

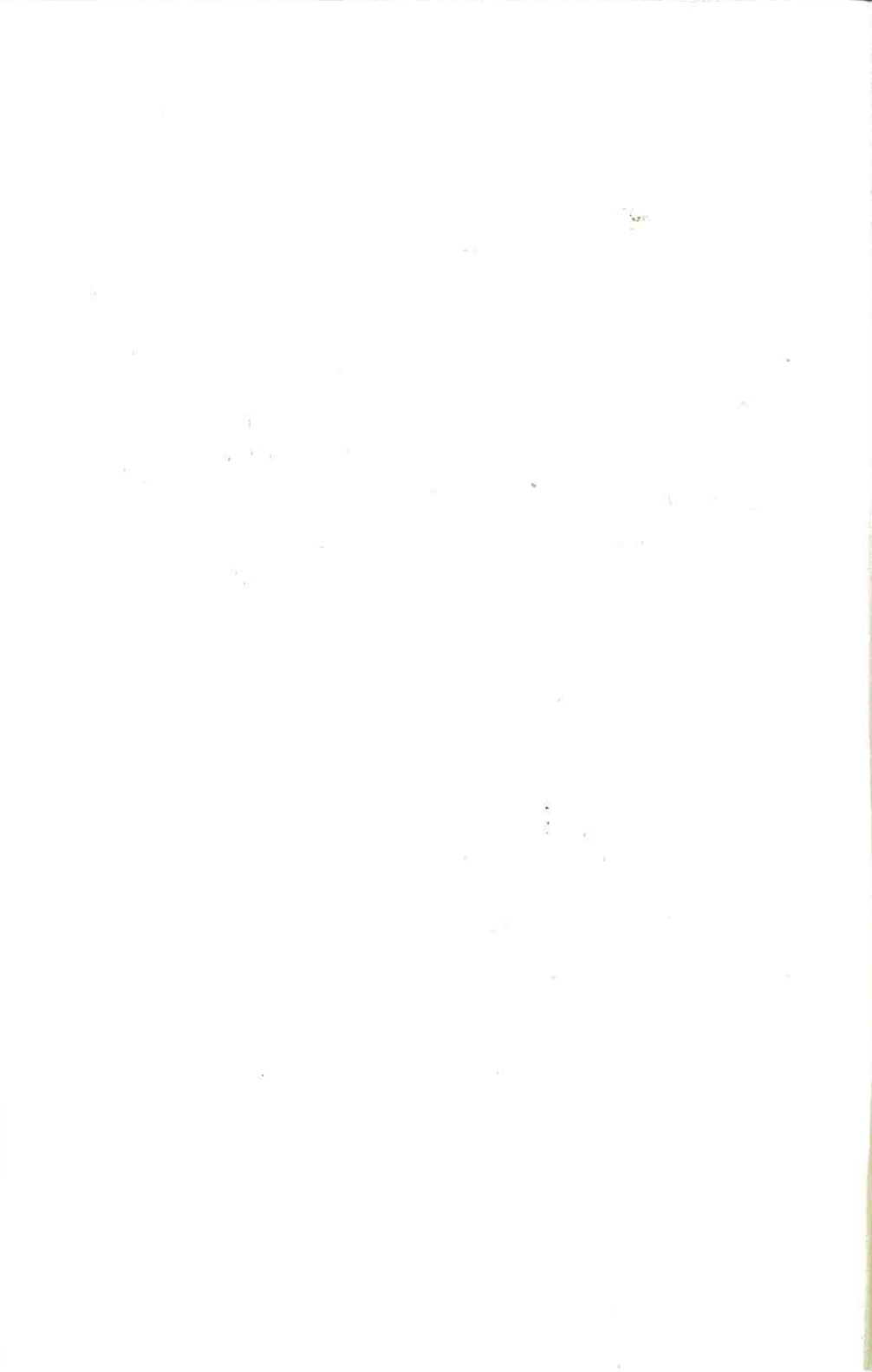
AUGUST, 1970

20c

**N
Z**

**COMMUNIST
REVIEW**

- **TERRORISM AND PEOPLE'S WAR**
- **WAGES/PRICES — NO SPIRAL**
- **STRUGGLE IN N.Z.**
- **TROTSKYISM EXAMINED**



C O N T E N T S

Contradiction The Source of Party Development —Editorial Board	Page 2
Individual Terrorism Or People's War	Page 4
Supreme Court Explosion —by W.M.D.	Page 5
Note Of Appreciation —Rewi Alley	Page 7
The Nice Bosses In N.Z. —by Barb	Page 9
Very Important Pamphlet	Page 11
Learning As We Go —by Learner	Page 12
Wages/Prices — No Spiral	Page 13
Party Branch Backs Freezing Workers' Struggle	Page 14
Lessons For All From The P.Y.M.	Page 16
Fight Against U.S. Imperialism In N.Z.	Page 18
What Is A Class Collaborator?	Page 19
Sons Of Democracy! —P.Y.M. Organiser	Page 20
Trotskyism—Tool Of Imperialism —N.G.	Page 20

Published 5/8/70.

Registered at the G.P.O., Wellington, as a Magazine.

Published by the In Print Publishing Co. Ltd., 139 Albert St., Auckland;
and printed by Wilson Printery Ltd., 139 Albert St., Auckland.

Contradiction the Source of Party Development

(Editorial Board)

THE Editorial Board expresses its thanks to the increasing number of new writers who are contributing their experiences to the Communist Review. Each month, two or three new writers are represented. This is splendid. We appeal to all who have not yet contributed, to begin to do so. Some new writers, over the last twelve months, have contributed two, three and sometimes four brief articles.

Many of the new contributions have taught older writers important lessons. In particular, they have demonstrated that it is possible to present important questions briefly and simply. They are bringing to the Party leadership experiences and ideas of the working people, which have previously been denied it.

The most important reason for this development is the rising ideological level of the Party membership. This is the fruit of the great ideological struggles, led by Comrade Wilcox, in 1962, 63 and 1964 and, the further ideological struggle of the past two to three years. These struggles have led to, and been assisted by, an ever-widening study of Marxism-Leninism and the new contributions made to it, by the Lenin of today, Mao Tsetung.

A growing eagerness to understand the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and apply them in solving N.Z. problems, is evident. The spirit of criticism and self-criticism is becoming stronger, particularly criticism from below. The struggle against subjectivism in thinking, style in work and organisation is developing. Its by-products in methods of leadership—bureaucracy on the one hand and ultra-democracy on the other (both of which negate Democratic Centralism) have given rise to sharp opposition from below.

The struggle to apply correct mass line methods of work and leadership has been encouraged by the National Secretariat. It has won wide response throughout the country. This was highlighted at a recent general meeting in Auckland, addressed by the General Secretary. It was an outstanding and inspiring demonstration of the determination of the rank-and-file to defend Marxism-Leninism, the CP and its organisational principles (Demo-

cratic Centralism) against attacks from any source.

The outstanding achievement that arose from the struggle to change from the old, to the new mass line methods of work was the breakthrough to the youth. They were stimulated by the change. They were drawn closer to the Party. This opened the way to the expansion of revolutionary activity both on the part of the youth, and older members of the Party.

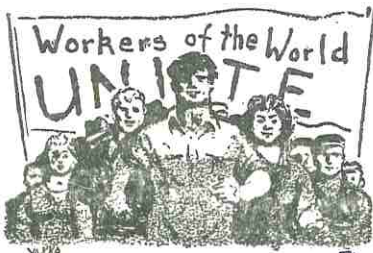
The basic task of the Communist Party of New Zealand—the raising of political consciousness, particularly of the industrial workers, is better understood. This, in turn, is reflected in the struggles to overcome Labour Party and trade union ideology. Conscious efforts are being made to break the hold, which economism has had on many. A new spirit of mass line prevails. The efforts to turn out toward the industrial worker, both on the jobs and in the homes is becoming apparent.

There is more awareness of the role of the Party Branch as the basic organ. Self-action by it and its members, **on decided policy**, is aimed at carrying the Party deep among the masses.

The heightened consciousness is reflected in many Branch Bulletins. Several extracts published in this Issue, provide good examples. Young Party members are beginning to use the Dialectical-Materialist scientific method to investigate and analyse workers' struggles and problems, with which they are concerned.

The new trends mentioned above have also been reflected in supply of more news items, clippings and analytical articles from readers of the People's Voice. The increased contributions from rank-and-file members that have become a feature of the Communist Review, have been welcomed widely, not only in N.Z. but also by friends overseas.

The Editorial Board appeals to all who have not yet contributed brief articles to do so. It appeals to those who have broken the ice for the first time to continue to contribute.



Individual Terrorism or People's War

LENIN

FAR be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows. But it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle as so many people strongly incline to do at present. Terror can never be a regular military operation; at best it can only serve as one of the methods employed in a decisive assault".

He said the immediate task was:—

“... to call for the formation of a revolutionary organisation capable of uniting all forces and guiding the movement in actual practice and not in name alone, that is, an organisation ready at any time to support every protest and every outbreak and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle”.

MAO

“The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them.”



Supreme Court Explosion

by W.M.D.

A number of individual acts against security police, military and judicial institutions in N.Z. serve to emphasise the importance of studying and understanding the Communist Party pamphlet, "Class Struggle in N.Z."

The explosion at the Auckland Supreme Court is a recent example. We do not know the motivations of the individuals concerned—frustration against the "Establishment"; resentment at injustices against certain "offenders", etc. All such acts though sincere, and even involving courage, must be understood as bourgeois individualism, anarchism. (See quotations from Lenin and Mao).

Anarchism is one trend in the worldwide struggles of students and other youth today. Its ultimate is **individual** terror. The assassination of the Kennedys and Vorwaerts were such acts. Did they make any basic difference in the U.S. or South Africa?

Such acts are sometimes done by paid agents of the State in its efforts to smash the progressive and revolutionary movements, particularly, the Communist Party.

A famous case was in Hitler Germany. Police agents used a madman, Van der Lubbe. He set fire to the Reichstag (Parliament). They tried to prove the Communist Party did it. Dimitrov in his "The Reichstag Fire Trials" makes a brilliant political exposure and indictment of the Nazis. Older readers may have a copy of this hard to get volume. They probably would be glad to lend it.

INDIVIDUAL TERROR AND PEOPLE'S WAR

The scientific Marxist-Leninist answers to individual actions are to be found in "Class Struggle in N.Z." It shows why even if the Supreme Courts in all N.Z. cities had been reduced to rubble, the legal and judicial systems would still continue. These institutions arise on the Capitalist economic foundation and must serve and preserve it. Real political gains for the working class require the abolition of the state power of the oppressing class and the taking over of the means of production.

In the conditions of the Viet Nam people's war such acts are quite another matter. **There they are part of the organised people's war against U.S. Imperialism. They become part of a unified plan, under a unified command in the war to smash the ruling power and replace it with working class power. They are no longer isolated individual acts but part of the collective revolutionary action that serves the working class.**

“POWER COMES OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN”—

The fundamental issue of every revolution is the question of political power. The pamphlet illustrates the three main forms of class power — by which N.Z.'s real rulers (finance capital-Imperialism) suppresses the vast majority of people. Such power relies on armed violence. The entire history of mankind shows that no class ever gives up its power without the most violent struggle.

The pamphlet shows why violence has not yet been used extensively in N.Z. against the working class—the main force of revolutionary change. It is because the Capitalist class, thus far, has been successful in getting the working class to accept its ideas as their own.

“Class Struggle in N.Z.” also shows:—

- the only way Capitalism, and its institutions, can be abolished.
- by its own experiences, the working class can only get Labour Party or trade union ideology.
- that this is, in fact, capitalist ideology adapted to the working class movement, and sold to it, by misleaders within that movement.
- that the misleaders pretend they are presenting an alternative to capitalist ideas and actions.
- that no matter who occupies the government benches, they must serve the real economic rulers.
- that this is true of all institutions political, legal, ideological and cultural.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY—GUIDE TO REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

At all times, but particularly in periods of intensified struggle, the Capitalist class infiltrates its agents into the revolutionary groups, particularly the Communist Party. These agents, behind the screen of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary words carry out its opposite—opportunist and revisionist actions.

Bourgeois individualism is the idea that “great men make history”. This is an Idealist conception. The truth is that “the masses are the makers of history”. This is the Marxist-Leninist Historical-Materialist conception of history. It explains the law of development from a lower society to a higher one.

Marxist-Leninist science is the foundation of the Communist Party, its organisational principles, methods of work and leadership. It arises solely to serve the working class. When the working class makes the Communist Party its “central guiding core”, then and only then will it be able to proceed to abolish Capitalist

state power and establish its own.

Bourgeois individualism and working class revolutionary collective action are opposed to each other. The former leads to working class defeat. It can even, for the time being, undermine and destroy the workers' revolutionary Party. The latter, united by Marxism-Leninism, is the only road to victory.

Note of Appreciation

Rewi Alley

IT was a cheering thing on a bright spring day in Peking, just a short time before the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, to get a very brightly written issue of the "New Zealand Communist Review". The short articles are pithy and all said something to the point. A useful workers' number our Party can be proud of, and a working tribute to Lenin.

CARRY OUT NATIONAL COMMITTEE LINE

After reading it through, some thoughts arose. What about this "overseas line"? Surely there is but one line forward, and that is the one our National Committee have shaped out and have agreed on. But how right it is to fight against making a cushy Trade Union job a target for a Communist to aim at. Usually it is the Trade Union which swallows the Communist not the Communist the Trade Union as experience has shown. Trade unions have had their place in the history of working class struggle, but the modern Trade Union official is too often as much interested in the status quo as is the big monopolist. There are exceptions. **O'Shea in Australia is a Trade Union leader all right, but first and foremost he is a fighting Marxist-Leninist.** Work has to be done in the Trade Unions. **But the first objective must be to win over the masses rather than the leadership.**

UNITE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has not come down from heaven or from the parliamentary way. It is the result of much struggle, vast experience, and clear thinking. It can be well adapted to the conditions of any country. That task of adaptation to New Zealand requirements has been well done by the New Zealand Party under the leadership of Comrade V. G. Wilcox who

has never spared himself and who certainly deserves the respect and warm support of every Party member throughout the land.

The stand of the New Zealand Party, too, has been an encouragement to many a Marxist-Leninist throughout the world.

Comrade Wilcox, it must be remembered, was one of the earliest Communist leaders in the world to take his stand against Soviet Revisionism.

The way he has stuck to principle, been true to his responsibilities in front of the people of New Zealand, and to the great cause of proletarian internationalism, ever refusing to budge from the correct way forward, certainly does merit our admiration.

MARXIST-LENINIST UNITY THE KEY

It does not matter whether the Party is small or not. But it matters a great deal for the future whether it remains on the correct line or not. The enemies of the working folk of our land would naturally like to think up some way to get rid of our leadership. But while our leadership follows the correct line, as it does today and has done for so long, that will not be easy.

A point I would like to stress concerns a way of thinking which shows up when a purely emotional petty-bourgeois rather than a straight political estimation of working comrades is made. "Hate the way he wears his hat" or "Can't stand the woman at any price" sort of thing. Surely the mass line of all comrades is not equally advanced, just as the fighting abilities of each soldier in a squad is not the same.

A Communist, however, must be something different from the ordinary man. He has to be **objective in his struggle for the unity that will carry his fellows and him forward.** He has to see past pure emotion and come right down to earth. Comrade Mao Tsetung has so correctly said of this struggle for unity,

"We shall solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic centralist principles of organisation and discipline. We shall unite with any comrade if he abides by the Party's Programme, Constitution and decisions."

The Nice Bosses in N.Z.

by BARB

This article goes into a recent statement of Doig (U.E.B.), "THE PROGRESSIVE" boss. He is concerned that workers in New Zealand should share in the profits of industry along with the shareholders and that they should have some say in industry.

LAWS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

We have to co-operate together he said, in the interests of production. "In the interests of production" is a class statement. It is in the rhetoric of his class. That class interprets this as **PRODUCTION OF INCREASED SURPLUS VALUE**. But the employers' aim is for workers to interpret it **AS INCREASED PRODUCTION OF COMMODITIES FOR THE PEOPLE**.

U.E.B. is a progressive company as far as the shareholders are concerned because it is one that is rapidly **EXTENDING CAPITALIST REPRODUCTION**. This is possible because a very great part of the values of production created by the workers are withheld from them and appropriated as profit by the capitalist. There is no other source of profit, or capitalist accumulation than the energies expended by the workers.

This takes the guts out of any possibility of U.E.B. being progressive from the workers' class point of view.

Rapid capital accumulation is spent on more modern machines capable of increasing output per man hour, thereby increasing the production of commodities. Only part of this gets into the pay packet. The rest is appropriated by the master. Once the product is produced by the worker, it is appropriated by the capitalist as his private possession to assist private accumulation.

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION OF COMMODITIES IS NOT MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO INCREASE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKERS, BUT BY THE PRE-DATORY BASIC LAW OF MAXIMUM PROFIT.
"PROFIT SHARING" A FRAUD.

Doig was careful to say that this sharing of profits, would not come from the area of declared profits by the enterprise. He thereby placated any nervous shareholders who may feel that he is going to give the factory workers some of their expected dividends. We can be quite sure he had no such nasty proletarian intentions. Where then are these profits going to come from? Will it drop like manna from the sky? Is he a magician? Has the leopard changed its spots, and decided that it only wants dividends plus enough to replace worn out machinery?

We will look at the last idea first because it explains the others. We know that surplus value or profit is that part of the workers' production stolen from him. We also know that if all profit was consumed by the shareholders in wild orgies that there would soon be no factory buildings or machines.

We also know that just this simple capital replacement is not enough. It must have maximum profit.

Continuous extended uninterrupted capitalist reproduction, is a law of capitalism. When interrupted it busts wide open, in serious crises like we had in the thirties.

Doig cannot change that law even if he wanted to. It seems a contradiction then when he says the workers should have some share of the profits. **It is no contradiction because his intention is not to share the profits at all.** Where then is this money to come from?

HOW THE CAPITALIST ROBS THE WORKERS

If the basic economic law of monopoly capitalism is maximum profit, then we can be sure the money will not come from this sector of value (surplus value) in capitalist commodity production.

If the 'workers profits' cannot come out of the surplus value sector where does it come from?

Marx shows, **the value of a commodity** is determined by the socially necessary labour-time expended in the production of a commodity. The labourer produces commodities by labour and that would be the full value he has added in production. **He therefore does not sell his LABOUR, but his LABOUR-POWER.**

In order to maintain this labour power and the reproduction of new workers, men must have the minimum of food, shelter, clothing, fuel etc. to live.

THE CARROT ON A STICK

No matter how we are paid under the WAGES SYSTEM, it is all the same process. It does not matter whether it is Ruling Rates of Pay, Regional Rates of Pay, National rates of pay, Bonus system of pay, Piece-work system of pay, Company store method of pay, or wages plus profit sharing. All come out of that sector in which the worker produces the value of his labour power. **The boss strives to ensure that none of it will ever come from the maximum profit or surplus value sector of capitalist production.**

But why then do bonus systems, overtime systems, piece rate payments, or profit sharing systems exist at all?

They exist purely as a means by which greater profits can be made by increasing the intensity of LABOUR, expended by the labourer in the production of commodities (i.e., more production in

less time thus increasing the bosses' rake off).

The labourer and the trade unions that enter into such bargaining procedures only assist in reducing the labourer to that of an animal. They cause the worker to sweat to his limits for the insatiable avarice of capital. By this means capital can increase the rapidity of capital accumulation.

There are no good bosses in New Zealand, and none of them are progressive in their intentions as far as the well-being of the working-class is concerned. Mr Doig, your slip is showing!!!!

Read "VALUE, PRICE & PROFIT" by KARL MARX,
for a scientific exposure of the robbery of the workers.

Very Important Pamphlet

(From a Branch Bulletin)

THE Communist Party recently published a new pamphlet. It is titled "CLASS STRUGGLE IN NEW ZEALAND". In view of the wave of "unofficial" strikes for better wages it is an important one for all workers.

It covers such topics as: "A Scientific Explanation of N.Z. Society" . . . "Who Really Runs & Rules The Country" . . . "Why Capitalist Politics Can't Serve You" . . . and most important, "What You Can Do About It".

Wage struggles are a feature of capitalism and will continue as long as capitalism itself exists and they are absolutely essential. **BUT** they are not a final solution. **THIS PAMPHLET EXPLAINS WHY ECONOMIC STRUGGLES MUST BE LINKED WITH THE BROAD STRUGGLE OF THE N.Z. PEOPLE FOR SOCIALISM.** Copies available from your P.V. seller 5 cents.

Learning as we go

by Learner

Some car stickers opposing apartheid came to hand to give out to people. My immediate reaction was to put one into each P.V. that I sold. One comrade, however, suggested giving them to people who did not buy the paper as a lot of them would take one. This had been his experience when selling P.V.s.

So when I went to sell my P.V.s at a factory gate I asked nearly everyone who went past if they would like a car sticker opposing apartheid. Nearly 30 people took them, letting me know which of them supported that part of our policy on opposition to apartheid.

This activity showed two things:

1. **The Communist Party has a policy covering a number of points. Our ideas in the cure for this society are not accepted as a whole by large numbers of workers. But they will support certain parts of it, e.g. opposition to racial discrimination, but not the basic questions involved.**

Surely, in accepting part of our policy the door opens to workers accepting more and more parts until they encompass the whole scientific basis. ... We can use their acceptance of a part to explain the scientific basis of the whole cause of the rottenness of this society. We start from a material base to develop new ideas and action.

2. **A stilted mechanical approach to work will only result in stilted mechanical work. Using other comrades' ideas stemming from their practice, building on them and developing them further can result in better work.**

Say only 15 workers actually stick the stickers on their cars. That is still 15 more cars roaming around town letting everyone know that their owners oppose apartheid, 15 that might very well not have been doing just that.

We can see then that a new approach to all the minor and habitual ways of working with people can be improved. We **MUST** examine **ALL** our work **CONSTANTLY** to develop new ideas on how to work. The small mistakes soon manifest themselves in bigger ones and we must be constantly vigilant of ourselves and others.

Wages/Prices -- No Spiral

(Extract from a Branch Bulletin)

CENTRAL to the price of any article today is its value. And this is determined by how many hours of work it took to make it, applying average skill and with average mechanisation.

Today, to get this work done, some capitalist has to buy the necessary buildings, machines, raw materials* And he has to buy something else without which all these are useless—the working ability of enough people to do the work.

What will he pay THEM? Once again, this will be determined in exactly the same way. That is to say, the value of a man's ability to work is determined by how many hours it takes to create the goods and services needed to "create" him and keep him in sufficient working trim. (Politely known as the "cost of living".)

WORKER'S WAGES DON'T GO UP

Having bought up the worker's labour power, the employer puts it to work. Then each worker plays his small part in the production of so much output per week, be he turner, process machine operator, electrician—or wharfie.

But the worker does not get a wage equal to what he produces. He gets only a share of that, fixed at his "cost of living".

The difference between the number of hours the worker toils and the number of hours it takes to produce what he gets in his wage packet is **labour that the capitalist gets free. It is the source of profit.** And, since mechanisation heightens production while the workers' share remains within "points" of the "cost of living", the capitalists' share increases.

True, prices can vary a bit according to supply and demand. And monopoly tries to corner supply, while unionism similarly aims to regulate the supply of labour power to push up ITS price (wages). But the general tendency of capitalism is to **REDUCE** living standards. To do this, they use every trick that money can buy—including the big-time professional trade union leaders.

PRICE RISES CUT WAGES

What can workers do about rising prices then?

- As long as they let capitalism last, they can only fight militantly for wage increases to chase rising prices;
- As they become convinced they are only resisting the downward trend, not halting or reversing it (it becomes

easier to see) they must take over the economy of the country, abolish private profit making and run things for their collective good.

Overthrowing capitalist state power, which protects capitalist ownership, and setting up their own organs of power to forcibly protect THEIR new ownership—THIS is the workers' ONLY SOLUTION of the wages/prices problem.

*Footnote: The capitalist buys the buildings, machines, etc., with part of the accumulated profit (i.e. the past labour he got "for free").

Read: "WAGES, PRICE & PROFIT"
by KARL MARX

Party Branch Backs Freezing Workers' Struggle

(From a bulletin)

FREEZING workers have been engaged in class struggle throughout the country. We COMMUNISTS resolutely support you.

We know from published monopoly profits they can afford your claims such as labourers of 30c increase without passing increased prices on to consumers.

- The daily press is running a propaganda campaign against the freezing worker.
- The Freezing Companies ran a full page attacking the workers.
- The Labour Party, true to form, sit on the fence assisting capitalism.
- F.O.L.—Union—and Revisionists pedal the line of industrial relations — example: The rush to sign for 9c against rank and file wishes of 30c per hour increase.
- DISPUTES COMMITTEES IN ESSENCE TAKE THE POWER AWAY FROM THE RANK AND FILE.

We are advocates of mass democracy and suggest you take a firm hold on the job to keep control of the

union negotiators, as have done the seamen around the roster system on the Wainui.

Remember how F.O.L. leaders and Professional Union bosses signed agreements to take away the rank and file's ultimate weapon—the right to strike. It has been **your united stand** that broke the employers front with Gear Meat.

- The Gear Co. had a clear profit last year of \$295,288, a 31% increase on the previous year.
- The Government Statistician shows \$1,404 clear profit from **each** worker in the industry.
- Borthwicks published \$4,300,000 clear profit from Australia and N.Z. Vestys, Swifts, are not known.

Class struggle is necessary. We say it is essential to **take these struggles to their logical conclusion** by way of organising to take over the industries and Socialise with **WORKING-CLASS DICTATORSHIP** as opposed to the present boss-class dictatorship.

Concerning the economic hardship of working farmers, their common enemy is the same as yours—the Freezing and Shipping monopolies. Use your Trades Council delegates to promote understanding with the countryside — to press for mass action away from the “leave it to us fellows”, the trade union bureaucrats.

“THE FORMATION OF AN IDEA proceeds from the objective to the subjective, **FROM PRACTICE TO IDEA**, whereas **THE PROCESS OF DOING A THING** goes from the subjective to the objective, **FROM IDEA TO PRACTICE**. To do revolutionary work well, it is essential to start with the ideological revolution, that is, the revolution in the subjective world. We must take a firm grip on the ideological revolution in order to solve problems ideologically. **THE REVOLUTIONIZING OF PEOPLE'S IDEOLOGY CAN GET EVERY KIND OF WORK MOVING.”**

From: “A GREAT IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION THAT DESTROYS THE OLD AND ESTABLISHES THE NEW.”

—Peking Review 35, 1966

Lessons for all from P.Y.M.

An article entitled "BULLDOZING PEOPLE'S PRIDE" published in the P.Y.M. ORGANISER, has lessons for many adults including Party members. The article shows a deep desire to serve the people. But, it shows also a remarkable ability of the members of this youth organisation to get to the real heart of a problem.

Their words and actions are a political exposure of modern society. It brings forth the necessity for raising "political awareness" of the members. It is not a Marxist-Leninist document but it recognises, and applies in practice, the principle that: You cannot take care of the material interests of the people, unless you go among them; unless you listen and learn from them. There is a recognition that only when this is done, is it possible to "resolve them into a line of action and then carry this through."

Below we reproduce in abbreviated form the main points of them into a line of action and then carry this through."

WITH the law on their side the Auckland City Council have taken great pains to bulldoze the pride of the pensioners at Cornwallis. The A.C.C. have declared intentions to evict the old people. . . .

It is typical cold political manipulation. We know that the land belongs to the people which includes the pensioners, ourselves and all other New Zealanders. Whether it is the Government or private investor who buys up the land, sells it and then bleeds it, land ownership is an artificial myth, propagated for the benefit of the landlords and other parasites. The landlord borrows cash, then ties up his fellow humans in a slavery called "Renting a House".

After all, who owns what? Govt. land or private land has been taken by force or by criminal extortion—20 million acres for goods worth 18,000 dollars—about ten acres for two cents. The N.Z. Company's agents had given for land such things as muskets, gunpowder and jews harps to the Maoris. One begins to ask who owns what and why? Land is the people's and it should be free—landlords are scabs of the workers for they go hand in hand with the Big Boys against whom strikes are directed.

Clearly this is an issue in which residents are to be forced out of their homes without either compensation or alternative accommodation.

We organised a small group who, after discussing with one another, fixed a date and carried out our determination to arrive at Cornwallis. This is a beach on the West Coast. By speaking informally and politely we were able to establish the direct contact that is often spoken of but rarely achieved. In this way we were able to approach the people, listen to their problems, resolve them into a line of action and then carry this through. It is here that

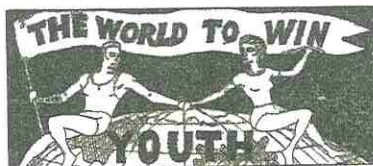
I must criticise P.Y.M. for its low level of Political awareness. Those who are aware are guilty of not imparting their knowledge to others. Much commendable enterprise and energy has been spent on demonstrations but grass roots work must consolidate these efforts.

We have leaders but not enough, too many are apathetic or unfortunately lack the time or devotion or the confidence. To correct this we should encourage more to raise their voices at meetings and those who propose a motion and have it approved should see that they follow this up. To this end we went out and spoke to the people. Amongst other things we discovered that most residents had no objection to visitors and young people camping on the beach, and the beach had plenty of room. The residents had gone so far as to organise a petition which had been returned without comment. To most residents it seemed incredible, and in some cases they felt they had the right of renewal.

In addition we collected information about the background to Cornwallis. In 1915, a Parliamentary motion was passed which allowed pensioners to build on a public reserve at Cornwallis, with a yearly lease on the land. The Council is responsible for maintaining the fore-front, but has done nothing as can be seen by the state of the abandoned properties. In 1948 they were given notice that they would eventually have to leave, but nothing more was heard of this until towards the end of 1969. They now face a Supreme Court injunction resolving to bulldoze the houses to the ground and replace them with a reserve to be set aside for N.Z. youth. They are to be forced out without compensation or alternative accommodation. An identical case occurred at Muriwai but in this case resettlement was offered. The residents refused to move.

And why should they? To people of this age group, to be ripped from one's habits, companions, etc. can be traumatic. The council would rather bunch them up in Ponsonby to rot. The conditions in Ponsonby, Otara, Otahuhu and Newton are not an argument for expensive redevelopment out on the coast.

When we left Cornwallis, we felt that the redevelopment was unnecessary and that all responsible citizens should help us to oppose this attack on the helpless pensioners at Cornwallis and, if the bulldozers should attempt to move in, we should do everything possible to stop them."



Fight Against U.S. Imperialism in N.Z.

The following extract is from a splendid Auckland Branch Bulletin carrying forward the national policy:

WITHDRAW N.Z. TROOPS — STOP U.S. WAR PLANS

It is published because it underlines that the fight against U.S. Imperialism is every N.Z. worker's fight. It is a fight right here inside N.Z.—U.S. Imperialism versus the N.Z. working class.

The Political Committee of the CPNZ has declared:
“The struggle against Imperialism led by the N.Z. working class is an integral part of the struggle for Socialism”.



The Branch Bulletin says:—

TODAY the New Zealand people are witnessing in our own country the first stages of the picture of South East Asia. With the assistance of the New Zealand ruling class foreign monopoly, and especially U.S. monopoly, is moving into all aspects of New Zealand economy.

- U.S. and Japanese monopolies draw up agreements on N.Z. iron sands.
- COMALCO dictates terms on power and lake Manapouri is to be destroyed in the interests of overseas monopolies.
- Large tracts of farm lands are sold to U.S. monopoly for a song.
- Coastal Islands are handed to overseas groups.
- Big overseas business moves in to manufacturing and lays down terms of employment.
- Mergers, take-overs, domination of economy are the order of the day.
- The wage struggle sharpens.
- Prices rise — real wages fall.
- Imperialism means the absolute impoverishment of the people for the profit of monopoly.

So we see the struggle against the war in South East

Asia is a class question—imperialism versus the working class, in Asia, the U.S., here in New Zealand.

Monopoly (imperialism) can only be defeated by the united force of the people of all lands. It is being defeated in South East Asia today. It will be defeated in New Zealand.

- **YANKS GET OUT OF SOUTH EAST ASIA.**
- **YANKS GET OUT OF NEW ZEALAND.**
- **HOLYOAKE BRING N.Z. TROOPS HOME.**

What is Class Collaboration ?

(Extract from a Branch Bulletin)

HE is a political or Trade Union fakir, professing loyalty and service to the workers but, who in fact is a servant of his real boss the employing class."

The bulletin refers to a Sub Leader in the January "Railway Review" as a "perfect portrait." Referring to that rabid enemy of Trade Unionists, the late Tom Shand, National Party Minister of Labour, the Sub Leader says:

"At funerals of well-known people a lot of those who attend are just showing the flag . . . It was not like that when leaders of the Federation of Labour and several other Trade Union stalwarts attended the funeral service in Wellington last month for Tom Shand. They had lost a good friend and they didn't mind who knew it . . . Tom Shand scarcely put a foot wrong in his job. He was able to show his real capacity for handling tricky situations and disgruntled men. The presence of so many sincere mourners at his funeral was the finest tribute Tom Shand could have had to his service for both workers and employers."

Few rank and file workers will share this view of those 'Trade Union stalwarts'. They saw Tom Shand as a 'hatchet man' whose final weapon was deregistration which deprived Union members of any protection their awards provided. **Such rubbish is written to obscure the fact that workers as a class have to fight the employers all the way for a decent take home pay.**

It is ironical, that in many cases, unionists are forced to contribute in their dues, to the wages of Union officials who act as strike breakers every time workers take action to gain some measure of justice on wages.

Sons of Democracy !

(From the "PYM ORGANISER")

AN organisation known as the 'Sons of Democracy' has been formed in Auckland. Linked directly with this organisation is the gang responsible for attacks on the house at Springfield Rd.*

S.O.D. is organised to attack P.Y.M. and any other progressive groups, on behalf of the Establishment. The police have always given full co-operation to Chambers and Co., and will be extending similar co-operation to the even more vicious activities of the so-called 'Sons of Democracy'. Believed to be responsible for the Molotov Cocktail attack on the old P.Y.M. Headquarters (which were conveniently reported by the press as damaged by a rubbish fire), they have no intention of avoiding violence.

History shows that where there is an upsurge of progressive thought there is a violent reaction from conservative elements. The activities of S.O.D. will show what kind of democracy they support. We should realise their potential and who is backing them, but we should not lose sight of our main aim, and be diverted into countering them instead of working to build up the progressive movement.

*The house at Springfield Rd. was the residence of several P.Y.M. members.

Trotskyism-- Tool of Imperialism

—N.G.

IMPERIALISM and the capitalist state use all possible means, methods and weapons to check or suppress revolutionary struggle.

Although New Zealand is a bourgeois democracy (once described as a "paradise of the Second International"), use of violence is by no means unusual or exceptional in our history. (Recent examples were seen in the Ky and Agnew demonstrations). In fact, police violence is normal procedure in the most "democratic"

of bourgeois (capitalist) democracies.

FASCISM

It should be emphasised that the policy of violent suppression is still not fascism, brilliantly defined by Dimitrov as the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital; the organisation of terroristic vengeance against the working class; and the substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—of another form—open terrorist dictatorship.

Naturally, the bourgeoisie prefers the ideological weapons of deception (since violence breeds a violent reaction). It relies on social-democracy, the ideology of reformism, of class collaboration, to maintain its dictatorship. It is only when the workers show signs of shedding their social-democratic illusions during a rising revolutionary tide that the bourgeoisie may resort to fascist rule.

TROTSKYISM

In its bag of ideological tricks to delude the workers — reformism, parliamentarism, racialism, anti-Communism etc. — the bourgeoisie still possesses one last card to divert the workers from the path of revolutionary struggle—Trotskyism.

Trotskyism is a dangerous counter-revolutionary force, particularly during periods of the upsurge of workers' struggles. For Trotskyists proclaim their creed under the banner of "the only true Marxist-Leninists" and in our modern era they oppose both the discredited revisionists and the "Stalinists."

Indeed, as will be seen, they have capitalised on the universal revulsion against revisionism, especially among the youth.

Trotskyism today differs in form from classical Trotskyism, when Trotsky fought Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It remains basically the same in objectives and content as formerly—to undermine and demoralise the working class revolutionary movement, to divert it from the correct path towards social revolution. To understand the role of Trotskyism, it is necessary to give a brief review of its history.

HISTORY

Leon Trotsky first became prominent in Russia about 1903, enjoying some popularity as a speaker and writer among middle-class intellectuals. It was at this time that the first division between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (social-democrats) occurred. Trotsky sided with the Mensheviks and in one way or another, he opposed Lenin and the Bolsheviks (and later Stalin) on

most major issues since that time.

In 1906, he formed an anti-Bolshevik centre in Vienna and in 1912 a coalition known as the Anti-Bolshevist August Bloc. He occupied a centrist position during the First World War, opposing the Social Democrats, but refusing to break with them, opposing the imperialist war, but also opposing Lenin and Lenin's revolutionary line (i.e. "Leninism"). After the February Revolution in Russia, 1917, he joined a Petrograd Social Democratic group known as the Interboroughites which wanted unity with everyone including the social-patriots (supporters of the war). The Interboroughites joined the Bolsheviks shortly before the October Revolution when Trotsky became chairman of the Petrograd Soviet.

After the Revolution, Trotsky, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, refused to sign the Brest Litovsk Treaty with Germany. At a time when a breathing space, a temporary respite, was absolutely vital for the survival of the new workers' state, Trotsky shouted: Neither peace nor war! He proceeded to order demobilisation of army units. Along with Trotsky, a group of "Left" Communists (Bukharin, Radek and others) also opposed the peace treaty and called for an all-out revolutionary war. All Lenin's tremendous will and indomitable fighting spirit were required to defeat this opposition. Trotsky was finally forced to sign the Treaty on terms considerably more onerous. But the Republic was saved.

ESSENCE OF TROTSKYISM

During the civil war, Trotsky was a military commissar, but his main role was as an orator, not a military strategist. At the close of the civil war, he opposed Lenin on policy towards the trade unions which he wanted converted into appendages of the State. In 1926, he was joined by Zinoviev and Kamanev, the latter once described by Lenin as strike-breakers of the revolution. The line of this group was, under Stalin's leadership, thoroughly discredited and the group expelled from the party for factionalism.

Trotsky, persisting in his errors and in his opposition to the Party, was eventually expelled from the Soviet Union. He continued his counter-revolutionary role in America, being a useful source of ideological ammunition for imperialism, against the young Soviet Socialist Republic. Trotsky maintained connections with an anti-Soviet Trotskyite bloc in the Soviet Union which was responsible for the assassination of a leading Bolshevik, Sergei Kirov.

The essence of Trotskyism may be summarised as follows:

- a) Denial of the possibility of socialism in one country based on:
- b) Denial of possibility of proletarian victory where there is no simultaneous revolution in one or several other countries.
- c) After a successful proletarian revolution, denial of the possi-

- bility of consolidating that revolution.
- d) Denial of the possibility of the proletariat to win a leading role in the struggle for political power and gain the allegiance and support in this struggle of other classes, and particularly its main reserve, the peasantry.
 - e) After the revolution, denial of the possibility of drawing the masses of the peasantry into socialist construction in the countryside.
 - f) Denial of the necessity of inner-party discipline and the basic principle of the Communist Party—democratic centralism, by permitting freedom for factional groups and alternative centres in the party.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF TROTSKYISM

Trotskyism reflects the influence in a Marxist-Leninist Party and in the revolutionary movement of non-proletarian (i.e., petit-bourgeois, middle class, small-owner) elements. Camouflaged in pseudo-Marxist-Leninist colours, Trotskyism represents an attempt by the capitalist class and imperialism to split the party and sidetrack the revolution, most particularly at critical stages in the revolutionary movement.

Referring to the middle class (the petit-bourgeoisie), Marx said that this was a “transitional class in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously blunted.” Struggling to improve its position, it is under relentless pressure from centralised capital (monopoly) which forces it back into the ranks of the working class. Politically it wavers from one extreme to the other and is inconsistent in its attitude to revolutionary forces. Stalin pointed out that the working class is surrounded on every side by petty capitalist, small-owner elements who bring with them the petit-bourgeois traits of individualism, vacillation, demoralisation and opportunism.

THE “PERMANENT REVOLUTION”

Trotsky’s “theory” of the “Permanent Revolution” is in reality no genuine Marxist theory at all but a gross perversion of what Marx and Lenin meant by the “permanent Revolution.” The myth is fostered by pseudo-Marxists and Trotskyites that Trotsky was more “revolutionary” than Lenin whereas in fact, the exact opposite was the case.

It was Marx and Engels who originated the term “Permanent Revolution”. In 1850, in an “Appeal of the Central Committee to the Communist League,” a document which was addressed to one of the first revolutionary workers’ organisations in Europe, they pointed out that the bourgeois-democratic revolution (for the establishment of a bourgeois-democracy and the abolition of

feudalism) should not be terminated with the realisation of only those demands of the petty bourgeoisie, but made "permanent".

"Until all more or less property-owning classes have been removed from power, until the proletariat have conquered State power . . ."

In other words, it was in the interests of the proletariat to make the revolution "permanent," not stopping at the bourgeois-democratic stage but **continuing** the revolution to the next higher stage, the socialist revolution.

Lenin further developed the theory of "permanent revolution." **"We stand for UNINTERRUPTED revolution,"** he said. In the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848, it was the new bourgeoisie or capitalist class which seized power and became the new ruling class. However, Lenin pointed out that in order to make possible the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution, power must not be allowed to pass into the hands of the bourgeoisie at all. (It may be recalled that, after the February 1917 revolution in Russia, power did fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie, but there also existed a situation of "dual power", wherein the Soviets shared power with the Provisional Government of landlords and capitalists).

Mao has also shown that there could not be an intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship between the two revolutions for today we are in the era of imperialism, the period of the world socialist revolution.

The leading role (hegemony) of the working class is the foundation stone of the Marxian theory of revolution. Marx outlined a policy of the workers uniting with other exploited sections "the village proletariat" and the theory of the leading role of the proletariat was further clarified and developed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Trotsky said that the peasant masses did not constitute a revolutionary reserve of the revolution and that the working class was sure to succumb to counter-revolutionary forces at home unless aided by victorious revolution in other countries. Disregarding the demands of the peasantry, he was for skipping the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution (overthrow of Czarist autocracy) and proceeding directly to the proletarian revolution.

Lenin, in opposition to Trotsky's line, further developed the theory of the "permanent revolution" by proving that in order to ensure that the democratic revolution should be carried through to the end and then carried on to the socialist stage, the proletariat, in a firm alliance with the peasantry, must seize the leadership of that revolution.

Thus, as Lenin showed, the two stages of the revolution con-

sisted of—(a) the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and all the peasantry (against Czarism and landlordism and for democratism);—and (b) the dictatorship of the proletariat (based on a firm alliance with the semi-proletarian elements, the poorest strata of the peasantry).

Trotsky said that the revolution would inevitably be defeated because of “the counter-revolution behind their backs and world reaction in front of them.”

Unless there was simultaneous revolution in a number of other countries, it was hopeless to expect a revolution in any one country. Trotsky’s “theory” of “permanent revolution” meant, in reality, that it was impossible to have a revolution in any one country taken singly.

The history both of Russia and China has born out Lenin’s thesis that because capitalism had evolved to its last dying stage, imperialism, and the law of the uneven development of capitalism, it was possible to break the imperialist chain at its weakest link. Therefore, a socialist revolution was possible in one country, taken singly.

It has been shown that simultaneous revolutions in other countries was not a prerequisite to the success of the Russian revolution although undoubtedly, revolutionary situations together with mass sympathy and support by workers in other countries greatly aided the Russian workers to consolidate their newly-born Soviet, Socialist republic.

In the early years of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung also fought and defeated various Trotskyist trends such as those of Wang Ming and Li Li-san (who proposed that both revolutions should be accomplished at one stroke) and propositions which virtually denied both the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist nature of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Trotskyites, following Trotsky, disregarded the peasantry as a powerful reserve of the revolution and failed to see the decisive significance of the agrarian revolution.

Mao Tse-tung creatively applied in his own country the theory of “permanent revolution” as developed by Lenin, quickly passing from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party and proletariat.

THE CONTINUING REVOLUTION

Mao has also pointed out “Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.” Hence the need for further revolutions to constantly strengthen the Party and the dictatorship

of the proletariat.

In China, after the socialist revolution, it became necessary to carry out a further revolution, a cultural revolution, to safeguard the ideological positions of the proletarian dictatorship. After the enemy with guns, there was the enemy without guns, who tried to sow complacency and defeat, demoralise and corrupt, and undermine the prestige and influence of the workers' and peasants' vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party—the ultimate aim being to restore capitalism and without doubt, at an appropriate time—with guns once more.

China's experience shows that following the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, further **revolution and revolutionary struggle have not come to an end but must be continued**, firstly into the realm of ideology, the traditional strongholds of the bourgeoisie such as education, the press, films and the theatre, etc., and secondly, in the State and industry where "capitalist-roaders" sneaked into positions of authority.

This was also a revolution inside the Communist Party itself. For the Party, in the process of fulfilling its role as the vanguard of the workers and peasants, also changes itself, overcoming any tendencies to complacency or self-satisfaction and infusing new life into its ranks.

China is a true manifestation of "the uninterrupted revolution" mentioned by Lenin.

TROTSKYISM & CAPITALISM IN SOVIET UNION

Trotsky's line of capitulation to right-wing Menshevism (Social-democracy) which would have meant an end to revolutionary struggle in the Soviet Union, was defeated by Stalin. **But Trotsky's ideological heirs succeeded in diverting the great Socialist Republic of Lenin off course into the camp of revisionism.**

The Chinese Cultural Revolution is an illuminating example of the leading role of a revolutionary party which led the workers, peasants and students in their fight to wrest control of the state and industry from the capitalist roaders, grafters and enemy agents. The Russian workers and peasants had no similar cultural revolution. The heirs of Trotsky lay concealed within the Party. After Stalin's death, they gained control. Revisionism took over.

Basic is the Trotskyite depreciation of the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat expressed in the Khrushchov theory that, as there are no longer antagonistic classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union, there is no need any longer for a dictatorship of the proletariat. What we have (says Khrushchov) is a "party of the whole people" and a "state of the whole people." How Trotsky would have hailed this fake theory! This road led, as is seen today, in the degeneration of the party and the workers' state.

It opened to the door to capitalist-road elements and permitted them to usurp control. The revisionist clique replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with a dictatorship of the new Russian bourgeoisie. The historical experience of the Soviet Union teaches that without a continuing revolution in both society and in thought, there is degeneration and reversion to capitalism.

Trotsky's contempt for the peasantry as a revolutionary force showed that he had no faith in the dictatorship of the proletariat which was essentially a revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry under the leadership of the former. In his description of an American Soviet in 1935, Trotsky envisaged a multi-party system with equal rights to capitalist-reactionary elements, no class struggle, the disarming of the party and the proletariat and therefore, no dictatorship of the proletariat.

But Lenin said:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most stubborn, the most acute, the most merciless struggle of the new class against THE MORE POWERFUL enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance has grown tenfold after it has been overthrown. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the powers and traditions of the old society."

TROTSKYISM TODAY

What of Trotskyism today? Trotskyist trends, small groups and parties, Fourth Internationalists, exist in a number of countries. They are known to have some following in England and France. In England, there is the Socialist Labour League which publishes a twice-weekly "Newsletter" and is affiliated to the Fourth International. Last year they held a conference of Young Socialists at Morecambe attended by 1300. In France, there are at least two groups, the PCI, Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Branch of the Fourth International) and the OCI, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (a rival faction, not affiliated to the Fourth International).

In New Zealand only one avowedly Trotskyist group is known but Trotskyist views are expressed in contributions to a Wellington student magazine.

There is little doubt that a major cause of the rise of the Trotskyist movement in Britain and France among the student youth and young workers was the revisionist degeneration in the long-established Communist Parties.

In Paris during the 1968 student revolt, the role of the French Communist Party was thrown into bold relief—it emerged as the

main brake on the rising revolutionary upsurge among the students and a major obstacle to unity between the students and the workers in the factories. The reaction against the "ossified sterile bureaucracy" of the CPF, its revisionism and reformism, was an inevitable outcome and was reflected in support for the superficially more militant Trotskyist groups.

Incidentally it appears that it was not the Trotskyist parties or other student groups which made the break-through to the workers but the pro-Chinese militants, UJC(M-L) (Union des jeunes communistes-marxistes leninistes). The Penguin Special "French Revolution, 1968," states:

"But while others talked of the working class and of the need to bridge the gap between intellectual and manual workers, the UJC(M-L), with their quiet single-mindedness, were already inside the factory gates."

Not all those supporting Trotskyist trends or groups do so with a full knowledge of its counter-revolutionary diversionary role. It is enough if you oppose capitalism, imperialism and revisionism. Ideology is unimportant—all that is required is to unite everyone in the same trench against U.S. imperialism. Ignored is the ideology of Mao Tse-tung, the Lenin of our era, the tremendous and historic contributions of the Chinese C.P. and People's China. But even the struggle to create a broad front against U.S. imperialism involves, if we are serious about this task, innumerable factors, aspects and tactics not least of which is the problem of Trotskyist influence in the working class movement. **The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung must be recognised as an indispensable guide to action in this struggle.**

THE "NEW LEFT"

Much of the so-called "New Left" theories contain variations of the views advocated by Trotsky at some time in his career. For example, there is the idea that students and intellectuals are more important to the revolution than the working class. Similar to Trotsky's "Workers' Councils" are the "Self-management" theories which obscure the role of the State and class struggle. Associated with "Self-management" schemes are the ideas of student leaders, such as Cohen Bendit, who exaggerates the role of the spontaneous movement. In his view, the workers and the student youth will create their own leadership and vanguard in the course of the spontaneous struggle. We do not need a highly disciplined political party armed with Marxism-Leninism since such a party is bound to become highly bureaucratic and revisionist as born out by French experience.

He forgets or overlooks the fact that socialist consciousness does not arise automatically with the growth

of the spontaneous movement. It has to be fought for, as Lenin did, against social-democratic and other anti-working class, anti-socialist trends.

Only a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard is capable of doing this. It must be self-evident that there would have been no revolution in Russia and China without such a revolutionary party.

In some cases, the activities of Trotskyite groups or parties are characterised by extreme provocation, adventurism and anti-Communism. **Direct links have been established between them and the notorious C.I.A. which furnished both funds and advice.** The degree of degeneration of such Trotskyite groups is shown by the fact that they may even not stop short of physical violence and assassination of leading Communists and working class militants.

REVISIONISM AND TROTSKYISM

In some circumstances revisionism and Trotskyism speak with identical voices. This is not surprising if we see that **Trotskyism is basically right-opportunist in content although having a "left" form.** It has been shown that Trotskyism, though garbed in "revolutionary" terms, veers to the Right in action and towards collaboration with social-democracy.

It is significant that the New Zealand Party's theory and practice on democratic-centralism is attacked by both the revisionist S.U.P. and the Taylor group, one from a right and the other from a "Left" standpoint. Both boil down to freedom for factions and groups to carry on disruptive work in the party. How similar to Trotsky who attacked the so-called "barracks regime" and wanted "freedom groupings" in the Communist Party.

Trotskyism provides fertile soil for the putchist, individual terrorist outlook. Revolution can be brought about by a small elite band of intellectuals, avoiding the tedious, humdrum, day-to-day work among the masses, along the lines of the Cuban revolution. (But would Castro's small band have succeeded without the patient self-sacrificing work among the workers and peasants by Cuban communists and revolutionaries which preceded the stage of armed struggle?) Personally courageous, Che Guevarra failed in Bolivia because it was an attempt to implant a revolution from outside, before a revolutionary situation had matured.

Individual heroism when it is isolated from mass struggle and the people's movement is a manifestation of bourgeois individualism and negates the role of the masses and the revolutionary party that leads them in struggle. While leaders who arise out of revolutionary mass action are an essential part of any movement, nevertheless it is the people who make history (and determine their own future) not great men. "Che", history will recognise, was a heroic

revolutionary, devoted to the cause of the revolution and the interests of the exploited masses; but his method is not the road to victory for the exploited masses.

Revisionism and Trotskyism are blood brothers, both serving a useful purpose, though playing different roles, to the bourgeoisie. Similar ideas will therefore be found in both movements.

THE PARTY AND THE STATE

Trotsky abhorred centralism and as mentioned earlier, he attacked the party of a new type founded by Lenin, calling it a "barracks regime run by a dictator." Later, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he fought for freedom for independent groups in the name of inner-party democracy. However, when Trotsky was Military Commissar during the civil war, he tolerated no opposition and ruled with an iron hand. Following the civil war he pursued a policy of coercion and sought to convert the trades unions into purely state appendages.

Abroad, Trotsky launched a virulent campaign against the Soviet Union, still fighting for survival in a hostile capitalist environment. He harped at length about bureaucracy and the denial of rights under the "Stalinist regime." What he feared, however, was the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotskyists today lump Russia and China together and condemn both as "bureaucracies". They also make no distinction between genuine Marxist-Leninist and revisionist Communist Parties which are equally "Stalinist."

But while expressing abhorrence at genuine proletarian dictatorship, our new Trotskyists choose to ignore the modern capitalist state, the organ of the giant monopolies, and its major arm, the military forces. The French students with revolutionary heroism, challenged many State institutions, but not the main centres of State power.

Had they done so, undoubtedly, the chief arm of the State, the military forces, would have been brought into play to suppress the revolt.

Students and workers were permitted to "play at revolution". Why bring in the army? The revisionist Communist Party could be relied upon to keep the situation under control as, indeed, it did.

A similar underestimation of the capitalist state is to be noted in a contribution to a Wellington students' magazine: "There is no difference between local and foreign capitalists—both are enemies of the working class. Foreign investment in N.Z. is still only on a small scale. Struggle against imperialism is important but to make it out as the main enemy is to cultivate nationalism.

"Seeing only the bourgeoisie" and not imperialism as the main enemy is a Trotskyist and opportunist line. Who would consider it necessary to enquire of the Viet-

nameese workers and peasants who was THEIR main enemy?

Even if Canada, for example, has not got troops in Vietnam, subservience to U.S. capital (imperialism) still remains a question of degree. There should be no doubt or illusions about the fate of Canada, N.Z., Australia or any other country subject to U.S. penetration, if an internal situation threatened the security of American investments. Intervention, possibly on the Vietnam pattern, would be a definite possibility. "Comprador capitalists" as well as the direct agents and branches of U.S. imperialism itself, would see to that.

As Stalin pointed out, quoting Lenin, the strength of an overthrown bourgeoisie lies firstly "in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisies."

TWO MAIN TRENDS

Lenin pointed out long ago that there were two main trends in the working class movement: the anarcho-syndicalist and the revisionist. These two main divisions still exist today.

Syndicalism means, as Lenin pointed out in 1921, "the transfer to the masses of non party workers . . . the management of branches of industry (the "Chief Committees and Central Boards") thus destroying the need for the party . . ."

It must be the Party's objective to concentrate in the workers' hands the entire management of the national economy, but to accomplish this there must be centralised control and the Party must lead, educate and train the non-party masses; politics and the Party must be in command at all times in this process.

Trotsky's proposals to fuse the State with the trade unions would have afforded a basis for Menshevism (social-democracy) and undermined the workers' dictatorship.

In this connection, it is of value to refer to the example of Yugoslav revisionism where anarcho-syndicalist policies in the name of "self-management" and decentralisation" were carried out leading to the disintegration of the Party and the proletarian state. The result: the revival of capitalism in that country.

The theories of "self-management" previously referred to, likewise avoid the problem of political and state power, the role of the party and the proletariat and class struggle. They are closely associated with "structural reform" propositions of "socialism evolving into capitalism" and a super-class state, advanced by revisionists throughout the world including the Yugoslav "theorists."

CONCLUSION

The older generation of Communists, revolutionaries and militant workers gladly welcome and hail the rising tide of the youth movement and their fight against a corrupt and dying system, against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. It is certainly their hope and duty to pass on, insofar as they can, the torch of knowledge and theory to the younger generation of revolutionaries, and at the same time also learn from the youth.

When the ruling class through its state forces wields the club many questions are clarified, the role of the state, who are our friends, who are our false friends, who are our enemies.

The more subtle ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie can be more dangerous because they are not so easily perceived and understood. One of the more pernicious of these weapons is Trotskyism, false Marxism-Leninism.

Only the theory of true Marxism-Leninism and its further development by Mao Tse-tung, is capable of countering such anti-working class trends as Trotskyism. Let us all, young or old, student youth and youth workers, unite and fight under this banner.





