

PER
320.5323
ST 8 C

STRUGGLE

published by the
COMMITTEE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY IN AUSTRALIA
GPO BOX 4740, MELBOURNE VIC 3001

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

- Mao Tsetung



1-8-98

ISSUE # 17



世界人民热爱毛主席

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD LOVE
CHAIRMAN MAO



The document, "ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!"
is now complete.
Essential reading, before we face the ballot box later this year!

ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!

FOREWORD

The book "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" (Elecciones no, Guerra Popular sí) published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) in May 1990, is an in-depth, comprehensive analysis of bourgeois "elections" as a counterrevolutionary tool. The document written in a clear and convincing manner by a communist of the stature of President Gopzalo is a devastating blow to the reactionaries, especially after "the bend of the road" (the capture of Chairman Gopzalo), when they tried to show the world that the defeat of the PCP was around the corner. In 1993, Fujimori boasted at the United Nations that the People's War would be annihilated by July 28, 1995.

PEOPLE'S WAR, YES! ELECTIONS, NO!

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Foreword to the English Edition

Chapter 1. ELECTIONS ARE CRUCIAL TO REACTION
Chapter 2. THE POLITICAL CRISIS WORSENS AND THE CONTRADICTIONS DEEPEN
Chapter 3. THE BOYCOTT DEVELOPS THE PEOPLE'S TENDENCY AGAINST THE
ELECTIONS AND SERVES THE PEOPLE'S WAR

GUERRILLA ACTIONS

Agitation and Propaganda
Sabotage
Selective Annihilation
Guerrilla Combats
Armed Strikes

PLAN OF STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT THEATER OF OPERATIONS PLANS AND CAMPAIGNS

Concrete Actions
AYACUCHO: The Heroic Struggle
APURIMAC: Area of Intense Confrontation
HUANCAVELICA: Place of Devastating Ambushes
THE CENTRAL REGION
THE HUALLAGA VALLEY
THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENTS
THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENTS
LIMA

THE NEW POWER

THE REACTIONARY DREAMS: "SPLIT OF SENDERO", "THE FIRST AND BIGGEST
LOSER" AND THE "TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY"

TABLE: COMPARISON BETWEEN THE 1985 AND 1990 GENERAL ELECTIONS

THE BOYCOTT: AN UNDENIABLE SUCCESS

Chapter 4. ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!
On Revolutionary Violence and Parliamentary Cretinism
On Class Struggle
On Socialism
On Communism
Regarding Liberty and Democracy
On the Transformation of Intellectuals
On the Struggle Against Revisionism

THE ONE NATION PARTY.

Some people 'on the left' laugh at the One Nation Party (ONP) and the leader Pauline Hansen while other people are taking the ONP very seriously.

CRCPA takes ONP seriously indeed. There are many similarities in 1998 with the 1930's.

In 1929 the American stock exchange collapsed., plunging the world into an economic depression, during which thousands of workers and their families starved to death.

Prior to the collapse in the US and the devastation in Australia that followed, the capitalist class, the politicians of all hues, were indulging in orgies of extravagant words about capitalist prosperity. The various bourgeois parties in Australia, the United Australia Party (UAP) and sections of the ALP, each claimed they had a way out of the crisis. Both parties in power robbed the workers, made subsidies to the capitalists and landlords, made tax remissions to businesses while conducting a ruthless offensive against the wages and conditions of the workers; they increased the impoverishment of the small farmers. There was disorganization of the money system, of the budget, state bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis, they created demand by preparations for war, inflation and dumping. The ALP, under Scullin introduced and carried through the Premiers' Plan, placing the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working class.

Does this sound familiar?

Today the major political parties all promise to 'fix up' the crisis. They never refer to a crisis of the capitalist system, rather they blame it on the previous government's "debt burden' or 'getting back into the black'. The collapse of the 'Asian Tiger' economies is not their resistance to globalization and instructions from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, (both yankee driven) but the intervention and plunder of the economies by parasitical finance capital led by the USA.

The major agricultural exports of Australia are collapsing, wool, wheat, mining

If the economies of country after country are collapsing and the workers of these countries are impoverished, then how can these commodities be sold by Australia and purchased by impoverished workers. So in the midst of plenty workers suffer increasing impoverishment.

In Australia there is an abundance of wheat, wool, fruit and vegetables, timber for building houses, yet thousands are out of work and denied them. The narrow bonds of private ownership of the means of production for private profits need to be swept away.

As in the 1930's , in 1998 the world capitalist system is in deep economic crisis.

WHAT CLASS DOES ONE NATION REPRESENT>

Pauline Hansen , the leader of the ONP says she speaks for all Australians. This is impossible. How can the ONP speak for an unemployed youth and the richest man Packer at the same time?

ONP promises to reduce immigration to zero; to cut imports to protect local industries; attacks Aboriginal land rights, says Aborigines receive too much money and plans to abolish government programs for indigenes; proposes a Peoples'Bank offering loans of 2% interest; abolition of Arts funding; calls for a referendum on capital punishment; pours scorn on foreign aid; scorns parliament and the main political parties while striving to control it.

Ms Hansen's maiden speech in Parliament predicted the extinction of the white race and the occupation of Australia by Asians who allegedly live in ghettos, follow their own religion and fail to intergrate. She also demands migrants speak English before they arrive here.

The ONP policies are a mixture of patriotism, chauvinism and xenophobia.

ONP hasn't invented these three banners of imperialism , they have always been present in Australia.

ONP has been given massive coverage in the mass media.. A mass media who present the masses as a mindless mob who will follow any leader.

Why was the ONP able to gain 11 seats in the Queensland elections?

Many people are fed up with the established political parties and parliament and accepted legal and political institutions, who fail to address or solve the people's problems of unemployment, attacks on workers wages and conditions, living standards, the decline of rural towns,, the sell off of state government instrumentalities, the decline in education and health. People fear the future, they are alarmed for the future of their children ONP rises up in the middle pretending to 'speak for the people' and many vote for ONP.

However, ONP is not having a smooth path to power.

When that Party holds a public meeting they have to run the gauntlet of demonstrators. In Victoria, two meetings had to be cancelled as the demonstrators surrounded the hall and blocked the streets. This prompted ONP to call on the police to use more force, capsicum spray, and more mounted police. Thousands of secondary schools students

THE ONE NATION PARTY.

took a day off from school to stage a spectacular demonstration against Racism in both Sydney and Melbourne. Then ONP charged the organizers as Communist thugs. Alongside these demonstrations, large meetings in suburbs are opposing toxic dumps in their localities. During the Maritime struggle more than 6000 turned up on the picket line with the workers when the Court said assembly was illegal.

It is clear ONP does not speak for all the people. The workers are turning out against the ONP. The tired political parties are speculating on whether they will give ONP their preferences so that they can retain power. One Nation does not represent the interests of the working class, it splits the workers on racial lines, it blames the victim. ONP never criticises anti-worker legislation, and never criticises capitalism. ONP waves the flag of patriotism, and scapegoats Asians and other immigrants and is opposed to the fight of the indigenous people for land rights and independence.

IS ONP A FASCIST PARTY?

The economic crisis of the imperialist system is deep seated millions of people world wide are suffering poverty, starvation, and war. The imperialists prepare against the growing wrath of the people by turning to violence. The right wing ONP is not an accident and is not confined to Australia. There are fascist parties all over Europe and in the USA

Fascism is not a new brand of politics in competition with or threatening bourgeois parliamentary politics, it is part of, in essence the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which rules absolutely sometimes with the carrot and sometimes with the stick.

Marxists have always affirmed that the more developed and purer the democracy, the more naked, acute and merciless is the class struggle and the purer the oppression.

Marx and Engels said that even the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing but a machine for the suppression of the masses of the toilers by a handful of capitalists.

The bourgeois parliament is part of the deception of bourgeois democracy. Democracy for whom? Democracy for the capitalists, while the masses are 'free' to sell their labor power if they have a job. Parliament does not run the country, it administers the affairs and decisions of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Fascism is the power of finance capital. Fascist parties, in the past and the present are not short of funds, The international bourgeoisie are not able to rule in the old way through parliamentary bourgeois democracy. This method is already discredited in the eyes of the people who see nothing but corruption, name calling and deceit..

One top leader of ONP has declared himself a 'nationalist socialist' because, he said, I love Australia and I have socialist tendencies. Same as the national-socialists of Germany 1930's

Some people are shocked that ONP is not a democratic party. No other party is..

We should ask the Aboriginal people what they think of bourgeois 'democracy' Long before ONP, they suffered genocide, massacre, stolen children, and prison. Ask the women of Australia also, about legislation on abortion, lack of equal pay. Ask the immigrants in prison for years in the North what they think of bourgeois 'democracy'. So it is no good the existing political parties claiming they are representing the interests of the people. Bourgeois democracy is democracy for the rich not the toilers.

Some are shocked that demonstrators closed down a ONP meeting and didn't allow "free speech" Since when has a workers organization had 'free speech'? Access to newspapers?

Some reactionary forces support ONP, whether ON agrees or not. The League of Rights, local fascist organizations, the La Rouché group in the USA, and the KKK., they all have similar policies, especially xenophobia. There is no public evidence that ONP is receiving financial support from big business or big agricultural companies ONP has many similarities with the rising fascists of the 1930's, and so does the crisis of imperialism, thousands of workers are not waiting to see; they are opposing ONP.

What is the solution?

ONP relies on people who feel marginalised, whose needs are ignored by political parties and established political and legal processes. They are attracted to something different, with simple answers to complex questions. The fact is that the imperialist system cannot solve the problems of the world wide economic crisis, the crisis is built into the system. The solution is to struggle for socialism, to divert the struggle away from parliament into the work places and the streets.. Bourgeois democracy, that tool of the rotten and decayed imperialist system must be replaced with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Arm the masses with the liberating theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Build the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Practice Proletarian Internationalism.

All power to our sisters and brothers fighting in the Trenches of Combat in Peru and Nepal

Long Live People's War.

of the power structure, the timid "good nigras", responsible leaders and the fabian left, all of whom directed their sinister efforts at the wretched victims of aggression instead of at the savage aggressor.

In the name of survival of Black America, we invoke another serious warning. We call upon Black America to arm to the teeth, to organize and to religiously acquaint themselves with the theory and tactics of urban guerrilla warfare. Time is running out. The racist American white man is like a predatory beast gone mad. Such a beast can only be restrained by unmitigated force and violence. We are now merely witnessing the first showers of the approaching storm. By the summer of '68 the full fury of a nightmarish firestorm will descend on the black people of racist America. Transform your instruments of sensual pleasure into weapons of war and prepare to make any sacrifice that may be required. Prepare now for that great raging fire when there will be no hiding place.

CUBA: THE ENEMY FROM WITHIN

There is a sharp difference between Cuba's positive desire to aid world revolution and its negative effect on the movement. Cuba's present role in the revolutionary struggles must be carefully re-examined. All revolutionaries maintaining close contacts with Cuba are treading on extremely dangerous ground. Revolutionaries of Africa and South America who maintained a liaison with Cuba have met with a series of resounding reverses. The recent so-called clandestine landing of revolutionaries in Venezuela was wiped out by fascist forces waiting on the beach. Chances are it was no secret operation at all. Can be that U.S. C.I.A. agents knew when it was being planned, not to mention when it was actually undertaken. Cuba has become a center from which the C.I.A. gathers information on revolutionaries and revolutionary movements. This has been effected through the infiltration of the Cuban G-2. Through its Cuban based operation, the C.I.A. keeps close tabs on every revolutionary visitor to Cuba. The Cuban G-2 files are an open book as far as the Yankee agents are concerned.

If the Western press is correct in reporting that "Che" Guevara is in Bolivia (we are convinced this is a ruse) he had better get the hell out of there as fast as possible. If the Cuban Intelligence knows where he is, so does the C.I.A. Under these conditions his life would not be worth a plug nickel. The sheer mental alertness of a black brother, who was invited to Cuba since my departure, prevented Afro-Americans from being lured into a Venezuela type Cuba-C.I.A. sponsored snare. Cuba's contribution to world revolution will be grossly restricted until its G-2 is purged of its C.I.A. Trojan Horses. Cuba's liaison man between revolutionaries is either extremely dumb or he is more loyal to Lyndon B. Johnson than to Fidel Castro. Perhaps the Soviets obtained a no invasion pledge from the Yankee, but we can rest assured that there is no moratorium on subversion. Revolutionaries beware of Cuba's enemies within.

CHINA'S H-BOMB EXPLOSION: THE PEOPLE'S ANSWER TO NUCLEAR BULLYING

I was honored to be in China when it exploded its first A-bomb and also when it exploded its first H-bomb. China's latest nuclear feat is a great boon to the universal liberation struggle. I am more than happy to join the world-wide revolutionary chorus elatedly singing of a great

new day wherein the monopoly of massive violence is no longer in the hands of the self-appointed gods of the earth. It is no mere accident that the most brutally oppressed of the world find cause to rejoice over the acquisition of an H-bomb by People's China while the masters and dupes of the so-called free world tremble with fear and ponder devious ways to lure the great new giant to the side of the world's gentry. While China's bomb is a powerful weapon of self-defense, it is also a giant step towards the neutralization of nuclear weapons. It assures the ultimate triumph of the people's cause. It assures the continuation of the invincibility of people's warfare. The mighty explosion of the Chinese H-bomb marked the end of the era of nuclear terror and bullying by the hawks of world imperialism. The oppressed peoples of the world have good reason to rejoice over the nuclear achievements of China. Our struggles have been mightily strengthened and the days are numbered wherein the savage bullies of the world can invoke a nuclear monopoly of terror.

BLACK MADONNA OF HARLEM SQUARE

Oh lovely madonna of Harlem Square
Mournful of the trials and tribulations you bear
Timeless are the soulful songs you sing
Through the eternal wintery night where never dawns the spring.

Your life is a confrontation with cupboards bare
And death is borne like a vapor on the wintery air
In rat infested tenements where starving babies cry
And the poignant blues becomes an infant's lullaby.

Oh lovely madonna dispel the sorrow from your face
Your sturdy ebony hands can mold a mighty race.

Oh lovely lady of the ghetto, throw your despair to the wind
For yours is the charge to raise up a race of mighty men.

What your hands mold is what the race shall be
So take care the twig to nurture a mighty tree.

Oh madonna, forsake the dream of milk and pearls and silk
In a ghetto dungeon where babies starve for care and milk.

Oh sister of travail seize the fleeting hour
Our fate is in the hand that dares to grasp the power.

Exhort the infant slave to dare to rebel
And like a mighty Sampson to bring down the roof of hell.

Oh lovely lady, give us men to do and dare
A Toussaint from your ghetto dungeon down in Harlem Square.

— R.F.W.

HELP to tell it like it is. Shake the man up. Wake the brothers up. Be a CRUSADER pusher. Order copies to put on the scene and to spread along. KEEP ON PUSHIN'.

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China

● — PRINTED IN CHINA AS A PERSONAL JOURNAL — ●

The Crusader
Robert F. Williams
Vol. 9, No. 1, July, 1967

WORKPLACE DANGER.

Work is a dangerous place in Australia. There are 2900 fatal accidents per year at work (1800 on the roads) and 175,000 work related diseases per year. This costs approx. 27 billion a year.

Speaking on the ABC on 6/8/98 a trade unionist from West Australia said, ... the Employers are never punished with prison and only 25% of employers are paying fines; there are no uniform safety standard in Australia, they differ from state to state, sometimes a company foreman is fined but not the directors for unsafe working conditions.

The discussion also revealed that in the Mining industry a miner had a one in twenty-four chance of dying, that in the west 8 weeks of continuous shifts at 12 hours a day is the only work available; that the safety inspectors are inadequate in numbers; that there were more traumatic deaths at work than soldiers killed in Vietnam; that with globalization, out sourcing, de-regulated Industrial Relations, Safety does not come before profit.

A Barrister said that there had only been one case in the 1990's on an industrial death. He said that gross negligence should bring a prosecution for man slaughter.

Australian report condemns safety conditions for mine workers

A recently released report on safety conditions in Australian mines found that miners' lives were at risk from gross negligence and that an 'attitudinal change' was needed by management. The report stated that in the eastern state of New South Wales, 33 lives were lost in the last eight years due to mining accidents. While many of these involved 'gross negligence and breaches of the law' but however no mining company or senior official had been prosecuted for these deaths. The report also looked at the northern state of Queensland and found a similar pattern of negligence by management. The report then suggested that not only should health and safety regulations be totally reviewed, but that an autonomous unit should be established to investigate 'fatalities, serious bodily injuries and dangerous occurrences'. In another development, the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union announced that it will consider starting its own independent criminal prosecution against a mine operator.

Source: The Age 8/7/98

PRIVACY? NOT IN YOUR BACKYARD.

According to The Age 8/8/98, from next year, anyone can buy a picture of your backyard for \$10.

Mr John Douglas, the Australasian managing Director of Earth Watch, the American Company behind the project disclosed that from next year a satellite, or two, will be launched, possibly from Woomera, enabling it to take pictures twice a day as they pass over particular locations.

... "You will be able to find objects perhaps as small as people' and "the imagery is immediate and detailed and tells it like it is"

The United Nations Freedom of the Skies treaty means there are no restrictions on satellite photography or its uses.

What possible interest would the US company have in your backyard?

It has already been demonstrated that cameras from aircraft can pick up people on the ground. This was used when boat people landed in the north of the continent. Perhaps our backyards are interesting when the people have a People's Army and when people are gathering together to talk about matters not in the interests of the ruling class.

THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE VISITS AUSTRALIA.

The US Secretary of State, Dr. Madeleine Albright and the US Defence Secretary William Cohen visited Australia at the end of July. They talked about a joint acquisition committee with Australia. The aim of the committee is to have the US and Australia co-operate in future military ventures. Cohen urged Australia to maintain a strong military budget capacity and have access to the same training, doctrine and technology with the US; the combination of satellite technology, lasers, computer technology and communications systems, known as the Revolution in Military Affairs, the first stages of this trend were visible in Operation Desert Storm.

Apart from all the smiles, the kiss on the cheek of Dr Albright by the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Downer, the presentation of the Akubra hat, little was said about the economics of South east Asia and the 'gift' of US wheat to Indonesia, an Australian market, the emphasis was on war preparations.

The newspaper, the Australian 8/8/98, printed the Shopping List (below) it remains to be seen if the government will close the 'gap' with massive amounts of money on top of what is already spent on 'defence'.

The answer lies with the Australian people, who are not standing idly by to see schools closed, (350 in Victoria alone) and the health system impoverished, while billions will be poured in to war material capable of reducing neighbouring countries to pulp. Anyway, who are these mythical enemies?

To the north of Australia, Indonesia's economy is in a state of collapse leaving about half the population on the bread line, the people of Papua New Guinea are suffering drought, famine, unemployment, social dislocation from the recent tidal wave, the people of West Irian fighting for their independence, or the people of East Timor fighting Indonesia for independence, or the people of Bougainville still struggling for independence after a decade.

Are these people our enemy? These people are our sisters and brothers. Our enemy is the ruling class at home. The imperialist system has reduced our sisters and brothers to starvation and poverty, leaving them no alternative but to fight for their liberation and the right to run their own affairs.

We have no alternative but to oppose this proposed massive build up of war preparations which is aimed at keeping the Australian people down first, and for attacking our neighbours for daring to rebel.

Practice proletarian internationalism.

WHAT'S ON OUR SHOPPING LIST

■ F/A-18E/F Super Hornets or EF-2000 Eurofighter, as F/A-18 replacement. Super Hornets feature semi-stealth capability, using radar-absorbing material wherever possible. Cost, \$2-4 billion. Or Lockheed's F/22, Raptor (pictured); a full-stealth strike aircraft. Approximately \$100 million each.

■ JSTARS (Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar Systems used in the Gulf and Bosnia). Full system unaffordable, but variations such as synthetic aperture radar (known as "CheapSTARS") already in use.

■ AEWACs (Airborne early warning, command and control systems). RAAF will receive five to seven aircraft, costing up to \$3 billion.

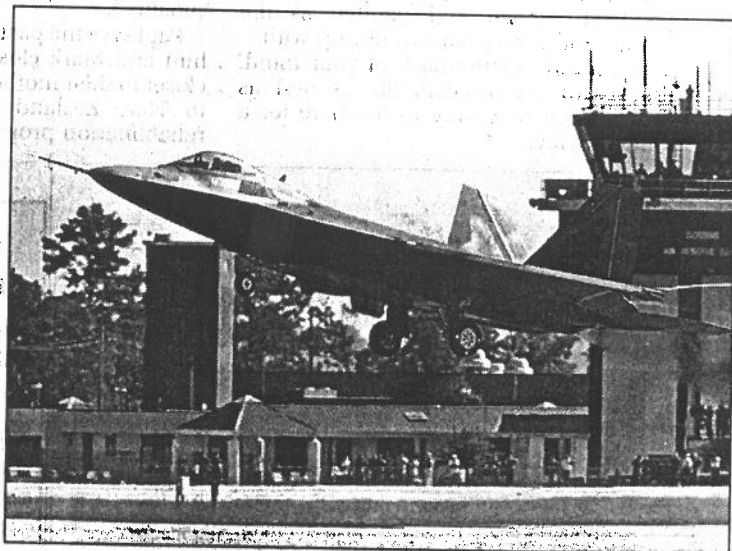
■ Enhanced Collins-class submarines, with far more stealth

and greater range. To be decided next year, estimated at \$1 billion each.

■ Soldier of the future. The DSTO project "The soldier as combat system". Personalised communications systems, helmet-mounted TV cameras, head-up displays linked to thermal-imaging weapons sights, night vision devices and hand-held data terminals linked to global positioning system (GPS) satellites.

■ UAV (unmanned aerial vehicles). Already in use as target drones and limited surveillance use, these would be used as sensors or to deliver bombs laser-guided firepower.

■ Tender for replacement for Black Hawk helicopters.



Ready for lift-off: The F-22 Raptor leaves Georgia.

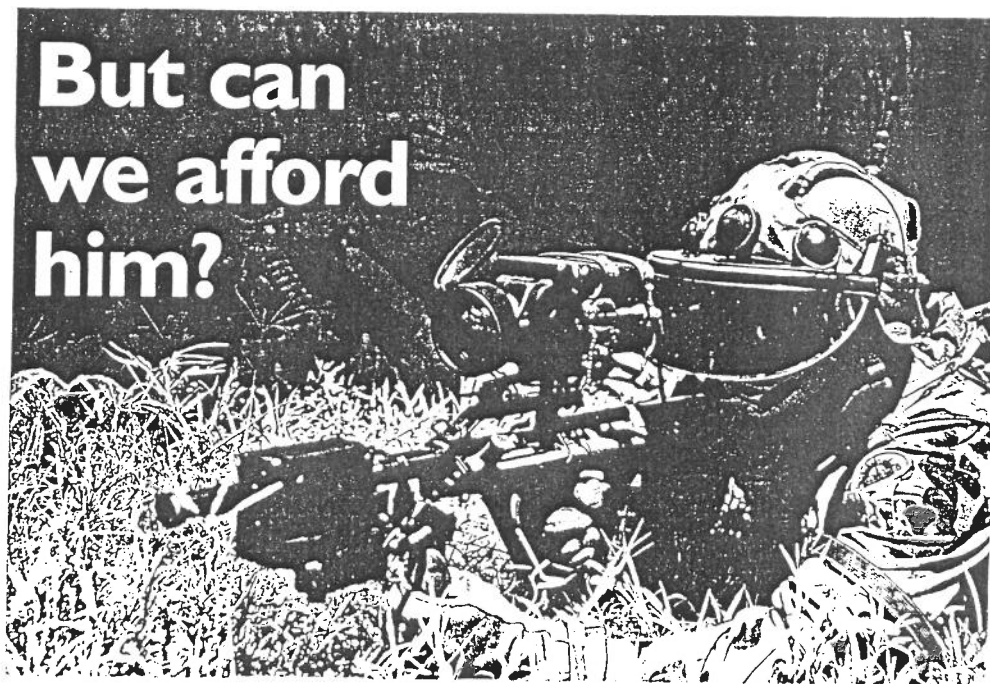


Dips me lid: Dr Albright tries on the Akubra hat presented to her by Mr Downer yesterday

Picture Reuters

Albright and breezy away from farm

Soldier of the future



**But can
we afford
him?**

Defeat U.S. Imperialism

REVEALED!!

MENZIE'S

GOVERNMENT

PLANS FOR

ESTABLISHMENT

OF

CONCENTRATION

CAMPS IN

AUSTRALIA

BY LES LOUIS
REPRINTED FROM:
THE HUMMER

Publication of the Sydney Branch of the Australian
Society for the Study of Labour History

No. 35 January - June 1993

During the Cold War in Australia in the early 1950s, the Left alleged that the "Fascist" Menzies Government intended to silence its opponents in concentration camps - a charge that has been dismissed as typical communist paranoia. Recently released documents in the Australian Archives unearthed by me reveal that establishment of internment camps was part of the government's contingency planning in preparation for war.

In 1950, drafting of the Commonwealth War Book, which included chapters on internal security and control of aliens was stepped up. The Director General of ASIO (Colonel Spry) was to provide the Attorney-General Department with the names of persons to be detained in order to prevent actions prejudicial to the public safety or defence of the Commonwealth. From July 1950, believing that emergency measures in preparation for war were of utmost urgency, Spry launched ASIO on the massive task of compiling internment lists, by 15 January 1951, initially. In December 1950 he demanded an interim list of "750 selected Communists" as their detention "would render the Party organisation innocuous for a period of time". By August 1951 "about 1,100 suspected Communist officials [had] been selected for internment".

The Director General prescribed the categories of British subjects to be included on the internment lists. These were to become:

1. a) Membership of the Central Committee of the communist Party of Australia;
- b) Members of State Committees of the Communist Party of Australia;
- c) Members of metropolitan district committees of the Communist Party of Australia;
- d) Officials of the Communist Party of Australia Branches;
- e) Communist paid journalists, organisers and other activists.

2. Prominent Communists in the Eureka Youth League and other Communist Party of Australia subsidiaries and bodies under strong Communist influence, including Communist members of National or Federal Committees and Communist State and local officials, and persons responsible for the publication of periodicals and literature of such subsidiaries and bodies. [In this category NSW lists included: EYL, Australian-Russian Society, Australian Peace Council (NSW), Democratic Rights Council, New Housewives' Association, New Theatre League.

3. Leading Communist trade union officials.

4. Communist disrupters of industry.

5. Communists in key positions in the Public Service of the Commonwealth or a State.

6. Communists who are in key positions in Government scientific and industrial establishments.

7. Communists who are in key positions in firms engaged in secret Government work.

8. Persons reasonably suspected of engaging in espionage, sabotage or other covert activity in the interest of the Communist Party of Australia or of an enemy country.

The categories for inclusion of Enemy Aliens were:

A. Persons between the ages of 16 and 65 who entered Australia (or returned from a journey to an enemy country) after 1st January 1948, and who hold or have held a passport (whether now valid or not) issued or renewed by an enemy government since 1st January 1948.

B. Persons the ages of 16 and 65 who entered Australia (or returned from a journey to an enemy country) after 31st December 1945, and before the 1st January 1948, and hold or have held a passport (whether now valid or not) issued or renewed by an enemy government since 1st January 1948; and

C. Individual enemy aliens as to whom there are particular security reasons for internment or restriction.

For these purposes "enemy government" means:

- i) U.S.S.R. (including Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Ukraine):
- ii) China (but in respect of Chinese the relevant date is the 1st October 1949 instead of the 1st January 1948):
- iii) North Korea (but in respect of North Koreans, the relevant date is the 1st July 1950):
- iv) Albania:
- v) Bulgaria:
- vi) Rumania:
- vii) Poland:
- viii) Czechoslovakia (but in respect of Czechoslovakians, the relevant date is 26th February 1949):
- ix) Hungary:
- x) Yugoslavia:
- xi) The Soviet Zones of Germany and Austria: xii) Finland.

The close cooperation of the Department of Immigration was indispensable to ASIO. State immigration offices set up special sections consisting of "two trusted men of the Department... to assist ASIO State offices in the selection of Enemy Aliens for Internment".

Internees were to be arrested by the police forces of the states, and custody handed over to the army which would provide the internment camps and guards. Through the 1950's Spry regularly provided estimates of numbers of internees to the Director of Military Intelligence. In April 1955 they were:

INTERNEES

COMMAND	Aliens		British Subjects (Including naturalised British Subjects)		Total
	At outbreak of war	Estimated No. of women and children	At outbreak of war	Estimated No. of women and children	
Northern (a)	400 (60)	1100 (150)	130	390	2020 (210)
Eastern	1100 (25)	4200 (50)	600	1800	7700 (75)
Southern	800	2500	160	480	3940
Central	100	400	50	150	700
Western (b)	400 (25)	1400 (70)	60	180	2040 (95)
Tasmania (c)	20	50	30	90	190
Northern Territory (b)	10	20	10	30	70
TOTALS	2830 (110)	9670 (270)	1040	3120	16660 (380)

NOTES: (a) Includes Internees from PAPUA, NEW BRITAIN and NEW IRELAND.
 (b) To be transferred to Central Command internment camps.
 (c) To be transferred to Southern Command internment camps.
 (d) Asiatics included in figures are shown in brackets.

Asiatics	380
Non Asiatics	16,280
TOTAL	16,660

Following changes in policy there was a decline to a total of 1,436 in 1960.

Army mobilization plans included the establishment of internment camps.² Staff requirements were calculated, sites identified and negotiations were entered into with other departments for the return to the army of camps (for example Rushworth Camp (Tatura) occupied by Immigration).

Internment meant detention in custody of persons who had not committed any offence. The Attorney General was to be given the power to order detention by National Security Regulations. These were being drafted in the early 1950's and were to be BASED on the Regulations of World War Two. This might have provided safeguards, as such Regulations would have required that the Minister had to be satisfied that the detention order was necessary, and also there would be provision for an appeal tribunal. At least, the mind-boggling lists compiled by ASIO were not sufficient, as each case had to be substantiated by a "brief" to enable the Minister to decide whether a particular person should be detained under the terms of the Regulations. This involved ASIO in mountains of paper work.

Contingency plans for internment camps were one of an array of coercive measures to destroy the perceived communist threat during the Cold War. A fuller discussion will be provided in my forthcoming book on the Cold War.

FOOTNOTES

1. CRS A6122/30 item 1281
 1282 1283
 1284 1285
 1286 1287
 1288

2. Australian Archives (Victoria)
 MP1896, item S20/101/84
 MP1896/10 item S20/10/2
 MO729/80 item 45/43/111

CAMBODIA : VICTIM OF IMPERIALIST GREED.

The Australian, July 21, 1998, reported the situation in Cambodia.... The pressing swarm of pleading and persistent amputees, pot-bellied kids and mothers clutching sick infants can be a trial.... Years of war hav created countless victims---the country is awash with orphans and one in five households is headed by a single mother... The U.N. estimates as many as 40% of Cambodians live below the poverty line. Ninety per cent of those are farmers... such as 59 year old Kohl, who came to Phnom Penh, where he rides a pedicab in a desperate attempt to earn a living. ... He sleeps in the pedicab which he pulls into a narrow alley at the end of each 12 hour working day.... The capital is filled with people from rural areas who have come to the city in search of work and almost 10% of the rural population are dependent on food aid from the UN World Food Program. Life exoecency for Cambodian men is only 56. The National Assembly vice-president Son Soubert says people are starting to die on the streets of malnutrition related diseases...

For more than twenty years the imperialists have used every device to crush the Cambodian people. The western mass media prints volumes on the crimes of the Khmer Rouge and the now dead Pol Pot. The press has fprgotton the American bombing when more bombs were dropped on Cambodia than both sides in WW 11, then the US invaded Cambodia, then the revisionist USSR backed a Vietnamese invasion. Australia played its part for "democratic elections" and the usual "peace keepng delegations" The imperialists must get out and leave the Cambodials to decide what form their independence will take..

US war traitors gassed to death

□ A correspondent in Washington

THE US military used nerve gas to kill Americans who defected during the Vietnam War, CNN and Time Magazine said yesterday in a joint report. It is the first confirmed use of nerve gas by the US military.

The so-called Operation Tailwind was approved by the Nixon White House as well as the CIA, the report said, quoting retired Admiral Thomas Moorer, a Vietnam-era chief of naval operations and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Former military officials who participated in the operation said their job was to kill defectors from the US military.

A companion story on the eight-month investigation in which 200 people were interviewed appears in the current edition of Time magazine, written jointly by a CNN producer and correspondent.

We don't want that kind of Party!

The old Communist Party of Canada is suddenly getting out of its hiding place, trying to put itself at the head of the working class. Those revisionists, who put so many years of efforts trying to hide, exclude, spit on and foremost, make forget the most revolutionary and liberating content of communism, now seem to raise the red flag again. Really? Everywhere around the world, revisionist organizations want to put their bureaucrat plotters at the outpost of the workers' movement. In that way, they can put in the forefront all the so-called reasonable policies and claims they always wanted to promote such as electoralism, reformism, nationalism and so on, in order to force proletarian people to stay on their knees and support capitalist exploitation for another century.

Whether they yell "Red Flag" or cry out for "Communism!", it is just

playacting. It is just a cheap staging. In Canada, a few years from now as they did in the past, they will invite us to put on an NDP ballot. What a revolution... They begin with the red flag in their hands, but as soon as they can, they come back in the comfortable road of bourgeois politics. In the capitalist market, that kind of communist parties are Authorized Trade Mark!

The French Communist Party, which is since a long time ago everything but communist and has been involved in many bourgeois coalitions as far as the electoral tactical allowed it, just decided to bring itself into fashion. We have to be "trendy", as they would say. A short while ago, CP leaders rent the head office they have at Place Colonel-Fabien in Paris, for different so-called "cultural" activities. Their building now became one of the "hottest place in town", regarding fashion parades. Stylists such as

New-Yorker Andre Walker made their models walk throughout the Central Committee meeting room, in front of a fashion freak pit. *Le Monde* newspaper made a short report in its March 14th issue: "Some futurist women fighters, dressed with hich-hicking backpack, fire-proof padded jacket or silver lamé pants, get in between automatic doors, as they would enter in a spaceship. Standing at the bottom of the room, some CP employees are watching. Robert Hue (the General Secretary) is not there, busy with his electoral campaign."

Of course, we won't see all CP revisionists bring themselves into fashion like this. But their communism, their red flag are still, as in the past, just a very short moment in the fashion cycle, a dress that they regularly throw away and then bring back into use, depending of the weather. ✂

REBUILD A GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

The great work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels motivated the workers and advanced thinkers throughout the world to take action to help build the means by which Capitalism could be overthrown, and a new and better society could be built.

History teaches us that the various systems are eventually overthrown by a new and rising class - we can see that Capitalism must make way for Socialism and eventually Communism. As did slavery make way for Feudalism and this in turn was replaced by Capitalism.

Capitalism has failed the great masses of the world - even in the most advanced Capitalist countries we have the greatest moral and social degradation.

Policies of "Boom and Bust" with all its attendant ills, unemployment, poverty and suffering. Seventeen million children will starve in 1984 throughout the world. Crime is increasing at all levels. In our own country, we see Bank robberies almost every day, our newspapers are full of rapes, murders, white collar crime and corruption at all levels of society, truly a very sick system that is crying out for a change to something better.

During this century, many efforts have been made to form and build up new Marxist-Leninist parties based on a thorough and well defined Marxist-Leninist basis, that has been added to by the great work in 1917, when the Bolsheviks in the midst of World War I, overthrew the ruling class in Russia and established a Government working on Marxist-Leninist principles.

It is a very difficult problem to change a system that has entrenched itself over hundreds of years and has the advantage of the armed forces, the police, law, judges and bureaucrats of all description, who all have a vested interest in the old society, and of course mistakes were made, but in any new venture mistakes are bound to happen because in this case it had never been done before, there were no sign posts, only the theory of Marx and Engels and Lenin. This theory was developed in practice by Stalin and the leadership of the Soviet Party and later by the great work of Mao Tsetung who developed the theories of those who had gone before him to apply in particular to winning the Revolution in China, but also expanding the theoretical work of Marx and Lenin until it is now known as Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought.

Stalin died in 1953 and Krushchev and his supporters set out to change the policy of

the Soviet Party and proceeded to carry out their Revisionist policy.

The Chinese, after the successful Revolution in 1949, set out to build a new society, but found that some people wanted to pursue a Capitalist road policy and even though Deng was thrown out of office on two occasions, after Mao's death, Deng and his hench-men shifted the policy on to the Capitalist road and Revisionism.

When the Soviet Union changed its policy, the Australian Communist Party went with it, so it was necessary for those who wished to remain with the policy of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought to found the C.P.A.M-L, 20 years ago.

Now that Deng has led the Chinese Party on to the Capitalist road, the Australian C.P.A.M-L has gone with its master on to the Revisionist path.

Capitalism is in decline and those Communist Parties who go with it are doomed, so we must wage a fight to reform and rebuild the C.P.A.M-L in Australia. We of course are now faced with the good people who have given their all, only to be betrayed by Hill and his few cronies who are now crawling behind the Revisionists and people, who a few years ago, were condemned as Revisionists. Despite these setbacks, the struggle to build a party based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought will go on and people will see the need for such a party.

We have to overcome the feeling of despair that has forced people to drop out and others who have been overcome by the feeling of "Who can you trust to remain true to the ideals of Marxism?"

This cynicism is prevalent especially amongst young people who came into the movement with such high hopes, only to be disillusioned by the actions of Hill and company. Hill is now asking people to support the U.S.A. in all their dirty work on the grounds that they are against the Soviet Union - they would have Australians helping the Yanks to fight against the Soviet people and people everywhere. Imperialism of all kinds must be fought.

Hill has pursued a policy of "lying low" and in the process has left a great number of people in the party (Marxist-Leninist) without leadership, with the inevitable result - they have drifted away in despair. To rebuild the Communist Party in Australia, based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought,

2.

we must rely on the Australian workers and Proletarian intellectuals who are class-conscious and prepared to accept the policy and discipline of Marxism-Leninism.

We can overcome this cynicism by working together and committing ourselves to building a party of a new type.

In the party there can be no room for sitting back and allowing "leaders" to do our thinking or waving "batons" for the rank and file to follow. There must be no slandering of those who ask questions - as in the past. We must not repeat the dictatorial nonsense we accepted in the past.

Mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticise what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", as Mao said.

Australia is part of the world depression. The objective conditions are ripe for struggle against the bourgeoisie and the foreign

bourgeoisie who are preparing for World War III, but the subjective lags behind. The subjective means the party based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. The party needs urgent reconstruction. We call on all those who know a party is essential to the struggle to think it over. Do you want a Socialist Australia? If you do, and are prepared to work for a disciplined Communist Party, step forward.

Clarrie O'Shea

At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.

Mao Tsetung, October 1938.

Clarrie O'Shea wrote the above in 1984. He died in 1988. In 1969, C. O'Shea was sent to Pentridge Gaol by Justice Kerr, for alleged contempt of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, under the penal sections of the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. C O'Shea was the Victorian Secretary of the Tramway and Motor Omnibus Union. He was sentenced to remain in Gaol, 'at the Governor's pleasure' After more than a million workers walked off the job in six days, the State opened the doors and C. O'Shea left the prison. The Penal powers were not used for almost 20 years.



THESES AND REPORT ON BOURGEOIS
DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT
MARCH 4

1. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries has called forth feverish efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers' organizations to find ideological-political justification for the rule of the exploiters. They give special place in their arguments to condemnation of dictatorship and defence of democracy. The falseness and the hypocrisy of this argument, repeated in a thousand variations in the capitalist press and at the Berne Conference of the yellow International in February 1919, are obvious to all who do not want to betray the fundamental principles of socialism.

2. In the first place this argument is based on the concepts of "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general," and ignores the question of class. This non-class, or above-class, allegedly nation-wide presentation of the question

is downright mockery of the fundamental teaching of socialism, the teaching on class struggle—which is recognized in words but forgotten in practice by the Socialists who have sided with the bourgeoisie. For "democracy in general" is not to be found in a single civilized capitalist country, there is only bourgeois democracy, and the point at issue is not "dictatorship in general," but the dictatorship of the oppressed class, i.e., the proletariat, over the oppressors and exploiters, i.e., the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of overcoming the resistance put up by the exploiters in the struggle to preserve their rule.

3. History teaches that not a single oppressed class ever came, or was able to come, to power without going through a period of dictatorship, i.e., without winning political power and using force to put down the most desperate and most frantic resistance, a resistance which stops at no crime and to which the exploiters have always resorted. The bourgeoisie—whose rule is now being defended by the Socialists who denounce "dictatorship in general" and plead for "democracy in general"—came to power in the advanced countries as a result of a series of rebellions, civil wars, violent dethronement of kings, suppression of feudal barons and slave-owners and their attempts at restoration. In books, pamphlets, congress resolutions and in their agitational speeches the Socialists in all countries told the people

thousands and millions of times about the class character of these bourgeois revolutions and about this bourgeois dictatorship. Consequently, the present defence of bourgeois democracy in the guise of speeches about "democracy in general" and the present hue and cry against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the guise of cries about "dictatorship in general" constitute direct betrayal of socialism, and, in fact, signify desertion to the bourgeoisie, denial of the right of the

proletariat to its own, proletarian, revolution, and defence of bourgeois reformism at the very moment when all over the world it has become bankrupt and when the war has brought about a revolutionary situation.

4. All Socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism have voiced the idea which Marx and Engels, with the utmost scientific exactitude, expressed in the words that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing but a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, the masses of toilers by a handful of capitalists.⁹ And there is not a single revolutionary, not a single Marxist among those now screaming against dictatorship and for democracy that did not vow and swear to this fundamental socialist truth; but now, when the revolutionary proletariat is in a state of ferment and motion, with the aim of destroy-

ing this machine of oppression and of establishing the proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism try to make it appear that the bourgeoisie presented the working people with "pure democracy," that the bourgeoisie has given up resisting and is ready to submit to the majority of the working people, and that there never has been in the democratic republic a state machine for subjugating labour to capital.

5. The Paris Commune, which in words is lauded by all who want to pass for Socialists, since they know that the working masses ardently and sincerely sympathize with it, demonstrated most vividly the historically conditional character and relative value of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy—institutions in the highest degree progressive compared with the Middle Ages, but which call for fundamental change in the epoch of proletarian revolutions. It was Marx who, analyzing the Commune, evaluated best of all its historical significance, demonstrated the exploiter character of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism which give the oppressed classes the right once every few years to decide which representatives of the propertied classes shall "represent and repress" (ver- und zertreten) the people in parliament.¹⁰ And right now with the movement for Soviets spreading throughout the world, continuing the cause of the Commune in the eyes of all, the traitors to so-

cialism forget the concrete experience and the concrete lessons of the Paris Commune and repeat the hoary bourgeois piffle about "democracy in general." The Commune was not a parliamentary institution.

6. The significance of the Commune, further, is that it sought to break up, to shatter to the very foundations, the bourgeois state apparatus, the bureaucratic, judicial, military and police apparatus, and replace it with self-governing mass organization of the workers which knew no division of legislative and executive authority. All modern bourgeois-democratic republics, including the German—which the traitors to socialism in mockery of truth designate proletarian—pre-

2
serve this state apparatus. And so it is confirmed over and over again in the most striking fashion that cries in defence of "democracy in general" are, in fact, defence of the bourgeoisie and its exploiter privileges.

7. "Freedom of assembly" can be taken as a model demand of "pure democracy." Any politically-conscious worker who has not broken with his class will at once appreciate the absurdity of promising freedom of assembly to the exploiters during the period and in the circumstances when the exploiters are resisting their overthrow and battling to preserve their privileges. Neither in England in 1649 nor in France in 1793 did the bourgeoisie, when it was revolutionary, grant

"freedom of assembly" to the monarchists and nobility who called for foreign troops and met in "assembly" for attempts at restoration. And if the present-day bourgeoisie, long since become reactionary, is demanding beforehand from the proletariat a guarantee of "freedom of assembly" for the exploiters, irrespective of the resistance the capitalists offer to expropriation, the workers will simply smile at the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the workers know very well that even in the most democratic bourgeois republic "freedom of assembly" is but an empty phrase, since the rich have at their disposal all the best public and private buildings, as well as ample time for meetings plus the protection of the bourgeois state apparatus. The proletariat in town and country and the small peasants, i.e., the overwhelming majority of the population, have neither the first, second, nor third. And so long as things remain as they are this "equality," i.e., "pure democracy," is a fraud. In order to win genuine equality and to achieve real democracy for the working people it is necessary first to take from the exploiters all the public and sumptuous private buildings, it is necessary first to give the toilers leisure, it is necessary that their freedom of assembly be protected by armed workers and not by nobility or capitalist-officers with brow-beaten soldiers.

Only after such changes will it be possible to speak, without mocking the workers, the toilers and the poor, about freedom of assembly and equality. And this change can be effected only by the vanguard of the toilers, the proletariat, which is called upon to overthrow the exploiters, the bourgeoisie.

8. "Freedom of the press" is another of the chief slogans of "pure democracy." And again the workers know, and the Socialists in all countries have acknowledged it millions of times, that this freedom is a fraud so long as the best printing-works and the main stocks of newsprint are held by the capitalists and so long as capital rules the press, a rule that is manifested throughout the world—all the clearer, sharper and more cynically the more developed the democracy and the republican system, as can be seen, for example, in America. To win real equality and genuine democracy for the toilers, for the workers and

peasants it is necessary first to deprive capital of the possibility of hiring writers, of buying the publishing houses and bribing the newspapers, and for this it is necessary to overthrow the yoke of capital, overthrow the exploiters and crush their resistance. The capitalists have always regarded "freedom" as freedom for the wealthy to enrich themselves, freedom for the workers to die of starvation. The capitalists regard freedom of the press as freedom for the rich to bribe the

newspapers, freedom to use wealth for moulding and falsifying so-called public opinion. The champions of "pure democracy" once again appear in the role of defenders of the most foul and corrupt system of the monopoly by the rich of the means of popular enlightenment, in the role of deceivers of the people, diverting them by means of plausible, polished and utterly false phrases from the concrete task of freeing the press from the shackles of capital. Real freedom and equality will prevail in the system that the Communists are building and in which there will be no opportunity to wax rich at the expense of another, no objective opportunity for subordinating the press, either openly or covertly, to the power of money, and nothing to prevent any toiler (or group of toilers irrespective of number) from having and exercising equal right to the use of the public printing-works and the public newsprint.

9. The history of the XIX and XX centuries revealed to us, even prior to the war, what the notorious "pure democracy" of capitalism really means. Marxists have always affirmed that the more developed and "purer" the democracy, the more naked, acute and merciless is the class struggle and the "purer" the oppression of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus case in republican France, the atrocities of gangs hired and armed by the capitalists and sent against strikers in the free and democratic

republic of America—these and thousands of similar facts testify to the truth, which the bourgeoisie tries in vain to conceal, that it is precisely in the most democratic republics that terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevail and are brought into the open every time the exploiters feel that the power of capital shows signs of unsteadiness.

10. The imperialist war of 1914-18 definitely revealed even to backward workers the true character of bourgeois democracy, even in the freest republics, as being the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. For the sake of enriching the German or English groups of millionaires and multi-millionaires tens of millions were slaughtered and the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie established in the very freest republics. This military dictatorship is maintained in the Entente countries even now after the defeat of Germany. The war more than anything else opened the eyes of the working people, stripped the sham embellishment from bourgeois democracy and disclosed to the people the bottomless depths of the profiteering and fortune-making that took place during the

war and in connection with the war. The bourgeoisie waged the war in the name of "freedom and equality," and in the name of "freedom and equality" enriched itself beyond the dreams of avarice by means of war orders. No effort of the yellow Berne International can conceal from the

masses the exploiter character, now fully exposed, of bourgeois freedom, bourgeois equality and bourgeois democracy.

11. In the most developed capitalist country on the continent of Europe, in Germany, the very first months of full republican freedom, which followed the defeat of imperialist Germany, revealed to the German workers and to the whole world the truly class nature of the bourgeois-democratic republic. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg is an event of historic importance, not only because of the tragic death of the best people and leaders of the genuinely proletarian Communist International, but also because the class nature of the most advanced European state—one can say without exaggeration the most advanced on a world scale—has been bared to the very bone. When people under arrest, that is, people in the hands of the state authorities, are murdered with impunity by officers and capitalists, with a government of social patriots in office, it follows that the democratic republic in which such things are possible is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. And those who give vent to indignation over the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, but fail to appreciate this truth, simply reveal thereby either their stupidity or their hypocrisy. "Freedom" in one of the freest and most advanced republics in the world, in the German republic, is freedom to murder with im-

punity leaders of the proletariat held in custody. And it cannot be otherwise so long as capitalism persists, since the development of democracy does not blunt, but sharpens the class struggle, which, because of all the results and influence of the war and its aftermath, has been brought to boiling point.

Throughout the whole civilized world Bolsheviks are now being deported, persecuted, or thrown into jail, as is the case in Switzerland, one of the freest bourgeois republics, Bolshevik-baiting in America, etc. From the standpoint of "democracy in general" or "pure democracy" it is simply ridiculous that the advanced, civilized, democratic countries, armed to the teeth as they are, should fear the presence of a few dozen people from backward, hungry and ruined Russia which is denounced in tens of millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers as being savage, criminal, etc. Clearly the social situation which generates such a crying contradiction is, in fact, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

12. In such a state of affairs the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only perfectly legitimate as a means of overthrowing the exploiters and crushing their resistance, it is also an absolute necessity for the entire mass of toilers as their sole defence against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which led to war and is now preparing new wars.

The chief thing that the Socialists fail to grasp and that constitutes their theoretical shortsightedness, their thralldom to bourgeois prejudices and their political treachery in relation to the proletariat, is that, in capitalist society, given any serious sharpening of the class struggle which lies at its basis, there can be no stopping half-way between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any dream of some kind of a third way is the reactionary lamentation of the petty bourgeois. And the proof of this is the experience of the more than a century of development of bourgeois democracy and the working-class movement in all the advanced countries and especially the experience of the past five years. Further testimony is the entire science of political economy, the entire content of Marxism, which discloses the economic inevitability in any commodity economy of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship that can be removed only by the class that is developed, multiplied, welded together and consolidated by the growth of capitalism itself, that is, the class of proletarians.

13. Another theoretical and political mistake of the Socialists is their failure to understand that forms of democracy have inevitably changed in the course of thousands of years, right from its rudimentary forms in antiquity according as one ruling class replaced another. In the ancient re-

publics of Greece, in the medieval towns and in the leading capitalist countries, democracy has different forms and different degrees of application. It would be utterly absurd to imagine that the most thoroughgoing revolution in human history, when power passes for the first time from the exploiting minority to the majority of exploited, can take place within the old framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, can take place without the sharpest break, without generating new forms of democracy and new institutions embodying the new conditions for its application, etc.

14. The dictatorship of the proletariat bears resemblance to the dictatorship of other classes in that it is called forth by the necessity, as is the case with any dictatorship, of forcibly crushing the resistance of the class losing its political domination. The fundamental distinction between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of other classes—be it the dictatorship of the landlords in the Middle Ages or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all civilized capitalist countries—is that the dictatorship of the landlords and bourgeoisie has been forcible suppression of the resistance of the overwhelming majority of the population, namely, the working people. The dictatorship of the proletariat, on the contrary, is forcible suppression of the resistance

of the exploiters, that is, of the tiniest minority of the population, the landlords and capitalists.

From this it follows, in turn, that the dictatorship of the proletariat inevitably brings with it not only changes in the forms and institutions of democracy, generally speaking, but precisely those changes that lead to an unprecedented extension of the actual utilization of democracy by those oppressed by capitalism, by the toiling classes.

Actually this form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is already a fact, i.e., Soviet power in Russia, the Räte-System* in Germany, Shop Stewards Committees and similar Soviet bodies in other countries, all signify and secure for the toiling classes, that is, for the vast majority of the population, such real opportunities for exercising democratic rights and liberties as never existed before, even approximately, in the best and most democratic bourgeois republics.

The essence of Soviet rule is that the constant and sole basis of the entire state power, of the entire state apparatus, is the mass organization of those very classes that were oppressed by capitalism, that is, the workers and semi-proletarians (peasants who do not exploit the labour of others and who are always forced to sell at least part of their labour power). And it is these

* System of Soviets.—Ed.

masses who, even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, being equal before the law, but in practice prevented in thousands of cunning and tricky ways from taking part in political life and from exercising democratic rights and liberties, are now being drawn into constant, unflinching, and what is more, decisive participation in democratic state administration.

15. That equality of the citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, race or nationality, which bourgeois democracy at all times and in all places promised but never practised, and because of capitalist rule could not practise, is effected immediately and fully by Soviet rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat, since this can be done only by a government of workers, who have no interest in private ownership of the means of production or in the fight for their division or redistribution.

16. The old, that is, bourgeois, democracy and parliamentarism were so organized that it was precisely the masses of working people who most of all were estranged from the administrative apparatus. Soviet rule, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the contrary, is so built that it brings the masses of working people into close relationship with the administrative apparatus. The same purpose is served by combining the legislative and executive authority powers, under the Soviet state organization, and by replacing

the territorial electoral constituency with the production unit—the factory and mill.

17. The armed forces were a means of suppression not only under the monarchy; they are used for the same purpose in all bourgeois, even the most democratic, republics. Only Soviet power, as the constant state organization of the classes formerly oppressed by capitalism, is capable of doing away with the subordination of the armed forces to bourgeois command and of really fusing the proletariat with the armed forces, of really arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie, without which the victory of socialism is impossible.

18. The Soviet organization of the state is adapted to the leading role of the proletariat as the class most concentrated and enlightened by capitalism. The experience of all revolutions and of all movements of oppressed classes, the experience of the world socialist movement teaches us that the proletariat alone is able to unite and lead the scattered and backward sections of the working and exploited population.

19. Only Soviet organization of the state is capable of really smashing right away and of destroying once and for all the old, that is, bourgeois, apparatus of officialdom and judiciary which is preserved and inevitably must be preserved under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, being, in point of fact, the chief im-

pediment to achieving democracy for the working class and all toilers. The Paris Commune took the first world-historic step in this direction, Soviet power has taken the second.

20. All Socialists, including and headed by Marx, set themselves the aim of abolishing state power. Unless this aim is accomplished genuine democracy, that is, equality and freedom, remains a chimera. But in practice only Soviet, or proletarian, democracy leads towards this aim, since by drawing the mass organizations of the working people into constant and unflinching participation in state administration, it immediately begins to prepare the ground for the ultimate dying away of the state altogether.

21. The utter bankruptcy of the Socialists assembled in Berne, their complete failure to understand the new, that is, proletarian, democracy is seen particularly from the following. On February 10, 1919, Branting closed the international conference of the yellow International in Berne. Next day, February 11, the Berlin *Freiheit*,¹¹ the newspaper of its participants, printed the manifesto addressed to the proletariat by the Party of "Independents."¹² This manifesto acknowledges the bourgeois character of the Scheidemann Government and rebukes it for wanting to abolish the Soviets which are described as the *Träger und Schützer der Revolution*—vehicles and guardians of the revolution—and suggests

that the Soviets be legalized, that they be invested with state rights, with the right to suspend decisions of the National Assembly and to submit the matter to a referendum.

This proposal testifies to the complete ideological collapse of those theoreticians who have defended democracy and failed to understand its bourgeois nature. The ridiculous attempt to combine the system of Soviets, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the National Assembly, that is, with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, completely exposes the mental poverty of the yellow Socialists and Social-Democrats, their petty-bourgeois political reactionariness and their cowardly concessions to the irresistibly growing strength of the new proletarian democracy.

22. In condemning Bolshevism, the majority of the yellow International in Berne who, fearing the working masses, did not dare to vote on a corresponding resolution, acted correctly from the class point of view. It is precisely this majority that is in full solidarity with both the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Scheidemanns in Germany. The Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries complain of persecution on the part of the Bolsheviks and at the same time try to conceal the fact that this persecution is a result of their participation in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie

against the proletariat. In exactly the same way the Scheidemanns and their party have already demonstrated in Germany that they, too, have participated in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie, against the workers.

It is only natural, therefore, that the majority of those at the yellow International in Berne favoured condemning the Bolsheviks. This expresses not defence of "pure democracy," but the self-defence of people who know and feel that in the civil war they are on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

That is why, from the class point of view, one cannot but acknowledge the correctness of the decision adopted by the majority of the yellow International. The proletariat must not shrink from the truth, but look it straight in the face and draw all the political conclusions from it.

Comrades! I would like to add a little to the last two points. I think that the comrades who are to report on the Berne conference will tell us about it in more detail.

Throughout the whole of the Berne conference not a single word was spoken about the significance of Soviet power. For two years now we have been considering this question in Russia. At our Party conference in April 1917 we posed, theoretically and politically, the question: "What is Soviet power, what is its content, and what is its historical significance?" We have been

discussing this question for nearly two years, and we adopted a resolution on it at our Party Congress.¹³

On February 11 the Berlin *Freiheit* printed the manifesto to the German proletariat signed not only by the leaders of the Independent Social-Democrats in Germany but by all the members of the Independent group. In August 1918 Kautsky, the leading theoretician of the Independents, wrote in his pamphlet *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* that he was a supporter of democracy and of Soviet bodies, but that the Soviets should have only economic significance and in no way should they be recognized as state organizations. Kautsky says exactly the same thing in the *Freiheit* of November 11 and January 12. On February 9 there appeared the article by Rudolph Hilferding, also regarded as one of the leading authoritative theoreticians of the Second International. Hilferding suggests that the system of Soviets be combined with the National Assembly in a juridical way, by means of legislation. That was on February 9. On the 11th this suggestion was accepted by the whole of the Independent Party and published in the form of a manifesto.

Despite the fact that the National Assembly already exists, even with "pure democracy" embodied in life, and after the leading theoreticians of the Independent Social-Democrats have de-

clared that the Soviets cannot be state organizations—despite all this we get more vacillation! This shows that these gentlemen have no understanding whatever of the new movement and the conditions of its struggle. But it reveals something else, namely, that there must be conditions and reasons for the vacillation. After all these events, after almost two years of a victorious revolution in Russia, when we are presented with resolutions such as those accepted at the Berne conference, which do not say a word about the Soviets and their significance, a conference at which not a single delegate uttered a word about this, we can say with full justification that, as Socialists and theoreticians, all these gentlemen no longer exist for us.

But from the practical point of view, from the point of view of politics, this shows, comrades, that big changes are taking place among the masses—once these Independents, who were formerly opposed in theory and in principle to these state bodies, suddenly suggest such stupidity as "peaceful" fusion of the National Assembly and the system of Soviets, that is, fusion of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We see how all of them have become bankrupt as Socialists and theoreticians, and what a tremendous change is taking place among the masses. The backward masses of the German proletariat are coming to us, have sided

with us! Thus the significance of the Independent Party of German Social-Democrats, of the best part of the Berne conference, judged from the theoretical and socialist standpoint, is nil; but a certain significance remains, and it is this: these wavering elements indicate to us the frame of mind of the backward sections of the proletariat. That, in my view, is the greatest significance of this conference. We experienced something similar in our revolution. The path of development of our Mensheviks was practically the same as that of the Independent theoreticians in Germany. At first when they had a majority in the Soviets they were for the Soviets. The only words heard then were: "Long live the Soviets!", "For the Soviets!", "The Soviets are revolutionary democracy!" But when we, the Bolsheviks, won a majority in the Soviets they began to sing a different tune: the Soviets cannot exist side by side with the Constituent Assembly; and Menshevik theoreticians advanced almost the same kind of suggestion, about combining the Soviets with the Constituent Assembly and incorporating them into the state organization. This testifies once again that the general course of proletarian revolution is the same the world over. At first Soviets make their appearance spontaneously, then they spread and develop, and later the practical problem is posed: Soviets or the National Assembly, or the Constituent Assembly, or bour-

geois parliamentarism—utter confusion among the leaders and, finally, proletarian revolution. But I believe that after nearly two years of revolution we must not pose the question in this way, rather we must take definite decisions, since extending the system of Soviets is for us, and especially for the majority of the West-European countries, a most important task.

At this point I would like to draw your attention to just one Menshevik resolution. I asked Comrade Obolensky to translate it into German. He promised to do so, but unfortunately he is not here. I shall try to reproduce it from memory, since I have not got the complete text with me.

For the foreigner who has never heard anything about Bolshevism it is an extremely difficult matter to form an opinion about our controversies. All that the Bolsheviks affirm is disputed by the Mensheviks and vice versa. With a struggle going on, this kind of thing is, of course, to be expected and it is highly important that the Menshevik party at its last conference—December 1918—adopted a long, detailed resolution which was printed in full in the Menshevik *Gazeta Pechatnikov*.¹⁴ In this resolution the Mensheviks themselves briefly outline the history of the class struggle and civil war. The resolution says that they condemn those groups in their party that have allied themselves with the propertied classes in the Urals, in the South, in the Crimea

and in Georgia—it enumerates all these areas. Those groups in the Menshevik party—which in alliance with the propertied classes fought against Soviet power—are now condemned in a resolution, but the last point in this resolution also condemns those who sided with the Communists. It follows, then, that the Mensheviks are forced to acknowledge that there is no unity in their party and that they are either on the side of the bourgeoisie or on the side of the proletariat. The greater part of the Mensheviks went over to the bourgeoisie and fought against us during the civil war. We, of course, punish the Mensheviks, sometimes we even shoot them, when they wage war against us and our Red Army and shoot our Red Commanders. To the war of the bourgeoisie we have replied with a war of the proletariat—there can be no other way. So from the political point of view all this is simply Menshevik hypocrisy. It is incomprehensible, in terms of history, how at the Berne conference people not certified insane could, at the instigation of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, speak of the struggle waged by the Bolsheviks against them and not say a single word about their struggle in alliance with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

All of them rage bitterly against us because we punish them. That is true. But they say never

a word about their part in the civil war against us! I think that I shall have to hand over the complete text of the resolution for inclusion in the protocol, and I would ask the comrades from abroad to turn their attention to it since it is a historic document in which the question is correctly posed and which is the best material for evaluating the controversy between the "socialist" trends in Russia. Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie there is another class of people, swaying now to one and now to the other side; it has always been so in all revolutions and it is absolutely impossible that in capitalist society, where proletariat and bourgeoisie form two hostile camps, there should not be intermediate strata. The existence of these wavering elements is historically inevitable, and, to our regret, such elements, who never know on whose side they will fight tomorrow, will continue to exist for quite a long time to come.

I want to make the practical proposal that we adopt a resolution in which three points should be specially mentioned.

First, one of the most important tasks facing the comrades from the West-European countries is to explain to the masses the significance, importance and the necessity of the system of Soviets. Insufficient understanding can be observed in this respect. While Kautsky and Hilferding have become bankrupt as theoreticians, recent

articles in *Freiheit* show, nevertheless, that they correctly reflect the sentiments of the backward sections of the German proletariat. We, too, had a similar experience: during the first eight months of the Russian revolution the question of Soviet organization was the subject of very considerable discussion and the workers were not certain as to just exactly what the new system was and whether it was possible to turn the Soviets into a state apparatus. In our revolution we marched forward not by way of theory but by way of practice. For example, previously we never raised as a theoretical issue the question of the Constituent Assembly, and never said that we did not recognize it. Only later, when the Soviets spread all over the country and won political power, only then did we decide to disperse the Constituent Assembly. Now we see that in Hungary and in Switzerland the question is much more acute. On the one hand this is all to the good, we draw from it the firm conviction that in the West-European countries the revolution is making rapid progress and will bring us still bigger victories. On the other hand, and here there is a certain danger, namely, that the struggle will develop at such a rate that the political consciousness of the workers will not keep pace with it. The significance of the system of Soviets is not clear even now to large masses of the politically educated German workers, because they have been

schooled in the spirit of parliamentarism and bourgeois prejudices.

Second, about the Soviets spreading. When we hear how quickly the idea of Soviets is spreading in Germany and even in Britain, for us this is a most important sign that the proletarian revolution will triumph. Its progress can be held up only for a short time. It is another thing when comrades Albert and Platten tell us that there are hardly any Soviets in the countryside among the rural labourers and small peasants. I read in *Rote Fahne* an article opposing peasant Soviets, but quite correctly advocating Soviets of farm labourers and rural poor.¹⁵ The bourgeoisie and its lackeys of the type of Scheidemann and Co. have already advanced the slogan: Peasant Soviets. But what we need is Soviets of farm labourers and rural poor. To our regret, as we see from the report of Comrade Albert, Platten and the reports made by others, with the exception of Hungary, very little is being done to extend the Soviet system in the countryside. Therein, perhaps, still lies a practical and quite a grave danger to the German proletariat winning sure victory. Victory can be regarded as being assured when not just the workers in the towns are organized, but the rural proletariat as well, and organized not as in the past—in trade unions and co-operatives—but in Soviets. Our victory was easier because in October 1917 we marched with

the peasantry, with the entire peasantry. In this sense our revolution at that time was a bourgeois revolution. The first step of our proletarian government was to give legal sanction to the old demands of the entire peasantry, demands put forward by the peasant Soviets and rallies at the time of Kerensky. This was done in the decree issued by our government on October 26 (old style), 1917, the day after the revolution. Therein lay our strength, and that is why it was so easy for us to win the overwhelming majority. For the countryside our revolution continued to be a bourgeois revolution, and only later, after half a year, within the framework of the state organization, were we compelled to go over to class struggle in the villages, form committees of the poor,¹⁶ semi-proletarians, in each village and systematically combat the rural bourgeoisie. For us this was inevitable due to the backwardness of Russia. In Western Europe things will develop differently, and for this reason we must stress that the extension of the system of Soviets to the rural population as well, in appropriate, perhaps new, forms, is absolutely necessary.

Third, we must say that the winning of a communist majority in the Soviets is the main job in all countries where Soviet power has not yet triumphed. This question was discussed yesterday by our drafting commission. It may

be that other comrades will say something more about this, but I would like to suggest that we accept these three points as a special resolution. We, of course, cannot sketch out beforehand the way things will go. It is highly probable that revolution will break out very soon in many West-European countries, but we, as the organized part of the working class, as a party, are striving, and must strive, to win a majority in the Soviets. That done our victory is assured, and no force will be able to counter the communist revolution in any way. Without this, victory will be hard to come by and will not be of long duration. And so, I would like to suggest that the three points be accepted as a special resolution.

The theses were printed in No. 51 of *Pravda* on March 6, 1919. The report was first printed in 1920, in German. In 1921 it appeared in the Russian edition of the Minutes of the First Congress of the Communist International.

V. I. LENIN

THE NEW FLAG SPECIAL EDITION (August 1998)

- 1. Editorial: Political and Military Actions of the People's War
- 2. Latest News from Perú
- 3. The 1990's: Capping of a Successful Decade
- 4. The Economy: Less Growth, More Death
- 5. PCP Document: Unite the People Against the Genocidal Dictatorship
- 6. MPP Statement on the 18th Anniversary of the People's War
- 7. The Peasant Question and the Revolution
- 8. Crush World Revisionism (includes Analysis on Peruvian Revisionism)
- 9. How Women Advance and Join the Revolution
- 10. People's War will Defeat Yankee Military Intervention
- 11. Anti-drug Agreement, Ruse to Put Down the Revolution
- 12. The Drug War
- 13. U.S. Drug Czar Scorns his Peruvian Counterpart
- 14. Regionalization of the Country Goes Tumbling On
- 15. The Second Summit of the Americas
- 16. Cesar Vallejo: The Poet, the Militant, the Communist
- 17. About the Quechua and Aymara Languages
- 18. World Proletarian Revolution Advances
- 19. People's War Advances in All Fronts
- 20. Valle Riestra: An APRA Buffon as Prime Minister
- 21. Dreams and Nightmares of Snake Fujimori
- 22. The Dictator Announced a Genetic Experiment
- 23. Regime's Death Squad Murdered Pedro Huillca

INTERNATIONAL

- 24. International Solidarity with the People's War in Perú
- 25. Indonesia: Imperialist Genocide
- 26. The War in the Balkans: The Kosovo Liberation Army
- 27. Marxism and Religion: Karl Marx and Fidel Castro
- 28. The Holy Crusade: "Annihilation of Priests and Nuns"
- 29. Polemic: Struggle Against Yankee Revisionism

PCP AND MAOISM

- 30. The Role of Intellectuals in the Revolution
- 31. Lusin: Commander in Chief of China's Cultural Revolution
- 32. Comrade Mao, Man of Thought and Action
- 33. Mao Tse-tung and the Construction of the Party
- 34. Message from the PCP to the Communist Party of China
- 35. Eternal Glory to President Mao Tse-tung
- 36. Front Cover of Magazine: Directiva Primordial
- 37. Back Cover of Magazine: Viva La Guerra Popular!

Published by Peru People's Movement (MPP)

To subscribe send e-mail to *The New Flag Magazine*

<http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp>

The New Flag

30-08 Broadway, Suite 159

Queens, NY 11106, USA

8/15/98

THIS

EVERYBODY

SHOULD READ