

# RED



# FLAG

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

THEORETICAL ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
 REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA REGARDING THE  
 MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE  
 COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY HELD  
 IN BUCHAREST

Acting upon instructions from its Government the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania handed on July 19, 1966 its Note with the following content to the Diplomatic Representatives of the other Member countries of the Warsaw Treaty accredited to Tirana to be transmitted to their respective Governments:

An unconstitutional meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty has been held in Bucharest from July 4 through July 6, 1966 to which the People's Republic of Albania was not invited. In this connection the Government of the People's Republic of Albania deems it necessary to communicate the following:

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in its capacity as the Government of a sovereign Member-State of the Warsaw Treaty of full and equal rights, was not invited to take part at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held in Bucharest. This discriminating act is a further violation of the dispositions and spirit of the Warsaw Treaty gravely infringing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Albania in the Warsaw Treaty and damaging the interests and lowering the prestige of this Treaty itself. The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty itself is part of the chain of illegal and hostile acts perpetrated by the Soviet Government and the Governments of the other Member countries against the People's Republic of Albania.

The method pursued by the organizers of the above meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty confirms once again that the Government of the USSR, brutally ignoring the sovereign rights of Member States of the Warsaw Treaty, continues to unscrupulously violate the fundamental principles and dispositions of the Treaty, which it tries to use as an instrument of its chauvinistic policy of the big Power and as a means of capitulation to U. S. imperialism.

The course the Soviet Government has laid out for the Warsaw Treaty does by no means serve the high objectives for which this organization was set up. Its basic principles are not only impudently trampled upon but they are being transformed and losing their real meaning. The Soviet Government is placing the Warsaw Treaty more and more into the service of the policy of Soviet-U.S.A. collaboration against the interests of the peoples of the socialist countries.

In face of this very serious situation the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has exposed in due time all the unilateral, hostile and treacherous acts of the Soviet Government, it has warned the Member States of the Treaty against the danger of this course and the very grave consequences for the fate of the people of the socialist countries and of peace in general.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has firmly and publicly denounced the Soviet Government for trampling upon the sovereign and inviolate rights of the People's Republic of Albania in the Warsaw Treaty more so because it refused to submit to the anti-Marxist line and chauvinist dictate of the big Power of the Soviet leadership and has upheld the high principles of parity, mutual respect, independence, sovereignty and of non-intervention in internal affairs which are consecrated

in the Treaty.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in its letter of January 15, 1965, to the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty held in January of the same year, stated clearly and in a clear-cut way its stand towards its participation at the meetings of this Treaty. Events so far confirm that the other members of the Warsaw Treaty have taken no steps to create the necessary conditions for the People's Republic of Albania to participate at the meetings of the Warsaw Treaty, moreover the Soviet Khrushchevite leaders continue to perpetrate grave anti-socialist and anti-Albanian acts, a thing which was clearly evident at the recent meeting.

In view of the above the Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers this year's July meeting of the Warsaw Treaty as abusive, unlawful and of no value and its decisions null and void.

Meanwhile the Albanian Government cannot but denounce the dangerous conspiring acts which, according to official communiques and the press, were decided upon at this meeting in the name of the Warsaw Treaty.

According to official informations for the press, it seems that this meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty took up matters concerning peace and security in Europe as well as the questions of the U.S.A. aggression in Vietnam and approved relevant statements on them.

The Statement "on the consolidation of peace and security in Europe" as well as that "on the aggression of the USA in Vietnam" clearly show that the Government of the Soviet Union and those who follow it used the Bucharest meeting as a rostrum to intensify their demagogical campaign to waylay peoples and to hatch up new plots directed against the vital interests of the socialist countries and against peace.

The Statement "on consolidating peace and security in Europe" built on the basis of the general spirit of Soviet-American collaboration to divide spheres of influence and to have the world dominated by the two big Powers, lays bare the basic intentions of strengthening relations with imperialist powers rather than those of the future of the Socialist camp and of insuring peace in Europe and in the world on sound, principled foundations. Proceeding from anti-socialist positions to the detriment of the vital interests of all the people of the world, the Statement makes a wrong appraisal of the real situation of the relations among the states of Europe and the world and pretends that conditions are ripe "to take constructive measures" towards strengthening peace and security in Europe, a thing which, they claim, would be arrived at through "calling together a pan-European meeting". The desire is even expressed in the Statement of concluding "an agreement to do away with the military organizations of both the North Atlantic Pact and the Warsaw Treaty".

The Warsaw Treaty was set up as a result of the aggravation of the situation in Europe and the rise of international tension as a consequence of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and its partners in Europe. One of the main purposes for which the Warsaw Treaty came into being was to ward off the danger a rearmed Germany (Western), which was being admitted to the NATO military bloc, constituted for the socialist countries and peace; it was set up to guarantee the security of the socialist states as well as to preserve peace in Europe from any aggression of the imperialists and their North Atlantic military bloc directed by the U.S.A.

Facts go to show that international tension in Europe and in the world has not eased, that the U.S.A. is constantly strengthening its military potential and is launching repeated aggression against the freedom and independence of people. It is

persisting on its abominable policy of blackrail and intrigue, it is carrying out open aggression in various countries of the world as in Vietnam and elsewhere, and it is feverishly preparing for a third world war.

In Europe the U.S.A. has pursued and pursues the policy of dictating to and subjugating the western states, it has strengthened its military bases more than ever before, it has equipped them with most up-to-date armaments including nuclear weapons, has directly helped the revival of the German Wehrmacht and is doing its utmost to equip the West-German army with nuclear weapons, the U.S. Fleet is sailing from corner to corner on European waters, ready to vomit flames of fire, while towards the socialist countries it pursues the deceptive policy of "bridges" and "peaceful evolution" at the same time. It is precisely this policy that the Bucharest Statement "on consolidating peace and security in Europe" corresponds to and serves.

The German problem, which is one of the main links of guaranteeing European security, continues to always remain unsolved. It is well known that not very long ago all the socialist Member States of the Warsaw Treaty were unanimously of the opinion that the main problems that needed as early a solution as possible were those left over from the Second World War and above all, the solution of the German problem and the question of West Berlin through the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with both German states or with the German Democratic Republic alone. By examining this problem of so much significance to the German people and to the world at large the socialist countries, Members of the Warsaw Treaty declared in unequivocal terms at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty held in February 1960: "The conclusion of the Peace Treaty, renunciation of any idea of revenge and of a revision of boundaries, renunciation of the policy of re-arming and supplying Germany with nuclear weapons; this is the best way to guarantee the security of all the European people and the peaceful future of the German people." Whereas now the Parties undersigning the Statement "on consolidating peace and security in Europe" speak of their intentions of "continuing to seek for a solution of this problem" which in reality, means that they are in favor of postponing the Peace Treaty with Germany to infinity. The Statement undersigned in Bucharest abandons and betrays the German Democratic Republic and the German people thus inciting the expansionist policy of the German Federal Republic, a thing which leads to the aggravation of the situation in Europe.

To speak of easing tension and securing peace in Europe on the basis of agreements that may be concluded between certain socialist countries, on one side, and the western countries including the U.S.A., on the other, at a time when U.S. imperialism is launching in Asia open aggression against a fraternal socialist country like the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and is preparing for aggression against the People's Republic of China, is tantamount to plotting with U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China, to becoming partners with the U.S.A. against fraternal socialist countries. This shows once again that the Soviet Government is proceeding further and further on the road to high treason.

The proposal for an immediate dissolution at the present time of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Pact is only to the benefit of the United States of America which aims at creating in Europe a period of relative calmness for the US imperialists and on the basis of "an agreement" of this kind to let the U.S.A. a free hand to draw its armed forces from Europe and to dispatch them to its criminal war in heroic Vietnam and to concentrate its military potential in Asia against the People's Republic of China, against the other countries of Southeastern Asia as well as against all the peoples who fight for freedom, national independence, social progress and peace.

To speak of breaking up the Warsaw Treaty through "an agreement" which may be

reached for this purpose with the NATO countries before solving the fundamental problems is tantamount to betraying the principles which lie at the root of the Warsaw Treaty and to openly and unscrupulously trampling underfoot its clear-cut dispositions. A proposal of this kind is in open contradiction to Article 7 of the Treaty in which it is clearly set forth that Contracting Parties pledge themselves "not to conclude any agreement" the objectives of which are "at variance with the objectives of this Treaty".

The Statement on the aggression of the U.S.A. in Vietnam sets forth in a demagogical way the alleged "support" of the participating states for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, warns "the Government of the U.S.A. in a most categorical way" against its aggression against the Vietnam people, expresses their "readiness" to dispatch volunteers to Vietnam to give the Democratic Republic of Vietnam "an ever greater moral and political support and allround assistance", appeals for "joint actions" by the socialist countries, and so on.

It is clear to all that hypocritical statements of this kind by the Khrushchevite revisionists are one thing while their practical deeds bespeak quite another. Facts have shown that the Soviet revisionist leaders collaborate and plot together with the U.S. imperialists against the fraternal Vietnamese people, that they are interested not in the victory of the Vietnamese people but in supporting the aggressive war and global strategy of U.S. imperialism with which they are bound from head to foot through overt and covert agreements and which they try their uttermost to save from disaster for the defeat of the U.S. would at the same time be a catastrophe for the revisionists themselves as a whole.

The demagogy of the Soviet revisionist leaders regarding the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is clearly evident also in recent events: the ink had not yet dried on the Statement signed in Bucharest about Vietnam when the Soviet revisionist leaders started new bargainings with the emissaries of U.S. imperialism to the detriment of the heroic Vietnamese people.

The Party of Labor and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have made it clear more than once that "the support" for the war of the Vietnamese people of which the Khrushchevite revisionists speak is a bluff, while their "assistance" is insignificant; in fact, null in comparison with the heroism and sacrifices of the Vietnamese people. In its letter of February 11, 1966 addressed to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Party of Labor of Albania laid bare the falsity of the call for "united action" by the Khrushchevite revisionists; they stated in all clarity that "under their slogan of "united action" the Khrushchevite revisionists aim at making accomplices in crime all the socialist countries, for it is now clear that the Khrushchevite revisionists do not intend to help Vietnam but to sabotage its struggle and to hide the spoors of their new crime which consists in encouraging and supporting the assault the imperialists are getting up against the People's Republic of China which is waging a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and giving unreserved and active support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people." These aims of the Khrushchevite revisionists are laid bare also in the statement signed in Bucharest regarding the aggression of the U.S.A. in Vietnam in which mention is made of the danger which the U.S. aggression presents for other countries like Laos and Cambodia but in which silence is intentionally kept of the fact that the ultimate objective of the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is the launching of aggression against the People's Republic of China, a thing which is already clear to the whole world. Silence on this matter in the Bucharest Statement at a time when the U.S.A. is intensifying its provocations and hostile acts against People's China means, in fact, that as far as China is concerned, the U.S.A. may deploy all its forces in order to carry out its criminal designs. Out of this emerges in a new light and more forcefully the treachery of the present Soviet Government and



its complicity in the schemes of U.S. imperialism to set up an "iron ring" against the People's Republic of China, in preparation of open aggression against it.

The published resolutions of the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty are nothing but an offer of compromise to U.S. imperialism in Europe for the purpose of its expanding the war in Vietnam and in the People's Republic of China.

In its letter of February 11, 1966, the Party of Labor of Albania stressed also that "in the Vietnam question the only principled stand acceptable to the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and socialist countries is the full, militant and unreserved support to the fraternal Vietnamese people and a tit-for-tat and uncompromising fight against U.S. imperialist aggressors and rupture of all relations with them". This thing has neither been done nor will ever be done by the Soviet revisionist traitors and those who follow them.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty held in Bucharest is, thus, a great plot which, far from serving the cause of peace, European security and the victory of the fraternal Vietnamese people, clearly shows that the present Soviet leaders and those who follow them are prone to offer as a sacrifice at the altar of the Soviet-American collaboration the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, People's China and of other socialist countries, the achievements of socialism and the very existence of the socialist camp. This plot incites West German militarism in its expansionist and revisionist policy; it serves the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism in Asia and in other regions of the world, it leads towards a further deterioration of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania deems it necessary to emphasize that it has been and continues to be resolutely in favor of guaranteeing collective security in Europe, it has always upheld and upholds the view that the guaranteeing of security and the preservation of peace in Europe cannot be detached from the guaranteeing of international security and peace in general, that an agreement for collective security in Europe like that proposed in the Bucharest Statement, based on the betrayal of the unity and fundamental interests of the member countries of the socialist camp, of the freedom of peoples and of world peace would be a crime, indeed against the peoples of Europe and of the world, against communism and peace.

Therefore, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, which pursues a deeply peaceful policy and wages a resolute struggle against world imperialism headed by that of the U.S.A., for which the future of its people, of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, and of other peace-loving countries are dear, denounces with utmost determination this new plot hatched up in the Bucharest meeting for which the Government of the Soviet Union, in the first place, and the Governments of the other participating countries bear a grave responsibility, and it expresses its conviction that the day will come when they will have to render account to their peoples, to the peoples of the socialist camp and of the whole world for the great damage they have caused to the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Tirana, July 19, 1966.

## 'PEACEFUL TRANSITION' AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN AUSTRALIA

Australia for the last two decades or so has from a capitalist point of view been rapidly expanding. Superficially at least the position of the Australian working class has been reasonably good. So the tide of the revolutionary movement has been at a low ebb.

The struggles of the workers have, in the main, been confined to economic issues and although the importance of these should not be minimised they have on the whole lacked political content. More and more legalistic forms have become accepted. So the trade union movement spends thousands of dollars each year in waging legal battles in the Arbitration Commission and before State Wages Tribunals for increased wages and margins and improved working conditions. The trade unions have become inmeshed in legal battles in the Commonwealth Industrial Court.

In this political climate revisionism in the Australian Communist Party was bound to grow. Today the Australian revisionists are faithful disciples of their Soviet masters embracing the ideas of peaceful transition and peaceful co-existence with enthusiasm and vigor. These revisionist trends in such a political climate as that which exists in Australia at present are not new. They were exposed and denounced by Lenin on many occasions and in particular in his two works "The State and Revolution" and "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky." In fact the latter could have been written about modern day conditions. One might even go through the text of this great work and delete the names of Kautsky, Bernstein and the others mentioned by Lenin, and replace them with Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Aarons and so on.

The bankruptcy of the policies of the modern day revisionists is clear. Gone is all pretence at being a revolutionary party in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This has become obvious for all to see. The newspaper "Tribune" has now become "Australia's progressive national weekly." The Communist Review has ceased publication and its place taken by a journal of purely "left wing views." On the political and ideological front the revisionists talk of achieving parliamentary honours and, with some left wing group of the Labor Party conjured up in their minds, introducing socialism through parliamentary and governmental channels.

This is utter rubbish! There is absolutely no difference between this policy and that of the Labor Party.

While the many individual members of the Labor Party want social change the fact remains that the official policy of this body whether it be reflected through Calwell, Whitlam or Cairns, supports capitalism. Does not the leadership support the establishment of American bases in Australia? They actively support SEATO, one of the centres of reaction throughout the South East Asia area. Their position on the question of the aggression of American imperialism in Vietnam is real support for it. One thing which, through the maze of conflicting and contradictory Labor Party statements has become clear, is that Australian forces will continue to attack the Vietnamese people.

In other words the Labor Party is as deeply committed on fundamental issues in Vietnam as is the Holt Government. And the reason for this is clear for all to see, i.e., where there is economic penetration and ultimately domination, then inevitable there will be political domination. Is not this already happening in Australia?

Has not the economic penetration of this country already reached the proportions where even some of the Australian national bourgeoisie are expressing misgivings? The political domination is likewise becoming apparent. It should never be forgotten that it was only a matter of days after Harriman's visit that the puppet Holt happily announced that the size of the Australian commitment in Vietnam would be increased. Holt himself with almost sickening indecency betook himself to South Vietnam to associate and align himself with his fellow puppet, the now discredited General Ky.

Where did the Labor Party stand through all these manoeuvres? Calwell was kept well informed of all the American plans! Was there any criticism of the Harriman visit or of the sycophant attitude adopted by Holt? At the most it can be said that the Labor Party has vaguely called for peace in Vietnam. But is not this merely peddling the alternate American policy - a policy designed to ensure that the United States imperialists retain a permanent foothold in South East Asia so that they can continue their aggressive policies against China? The Geneva Agreement is quite clear. Its clarity is such that all peace loving people, if they were genuinely interested in preserving proper international relations, can have only one policy and that is that all U.S. imperialist and puppet forces must be withdrawn from Vietnam. On this point the Labor Party is significantly silent. Individual Labor leaders, including the "left" Dr. Cairns, openly state that U.S. imperialism should keep its troops there.

On the domestic front, has the role of the Labor Party been that of a party determined to abolish the capitalist system and establish socialism? The Labor Party has held office on several occasions in the Federal sphere. It has held office in State parliaments on innumerable occasions and in many instances for many years at a time. Where are the socialist enterprises? Where have the attacks on the Australian monopolies occurred?

The role of the Scullin Government in the depression years will be remembered by many. It was this Labor Government which, at the height of the depression and at the behest of the capitalist class, viciously attacked the living standards of the Australian people. It was the labor Government of Chifley which, after being swept to power after World War II, viciously attacked the waterside workers and miners and gaoled their leaders.

It was likewise a Labor Government that established the Australian Security Service about which they now complain so much, and which has become yet another part of the State machine used to spy on and subvert the Australian working class movement.

These are but illustrations of the more outrageous actions of the Labor Party. But such actions are only to be expected for the very essence of the Labor Party is its bourgeois social democratic nature. It is part and parcel of the sham of the so-called democratic parliamentary system. Basically, of course, it is merely an appendage of the capitalist system, but an essential part from the point of view of the capitalist class for this class knows only too well that the Labor Party can be relied upon to protect its fundamental interests at all times against the interests of the working class. The capitalists also know only too well that the Labor Party can be relied upon when the need arises to introduce those measures against the working class, in the interests of preserving the capitalist system, which the Liberal Party might find difficulty in having accepted at any given time.



Yet it is in conjunction with this party that the revisionists see the achievement of socialism in Australia.

What rubbish! Such a policy can only be described as the greatest betrayal of the Australian working class.

It is a betrayal made much more heinous when one remembers Lenin's own comments about the Australian Labor Party and the role it plays in supporting the capitalist system.

Has the policy or role of the Australian Labor Party changed in any way since Lenin made his comments? Of course not!

The betrayal of the revisionists goes much further than this. The nature of the capitalist system is only too well known to us all. Its very essence is the making of the greatest profits for the selfish interests of the capitalist classes. It is based on the exploitation of the great majority of the people to achieve this end - an exploitation which varies in degree according to the specific economic conditions at any one time of the whole capitalist system. Its very essence is such that the larger capitalist enterprises successfully defeat the smaller, where the giant monopolies establish economic and political control.

coupled with this, of course, is the whole superstructure of the state machine designed to ensure the preservation of this system. The whole of the legal system is such that its very foundation is the upholding of the capitalist system both economically and politically.

Illustrations of this are all too easy to find. The so-called system of conciliation and arbitration has already been mentioned.

The basis of this is designed to tie the trade union movement to the state machine - to make that movement a mere appendage of the capitalist state. This is no exaggeration. Under the arbitration system the determination of wages and margins is made by judges who have been appointed for that very purpose by the state. It is nonsensical to view these people as independent umpires or referees, for there is no common basis in the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. They are diametrically opposed forces, with diametrically opposed aims so how can one umpire between such parties. There are no common rules. Yet it is in this atmosphere that the trade union movement through the A.C.T.U. bargains for crumbs falling from the table of the exploiting class.

But the operation of the state machine and the determination of the capitalist class to shackle the working class movement and to make the trade unions mere appendages of the capitalist system is much more apparent in the functions of the Industrial Court. Here the nakedness of capitalist oppression becomes much more apparent.

The role of this tribunal has now become well known to many. Despite all protestations to the contrary its main role is to shackle and thwart the working class in its endeavours to improve its position even within the framework of the capitalist system. It is important to realise this: that the state machine is already geared through this tribunal to strangle working class action which is centred around merely economic issues let alone any question of political action.

How much more determined would the actions of the ruling class become should political issues become the focal point of the struggle of the trade union movement?

Yet this whole system has the underlying support of the Labor Party. It has the support of the A.C.T.U. True enough there may be isolated complaints from these sources concerning the operation of the system.

At best, however, these have been merely undertakings given by the Labor Party, that should it be returned to office, the system will be overhauled. But never has there been any suggestion that it should be abolished, never has there been any suggestion that the capitalist system itself should be abolished, and its place taken by a socialist society. The operation of the state machine against the interests of the working class and the people of Australia generally, goes much further than this however.

True enough it may be that this machinery has not yet been used in its entirety, but the machinery is ready for operation at any time.

The Commonwealth Crimes Act contains every conceivable provision for the suppression of the Australian people. Within its scope lies the naked fascist nature of the capitalist system. So far in Australian history it have been rarely used. But is there any doubt that, should the situation arise where the monopoly interests felt that their position was endangered, they would hesitate to unleash an onslaught on the Australian people?

Here again the double talk of the Labor Party is clear for all to see. At no time has it endeavoured to amend this piece of legislation let alone repeal it despite its protestations about its content and its possible uses.

The role of the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation is well known. Its despicable role in the Petrov affair showed the lengths to which it was prepared to go in relying on pimps, perjurers and spies in its campaign against the progressive forces in Australia and even against the Labor Party itself. Its spying on all sections of the community who express opinions contrary to the policy of the liberal Government is well known.

This body has its counterpart in all capitalist countries. In America the spying activities of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. have become notorious. In England M.I.5 plays its role.

Yet the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation owes its very existence to the Australian Labor Party. Worse still, however, the Australian revisionists ignoring completely the Marxian writings on the nature of the state actively assist this body in its work. For how else can their behaviour be described when they allow T.V. stations into the homes of their members, notify the state authorities of the holding of party conferences and so on. Is not this saving work for the Security Service and the Special Branches of the state police? Worse still is it not exposing the membership of their organisation to the very organs of the state which have been set up to spy on them, to keep dossiers, to compile information about their activities and generally to destroy them?

In Australia the standing army has already been used on occasions as a strike breaking organisation. The breaking up by state police of working class demonstrations is a common enough occurrence. And over and above all this are the innumerable courts of law for the enforcement of the capitalist legal system and the protection of capitalist society.

As Lenin said in his short work, "The State": "The forms for domination of that state may vary: capital manifests its power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists - but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or not, or whether the republic is a democratic one or not - in fact the more democratic it is the cruder and

more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who were there after 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of billionaires over the whole of society so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no form of franchise can alter the essence of the latter."

One might ask have the revisionists never studied the works of Lenin? Have they forgotten entirely "The State and Revolution"? In the light of world conditions today one could ask further have they drawn no lessons from what has happened in Indonesia where it has been estimated that nearly one million people have been murdered by the counter-revolutionary and reactionary fascist forces of that country. Have they the fond illusion that such a thing could not happen in Australia?

The reactionary fascist forces of monopoly capitalism have a long history of attacks upon and the attempted destruction of the working class movement.

In Germany when there was a direct threat to the very existence of the capitalist system they found Hitler, whose record is only too well known to all.

In America today they viciously attack the negro people, they gaoled the left wing leaders and they preach hatred against all progressive movements in that country, while abroad they plot and plan with reactionary forces in all countries.

The basic nature of these forces is the same the world over.

The only difference in Australia and the United Kingdom at the present time is that each has its Labor Party which can still be relied upon to divert the energies of the working class and to avert any direct threat to the capitalist system.

But when the Labor Party can no longer deceive the working class and its usefulness to the capitalist class has been out-lived and when the Australian people begin to press for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and its replacement by a socialist system, then there is no doubt that the Australian ruling class will show themselves in their true colours, and the full strength of the army, the police forces, the secret police and the Crimes Act and so on will be openly used to suppress the working class struggle.

Who in their right minds can visualise such monopolies as E.H.P., Colonial Sugar, General Motors and so on voluntarily submitting to legislation dispossessing them and placing their plants in the hands of the people?

Yet this is what the modern-day revisionists are asking the Australian people to believe.

Like the renegades of the past they will be swept away with the passage of time and with the revolutionary spirit and action of the working class they will be consigned to the scrap-heap of history.

True Marxist-Leninists have not forgotten the writings of Lenin. They have not forgotten the fate of the German people under Hitler fascism, they will draw the proper lessons from what has happened in Indonesia. They know that only by resolute struggle against the forces of the state, against American imperialism and the modern-day revisionists, together with the raising of the political consciousness of the Australian working class will socialism in this country ever be achieved. With the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism the forces of reaction will inevitably be defeated.

National oppression is a basic feature of imperialism, the highest and most predatory stage of capitalism. National oppression is basically a question of class oppression, the class being most oppressed being the toiling classes - the proletariat and the peasantry - of the oppressed nations. The imperialist bourgeoisie oppresses the workers of "its own" nation as well as all classes of its colonies and semi-colonies (the different forms of oppressed nations).

A nation, as defined by J.V. Stalin, consists of "a historically evolved, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." (J.V. Stalin, MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, p. 16.)

The amalgamation of people into nations historically is a development of the epoch of rising capitalism. With the development of capitalism came the formation of multi-national states - states consisting of several nations. In a multi-national state, one nation oppresses the others. Such is the case in the United States today, with the American nation directly oppressing the Negro nation (in the South) and the Puerto Rican nation. Both the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation are direct colonies of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism also has many semi-colonies - i.e. nations which it oppresses but which constitute separate national states, such as Mexico, Thailand, the Philippines, South Vietnam and many other semi-colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These countries are administered by compradores from the bourgeoisie of those countries whose interests are tied with U.S. monopoly capital.

The negro question is one of special importance in the United States today because of the oppression of the Negro nation and the Negro national minority. First of all, the Negro people in the "Black Belt" area of the South - from East Texas to Virginia - constitute a nation. They are a historically evolved, stable community of people with a common language, common territory, common economic life and a common culture.

The Negro nation evolved over a 300 year period from slavery to share-cropping to agricultural labor. People of diverse cultural backgrounds - different economic life, different languages, different customs, different religions, different ancestry - were formed into one people by their oppressors over this 300 year period. Because of the need for slave labor, people from various tribes and nationalities in Africa were brought to the South onto the plantations. From the time of the slave trade through the period of the Civil War, the historical evolution of the Negro people was taking place. From all those diverse peoples developed one Negro people with its own culture, different from any other culture.

The American bourgeoisie unknowingly welded together a new nation out of their own greed for profits. The bourgeoisie had imposed the English language upon the slaves and enforced a contiguous territory, a common economic life and a historically evolved stable community of people. The Negro people, thus evolved and set in motion, developed a national culture.

The emerging of the Negro nation followed the Civil War. The defeat of the slave owners and their transformation to colonial administrators for the American bourgeoisie shows the change in social relations that took place in the Negro nation with the abolition of chattel slavery and the conversion to wage slavery. At that time - in the period of "Reconstruction" - the Ku Klux Klan also developed as the extra-legal arm of the state apparatus, to help maintain the colonial

oppression of the Negro nation.

For the past 100 years the Negro nation has been a direct colony of U.S. imperialism. Its development has been impeded by its existence as a colony. It is merely a source of raw materials and cheap labor for the imperialists of the oppressor nation. Today, the Negro people in the "Black Belt" number 10,274,098 (according to the 1960 census). This population is equal to that of Czechoslovakia and is larger than one-third of the existing national states in the world.

### THE NATIONAL MINORITIES

"In the Final Analysis, A National Struggle Is A Question Of Class Struggle" - Mao Tse-Tung.

In the American nation the Negro workers constitute a national minority: they are part of the American nation, but they are among the most oppressed and most exploited sections of that nation because of their coming from a nation oppressed by the American nation. In this situation, the Negro national minority in the American nation can be compared to the Irish national minority in England: the Irish are among the most oppressed and exploited sections of the English proletariat.

The workers who migrate from the Negro nation to the American nation do so because they can earn better livelihood there. Their situation is not as bad because as part of the oppressor nation they serve as instruments in the oppression of the colonies and semi-colonies of U.S. imperialism.

Referring to this process of migration within the multi-national state and to the formation of national minorities within the oppressor nation, Stalin pointed out, "There is no doubt that in the early stages of capitalism nations became welded together. But there is also no doubt that in the higher stages of capitalism a process of dispersion sets in, a process whereby whole groups separate off in search of a livelihood and subsequently settle permanently in other regions of the state, in the course of which these settlers lose their old contacts, acquire new contacts in their new domicile and from generation to generation acquire new habits and new tastes, and possibly a new language." (ibid., p. 56).

The national minorities in the oppressor nations each have a culture distinct from the culture of the nation from which they came. Here we have the example of the Irish in Liverpool and the Negroes in London to compare with the Irish in Cork and the Negroes in Shreveport. The national minority is a definite part of the "new" nation even though it retains certain ties with the nation of its origin. Specifically, the proletariat of the Negro national minority is a component part of the American proletariat.

Generally, the national minorities have the highest relative percentage of proletarians of all sections of the American nation, owing to the degree of oppression and industrialization of the oppressed nations from which they come. They do not have the same social mobility as the national groupings in the American nation, because the nations from which they have come are directly oppressed by U.S. imperialism. The workers of the national minorities receive the lowest-paying jobs - primarily in the service industries, such as custodians, maids, car-washers, etc. Also, there is a very high percentage of unemployment among the workers of the national minorities. In the American nation, the Negro national minority, along with the Puerto Rican national minority and the Mexican-American national minority are among the most

oppressed and the most exploited sections of the American proletariat.

The American bourgeoisie uses racism as its ideological super-structure to justify and support its oppression of the Negro nation. It speaks of racial inferiority and uses the question of color to obscure the question of national oppression. It denies the existence of the Negro nation and speaks merely of a "Black race" - as further mystification of the question. This chauvinism is the ideology of the class enemy; it must be combatted and eradicated!

### SELF - DETERMINATION

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) takes the stand of fighting for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation and for equal rights for the national minorities.

The right to self-determination means quite simply that only that nation itself has the right to determine its destiny: it may arrange its life in the way it wishes - whether in the form of federal relations with another nation or in the form of separate and independent political existence. This right is irrevocable.

"To defend this right does in no way encourage the formation of small states, but on the contrary it leads to a freer, more fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of larger governments and unions of governments - a phenomenon more advantageous for the masses and more in accord with economic development. On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must unequivocally fight for complete unity of the workers of both the oppressed and the oppressor nationalities (which also means organizational unity - V.I.L.)." (V.I. Lenin, THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION, International Publishers, New York, 1951, p. 65).

The struggle for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation is a question of revolutionary struggle and part of the struggle for proletarian revolution. Only with the victory of the proletarian revolution can there be an end to imperialism. Only under socialism can there take place the development of nations, their voluntary amalgamation and the elimination of national differences.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) takes the stand that "The struggle of the American proletariat and the Negro and Puerto Rican proletariat is part of the proletarian revolution in the United States. The struggle of the proletariat is against the common enemy, United States imperialism. Our Party is the Party of the proletariat of the United States of America. With regard to the Negro and Puerto Rican nations, armed revolution is the only means to emancipation." (PEOPLES VOICE, Sept. 26, 1966).

The only condition that will bring about equal rights for the national minorities of the American nation is the elimination of the oppressed status of the nations of their origin, i.e. of the Negro nation, of Puerto Rico, of Mexico, etc. Thus, the struggle for equal rights for the national minorities is also part of the anti-imperialist struggle and part of the struggle for proletarian revolution.

Further, the Party calls for "an anti-imperialist united front for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation in the South and the Puerto Rican nation which will include those forces who represent the national liberation forces of the oppressed nations." (PEOPLE'S VOICE Sept. 26, 1966).

The reactionary nationalists take the racist line of U.S. imperialism, using color and not class as the basis for their line. They call for the formation of Negro businesses and associations as the solution



to the question. The base for nationalism is the national bourgeoisie. The Bourgeois nationalists want to exploit the workers of their nation. In the case of the Negro national minority in the American nation, the "Black" nationalists want to exploit the Negro workers. They use the slogan of "unity" to cover up for this exploitation.

Some nationalists and their "socialist" camp-followers, using this same line, have been putting forth a position of "cultural-national autonomy" -- the same position that Austrian renegades Bauer and Springer put forth at the turn of this century. They operate on the scheme of a nation as a "union of individuals without regard to a definite territory" (J.V. Stalin, Marxism and the National question, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow 1950, p. 50). Bauer called for autonomy to be granted "not to Bohemia or Poland, which are inhabited mainly by Czechs and Poles, but to Czechs and Poles generally, irrespective of territory, no matter what part of Austria they inhabit." (Ibid. p. 46).

"Black" nationalists, such as the so-called Revolutionary Action Movement and the Organization for Afro-American Unity, call for a union of "Blacks" without regard to territory. These nationalists are concentrated in the northern cities among the Negro national minority. These "Black" nationalists even deny the existence of the Negro nation in the South. Their position is that wherever walks a Negro on this earth, there goes the "Black" nation.

The U.S. government has been subsidizing some "Black" nationalist groups, such as LeRoi Jones' "Black Arts Repertory Theater and Workshop" in Harlem and the Westminster Neighborhood Association in Watts, for the purpose of spreading their anti-working class line of racism to try to divide the working class.

Similarly, the Progressive Labor Party tails after the reactionary nationalists and itself has separate "Black" and "White" sections, so as to work on the terms of the imperialists in spreading their anti-working class line. It is clear that P.L.P. can bring only betrayal to the working class by its support of the reactionary nationalists. Here is a clear betrayal of proletarian internationalism by the P.L.P.

The Gus Hall clique goes one step further. It not only denies the existence of the Negro nation; it further denies the fact that the Negro workers are part of the proletariat. It uses the sham slogan of "labor-Negro unity". Such a slogan in itself shows their social-chauvinist outlook. The fact is that the workers of the national minorities are among the most exploited and the most oppressed of the workers, specifically, of the American proletariat. The Gus Hall revisionists prefer to spread the illusion that the Negro people are some non-productive group of people entirely removed from the question of class! The Gus Hall clique is spreading the racist ideology of the American bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary struggle demands the most consistent fight against U.S. imperialism and its nationalist and revisionist henchmen. Bourgeois ideology must be combatted and the proletariat must be organized for revolution. Only the revolutionary proletariat, led by its Party, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), can put an end to national and class oppression in the U.S.A. by overthrowing the capitalist system, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and destroying all remnants of the exploiting classes - political, economic and ideological.

SOME GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE VIEWS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN  
AND THE KOREAN WORKERS PARTY

It has been quite evident for the last 4 or 5 months that a basic and significant change in the public attitude of the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party has taken place with regard to the question of the nature and role of modern revisionism in the world today. It must be pointed out at the beginning that the position of the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party are not in all respects identical but do in fact essentially coincide. It must be commented on that there is no accident in the recent exchanges and rapprochement between the Korean Workers Party, the Communist Party of Japan and the Cuban Communist Party.

The role of the Cuban Communist Party in Latin America should be made clear: that modern revisionism has as its main base of operations in Latin America the Cuban Communist Party. The revisionist elements in the Communist Party, in order to push their anti-working class, their anti-Marxist-Leninist line, effectively, must seek to cover their actual position of betrayal of the revolutionary movement as long as possible. They must avoid as long as possible a clear link with the Soviet revisionists, but after all this is quite impossible for the Cuban revisionists, for anyone that is familiar with the stance taken by the Cuban revisionists can clearly see their role is one of being the leading revisionist party in Latin America.

We feel that the role being played by the Korean Workers Party in particular is one of an attempted Trojan Horse within the Marxist-Leninist movement. We say "attempted Trojan Horse" because the attempts of both parties to soft-pedal the present Khrushchevite revisionist leadership of Kosygin and Brezhnev has basically failed.

When one hears statements concerning the change in the international situation where modern revisionism as a primary and main danger is now receding and the question of dogmatism and adventurism is now an equal danger, we can begin to understand what is taking place, for our memories are not that short. When we hear statements from the leaders of these parties that the Soviet Union is still socialist and that the Khrushchevite revisionism as an influence within the C.P.S.U. is on the decline, we clearly know what is occurring.

When we hear the terms "independency" and "flunkeyism" used by both the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party in almost an identical manner, it can easily be concluded that the leadership of both these parties are in collusion with the modern revisionists. Now it may be said that we are lumping to unjust conclusions, that we are being too harsh with comrades internationally, that they indeed have a right to pursue an independent course in accord with their national interests and that communists should not expect individual parties to follow blindly the lead of other parties. Yes, this may be said, but upon examination we will see clearly this is not the case. It is obvious what is meant by Kim Il Sung of the Korean Workers Party when he talks of independency and flunkeyism. He talks of the Korean Workers Party sitting on its own stool and not having to worry about the position of other parties since it has its own position, and if Marxism-Leninism were not a universal science, a scientific guide to the proletariat of all nations, a key to struggle, a guide to revolutionary action, we too could talk of our own stool and our own view and counterpose it to the rest of the communist parties of the world. When it comes to Marxism-Leninism, there can be concretely only one correct view at any given historic moment that reflects the reality of the interests of the international working class and in any given historic context, there is only one decisive leading center. Our precise problem today is that there are too many stools -- or so it may seem. The stool that certain people brag about will clearly be seen as nothing more than a bench on which sit not only "Comrade" Kim Il Sung but Mss. Kosygin and Brezhnev. The com-

rades of the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party must recognize that as Marxist-Leninists, they cannot sit on the fence: That once they take the position of being neutral and "independent", they are in fact attempting to act as arbiters and compromisers and we ask in a comradely way: "Pray tell, how are you to arbitrate and compromise Marxist-Leninist principles?"

We clearly recognize that within the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party, there are a great many Marxist-Leninists and staunch revolutionaries of the international proletariat who clearly understand what is taking place within their parties. We side with them completely and fully and furthermore we urge them to engage their stool-sitters and fence-straddlers decisively before they do more damage to their revolutionary parties. The Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung is the leading communist party in the world today. The international center of the international communist movement has shifted from the Soviet Union to the People's Republic of China. The great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the struggle on which the interests of the international proletariat rests. There can be no neutral position on these questions nor can there be a neutral position on the anti-communist, pro-fascist role that the C.P.S.U. is playing in the world today.

The position of the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party can be characterized as a centrist position precisely because of the attempt internationally to mediate and hold themselves apart from the real struggle. The Marxist-Leninists know from bitter experience that centrists are in fact the advanced position of the revisionists, for their role is to soften and weaken wherever possible the approach of Marxist-Leninists. The question of intention has little bearing on the objective results. We must be objective and scientific in our approach to political trends and the direction of the communist parties in the world today. There are those that say undoubtedly the intentions of the Korean Workers Party and the Communist Party of Japan are the noblest. We have no concern for the nobility of their intentions.

It must be made clear the main danger to the international communist movement is modern revisionism, Khrushchevite revisionism headed by the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Kosygin and Brezhnev. They must be the main target of attack for in their continued exposure internationally, we will be able to more clearly and decisively deal with those who attempt to "conciliate" their anti-working class views.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) has republished statements of the Communist Party of New Zealand dealing with joint action, common action of the international communist movement with which we are in full agreement. Our position is clear: there can be no collaboration or joint action in any way with the modern revisionists. The C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) has refrained from making open comment on the position of the Communist Party of Japan and the Korean Workers Party until the question of their orientation and direction has become clear. The C.P.U.S.A. (M-L), in order to clarify its position with regard to the course of the leadership of the Korean Workers Party and the Communist Party of Japan, has issued this statement.

To collaborate with the revisionists necessitates betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the international proletariat. No joint action, no collaboration, no betrayal. Expose, isolate and destroy modern revisionism through to the end. There can only be one correct position on this question. The modern revisionists have as their primary concern the destruction of the international communist movement, the destruction of Marxism-Leninism, the science of the working class. Their main activity is geared to finding and establishing all-around areas of collaboration with U.S. imperialism on all fronts, of destroying the socialist economy and developing capitalist relations as rapidly as possible within the Soviet Union, with encouraging the investment of

capital, thus facilitating the destruction of Soviet socialist economy. We would ask a simple question: where would the Marxist-Leninists find areas of joint action with the Soviet revisionists? Perhaps the Marxist-Leninists could assist the Soviet revisionists in betraying the Vietnamese people, in pointing out the advantage of negotiations in the struggle with imperialism? Enough of sarcasm on these questions. These matters are most serious. We are told that the Soviet Union can assist decisively in the defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. We point out here clearly that the Soviet Union is a force being used by imperialism to undermine and destroy the struggle of the Vietnamese people. We are told that the joint action of all communist parties would perhaps have prevented the invasion of Vietnam by U.S. imperialism. It must be pointed out here and now that U.S. imperialism invaded Vietnam with a clear understanding well in advance that the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. would not in any way decisively interfere in their undertaking. Why the shift of troops from Europe to Asia by U.S. imperialism. Why the frantic efforts on the part of the C.P.S.U. in behalf of U.S. imperialism across the face of the world? We deserve an answer, comrades of the Korean Workers Party and the Communist Party of Japan. What job would you have the Marxist-Leninists do in the name of joint action with the revisionists? It is perfectly clear to talk of joint action is to talk of collaboration with revisionism.