so the investigation of reality must also be continuous.

As Mao says "true revolutionary leaders must not only be good at correcting their ideas, theories, plans or programmes when errors are discovered . . . but when an objective process has already progressed and changed from one stage of development to another, they must be good at making themselves and all their fellow revolutionaries progress and change in their subjective knowledge along with it, that is to say, they must ensure that the proposed new revolutionary tasks and new working programmes correspond to the new changes in the situation."

Mao then criticises those whose thinking lags behind reality and who become right opportunists. He criticises those whose thinking outstrips objective development and who become left phrasemongers and adventurists.

ROLE OF PARTY PRESS

Correct work with the revolutionary party press is an essential process in developing correct theories serving practical activity.

We are very fortunate in New Zealand having an almost 100 per cent literacy which enables revolutionary ideas to be conveyed **wherever they are taken** (the party press does not distribute itself).

The analysis of the party leadership is conveyed through this press in the first instance, to the activists, the advanced elements (who can only be discovered by approaching as wide a section of people as possible).

The advanced section study the contents of the press and take it to the intermediate and less advanced sections as an aid in developing political consciousness and political activity. The resulting activity tests the correctness of the leadership's analysis and reports of this activity are sent to the centre for further analysis and further calls for action in the press — and so on, back and forth, continu-

ally raising consciousness and activity.

It can't be done merely by resolutions divorced from the people or reality. It is done in the practical work of printing, distributing and supporting the revolutionary party press — of consciously studying the contents and using them in a planned, organised manner in the specific circumstances of the party branch and of the branch member's workplace and neighbourhood.

EXAMPLE

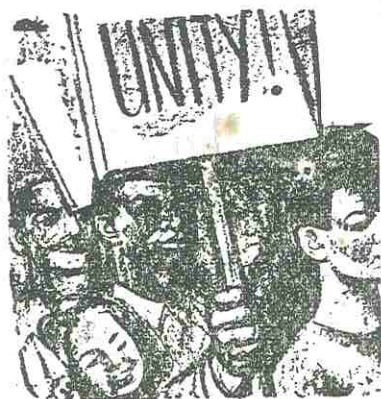
Take for example the subject of Mobilisations. The Party leadership, in line with the international proletariat duty to defeat the US imperialism and its allies, issued in the party press, several guidelines for activity during the preparations for the Mobilisations.

Where these were studied and applied there were valuable practical experiences which, when referred back to the leadership, enabled further correct formulations to cope with the changing circumstances. Where this was not done there was no such progress and no such detailed guidance possible.

In this sense, each issue of the party press should be the primary subject on every revolutionary branch agenda — it is the primary organ for the two-way mass line of work, for the preparation, dissemination and testing of correct policy and of the organisation to carry out that policy.

This is an essential part of the process of getting the revolutionary outlook characteristic of the advanced class (the proletariat) gripping the masses and becoming a material force that will change the world.

This is the purpose of correct knowledge — not merely to interpret the events around us but to act on those events and transform New Zealand society into socialist society. ("People's Voice," 9 August, 1972).



Marxist-Leninist Ideology— The Starting Point in Mass Work

(Contributed)

IN ALL ASPECTS of Party work the central question is one of "line." The general line develops out of the struggle against the bourgeois outlook and for the ideological outlook of the working class. However, to apply this line in practice, that is, in the day-to-day struggles of the working class is an important but difficult question which cannot be easily solved.

We have to learn how to solve the contradiction between the development of Marxism-Leninism, (the scientific outlook of the working class, and the fact that the ideology of the capitalist class still dominates the outlook of the masses of exploited peoples in New Zealand. In particular, this includes the basic sections of the industrial proletariat. For it is in such sections to which many Party members belong, which are a decisive sector, and which can and will deal many blows against capitalism, that we are confronted in a clear and decisive way with all manifestations of the bourgeois outlook of social democracy, economism, and sectarianism.

These trends have been effectively developed over the whole epoch of imperialism to blunt the role of these decisive sections as the spear-head of struggle against capital.

ARISTOCRATS OF LABOUR"

In New Zealand, which is part of the Second World sector of imperialism, these trends have been effective in turning many of these sectors into what Lenin has described as "aristocrats of labour." This development which historically arises out of the epoch of imperialism and is based on the extortion of super-profits from the Third World peoples, is now being curtailed, and is being dealt hammer blows by these peoples. This must in turn sharpen the attacks of capital against labour in the imperialist world. Thus in work on the jobs (and this includes work relating to ideological outlook in the unions), struggle to combat the dominance of capitalist outlook is primary.

Just as there cannot be a revolution without a Marxist-Leninist Party based on democratic-centralism, so also in the trade union movement, (or any movement), there can be no lasting solution to the workers' problems without (to quote Chairmann Mao), "a Party led by a strong centre, with an army of the working class at its command." Unless the comrades working in industry see them-

selves as centres for bringing the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism into the ranks of the class, see themselves as being part of a united disciplined vanguard party which struggles in the working class for revolutionary development, they are always in danger of being affected by opportunist and sectarian trends.

Working with the masses in a way that leads to the development of class consciousness can only arise out of correct understanding of the relations between the comrade and the Party. This means struggle against individualism, and for reliance on the collective.

Only by starting from the line developed by the collective, and not placing one's own ideas in the forefront, can a correct method of work be developed among the advanced sections of the class, thus building a collective with them which will then help the advance of the intermediate and the backward sections and finally assist the ever-expanding unity of the working class.

The question as to who are the advanced forces in the class will sort itself out in practice if we use the dialectical-materialist method of examination of this practice.

We will be more able to see who are the activists, the real leaders who, while they may not be the most vocal ones, are good at supporting the over-all development of their class. They will be distinguished from the talkers who use militant words to cover up their tactics of jumping on the band-wagon, fighting only for the "popular" demands, or for their own positions, and in reality divert the struggles of the workers into safe social-democratic solutions.

MISLEADERS WILL BE EXPOSED

Ultimately, the confusion around the phoney militancy and lead from misleaders who put on a bold front in the economic struggles when this is easy in times of capitalist expansion but are far from militant when capitalism is in crisis, can be more easily explained and cleared up.

In the struggles for gains or in defence of their conditions and living standards, the workers are very good at developing methods of struggle to suit their objectives, of going into action on all fronts against the class enemy.

Communists must become good at learning and uniting with them in these struggles, of uniting with the advanced sections, assisting them to develop their class outlook, to grasp the science of Marxism-Leninism, and by objective examination of the practices of the people who take part in these struggles, help these people to understand that the real task is to overthrow capitalism.

It is a struggle to overthrow the contradiction between learning and teaching. It is the special task of communists to explain the class relations that give rise to the economic and political problems the workers are so deeply concerned with.

Struggle to put ideology in command, to carry out a line based on the decision of the collective of the Party, will enable comrades

to take their place in the "guerilla" warfare against capital, in the economic battles that arise daily, and out of the lessons learnt, develop their main task of building the party of the working class.

This is a protracted struggle. The task outlined by Marx and Engels a century ago, and carried on by countless heroes of the working class and exploited masses, has still to be carried out to the end by the "grave-diggers of capitalism."

PRACTICE MARXISM-LENINISM

Today, in the tremendous sweeping advances of the people, particularly in the Third World, in the endless strike struggles and mass movements in the imperialist world, the key to revolutionary work and revolution is "Practice Marxism-Leninism not Revisionism".

With the growing confusion, with economic and political crises besetting every aspect of capitalism in New Zealand and the whole imperialist world, we can expect to see this upsurge of struggle further develop, as the monopolies and their stooges in Government and positions of authority, place further burdens on the people.

Many aspects of the bourgeois outlook will arise in these struggles, which may not be easily seen as such, as they may be disguised by "revolutionary" phrases and styles of work. These may embrace the elevation of economist demands to head off revolutionary action, calling strikes when the workers are unprepared for them, using the advanced sections to coerce the more backward sections into taking actions the latter are not yet convinced are necessary, etc. Those methods and ideas are based on the bourgeois outlook that great men make history, and lead to the sectarian outlook of relying on the few.

Overall, putting the ideology and political outlook of Marxism-Leninism in command is the starting point for all Party members in every aspect of their work.

Among the industrial workers and decisive sections of the trade unions this is just as vital; revolutions cannot be successful if left to the spontaneous movement. Our Party is based on the working class and it is among these decisive forces that our Party must continue to recruit and build.

There must be continuous and never-ending struggle, sometimes non-antagonistic sometimes fiercely antagonistic, against the bourgeois outlook, against the deliberate misleading acts of the social-democrats, the pseudo-lefts, and all the purveyors of the outlook that capitalism is here for ever.

Marxism and Anarchism

IN recent times there has been a revival of anarchism and an examination of this raises some interesting points. It was Stalin who wrote that the socialist movement was divided into three main trends: Reformism, Anarchism and Marxism. We have had a lot to say about reformism. However, there has been little discussion about anarchism because it has generally been believed that it was not a particular issue in this country. The appearance of anarchist ideas amongst some, particularly young people, recently makes the matter relevant.

As socialists, the Marxist may concede good faith to an anarchist but he must oppose him, for his concepts not only are incapable of bringing about socialism but actually impede it because the anarchist opposes the processes necessary to achieve it.

The simplest explanation of the difference between anarchism and Marxism is given by Stalin: "Marxism and anarchism are built on entirely different principles, in spite of the fact that both come into the arena of struggle under the flag of socialism. The cornerstone of anarchism is the **individual**, whose emancipation, according to its tenets, is the principal condition for the emancipation of the masses, the collective body. According to the tenets of Anarchism the emancipation of the masses is impossible until the individual is emancipated. Accordingly its slogan is 'Everything for the individual.'

"The cornerstone of Marxism, however, is the **masses**, whose emancipation, according to its tenets, is the principle condition for the emancipation of the individual. That is to say, according to the tenets of Marxism the emancipation of the individual is impossible until the masses are emancipated. Accordingly its slogan is 'everything for the masses'."

IRRECONCILABLE

It will be seen from this that it is not possible to reconcile Marxism and Anarchism. Each must inevitably go off in a different direction in all questions of strategy and tactics.

The appeal of anarchism is basically an emotional one. Philosophic anarchism has a considerable literature (dominated by the name of Prince Kropotkin) but it feeds on what we might call 'natural anarchism'. (To avoid confusion philosophical Anarchism, the conscious movement, will be given a capital letter, 'natural anarchism' will not).

Natural anarchism is the expression of the impulse which appears everywhere at all times, to resist authority and any form of regimentation. Today, with anti-establishment tides running strongly in the young the appearance of traces of anarchism could be expected. Most people at some time or other have the impulse to

resist authority or being "organised" but the logic of anarchism carries this to extremes.

NO DISCRIMINATION

Your Anarchist does not discriminate between desirable and undesirable authority or between useful and objectionable social organisation. He scrubs the lot. Every man makes his own rules and his own decisions in all matters. He 'does his own thing.' An army in which every soldier is a field-marshal. The Marxist sees a revolutionary takeover of existing society and the using of that for the people as a whole. The Anarchist's position forces him to oppose the whole concept of industrial society for that would be impossible without a great deal of social organisation.

The Anarchist finds himself in the position of the beatnik (a movement with obvious anarchist inspiration) who "cuts himself off" from industrial society — but insists on having his LP records, which can only exist as the result of sophisticated social organisation.

It is significant that the only countries where Anarchism has appeared as a political force were just those ones where feudalism dragged on long after the rest of the major countries had entered the capitalist era. Spain and Russia are the obvious examples. It could not appear in strength elsewhere because the masses were conditioned to the acceptance of the social organisation needed to build industrial society.

CONFUSION

Engels wrote (in "Origin of the Family") about the confusion and "solemnly beating the life out of one another" that resulted from the "artificial reincarnation" of earlier primitive Irish society.

Here again is another aspect of emotional attitudes arising from living under feudal conditions. These provide a basis for "natural anarchism."

The serf or his equivalent is controlled by the whip or the knout. He has to accept this or rebel against authority. This is what happened in the peasant revolts. As the social system is a simple one, no great degree of social organisation is required and the need for it is not noticed.

But it is a different matter when the system has become infinitely more sophisticated. This is where the Anarchist idea falls flat on its face. The world can now only survive by using its industrial development and this has to be organised. Everybody as a result has to accept some measure of social discipline or the whole thing falls to pieces. But the Anarchist will have none of it. He won't wear any discipline and as a result he is compelled to attempt to write off the whole of industrial civilisation.

The Anarchist's theory begins to get a bit vague at about this point when he has to say what he would replace it with. Obviously

it must be some very simple form of human association — but how could you feed all those teeming millions then?

During the Spanish War, the Anarchists had their own military units run on their own lines. All decisions were made by discussion by the whole unit. Battle after battle was lost as a result. The unit would fail to support the front and the whole thing would crumble. In at least one city in the country, the Anarchist union controlled the trams. They decided they would not collect any fares — a great contribution to the war effort. Is it surprising that Fascism has ruled for forty years in Spain?

Basic in the Anarchist idea is the complete rejection of authority or any sort of discipline. The concept is useful for whiling away an evening in the debating society but when any attempt is made to put it into practice the result is that what is left is something which is defenceless against an enemy who does organise.

The very existence of fascism is an argument against Anarchism. This is a ready-made machinery which the ruling class will switch on whenever its social system looks like breaking down in chaos. It is a return to the rule of the whip and the knout. The Anarchist idea of individual emancipation then has to go into recess — for how long? As we said it's been 40 years in Spain already.

Against that Marxism insists on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only way to hold fascism at bay is by the organisation that Anarchism abhors.

FALLACY

The only way to hold power after the collapse of the old system is the same. Under the protection of the proletarian dictatorship the building of socialism can then begin.

The Anarchist believes the idealist fallacy that to get socialism you only have to proclaim it. Working class history should have given him many examples to convince him that he has another think coming.

The appearance of Anarchism in New Zealand where it has scarcely been noticed in the past is one facet of that revolutionary trend which is dominant in the world today. This finds expression in opposition to the authority of an effete ruling class. It is to be expected that some would go to extremes and extend this to oppose all authority but Anarchism cannot stand up to the realities of twentieth century society and must remain a small and ineffective movement whose worst crime is that it is holding back some good people from useful activity in the revolutionary struggle. ("People's Voice", 25 April, 1973).

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