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Hong Kong is Chinese! Good riddance to Britain!

As of July the first, what was known as the Crown colony of Hong Kong was returned to the Peoples Republic of China run by a reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy. The bureaucracy plans to run the former colony as an autonomous territory. Its basic philosophy is "one country two systems". This tells the imperialists that whilst China is prepared to administer the former colony now territory as an extension of China, the domination of finance capital is safe. This, for the imperialists is the main thing. Revolutionary communists would prefer a Hong Kong which is totally assimilated into China and a China which is really communist. Nevertheless the removal of a reactionary outpost is a minor gain in the struggle against imperialism as it weakens the hold of British imperialism in South East Asia. We therefore have no hesitation in supporting reunification with China.

Imperialists and those nostalgic for the British Empire may be in mourning. We're not. Hong Kong should have never been under British control at all. It was ceded to Britain under a so-called agreement. This "agreement" was signed by Imperial China under duress. It was not the Chinese people who "agreed" to British control but the Chinese imperialists. And they signed with the threat of British military force against them. Thanks to this Agreement Britain gained an outpost to facilitate exploitation not just in China but throughout South East Asia. By Hong Kong's liberation workers and peasants throughout this area will benefit. China did not deserve to have a small chunk ripped out and controlled for the benefit of Britain. Britain has been very adept at using Hong Kong as a rallying point for reactionaries for counterrevolution in China.

It is for these reasons that Communist Left fully supports the return of Hong Kong to China. There are many who have reservations. Hong Kong has only recently been granted a local assembly. Nevertheless it does have one. China is very undemocratic and persecutes dissidents. The specter of Tiananmen Square haunts Hong Kong. There is genuine concern that dissidents may be persecuted. Of course their political complexion of these dissidents varies. Some are dissident because they want genuine workers democracy. But some merely want the "right" to advocate more right to exploit. Of course there are many who are confused and in between. We have no sympathy for aspiring exploiters. We do have sympathy with those with genuine proletarian grievances who will no doubt be dealt with in a ruthless bureaucratic way. However the question of Britain's imperialist control must be given political precedence. Britain, through Hong Kong has assisted many dictatorial regimes throughout SE Asia and elsewhere. Marcos, Britain's ally in the Philippines was no friend of human rights for anyone apart from his rich elite. Through Hong Kong Britain could supply military assistance lest he, or British investments are threatened. . The coup which installed Cory Aquino did not qualitatively change the situation except for some rival sections of the ruling elite. Revolutionaries must put the rights of workers throughout Asia before the democratic rights of Hong Kong residents propped up by Britain's economic power. That power must be removed - unconditionally.

Whilst we unconditionally support the removal of Britain, we don't suggest the workers sit back and accept their new bureaucratic rulers nor the bourgeoisie and their exploitation which they will happily maintain. Tung Cheehwa, the new administrator has recently announced that minor gains for workers in Hong Kong must be reversed as they "undermine Hong Kong's competitive edge." What this means is that he is prepared to auction off the workers of Hong Kong so they can be super exploited more effectively than elsewhere. No doubt in this competition, other countries will follow suite and lower their wage rates also.

We suggest that Hong Kong workers have no illusions what so ever in their new administration. We suggest they organise for workers power now!. Workers power will be far more democratic than the "democratic rights" imperialists prattle on about. These "rights" are only for the rich elite - people not condemned to wage slavery.

Stalinist coup in Kampuchea

The people of Kampuchea have been fighting virtually non stop since the early sixties. They have fought the imposition of Prince Sihanouk. They have fought the imperialist sponsored Lon Nol. They have fought the Americans (and puppets) when they have extended the Vietnam War into Kampuchean territory. There has been fighting over the victory of the NLF in Vietnam and the FUNK in Kampuchea. There has been fighting between the Khmer Rouge, the forces backing Pol Pot and the Vietnamese backed Hun Sen in alliance with the feudalists. Now Kampuchean (formerly pro-Vietnamese) Stalinists have deposed their former feudalist ally Prince Ranariddh who is now denounced as a traitor. There was almost another war. Australia even considered sending in "peace keeping" forces, The rotten bloc has exploded.

This comes as no surprise to us. Popular fronts are death traps for the working class. Despite the loyalty of Stalinists to the system (or even to the Monarchy), bourgeois forces maintain their antagonism to the working class. The fact that in surrendering class independence, workers "representatives" have exposed the working class as weak. And this gives the bourgeoisie its opportunity - to drown the proletariat in blood. This was the price workers paid for the popular front in Chile, Spain, Indonesia and China. In Indonesia millions of Chinese and Maoist communists were killed by the "patriotic" President Sukarno. These are only a few examples of just how devastating this Stalinist strategy has been.

Well fortunately it is the Stalinists who got in first and rid themselves of the monarchist representative rather than the other way around. Whether Prince Ranariddh is a traitor (or not) is beside the point. No section of the Monarchy should be maintained for any reason what so ever. anyhow the break is not decisive. Hun Sen wants a more respectable representative with the Monarchist FUNIPEC to form his latest version of this treacherous alliance. Irrespective of what turns out, any Australian intervention for any side must be opposed.

BHP Newcastle faces collapse!

At the beginning of June Broken Hill Propriety Ltd. (BHP) made an announcement which devastated the people of Newcastle. Virtually the whole of their plant in Port Waratah would have to close. The only part which is expected to remain in operation is the Rod Mill. About seven thousand workers expect to be laid off. They have responded with anger. They know that their future employment prospects are pretty dim. Unless their jobs are defended many will face a life on the dole. The prospects of industrial employment coming to Newcastle on any sort of mass scale is pretty remote. The Howard government has recently promised to build an aircraft there. This offer is generally regarded (correctly) as a bad joke. This is talk about BHP being replaced with a tourist centre or a supermarket. These will hardly offer the jobs required even if they eventuate. BHP workers know that the only way work can be guaranteed is if BHP Steelworks can be defended from closure.

Most of the rest of the community is angry also. The losses will go well beyond the seven thousand jobs threatened. Many other factories in Newcastle rely on BHP for steel which they process further into other products. With BHP closing they will have to buy it elsewhere. This will be more expensive. The companies will have to put up their prices and therefore be less competitive. As a result other manufacturing plants will go broke also. This will mean more factories will close and many thousands of other workers thrown on the scrap heap. Of course with more workers thrown out of work there will be less money to spend in department stores, on consumer items. So there will be layoffs in the nonproductive sector of the Newcastle economy. The BHP sackings will have a massive flow-on effect with jobs lost throughout Newcastle and the Hunter Valley.

BHP has for decades pretended to be Newcastle's big brother. Whereas in the US it was "what's good for the General Motors is good for America" BHP has promoted itself as the "Big Australian" a gentle giant who is dedicated to providing jobs and dedicated to the development of Australia and in particular the Newcastle community. Many who work there know the reality- BHP is a ruthless exploiter dedicated to making a much profit as possible, paying low wages. Some who suffer from smoke belching out of the steel works have learnt what the "caring BHP" really stands for. The answer is : Profits first! Nevertheless BHP has pretended to be the "good citizen" by sponsoring uni courses and scholarships, and cultural events. This has sucked in the local bourgeoisie, middle class people, both major political parties(Labor and Liberal) and the labour bureaucracy and notably the Short/Hurrell run FIA which covers most BHP workers (apart from staff)

For the bureaucrats the sackings are like a death in the family. For the Short/Hurrell leadership of FIA, BHP has been part of the family. For decades they have pursued a cozy relationship with BHP - at the expense of class struggle. BHP workers have had wages maintained at a low level and conditions have been extremely poor. The bureaucrats have peddled the line that if workers remain silent and only raise demands which are modest, then jobs will be-maintained.

BHP has shown that it has no loyalty to the work force whatsoever. When it is no longer profitable, workers become expendable. That is the story in Newcastle -and everywhere that the laws of profit rule.

What is threatened in Newcastle is consistent with the whole pattern of manufacturing in Australia since the early seventies. Manufacturing developed under the umbrella of tariffs, undercapitalised, poorly equipped and suffering from a poor local market. Since 1972 whole sections of industry have collapsed including shipbuilding, car manufacturing, and white goods. The plant at BHP Port Waratah is extremely old. It hasn't been renewed since the Second world War. The bosses have known that collapse is imminent for a long time. They have deliberately kept BHP Newcastle in a state of backwardness.

It is useless to beg to the government for more protection. No bourgeois government can make BHP profitable - even if it wanted too. Protection has in fact maintained Australian manufacturing in a state of backwardness and uncompetitive, A highly protected industry is a sure recipe for losing jobs. Bosses have played on patriotism dividing workers along national lines. The way to defeat this is not more patriotism, attempting to show that steel is in the "national interest" but international proletarian unity for equal wages and to defend jobs. Protectionism is a barrier to such unity. Workers must organise now! The only way jobs will be defended is through a programme of direct action. Occupy and Expropriate BHP! Of course such a programme will not come from the bureaucracy and especially not from the cold warrior grubs who lead the FIA. Workers must organise on the shop floor through factory committees! The struggle cannot be won if it is confined to Newcastle Jobs are not only going to be lost in Newcastle but in Whyalla and Wollongong. The struggle must be extended initially all BHP plants. Then throughout Australia and internationally. Consistent class struggle requires a revolutionary communist party. Communist Left is the nucleus of such a party.

Bob Carr sells off NSW electricity!

Labor has very little meaning these days. It has been a long time since Labor talked about socialism. It has been a long time since Labor has talked about nationalisation. Labor has given up any commitment to defend the existing private sector. It comes as no surprise to find Bob Carr eager to sell off NSW electricity. After all in capitalism's terms private ownership is more efficient.. And with less investment in public utilities taxes to the rich can be reduced and/or the States credit rating can be improved. These are the things that matter to the ruling class. On the whole Labor shares their agenda. Bob Carr certainly does!

Of course a privately owned electricity operation will be a lot less customer friendly to poor and working people. But we are not the people who matter in the eyes of the ruling class. Workers in Newcastle have been angry at the threatened closure of BHP. They have also been angry at Carr's intention to sell off electricity. Angry protests have not only come from the rank and file but also the bureaucrats. The Newcastle Trades and Labour Council has sent a strong message to the Carr Government expressing its concern regarding the attacks that privatisation would mean on jobs and services.

Even more significant is the threat by the CMFEU to disaffiliate from the ALP. It has been estimated that 6,000 jobs will be lost through the privatisation. Most will be CMFEU members. Why should we pay affiliation fees to a party which sacks our members en masse? This is the question that the union is understandably posing. Union members hardly have received value for money. Over thirteen years this union "agreed" to forgo wage claims for minor gains - which simply did not eventuate. The CMFEU wants an "interventionist" Labor Party not an economic rationalist one.

Unfortunately the CMFEU are considering breaking from Labor - but not reformism. The "interventionist" policies they want will not eventuate - because capitalism won't allow it. Administrations of capitalism do differ. but fundamentally, it is the economy which rules. Any government which disobeys will be sabotaged or declared illegal and removed by force. There is no going back to the sixties. The only alternative to economic rationalism is revolution. That is unless a fascist counterrevolution smashes the organised working class. The CMFEU certainly don't want that. The CMFEU "opposition to Labor" is also somewhat belated. For over a decade the apologised for Labor and its anti working class measures. They supported repression against the BLF. Their attempt to go back to reform's more apparently worker friendly yesterday is a utopian dream. That is if they actually have the guts to go through with it.

Defend public post offices!

In Erskineville there has been a mass community campaign. Thousands of local people have signed the petition. There have been pickets and lobbies. They have contacted the unions to show their solidarity to defend workers losing their jobs. The campaign has received much publicity. Local people are angry.

Working class people and pensioners will be greatly inconvenienced by the loss of their post office. Although bureaucrats might consider it close to Newtown, the distance is quite considerable if you are a pensioner. And of course the service will be a lot worse. The staff at Newtown are already overworked. There will be more

pressure on them with the extra custom from Erskineville people. The current service by the staff of Erskineville Post Office is excellent. It is much more difficult to give decent service when you have a long queue of twenty people all demanding prompt service. Even worse are those post offices who have been franchised over to the local chemist (as in neighbouring Enmore) Although chemists and other shopkeepers and business people accept the franchise, they are really more interested in selling Panadol than postage stamps. They are also not adept at specialist tasks. These days the post office is not just a post office. They are expected to be agents for the Commonwealth Bank (this makes them more liable to be robbed), the Water Board, the Electricity Commission. Its bad enough that Post Office workers have to be adept at so many tasks. It's even worse when they are demanded of the Chemist or newsagent.

Of course this is not merely an Erskineville problem. Post offices are threatened with closure throughout Sydney and in fact, NSW and Australia. The Erskineville community realises it must unite with other working class people facing a similar situation. In Ryde people have to wait in a queue one hundred metres long during peak business periods.

A united campaign between working class communities and employed can be victorious if it is linked to consistent opposition to the whole privatisation agenda foisted upon us by both political parties Labor and Liberal.

Admit Lorenzo Kum Boa Ervin! Free him now! Let him speak!

Lorenzo Ervin from the USA is a former Black Panther and now an organiser for the Anarchist Black Cross. He was invited to speak in Australia by "Angry People", an anarchist group influenced by the British grouping known as Class War. Angry People have organised several meetings in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne was he was to speak about the lessons of the struggles of Black people in the US which he has been part of. We are looking forward to hearing him speak.

The authorities had other ideas. After being tipped off by the fascist Australians Against Further Immigration, the authorities "discovered" that he had not put down his criminal record on his form, declared a "terrorist" refused admission and jailed pending deportation. He has just been released in custody, where he learnt a true practical lesson about Australian racist "justice". He was bashed in the lockup by the pigs. It was an outrage that he was arrested in the first place. The attempt to prevent him from entering the country and speaking is an outrage. It is , however, no accident. It is a reflection of the racist society which Australia is and the climate of reaction begun by Howard and intensified by Pauline Hanson. Deportation of Ervin is just the feather-in-his-cap Howard needs to keep in the good books of the extreme racist right.

We are looking forward to hearing from him. Irrespective of ultraleft tactical and political weakness, Ervin must be regarded as a heroic fighter against the US racist imperialist reactionary state. Neither the left Stalinist Black Panthers, nor Anarchist Black Cross have the politics which can liberate the Black proletariat in the USA or elsewhere. _Both pander to ultra militant rhetoric yet leave Black people isolated with the balance of force on the side of the ruling class. Communists support militant action. However that action will only be successful if white workers break from their chauvinism and unite with the Black proletariat. The balance of force will then be on our side. Breaking white workers from chauvinism (and the Democrats) requires a revolutionary vanguard fighting for a revolutionary programme which shows they have a class interest in doing so. Both the Panthers and Anarchists reject such a perspective. And so Black proletarians remain isolated and smashed by the system. This is what happened to the Black Panthers.

Communist Left welcomes Ervin to Australia. We hope to learn from his experience to make revolution here. We also hope to take issue with his politics. Hopefully he too will see the need for a revolutionary vanguard.

Britain Tony Blair purges the Labour Left.

Tony Blair scales the British political scene like a colossus. Labour won with a massive landslide far beyond the dreams of many activists. What changes does this mean to Britain? Well a few. The most progressive being that gay men now have the same age of consent as straight men. This minor gain may appease many middle class radicals. However most of the changes are downright reactionary.

Mr. Howard got a warm welcome by Blair on his recent visit to London. Howard assured us that He and Blair "see eye to eye on welfare". Indeed they do. The Blair Government is just beginning a crackdown on sickness beneficiaries. Blair supports work for the dole and privatisation.

Within the Labour Party the purge is beginning. One Labour leftist has described Blair as a Stalin. Stalin at least had some rudimentary belief in social welfare even if his bureaucratic interests came first. Blair is virtually a Tory in Labour clothing His is moving in his yuppie supporters into inner London Branches to rid them of the radical and the not so radical left. He means business. He promises to rid Labour of "bureaucratic vested interests".

This is merely the end game. Blair is enjoying the fruits of Kinnock. The Labour left is paying the price not fighting for power. The Toryised Labour Party is indeed a gain of the Thatcher counter-revolution. Thatcher's intransigent conservatism threw down the gauntlet. Labour could either win by becoming a pale imitation or by really fighting for. power - revolution. In no way was it going to do the latter. The opportunist right saw Toryism as the way forward. Neil Kinnock was unable to defeat the Tories but he did defeat the Labour Left. Instead of hang Labour like a rope supports a hanged man the Left got hanged. This is because it offered no way forward apart from a Parliamentary Labour government. The Left offered no way forward for Labour under the system. Yet it didn't fight for a

programme to overthrow the system. Decent militants should leave the Labour Party. But what is rotten is not merely Labour before or after Blair. The Left must break from reformism. The answer is not a second edition of Labour with a more palatable reform

The "Socialist" Party becomes the "Communist Party" Part 3 The Socialist

Party after the Association for Communist Unity split

The Socialist Party of Australia recently renamed itself the Communist Party. The SPA was formed out of a split in the CPA. Those who split away were sympathetic to the bureaucrats in Moscow and the Stalinist strategy of what's called the World Communist Movement which is the Stalinist movement. In RED 36, we discussed political issues of the split from the CPA (to form the SPA). In RED 37, we discussed the role of the independent SPA prior to a major split from that party of conservative bureaucrats known as Association for Communist Unity

So then there were two pro-Moscow "Marxist-Leninist" parties in competition for workers and Moscow allegiance. Both the SPA and the ACU fully identified the SPA split from the CPA. They both claimed to be "for Marxism-Leninism" "against Trotskyism and left adventurism". They fully identified with the "socialist countries". They shared the Stalinist heritage of two stage theory "against monopoly". But there were different emphasise and different priorities. The two pro-Moscow groups were diverging.

During they eighties the main antagonisms dividing the left were not between Stalinism and Trotskyism. but; for or against the Prices and incomes Accord and; for or against the BLF. Of course the two were linked. The BLF were under attack because they defied the dictates of Hawke even though they signed the Accord. The Accord was supposed to give minimal gains for the working class in exchange for labour discipline. The Hawke ripped up the supposed "Agreement". Less than one month after signing, Senator Button stated his government's categorical refusal to campaign for of implement full employment. However the bureaucrats remained loyal "campaigning for its full implementation". Of course, the ACU were well and truly "in unity" with the Accord. They also supported the attacks on the BLF. The SPA were far more principled. Their theoreticians realised the serious consequences workers faced if they adhered to the discipline of the Accord They also were well aware that the attacks on the BLF were part and parcel of Government attacks on any union which defied the dictates of the Government.

So the ACU were aligned with the CPA. The SPA found themselves in unity with the CPA (ML) and also with the expseudoTrotskyist Socialist Workers Party which is now known as Democratic Socialist Party and are the main force behind the "broad" Green Left Weekly. The SWP was rapidly running away from their Trotskyist heritage. Of course no real Trotskyist would support the Castro bureaucracy in Cuba. In the Sixties, their US mentor the Socialist Workers Party publishers of The Militant, discovered Castro was a proletarian revolutionary. In doing this they consciously and unconsciously abandoned key principles which Trotsky fought for.

After the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions, and the El Salvadoran upsurge, the SWP Australia drew out the anti-Trotskyist consequences. If these bourgeois forces could create a successful revolution then permanent revolution indeed becomes obsolete. This, the SWP Australia agreed with and they therefore abandoned Trotskyism. Of course neither the Nicaraguan nor the Grenadian revolutions were healthy. Nicaragua defended the capitalists and Grenada even maintained the Governor General and remained a loyal member of the commonwealth of Nations. The Nicaraguan Revolution was defeated not merely by the subversion by US imperialism and Nicaraguan allies, the Contras, but by the internal bourgeoisie, who the Sandinistas refused to expropriate. The Nicaraguan revolution confirms the theory of permanent revolution.

The SWP drew important Stalinist conclusions. They too accused Trotskyists of "underestimating the peasantry" They argued that Trotsky was a sectarian with regard to the Spanish and Chinese Revolutions They reversed their Trotskyist critique of the Vietnamese Stalinists and their tactics. They now supported the Stalinist's peace negotiations. They argued that the Vietnamese Trotskyists were "hopeless sectarians". Their suppression by Ho Chi Minh and cronies, from the SWP Australian point of view was understandable.

This was music to the ears of the SPA. Of course from their point of view it wasn't going far enough. The SWP still supported socialist democracy. The SPA, at the time considered it slander to even consider such a problem existed in the Soviet Union. The SWP still formally supported political revolution. But the redefined the term to effectively mean democratic reform potentially coming from a section of the bureaucracy. Even worse from an SPA point of view was SWP support for Solidarnosc independent trade union of Poland. But there was an immediate tactical need for unity. In the peace movement both SWP and SPA were united around one major question. They both considered imperialism as opposed to both superpowers or merely the Soviet Union as responsible for the arms race. The both fought even handed imperialist apologists tooth and nail. ACU and CPA overlooked this fundamental principle for the maximum numbers and in pursuit of respectability.

The Hawke Government was in office. And Hawke Labor began to declare war on both the middle class protest movements and sections of the working class (those not totally subservient to the Accord). Of course Labor's contempt for the Peace movement was most blatant. Having sloganised "Uranium. Play it safe" Labor then proceeded to throw any commitment on the issue - out the window. Hawke Labor also betrayed the people of East Timor, and attempted to subvert New Zealand's attempt to keep the country nuclear free and ban nuclear shipping. Middle class people revolted. Leading peace activists launched the Nuclear Disarmament Party. The SWP were well and truly involved in

this process. Their entrism into the Nuclear Disarmament Party was controversial. It prompted a right wing breakaway including rock star Peter Garret (whom the SWP had previously promoted). The SWP were concerned with working class issues also. They wanted a new party to take on Labor, from the left but within the framework of reformism. Hence they wanted to unite with the SPA.

In April 1984 there was a Social Rights Conference which effectively showed that SPA and SWP had the same minimum programme. Also in April 1984 the SPA/SWP joint statement was launched. This made the differences open and clear. The Association of Communist Unity expressed its total disgust that a party calling itself "Marxist Leninist" could unite with a "Trotskyist" grouping. They warned that this was a tactic for Trotskyism to gain respectability. They pointed to past precedents like Trotskyists supporting Cuba in an attempt to divide it from other socialist countries. Well SWP oppositionists could certainly testify to how heartfelt SWP desires to break from Trotsky were. The next year they were to disown the United Secretariat. The SPA made it clear to Moscow and other "socialist countries" that in no way would it be party to any disloyalty. An article by Pete Symon reaffirmed their defense of Stalin.

The SPA/SWP lasted quite a few years. For State and Federal Parliamentary elections their "Socialist Alliance" stood candidates around a minimum programme. They called for nationalisation and a parliamentary government which served working people. For Marxists the state is an instrument of bourgeois dictatorship. These revisionists believe that it can serve the working class if the government in office carries out the appropriate minimum programme.

However the bloc was subjected to immense pressure - the disintegration of the Soviet Union and post capitalist Eastern Europe. It all started with the liberalisation process of Gorbachev glasnost and Perestroika. The SWP hailed Gorbachev "restoring people's power". The hard-line Stalinist SPA hid its head in the sand and blocked with the likes of Ligachev. The SWP tried to go into bed with liberalizing sections of the bureaucracy, notably Gorbachev. The SPA response to the continued disintegration and counter-revolution was to change horses. Their new Stalinist mentor became Deng's China. The rotten alliance broke down when Deng's troops massacred the student protesters at Tiananmen Square Beijing. SPA considered them counter-revolutionaries and fully justified their repression. This view was reinforced when Peter Symon went to China. Peter Symon accepted the view that the demonstrators were counterrevolutionaries - virtually on the say-so of the Deng bureaucracy. The SPA effectively jumped from one bureaucratic horse to another. There was no inclination to question bureaucratism whatsoever. It fact, as it saw other who did so go to the right, it's bureaucratic commitment became hardened.

What is staggering is the "analysis" offered by the SPA of the demise of their previous socialist homeland. For decades they assured us about the inevitable success of socialism due to the superiority of the socialist countries. These countries were "winning the peaceful competition with capitalism." For the SPA it was "vile slander" to suggest there were bureaucratic deformations. Well these "socialist countries" blew up in their faces. Millions of CIS citizens dread the thought of socialism. Some accept socialism only as the lesser of two evils given their horrendous experiences with capitalist counter-revolution. What was the Communist Party is on its knees not challenging the free market but promising to introduce it more humanely. The SPA "explanation" amounts to the personal failings of Gorbachev and Yeltsin "capitalist roaders" and the strength of bourgeois ideology. Yes indeed! Bourgeois ideology is a strong force for counter-revolution internationally. That is why you cant have socialism in one country. However the deformations of the old Soviet Union go way beyond this.

The new Communist Party will continue on. There is a market for communism still amongst some people. Although some credit has to be given for opposing the more blatant forms of opportunism such as the Accord and sell selling out the BLF, the fact that they raise the red banner is as much a case of bureaucratic inertia as it is of revolutionary integrity. In no way are CPA programmes revolutionary. In no way is the CPA a serious critic let alone an opponent of Labor. The fact that this bureaucratic rump is allowed to raise the Red Flag with even the appearance of authority is a reflection of their opposition rather than due to any revolutionary commitment.