

N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW

1 & 2



N.Z. ELECTIONS IN LIGHT OF
WORLD REVOLUTIONARY TRENDS

MAO TSETUNG ON THE UNITED FRONT

STUDYING WORLD HISTORY

PEOPLE'S POWER

TROTSKYISM

JAN.-FEB., 1973 — 20c



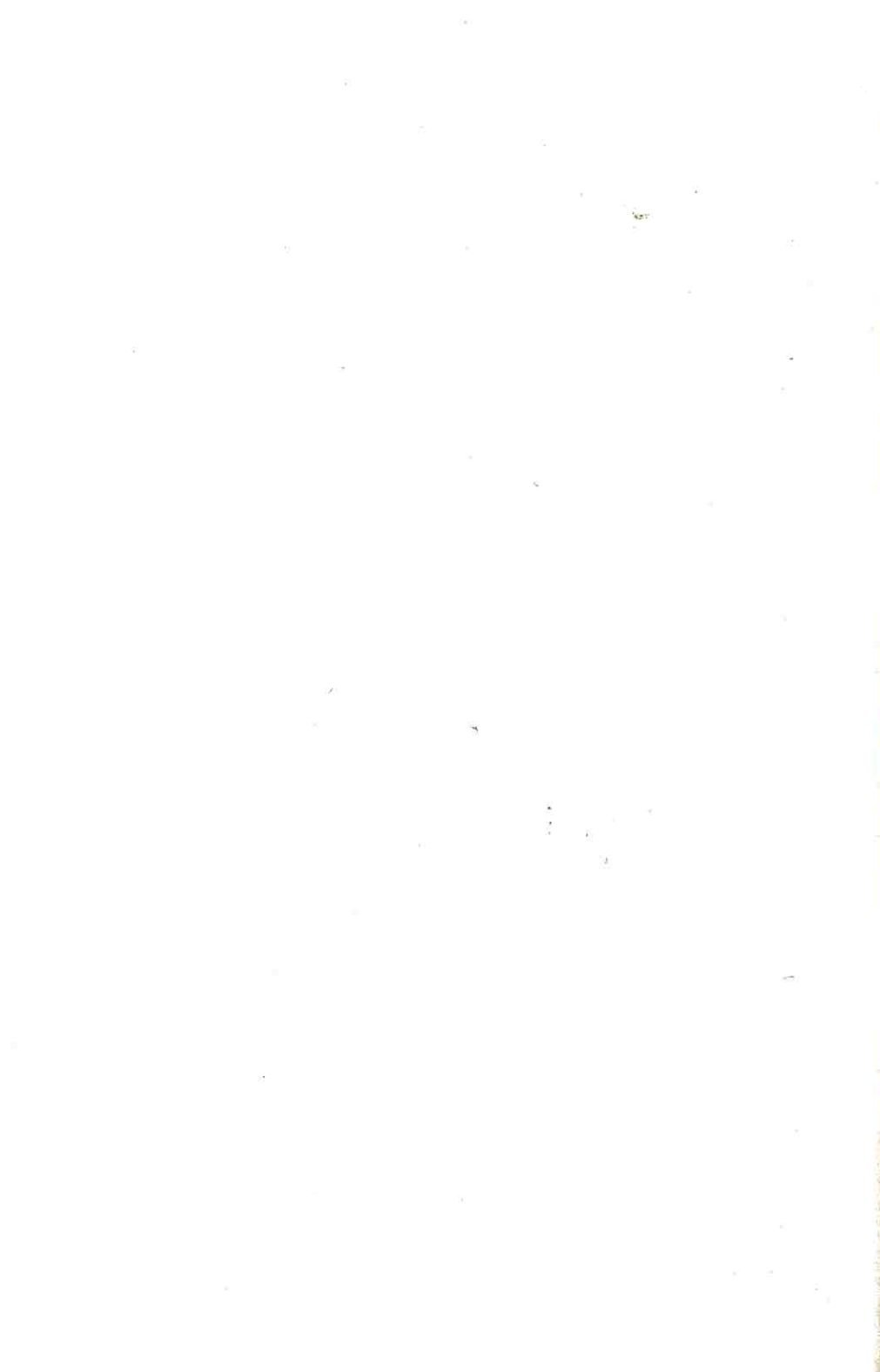
C O N T E N T S

- World Revolution and N.Z. Elections**
— V. G. Wilcox Page 5
- Question of Independence and Initiative
Within the United Front**
—Mao Tsetung Page 8
- On Studying World History**
Shih Chun (Peking Review) Page 10
- Coming Age of People's Power**
—Rewi Alley Page 20
- Trotskyism and the Revolutionary Movement**
— Agrim Popa (Rruga e Partise) Page 24

Published 31/1/73.

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.



World Revolution and N.Z. elections

(V. G. Wilcox).

To understand the internal situation in New Zealand and our next step in the development of struggle towards the removal of the present capitalist society and the achieving, through revolutionary methods of a socialist society, it is first necessary to understand the ever growing forces of revolution and the significance of the strength of world communism headed by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour.

Some progressive people in N.Z. think that Nixon's visit to China, her admission to the United Nation's Assembly and the growing number of governments who are recognising China means a forsaking of certain revolutionary principles and the abandonment of armed struggle in countries where the objective conditions for this exists. This attitude is quite wrong. It is what the imperialists want all revolutionaries to think.

The fact is imperialism, headed still by the United States, is getting into ever deeper crisis, becoming ever weaker. Tactically it is trying to gain a breathing space in which to prepare for a further offensive before it meets its inevitable doom.

This is the reason for the United States approach to China, the reason for all the propaganda about withdrawal, not only from Viet Nam but the whole of Indo-China. Weakness, not strength, is affecting their policy not only in Asia but the Middle East, Africa and South America.

WEAKNESS IN SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST CAMP

Side by side with this we see another growing weakness, the lack of unity in the camp of the modern revisionists, the social-imperialist headed by the traitor leadership of the Soviet Union. The world tactics of what the propaganda machine of capitalism calls the "two super powers" have been influenced by both these growing weaknesses. Alongside this is the fact that, as Lenin many years ago pointed out to Kautsky, no super-imperialist power can arise without new forces within the imperialist camp arising to challenge it. Today the challenge comes from Japan and West Germany as well as France. These contradictions within the imperialist grouping cannot be overcome and we can observe plainly the same thing happening in the camp of the "new" form of imperialism, that of the social-imperialist.

All these growing contradictions effect the whole of the world

that is not based on a socialist society; New Zealand being part of the non-socialist world reflects them in many ways at the present time.

In our country the last few years have seen an intensification of class struggle and the gradual diminishing of the few benefits achieved under the earlier days of the "Welfare State" which arose from the return of the first Labour Government in 1935. The very fact that industrial struggle continues immediately after the present return of a Labour Government is an indication of the changed situation.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S GROWING MILITANCY

It is happening in spite of the fact that the national leadership of the Federation of Labour is stressing that we must reduce strike action in industry in line with the ideas of the social-democrat Labour Government.

Another pointer to change is the growing and more militant protest movement, particularly among the young people, a protest movement of a new type as far as struggle over the last thirty years is concerned. It can only be compared for intensity with some of the action in the worst days of the capitalist depression of the 1930's but today it is not solely an economic struggle. It takes the form of struggle against U.S. imperialism, over Viet Nam and elsewhere, and extends to action against the inroads made on environment by international monopoly, on capitalist education and, in general on the rottenness of the present society. Naturally not all those protesting see all these issues clearly but they are in action. Clarity will come from practice and a forceful lead by the Communist Party on all fronts of protest.

It was this background of growing discontent without, as yet, full political understanding, that led to the return of a Labour Government and the defeat of the open advocates of international monopoly — the National Party.

The slogan "It's time for a change" caught on but as the **People's Voice** correctly says nothing has changed, no major problems will be solved, Labour stands for international monopoly too. The only way forward is the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy advanced by the Communist Party of New Zealand.

If anybody still doubts this they should note that when on election night the then Prime Minister, Marshall, phoned the incoming Prime Minister, Kirk, the latter said: "We have had our disappointments in other years. I suppose it's our turn now".

We cannot however ignore the desire of sections of workers to return a Labour Government. The danger lies in reconciliation with the ideology of the Labour Party although its influence does not necessarily take this crude form. In the minds of some, the idea takes shape that there has been some change in the Labour Party. We need to take account of the fact that some workers still have

faith in the Labour Party and even think, on some matters, that it has a better policy than its parliamentary opponents.

The central feature, however, of the Labour Party is that it is a party of capitalism and that its nature does not change. There must be no illusions about this. The question of how best to convince its supporters on this score is an important one for all revolutionaries.

We must recognise the difference between 1935 when Labour gained office and now. In 1935 the ruling class still considered it could run the country without Labour and it attacked it in a very vicious way (for example the Scrimgeour incident when a radio broadcast was jammed). Now in 1972, on many occasions it went near to advising people to vote Labour, a sign of its growing weakness.

The introduction of so many new parties in the election should not delude us that monopoly will next turn to them. Fascist methods are next on their agenda.

The coming period will be a testing time for our Party. The further development of struggle outside of parliamentary concepts is a challenge. With a social-democratic government working for international monopoly and the preservation of imperialism and claiming loyalty from the industrial workers, our tactics must be flexible while giving not an inch on principle. We must work not only to expose the exploiters but to win people to our policy. We realise that this takes time but we will win by correct practice based on Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung theory.

Our basic task now with a Labour Government in office is the further development of the protest movement on all fronts and we will find that the old cry "Don't embarrass the Labour Government" will be far less effective than in the past.

A mighty movement directed against imperialism and for socialism can be built out of present objective conditions with the world trend to revolution having increasing impact on the internal struggle in New Zealand.



Question of Independence and Initiative Within the United Front

(November 5, 1938).

— Mao Tsetung

All political parties and groups in the united front must help each other and make mutual concessions for the sake of long-term co-operation, but such help and concessions should be positive, not negative. We must consolidate and expand our own Party and army, and at the same time should assist friendly parties and armies to consolidate and expand; the people want the government to satisfy their political and economic demands, and at the same time give the government every possible help to prosecute the war of resistance; the factory workers demand better conditions from the owners, and at the same time work hard in the interests of resistance; for the sake of unity against foreign aggression, the landlords should reduce rent and interest, and at the same time the peasants should pay rent and interest.

All these principles and policies of mutual assistance are positive, not negative or one-sided. The same should be true of mutual concessions. Each side should refrain from undermining the other and from organising secret party branches within the other's party, government and army. For our part we organise no secret party branches inside the Kuomintang and its government or army, and to set the Kuomintang's mind at rest, to the advantage of the War of Resistance. The saying, "Refrain from doing some things in order to be able to do other things", exactly meets the case. A national war of resistance would have been impossible without the reorganisation of the Red Army, the change in the administrative system of the Red areas, and the abandonment of the policy of armed insurrection. By giving way on the latter we have achieved the former; negative measures have yielded positive results. "To fall back the better to leap forward" — that is Leninism.

To regard concession as something purely negative is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. There are indeed instances of purely negative concessions — the Second International's doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital resulted in the betrayal of a whole class and a whole revolution. In China, Chen Tu-hsiu and then Chang Kuo-tao were both capitulators; capitulationism must be strenuously opposed. When we make concessions, fall back,

turn to the defensive or halt our advance in our relations with either allies or enemies, we should always see these actions as part of our whole revolutionary policy, as an indispensable link in the general revolutionary line, as one turn in a zigzag course. In a word, they are positive.

THE IDENTITY BETWEEN THE NATIONAL AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

To sustain a long war by long-term co-operation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan — such is the fundamental principle of the united front. Subject to this principle, the independent character of the parties and classes and their independence and initiative within the united front should be preserved and their essential rights should not be sacrificed to co-operation and unity, but on the contrary must be firmly upheld within certain limits. Only thus can co-operation be promoted, indeed only thus can there be any co-operation at all. Otherwise co-operation will turn into amalgamation and the united front will inevitably be sacrificed.

In a struggle that is national in character, the class struggle takes the form of national struggle which demonstrates the identity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt co-operation; on the other hand, the demands of national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus there is identity in the united front between unity and independence and between the national struggle and the class struggle.

EVERYTHING THROUGH THE UNITED FRONT IS WRONG

The Kuomintang is the party in power, and so far has not allowed the united front to assume an organisational form. Behind the enemy lines, the idea of "everything through" is impossible, for there we have to act independently and with the initiative in our own hands while keeping to the agreements which the Kuomintang has approved (for instance, the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction). Or we may act first and report afterwards, anticipating what the Kuomintang might agree to. For instance, the appointment of administrative commissioners and the dispatch of troops to Changtung Province would never have occurred if we had tried to get these things done "through the united front".

It is said that the French Communist Party once put forward a similar slogan, but that was probably because in France, where a joint committee of the parties already existed and the Socialist Party was unwilling to act in accordance with the jointly agreed programme and wanted to have its own way, the Communist Party

had to put forward such a slogan in order to restrain the Socialist Party, and certainly it did not do so to shackle itself.

In the case of China, the Kuomintang has deprived all other political parties of equal rights and is trying to compel them to take its orders. If this slogan is meant to be a demand that everything done by the Kuomintang must go through us, it is both ridiculous and impossible. If we have to secure the Kuomintang's consent beforehand for everything we do, what if the Kuomintang does not consent? Since the policy of the Kuomintang is to restrict our growth, there is no reason whatsoever for us to propose such a slogan which simply binds us hand and foot.

At present there are things for which we should secure prior consent from the Kuomintang, such as the expansion of our three divisions into three army corps — this is to report first and act afterwards. There are other things which the Kuomintang can be told after they have become accomplished facts, such as the expansion of our forces to over 200,000 men — this is to act first and report afterwards. There are also things, such as the convening of the Border Region assembly, which we shall do without reporting for the time being, knowing that the Kuomintang will not agree. There are still other things which for the time being, we shall neither do nor report, for they are likely to jeopardise the whole situation.

In short, we must not split the united front, but neither should we allow ourselves to be bound hand and foot, and hence the slogan of "everything through the united front" should not be put forward. If "everything must be submitted to the united front" is interpreted as "everything must be submitted to" Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, then that slogan too, is wrong. Our policy is one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence.

On Studying World History

— Shih Chun ("Peking Review")

In his important "Reform Our Study" in 1941, Chairman Mao urged our whole Party to study Chinese history and play particular attention to studying the history of China since the Opium War (1840). This is the guiding principle in our study of history and historical research, that is, the principle of stressing the present rather than the past.

In studying world history, therefore, we should also lay emphasis on modern and contemporary history which is closely related

to existing class struggles and shows how all the basic contradictions in the world today have developed. Many current international problems can be traced back to modern and contemporary history for background and sequence. Drawing on the experience and lessons from class struggle in these periods is of direct value to us in gaining a deeper knowledge of today's world situation and correctly understanding the acute and complicated current class struggle.

THREE STAGES

If we start counting from England's bourgeois revolution of 1640, modern and contemporary world history covers a span of over 300 years. It can be divided into three stages. The first, from 1640 to the eve of the 1871 revolution of the Paris Commune, is the period of "free" capitalism, in which capitalism through protracted struggles replaced feudalism in a number of countries in Europe and America. The second stage, from the 1871 Paris Commune to immediately before the 1917 October Socialist Revolution, is one in which "free" capitalism was going over to imperialism until imperialism finally took shape. In this period, the socialist revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the national-democratic revolutionary movement were on the rise and making onslaughts against capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. Led by Lenin, the 1917 October Socialist Revolution in Russia opened a new epoch in world history. Modern world history thereby entered its third stage, the period of contemporary history. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, this is **"the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory."**

Modern-contemporary history covers the inception, growth and decline of capitalism and the inception, growth and advance to victory of socialism. The struggle of the proletariat and all other exploited toilers against the capitalist class, the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against colonialism and imperialism, and the united struggle of a growing number of medium-sized and small countries against aggression, interference, subversion and plunder by the two superpowers are the main contents in the annals of modern-contemporary world history. In the final analysis, the complex contradictions of the present world are expressions of the various contradictions of the old world as they develop and interact in new historical circumstances.

BASIC CONTRADICTIONS

The revolutionary teachers of the proletariat have made penetrating analyses of the basic contradictions of the periods of modern-contemporary world history, the nature of capitalism and imperialism, the socialist revolution and the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, and made a series of wise forecasts and scientific conclusions in many of their outstanding works, especially in the "Mani-

festos of the Communist Party" by Marx and Engels, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" by Lenin and "On New Democracy" by Chairman Mao. These are the theoretical guidance for our study of modern-contemporary world history. Only by taking the Marxist-Leninist theory as our guide can we see through the distortions of history by the bourgeoisie, grasp the laws governing the development of modern-contemporary history and draw on historical experience and lessons for the benefit of current class struggles.

The fundamental contradiction in a capitalist society is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The development of capitalism is described as an idyllic process by all its worshippers, from reactionary men of letters in the pay of the bourgeoisie to the modern arch imperialists. But lies cannot hide facts.

Indeed, **"The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all the preceding generations together."** (Manifesto of the Communist Party). But **"capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."** ("Capital").

THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

Modern world history tells us that the inception and the growth of capitalism is a history of unbridled plunder at home and abroad. In order to develop capitalism, the new aristocracy and bourgeoisie of England launched the enclosure movement which continued 300 long years from the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century. They drove peasants en masse off the land by force, burnt down their houses and turned the farmland into grazing grounds or big farms, and then enforced brutal laws to compel the homeless peasants to become wage slaves of the capitalists.

In its west-ward expansion, the United States of America used fire and sword to disperse and kill the Indians. Now only 600,000 Indians remain, most of them sequestered on reservations, living on darkness and misery.

Marx pointed out: **"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."** ("Capital").

Feudalism was replaced by capitalism and this was a historical advance. But the change was no more than the substitution of one exploiting class for another and one system of exploitation for another. The establishment of the capitalist system along with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie put new fetters on the proletariat and the other labouring people, who fell victim to brutal capitalist economic exploitation and political oppression. Imperialism is today declining on a world-wide scale and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in violent struggle. The study of modern-con-

temporary world history to familiarise ourselves with the economic and political development of the bourgeoisie will help us to gain a more profound understanding of the exploitative nature of the bourgeoisie and the inevitability of the downfall of the capitalist system, and understand more clearly the truth that **"imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat"** as Lenin put it. ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"). This will inspire us to fight on heroically for a world without exploitation of man by man and for the emancipation of all humanity.

STRUGGLE FOR HEGEMONY BETWEEN IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

One of the basic contradictions in modern-contemporary world history is the conflict and contention among imperialist countries. Capitalism developed to the stage of imperialism towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. In this stage, the contradictions inherent in capitalism become ever more acute and broader in scope. The contradictions, in essence, are the contentions among imperialists for world domination and spheres of influence in colonies. Imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic, moribund capitalism. Lenin said: **"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony"** ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism") and **"'world domination' is, to put it briefly, the substance of imperialist policy."** ("A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism").

Rivalry among the big colonialist and imperialist powers has never ceased in modern-contemporary world history. In the 17th century, it was mainly contention for maritime hegemony between Britain and the Netherlands. In the 18th century, there was fierce rivalry between Britain and France for maritime and European hegemony. In the 19th century, a complicated situation arose on the European continent, with Britain, Russia, France, Germany and Austria locked in strife for supremacy at different times.

WORLD WAR 1

Rivalries became sharper when world capitalism entered the stage of imperialism. At the beginning of the 20th century, the contradictions between the two overlords, Britain and Germany, became the main imperialist contradictions of the time. A late-comer among the imperialist pirates, Germany went all out for expansion in the Middle East and elsewhere. It attempted to realise its ambition for world domination by occupying the Middle East, the hub of communication between Europe, Asia and Africa and an important strategic area leading to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, and seizing British and French colonies. The Middle East thus became an important area for which the imperialist powers contended with one another. Britain, the old-line colonial empire, planned to defeat its powerful rival Germany in war, wrest Mesopotamia and

Palestine from Turkey, enslave the Arab people and consolidate its colonial rule in Africa. Several other imperialist countries also had their sinister designs for dividing up the world. The rapid sharpening of their contradictions led to World War I of 1914-18, bringing mankind unprecedented suffering. But war gave rise to revolution and the outbreak of revolutions in Russia, Germany, Hungary, Turkey and other countries spelled the end of tsarist Russia, the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire — the seemingly powerful colossi who were aggressive by nature.

The study of modern-contemporary world history will enable us to see the deep historical background of today's contention between two super-powers for world domination. As imperialist and social-imperialist countries, they are bound to be governed by the laws of imperialism, to take the beaten path of hegemonism. This is dictated by the nature of imperialism and their downfall is also inevitable.

RISE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

One of the late-comers among the imperialist countries, U.S. imperialism in its early period seldom became involved in the scramble for supremacy among the European powers because of conditions peculiar to the development of capitalism in the United States.

Its first step was aggression and expansion in Latin America. Starting and winning the 1898 Spanish-American War, the first war to redivide colonies in world history, U.S. imperialism became overnight the overlord in the Western Hemisphere. In the short period of 30 years after entering the stage of imperialism, the United States was involved in 33 military invasions and interventions in Latin America.

Moreover, the United States lost no time in contending with other imperialist countries for hegemony in the Pacific region and in Asia. There were both contention and collusion over the years between U.S. imperialism and Japanese imperialism in their complicated scramble for hegemony in the Pacific. Their deep, irreconcilable contradictions culminated in the surprise raid on Pearl Harbour by Japanese militarism in 1941 and the Pacific War in 1941-45.

U.S. imperialism amassed vast wealth in the two world wars. As the No. 1 imperialist country after World War II, the United States stretched its tentacles everywhere around the world. While plundering other peoples economically, it resorted to the big stick policy of undisguised armed interference in the internal affairs of other countries, starting a new scramble for world hegemony.

But times have changed. The unprecedented upsurge in the revolution of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the post-war period, the drastic decline of world capitalism, the sharpening of different contradictions in and outside the United States and growing contradictions among the imperialist countries — all these very soon sent U.S. imperialism tumbling from the peak of its

strength.

The modern history of Russia also tells us about Tsarist Russia's "**never changed and neglected aim—Russia's world hegemony**". (Engels: "The Foreign Policy of the Tsarist Government of Russia"). By suppressing the revolution in Poland and Hungary, occupying large tracts of Chinese territory and engaging in expansion in West and Central Asia, the old tsars built a huge colonial empire astride Europe and Asia towards the end of the 19th century.

Tsarist Russia always regarded hegemony in the Middle East and the Balkan Peninsula as the first strategic objective to achieve. Doing its utmost to expand its navy and contending for an outlet from the Baltic Sea, it tried to clear the way through the Black Sea Strait and control the Mediterranean Sea to build up its maritime hegemony. To realise this global strategy of aggression and expansion, it unleashed wars abroad. Its contention with Japan for supremacy over East Asia led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. Defeated, it divided and shared with Japan their spheres of influences in East Asia at the expense of the sovereignty of China and Korea, in addition to supporting Japan in its aggression against the two countries.

Meanwhile, it worked together with Britain in the West. The two concluded secret treaties for dividing up spheres of influence in Iran, Afghanistan and China's Tibet and jointly sent forces to put down the revolution in Iran. But all the schemes between the imperialist countries could in no way stop the tide of revolution. It was during World War I, an imperialist war, that the revolutionary situation in Russia developed rapidly until tsarist Russia, the main bulwark of the reactionary forces in Europe, was changed into the source of the storm of the socialist revolution and the Russian proletariat won the world's first victory in socialist revolution. History thus proclaimed the end of the dream of a huge tsarist empire.

Completely betraying the road of the October Socialist Revolution and fully inheriting the old tsar's mantle of expansionism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique now entrenched in the Kremlin has restored capitalism and pushed social-imperialism. It can be said with certainty that it is only a pipe dream for the Soviet revisionists to try to re-establish a big colonial empire in the era when the imperialist system is heading for collapse.

COLLUSION AND CONFLICT

Looking back on the history of the imperialist countries contending for world domination and suffering continuous defeats and of U.S. imperialism and tsarist Russian imperialism is of great help in observing today's contention for world hegemony by the two super-powers and some other international problems.

The nature of imperialism determines that while frequently colluding, the imperialist countries have no way of reconciling their conflicts in contending for world hegemony. Their collusion means

greater suppression of the peoples, whereas their bitter rivalry provides favourable conditions for the victory of the revolutionary people.

The revolutionary people must regard the contradictions among imperialists as an inevitable historical phenomenon as capitalism heads towards its doom and concretely analyse and correctly handle them, from a class standpoint. Plunder and aggression by the imperialist powers and the strife for hegemony among them, particularly between the two super-powers, account for the complex conflicts in some areas and also give birth to the tempestuous anti-imperialist struggle of the people in the intermediate zones. Only by overthrowing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism can these people solve their problems in their own interests, independently and with the initiative in their own hands.

WHERE THERE IS OPPRESSION THERE IS RESISTANCE

Where there is oppression there is resistance. Modern-contemporary world history is also the history of the unceasing heroic struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed nations and the people of the world against capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. The great truth **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history"** has been proved by many historical facts — from the first great trial of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of France in June 1848 to the hoisting of the red flag of the Paris Commune — the world's first dictatorship of the proletariat — in 1871; from the monumental triumph of the October Socialist Revolution to the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution and on to the new development of the current international communist movement.

All these are a magnificent epic written by the proletariat and other labouring people of various countries and declare the bankruptcy of modern revisionism.

Side by side with the vigorous advance of the revolutionary movement of the world's proletariat, the oppressed nations' liberation movements have developed into a violent historical trend. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become a seething arena of revolutionary storms that hit directly at imperialism. This is the outcome of the contradictions between the oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies on the one hand and imperialism and colonialism on the other. It has undergone a long historical process. The revolution always advances according to this law: The more the oppression, the greater the resistance, long suppressed, resistance is bound to break out rapidly. In the few hundred years since the end of the 15th century, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered all sorts of plunder and oppression by Western colonialism and imperialism and have set in motion one revolutionary storm after another in fierce offensives against colonialism and imperialism.

LATIN AMERICA

Large-scale wars for independence and liberation of the colonies broke out in Latin America at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Taking the lead were the hundreds of thousands of Negro slaves in Haiti who in more than ten years of fierce fighting routed 60,000 colonial troops of France and Spain and forced the arrogant Napoleon's aggressor troops to surrender; in 1804, they founded Latin America's first independent state of blacks freed from colonial rule and the slave system.

This was followed by the uprisings of the people of many Latin American countries which destroyed the colonial system of Spain and Portugal on the continent. In the mid-19th century when the Asian people became politically awakened, the first revolutionary tide against colonialism and feudalism in Asia swept from the Persian Gulf and India to China. Marx and Engels hailed these great new things with great revolutionary enthusiasm. Engels predicted that "the opening day of a new era for all Asia" ("Persia and China") would come before long.

A new source of great world storms opened up in India, Viet Nam, Korea, the Philippines and China in the early 20th century and especially after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. This turned Asia into a vast battlefield against imperialism. In Africa, the enslaved black people, armed with such primitive weapons as bows and arrows and shot-guns, have fought heroically for several centuries against the Western colonialist aggressors armed to the teeth with advanced weapons.

Since World War II, Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the focal point of the contradictions of the present-day world and are seething with struggles on an unprecedented scale against imperialism and colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The ever-growing national-democratic revolutionary movements in the heartland of capitalism such as the struggle of the Afro-Americans against racial discrimination and the struggle of the people of Northern Ireland for national independence, all have profound historical origins. The U.S. bourgeoisie for generations has been the class enemy of the Afro-Americans whose ancestors were Black slaves shipped from Africa to America by Western colonialists. More than 20 million Afro-Americans in the United States are fighting ruthless exploitation and oppression by the monopoly capitalists.

REVOLUTION WILL TRIUMPH

In his statement supporting their struggle against racial discrimination, Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."

The advance of history shows that the great trend of our era — countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — is an outcome of the logical development of modern history. The rise of the third world is not accidental but an inevitable result of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“Imperialism has pushed the great masses of the people throughout the world into the historical epoch of the great struggle to abolish imperialism.”**

The people invariably want revolution and the revolution is bound to win. But the road of revolution is tortuous, progressing in the course of struggle which is full of twists and turns. This is the dialectical law of historical development. In modern world history, the bourgeois revolution in England beginning in 1640 went through a zigzag course of struggle for nearly half a century. So did the bourgeois revolution in the United States beginning in 1775 for nearly a century and the bourgeois revolution in France beginning in 1789 for more than 80 years. It was after such protracted struggles that the bourgeoisie in these countries consolidated their domination.

The people in the colonies have been doing the same in their struggle for independence. The colonialists and imperialists never quit their colonies of their own accord. They are bound to create all kinds of troubles for the people's revolution. It was not until they had fought wars of independence for almost 20 years in the early 19th century that the people of Latin American countries freed themselves from Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule. After their independence, however, many countries were turned into “commercial colonies” by British imperialism as a result of economic infiltration. Under the sign-board of “pan-Americanism”, U.S. imperialism imposed the chains of neo-colonialism on many Latin American countries by combining the big stick and carrot tactics.

These historical experiences show us that there has never been a genuine revolution without going through a tortuous course of hard struggle, or a revolution that has advanced without a hitch after victory was won and does not have to undergo the protracted struggle between those attempting at a come-back and those opposing it.

CORRECT LINE DECISIVE

Since this is true for the bourgeois revolution, the socialist revolution, the socialist revolution led by the proletariat has to go through an even sharper and more tortuous struggle in order to win final victory. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.”**

The proletariat and the revolutionary people are able to overcome all difficulties on their road of advance, speed up the pace of

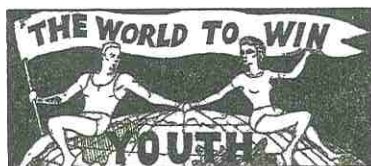
revolution and promote historical advance provided they have a correct Marxist-Leninist line. The study of world history will enable us to have a still deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his proletarian revolutionary line and policies, and spur us to continually raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and our consciousness of continuing revolution, so as to carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

The whole course of modern-contemporary world history vividly proves that socialism is certain to replace capitalism, just as capitalism replaced feudalism. This is an irresistible law of history.

The tide of world revolution is pushing ahead today precisely in accordance with this law. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — the world situation is excellent. Aggression and oppression by the two super-powers are arousing the people of the world to a new awakening and promoting unity among the large number of developing countries. No force in the world can prevent the inevitable downfall of imperialism, nor can any force hold back the sure victory of the revolutionary cause of the people.

Lenin pointed out long ago: **"But the morrow of world history will be a day when the awakening peoples oppressed by imperialism are finally aroused and the decisive long and hard struggle for their liberation begins."** ("Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'").

This great day has now come! In such an earth-shaking era, it is most useful for every revolutionary to read some modern-contemporary world history and draw on the experience accumulated by the peoples of all countries in their revolutionary struggles, military or political, economic or cultural, with or without bloodshed, positive or negative.



Coming of Age of People's Power

— Rewi Alley

Midsummer, 1972. Radio reports come in from around Asia and Oceania. Steadily the tide that leads to change rolls in. Despite massive U.S. and Japanese "aid" and economic infiltration, or actually because of it, the south Korean unemployment figure is at an all time high. The A.S.P.A.C. grouping met in Seoul. The Australian Government, despite financial difficulties, places 64 million dollars worth of "aid" into Suharto's Indonesia, a land that already has "benefitted" from 700 million dollars a year of assorted foreign funds, while both U.S. and Japanese monopolies greedily rake away the resources of that country in the usual rapacious manner employed by foreign imperialism.

The Philippine economy sags. Malaya still has to use foreign troops to support its regime, while further south the struggle for a first degree of political independence goes on in New Guinea, with monopoly trying to insure that their "vital interests" remain untouched. The two principle countries in Oceania, Australia and New Zealand, continue to support U.S. aggression in Indo-china both taking an active part in "aid" to Thailand where armies of U.S. airmen grow, bent on genocide in the filthiest display of imperialist savagery in modern times.

CHINA'S SUPPORT

On the bright side, we watch with admiration the continued struggles of the Indo-chinese peoples in their resistance. There is the great, solid fact of China supporting them, a fighting, dynamic China standing against imperialism and for true economic as well as political independence for all countries.

There, too, is the fact that the peoples in the U.S.A. and in Japan are on the move and are throwing up their own leadership, which helps their peoples to stand courageously against the evil that threatens all.

In Oceania, which geographically is an extension of South-east Asia into the south Pacific, the neo-colonialist dominated countries of New Zealand and Australia, though considered by western and Japanese monopoly as their legitimate outposts for raw materials, also have many thoughtful people. And among these, at long last, there begins to seep in the realisation that they are increasingly at the mercy of rapidly extending foreign monopoly and that for them to gain any real measure of essential economic independence, many basic changes will have to be made to their social

structure.

During a recent four month's trip through New Zealand, I found eager audiences, all interested in the way the struggle for self-sufficiency at all levels has helped to give China a new economic independence, a stable currency and a basis for new advance. The contrasts in China between what was the state of affairs prior to 1949 and what is happening in 1972 are so striking and dramatic that even the very thoughtless can begin to think of them in terms of what an Oceania of the future could be.

A prominent New Zealand economist, W. B. Sutch, in his book **Take Over New Zealand**, published in New Zealand this year, prefaces his introduction with the words of an old Zulu war song:

“Who has taken our country from us
who has taken it?
Fight! Fight!
Shame on the man burnt in his hut!
Come out and fight.”

While for a heading to his first chapter, he uses a couple of lines from Julius Caesar, Act 1, Scene 2:

“The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our star
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.”

So both many New Zealanders and Australians now awake to the realisation that all they have is owned by someone else, and that their future is not in their own hands but those of U.S., Japanese or European finance groups.

The traitor class makes profit by selling off natural resources, but the people are taxed more to pay for new railways and facilities which permit their minerals to be more easily exported, they themselves being left with holes in the ground.

In Australia, the few remaining old Australians, the original people called “aborigines”, who have not been killed off and are being further pushed to the wall, now organise themselves for a come-back. They are but a very small percentage of the Australian population today, but alive in their indignation and new understanding, as their poets show. Here are some lines by Kelvin Gilbert, one of their poets, for to understand a people it is good to turn for a moment to the poetry they write.

“The song of the inland river,
the roar of the angry sea,
the souging pines and eucalyptuses,
all cry out ‘Break free’.
This is the word of nature.
this is the plan of God—

then give ear to the dispossessed
who fight for their own sod.
Stand up and be counted,
raise a free man's cry,
or see blood fall upon the land,
see our last hopes die."

Then some more by the well-known woman aboriginal poet,
Kath Walker:

"We were people before we were citizens,
before we were ratepayers,
tenants, customers, employees, parishioners,
how could be understand
White man's gradings, rigid and unquestioned,
you sacred totems of Lord and Lady,
Highness and Holiness, Eminence, Majesty.
We could not understand
your strange cult of uniformity
the mass obedience to clocks, timetables,
puzzled we wondered why
the importance to you, urgent and essential,
of ties and gloves, shoe polish, uniforms.
New to us were gaols and orphanages,
rent and taxes, rates and mortgages . . .
we who had so few things, the prime things,
we had no policemen, lawyers, middlemen,
brokers, financiers, millionaires."

Then, going on in another poem to say:

"I am proud of skin amongst whites
and I am proud,
proud of race and skin.
I am broken and poor . . .
but do not think I am ashamed,
we were compelled, but never servile!"

PLENTY OF REBELS

The Australian native is akin to the Dravidian race of South India. The Maoris of New Zealand, on the other hand, like Tongans and Samoans, are part of the early Polynesian migration from South-east China out into the Pacific.

Maoris are only ten per cent of New Zealand's population, but they increase three times as quickly as whites. Integration is so fast that it is estimated, by the end of this century, everyone in New Zealand will have Maori relatives. They have a deeply entrenched class structure, yet there are plenty of rebels, as Rowley

Habib who pens these lines on ordinary Maori workers of today describes:

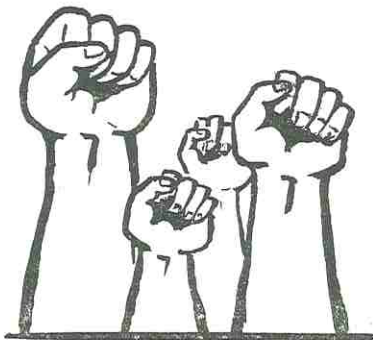
“From the bush felling they came. The Freezing Works.
The wool Stores.
The scrub cutting. The Power Board. The post splitting.
The truck driving.
The bush snigging. The bully driving.
From the City Council, bare armed on the pavements with
pick and shovel.
From the Publics Work’s Department with children
standing by the roadside
laughing and repeating what they heard their parents say
P.W.D. — ‘Poor Working Devils’ as the trucks
passed them along the road.”

Looking at the present situation around the Pacific basin objectively, it can be seen that the principal trend is already revolutionary, for increasingly folks find no way out under the existing order. Granted the old order has many clever, subtle ways of perpetuating itself, but though it seems so big and strong, in reality it has but feet of clay, for it could not learn where real strength lies.

So, whether in Oceania or in the Americas, or around the coasts of Asia in the years that lie ahead, there will be change, change which peoples will increasingly demand and which must begin to meet their needs.

The day of the super-power, with its horde of agents, gunmen, generals and politicians, all the front for money bags, begins to draw to its close. Despite all temporary setbacks, all diversions, all difficulties, the age of people’s power with its manifold promise is steadily coming in.

(Abridged from “The Afro-Asian Journalist” September, 1972).



Trotskyism and the Revolutionary Movement

— Agim Popa.

(Rruga e Partise, Albania, No. 7, 1972).

As was pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class in our times absolutely demands a consistent struggle against both the Right opportunism of the modern revisionists (and this is the main thing) and the "leftist" trends and preachings, especially against the dangerous activity of Trotskyism, which, at the present time and going back to the 60s, has been reactivated. In the report delivered at the 6th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The varying anti-Marxist trends of Trotskyism and anarchism have been enlivened as never before. Penetrating into the various mass movements, especially of the youth and intellectuals, they are trying to fish in troubled waters, with the aim of diverting the masses from the right road and throwing them into dangerous adventures which lead to grave defeats and disillusionment".

RESUSCITATION OF TROTSKYISM AND ITS CAUSES

Following the 20th and especially the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., at which the renegade Khrushchov launched his savage campaign against Stalinism, Trotskyism, which had received heavy blows and lost all influence among the masses, raised its head, recommence its undermining activity on a wide scale and extended its poisonous roots to many regions and countries of the world. In Europe, Africa and in other zones, numerous Trotskyite groups and organisations began to sprout like toadstools on rotting timber.

Since the 1960s, the Trotskyists have grouped themselves around four main centres: "the International Secretariat", the so-called "Marxist-Revolutionary Trend of the 4th International", the "Latin American Secretariat", and the "International Committee" of London, which by and large unites the British, American and Canadian Trotskyist groups.

The Trotskyist groups are particularly numerous in Western Europe. For example, in France such groups as "the Internationalist Communist Party (P.C.I.)", which is the French offshoot of the 4th International, "the Internationalist Communist Organisation (O.C.I.)", a rival faction which does not participate in the 4th International, "the Alliance of Youth for Socialism" (A.J.S.), "the Marxist - Revolutionary Alliance" (A.M.R.), "the Communist League (L.C.)", "the Workers' Struggle Group" (L.O.) etc.

have all appeared and carried on their poisonous activity. Similarly in Spain there are "the International Communist Party" also known as "Unidad", "the Worker's Party of Marxist Unity", (POUM), the "Communist Action" organisation, "the Revolutionary Workers' Party (P.O.R.)". In Britain there is the Trotskyist organisation called "the Socialist Action League". Various Trotskyist groupings have raised their heads in many other countries from West Germany, Sweden, Belgium, etc. in Europe, to Ceylon and Japan in Asia.

What are the causes of the revival of Trotskyism at the present time? The main reasons are:—

On the one hand the betrayal by modern revisionism, especially that of the Krushchovite revisionists, which caused great confusion in the revolutionary movement. This is precisely what has made it possible for the Trotskyists to flaunt pseudo-leftist slogans to confuse the revolutionary movement.

On the other hand, the revival of Trotskyism is connected with the large-scale drawing into the revolutionary movement today of the petty-bourgeois middle strata, including especially the petty-bourgeois strata of the cities such as small shop-keepers, lower and middle grade clerks and officials, intellectuals and students, who bring with them into the movement all the waverings typical of the petty bourgeoisie. It is precisely these vacillations, this petty-bourgeois instability, the tendency to go from one extreme to the other, from anarchism and unrestrained adventurism to extreme Right opportunism and defeatism, which constitutes that favourable ground on which Trotskyism can flourish and on which it gambles for its counter-revolutionary aims.

Finally, in the present period, when the tide of revolutionary movement is in full flow, the bourgeoisie is bending every effort to encourage and support the spread of Trotskyism, which, by playing on the feelings of protest of the broad masses of working people, especially of the youth and students with their sincere but spontaneous revolutionary tendencies, against the capitalist order, is trying to disorientate them with ultra-revolutionary phraseology, to turn them from the true road of the revolution, to direct them into adventures that are quite harmless to the rule of the bourgeoisie and thus to engender disillusionment. This is why today the publishing houses financed by the bourgeoisie are distributing large quantities of the works of Trotsky and other Trotskyist literature.

FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES

What are the characteristics of present day Trotskyism?

In general, the Trotskyism of our day takes its stand on the same anti-Marxist views, objectives and methods, that were worked out by Trotsky himself in his time. But because of the existing conditions and circumstances in which it is operating today, they cannot fail to have certain new special features.

From the philosophic-methodological viewpoint, present day Trotskyism, like the Trotskyism of the past, is characterised by subjectivism, which is expressed, among other things, in failure to take into account the objective circumstances which condition the development of the revolutionary movement on a national or an international scale, the character and motive forces of the revolution in its different stages. Eclecticism and pragmatism, lack of firm principle, reliance on completely contradictory concepts, rushing from one extreme to the other, unity with the most varied trends for the sake of momentary advantages, are all characteristic of Trotskyist concepts.

From the political-ideological viewpoint, present day Trotskyism is characterised by hostility towards revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. This is a common feature of both old and new Trotskyism. Formerly it was expressed in Trotsky's hostile stand towards Lenin and Leninism. Later it found expression in the hostile stand of Trotsky and the Trotskyists towards the ideas, leadership and work of Stalin.

At the present time the hostility of Trotskyism towards Marxism-Leninism is expressed in the fact that the Trotskyists try to divert the attention of the revolutionary movement away from the struggle against modern revisionism and direct it to a position of anti-Stalinism. The Trotskyists present the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of Stalin in an entirely distorted light, describing it as Right opportunism. And while they have little or nothing, apart from a few general statements, to say about the struggle against revisionism, they direct all their fire against Stalin and Stalinism, accusing him of betraying Leninism and the cause of the revolution and socialism, of confusing the world revolutionary movement, of causing the decline of the revolutionary drive in the West, of carrying out the occupation and exploitation of the countries of People's Democracy after World War 2, etc. etc. (P. Frank—"La Quatrieme International" ed Maspero, 1969).

They also assail Mao Tsetung and his ideas, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese revolution. (Ibid, and also D. Avenas, A Brossat, — "De l'antitrotskyisme", ed Maspero. 1972).

UNITY WITH REVISIONISTS

Meanwhile the Trotskyists are in complete agreement with the modern revisionists in their fundamental attitudes. Together with the revisionists they attack Stalin and the Communist Party of China, give their support to the various trends of revisionism. In 1948, the leadership of the 4th International and the Trotskyist organisations that participated in it expressed their support for the Yugoslav revisionists and carried out widespread activities in their favour (P. Frank — La Quadrieme Internationale). In 1956 they took the side of the Hungarian counter-revolution.

In 1968, the Trotskyists lined up with the Dubchek revisionists

in Czechoslovakia, proclaiming their policy as a revolutionary one. Likewise, the Trotskyists associated themselves with the demagogy of Soviet revisionists over the alleged "united front of all socialist countries against American imperialism". They deny the process of the restoration of capitalism in the countries ruled by the revisionists.

What Lenin said about Trotsky long ago is completely valid for present-day Trotskyism: "He twists, speculates, poses as being of the Left, and does everything he can to assist the Right . . ." The main objective of the Trotskyites is to bring about the unity of all trends, whether Right or Left, against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, which they describe as Stalinism.

SPLITTERS OF WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The splitting of the revolutionary movement of the working class is one of the outstanding objectives and the most characteristic feature of present-day Trotskyism. Objectively, Trotskyism today can be described as a special agency in the service of the bourgeoisie for the splitting of the working class movement, splitting which the Trotskyites try to elevate to a principle by expressing themselves openly against the unity in the ranks of the movement.

This is what Pierre Frank, one of today's leading ideologists of Trotskyism wrote: "In fact, what is really the most abnormal thing in the worker's movement is its monolithic nature, this 'unity' which stifles all independent political thought in the ranks of organisations which call themselves Marxist . . . Anyone who looks at the history of the worker's movement will see that it has been full of struggles between currents and trends, in political and theoretical opposition to one another. This was in order, because progress of revolutionary thought and deed is inconceivable without a ceaseless confrontation of theories, attitudes and orientations, with the reality. And how much more should it be like this in a world in which great upheavals are occurring continually, in which the "new" is being born from day to day" (P. Frank — La Quatrieme Internationale, P. 60).

Thus, according to him we cannot even speak of unity of the workers' movement, as its normal state is one of continuous splits. (!)

TROTSKYIST VACILLATIONS

Unprincipled vacillation from Left to Right, uniting sometimes with the opportunists furthest to the Right, sometimes with the most extremist and adventurist leftist elements, is also characteristic of the concepts and attitudes of the Trotskyists. Thus on the one hand, they pursue the so-called policy of infiltration, that is, the amalgamation of Trotskyist groups with other parties, even with the Rightist social-democrat parties, while on the other hand, they launch frantic attacks on the policy of the anti-fascist people's front, which they describe as "an opportunist policy of class collabo-

ration”.

On the other hand, the Trotskyists praise to the heavens the use of violence, regardless of whether or not it is correct tactics, support and incite Leftist and anarchist movements which are without any revolutionary perspective or programme, which only cause confusion and disillusionment in the revolutionary movement through such things as tiny revolts by tiny armed groups, or guerrilla fighting which has no support in a broad, organised, mass political movement (putschism and political adventurism). On the other hand, they recommend that the workers' movement adopt strategy and tactics in the struggle for socialism which is an identical copy of the reformist line of the “right-wing” revisionists (P. Frank — “La Quatrieme Internationale” and K. Mavrakis — “Du Trotskysme”, 1971).

These vacillations, the eclectic mixing up of concepts furthest to the Right with those from the extreme Left, are not only the expression of the profoundly petty-bourgeois nature of the Trotskyist movement, but are also a method to confuse and disorientate the revolutionary movement.

All these things show that the fundamental policy of the Trotskyism of today is, as it was in the past, revolution in words, but the undermining and sabotage of the revolutionary movement in practice.

TROTSKYIST METHODS TODAY

How do the Trotskyists sabotage the revolutionary movement of the working class today?

The Trotskyists make great play with slogans of revolution, and in particular, they proclaim the so-called theory of the ‘permanent revolution’, which they try to put across as the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. But what is the essence of their ultra-revolutionary preachings and who do they really serve?

The theory of the “permanent revolution” is the denial of stages of the revolution under the pretext of its uninterrupted development. This was the viewpoint of Trotsky and is the viewpoint of his followers today. According to this theory, in every country, whether one of the developed capitalist countries or a colonial or semi-colonial country, wherever the revolution is being carried out, it cannot be anything except a purely proletarian revolution, without any sort of intermediate phases.

“At the present time there are no intermediate roads between the rule of capital and the dictatorship of the proletariat”, write the Trotskyists. But to put the matter forward in this way means to ignore the objective factors which condition the revolution in the different phases of its development, to restrict the social basis of the revolution in these countries, to sow divisions between social forces which should be united in the revolutionary movement, and in the end to sabotage it.

The Trotskyist theory of the “permanent revolution” is also

a theory of the negation of the national motive, force in the development of the revolutionary movement, a theory of the over-estimation of the external factor and the denial of the internal factor as the decisive factor in revolution, and in the final analysis, a theory of the "export" of the revolution. "The idea that the revolutionary movement can be built on a national scale or in 'regional' isolation", says one of the programmatic documents of the 4th International, entitled, 'The Actual Dialectic of the World Revolution'. "has never been so bankrupt as in the epoch of inter-continental ballistic missiles and journeys through the cosmos" (P. Frank — La Quatrieme Internationale).

Such a presentation of the problem leads to giving up the revolution in the different countries, to sitting back to wait for the conditions to be created for the carrying out of "chain revolution on a world scale", a thing which is impossible because of the unequal economic and political development under capitalism. But the Trotskyists choose to disregard this and thus they fall into subjectivism.

DENIAL OF ROLE OF THE PEASANTRY

Through their preachings and their own attitudes the Trotskyists confuse and divide the motive forces of the present day revolutionary process. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries where the working class still comprises a relatively restricted class while the majority of the population, thus numerically the greatest force of the revolution, are the peasants, the Trotskyists, by denying the revolution by stages, in fact deny the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry, alienate it and the other intermediary strata from the working class with ultra-Leftist slogans.

In the developed capitalist countries, however, where the working class constitutes the decisive force of any truly revolutionary movement, the present-day Trotskyists are ever more persistently spreading the view that in these countries the striking force of the revolution and the true leaders of the revolutionary movement are allegedly the young intellectuals, the students and school pupils. Clear evidence of this is the fact that while the Trotskyist trend is spread mainly among student youth, its influence among the workers is extremely limited. Thus on this problem the position of the Trotskyists is very close to that of the bourgeois ideologists such as Marcuse or the extreme Right of the revisionists such as Fisher and others.

But it is well known that however much the student movement may be developed, it can play an effective and positive role in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism only if it is united with the revolutionary movement of the working class and places itself under the leadership of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party.

While they make a great fuss about their ultra-revolutionary general slogans, when it comes to getting down to work to deal with

the concrete problems of the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class, the Trotskyists come out with sermons that in essence are identical with those of the modern revisionists about "structural reform", about worker participation in the management of capitalist enterprises, etc. Thus the Trotskyist Mandel says that the struggle for workers' control in the capitalist countries, "creates a situation of the duality of state power", that "the demand for worker control . . . aims at the emergence of worker's state power, at first at the plant and later over the whole country".

According to the preachings of the Trotskyists, worker's control can be achieved under the conditions of the rule of the bourgeoisie armed to the teeth, without overthrowing its state power, without destroying the bourgeois state machinery, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat(!) This is a flagrant opportunist denial of the revolution.

THE VANGUARD PROLETARIAN PARTY

The hostility of the Trotskyists both past and present, towards the revolutionary movement of the working class comes out most clearly in connection with their attitude towards the problem of the party of the proletariat. The Trotskyist views on this matter can be summed up as follows:

1. According to the Trotskyists, the existence and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party is not absolutely necessary in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism. As the Trotskyist P. Frank says in his book, "La Quatrieme Internationale", Trotsky himself in his writings envisaged, although as an unlikely possibility in unusual circumstances, that "the revolution would triumph even under leadership which was not a Marxist revolutionary leadership", while following the Second World War, allegedly several such occurrences have taken place (P. Frank — La Quatrieme Internationale).

It is clear on this question that there is no real difference between what the Trotskyists and the Yugoslav, Italian and some other revisionists preach. It is known that the aim of such teachings is to leave the working class without a true revolutionary leadership, and their only purpose is to sabotage the revolution and to leave the working class in enslavement to capitalism.

2. The Trotskyists rise up against the undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party following the seizure of power by the working class, and, together with various bourgeois and extreme Rightist revisionist ideologists, advocate the multi-party system under socialism. Here is what the Trotskyist P. Frank had to say about this: "In the society of transition to socialism the working class will still remain differentiated for a long period to the degree that various strata will have differing views on the relationship between their daily needs and their longer term interests. Thus there will be room for various parties in the transition society, some more re-

formist in character, some more revolutionary". (Ibid).

That means we are speaking about several allegedly workers' Parties, which excludes all possibility of the leadership of a single vanguard party of the working class based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

But in these conditions the existence of a true dictatorship of the proletariat is not possible either, and the Trotskyists have taken this into account. The very fact that they have carried on and continue with a rabid campaign against the 'Stalinist' soviet system, which was the embodiment of the fundamental features of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the clearest evidence of their unlimited hostility to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. By preaching "world" revolution and under-estimating the role of the internal, national factor in the development of the revolutionary movement, the Trotskyists consequently also under-estimate the role of the proletarian party on the national scale and speak about the necessity of a "world party". "Since there is no such thing as socialism in a single country and no national road", they say, "the instrument of the world revolution cannot be other than a world party", (P. Frank — La Quatrieme Internationale).

In essence, this means to eliminate the true role of the proletarian party, because the world revolutionary process under today's conditions is meaningless except as the development and triumph of the revolution in various countries, thus on a national scale, necessarily under the leadership and complete responsibility of the proletarian party in each country.

4. Although in words the Trotskyists proclaim themselves the consistent successors of Lenin himself, in fact they are opponents of the Leninist principles of the internal life of the proletarian party. Under the pretext of "democracy" and "freedom of opinion", they especially oppose the principle of democratic-centralism, of the unity of thought and action, to the iron proletarian discipline in the party, without which the party remains amorphous and disorganised, a mere club for endless discussions, incapable of any kind of effective revolutionary action, while the internal democracy is transformed into a means to disintegrate and liquidate the party.

In his day, Trotsky described the Party of the Leninist type as a "barracks regime", and the Leninist norms as bureaucratic and dictatorial. In his view, the party should consist of an unprincipled union of all factions or trends that proclaim themselves socialist or communist (Jean-Jaques Marie, "Le Trotskyme").

The present-day Trotskyists also advocate factionalism and express support for "freedom of discussion and the right to form trends, without which "a true political life is denied to the rank and file". (P. Frank — La Quatrieme Internationale). On this question too, the position of the Trotskyists is identical with that of the extreme Right wing of the revisionists of the type of Garodi and Fisher, or the Leftist groups of the type of the "Manifesto", which

openly, and not in a shame-faced way like the Trotskyists, came out against the Leninist teachings on the party.

DANGEROUS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TREND

The facts prove that Trotskyism today is a sworn enemy of the revolutionary movement of the working class and peoples and a dangerous weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and imperialism of sow confusion in this movement, to divide and undermine it. Therefore the struggle for the exposure and destruction of the Trotskyist trend is an essential condition at the present time for the successful development of the revolutionary movement of the working class and an immediate task for all Marxist-Leninists.

This will be a protracted and complex ideological and political struggle to expose the falsity and the truly counter-revolutionary character of the preachings and attitudes of the Trotskyists in connection with the various problems of the revolutionary movement today. But this sort of struggle alone is not enough.

The defeat of the Trotskyist trend is inseparable from the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against modern revisionism, first of all against the Soviet modern revisionism, to put an end to the confusion it causes in the revolutionary movement today, which creates the conditions for the revival of Trotskyism.

But the decisive condition for a successful struggle against Trotskyism is the further development of the Marxist-Leninist movement itself, the working out in each country of a real programme of revolutionary struggle and the extension of the Marxist-Leninist parties deeper into the ranks of the masses.

(Abridged — Ed).